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To Guy Haman
from
Jane Walker.

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INDEX TO THE PAPERS OF

ALBERT EINSTEIN

BY

ALBERT EINSTEIN

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Acholi
Ankole
Buganda
Bunyoro
Busoga
Karamoja
Kavirondo
Kigezi
Lango
Madi
Mbale District
Teso
Toro
West Nile

Other Headings

Art, Music and Musical Instruments
Birds
Customs, Beliefs and Witchcraft
Fables and Folk Tales
Geology
History and Reminiscences
Insects
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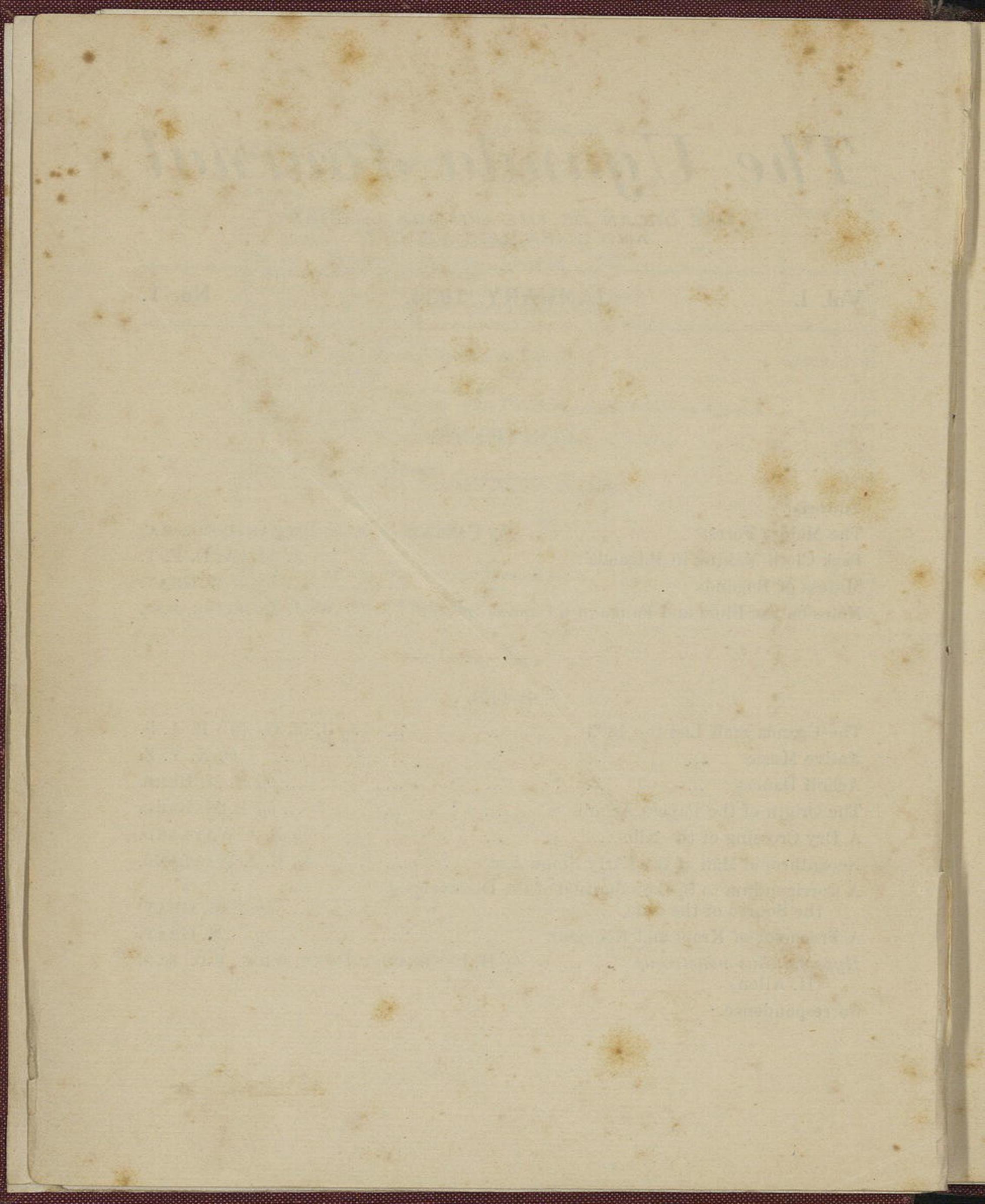
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THE UGANDA LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY.

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EDITORIAL.

The Uganda Literary and Scientific Society was founded in 1923 by the late Judge Guthrie Smith, Mr. Alan Hogg and Mr. E. J. Wayland. The headquarters of the Society was at Entebbe, and its activities, which consisted of the reading of papers and the delivery of lectures, were confined almost entirely to Entebbe. The support given to the Society was therefore limited and the membership never exceeded seventy.

Nevertheless, some forty-eight lectures were given, not only by local celebrities, but also by distinguished visitors. A glance at the list of lectures shows that a very wide field was covered in the choice of subjects and that the names of lecturers were in themselves a guarantee of quality. Unfortunately, however, the little band of organizers either dispersed or became too busy with their own rapidly developing activities to devote their time to the Society, and whenever the Secretary proceeded on leave it was difficult to find anybody to take his place, with the result that subscriptions were not collected and lectures were not arranged. In 1928 the regular activities of the Society to all intents and purposes lapsed. The Society owes a great debt to Mr. Wayland, who has almost without break been Honorary Secretary since 1923. Although it must have been disappointing to him to see the Society wane, he managed to conserve the assets hoping for a better day, and he kept it just alive by an occasional lecture from a distinguished visitor.

In June, 1933, fresh interest was shown in the old Society and it was felt that by moving the headquarters to Kampala, and through the issue of a Journal it would obtain a wider support and fill a much needed want. In July a large number of people were circularised and the support promised was sufficient to warrant a revival. On the 19th September, His Excellency the Governor attended the first lecture, which was on "Gold" by Mr. Wayland, the Director of Geological Survey. The next lecture was given by Captain Pitman, the Game Warden, on "Reptiles," on the 11th October. On the 28th November, Judge Gray read an abridged but most interesting paper on Mutesa, the full text of which appears in this number of the Journal. Finally, on the 8th December, the Right Reverend Lord Bishop of Uganda, who is shortly retiring, delighted a large audience with "Uganda in Transition during the last 33 years," which was in fact an epitome of the changes which have taken place before his eyes during his stay in the country.

A further monthly programme of lectures is being arranged for in Kampala in 1934, and it is hoped that occasional ones will be given in Entebbe and Jinja. Owing to the uncertainty of the movements of those who have promised to lecture it is not possible to produce a definite programme long in advance.

It is also hoped that the Society will embark on other activities and the possibility of holding an Arts and Crafts Exhibition in 1934 is being considered. It was originally intended to hold such an exhibition in December, 1933, but in order not to interfere in any way with the Uganda Publicity Photographic Competition the proposal was dropped for the time being.

Having dealt with the history and other activities of the Society it is necessary to say a little by way of introduction to the first number of the Uganda Journal. In several British Territories a periodical is produced dealing with matters of scientific interest, and one of our neighbours, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, produces in "Sudan Notes and Records," an excellent journal which we might well try to emulate. The aim of this Uganda Journal is to collect and publish information which may add to our knowledge of Uganda and to record that which in the course of time might be lost. To be a success it must at one and the same time appeal to the interest of members of the Society and bring to light information which is not otherwise readily available. While statements contained in the Journal should not always be accepted as authoritative it is hoped that serious students will find in some of the articles items of interest which may give them a new line on which to pursue their studies.

In view of the fact that in the financial year of the Society ending 30th June, 1934, members will only receive two numbers, it is intended to make the first two numbers rather larger than the successive ones. The intention is that a normal number of the Journal will be published quarterly consisting of about eighty pages of reading matter and ten or twelve photographs.

The Journal will be in two main parts, one containing three or four long and substantial articles, the other containing a series of short notes. It is hoped that these notes will become a useful and popular feature of the Journal. There are many people in Uganda who from time to time acquire pieces of interesting information which may not be suitable for long articles, but which could make interesting notes, and it is hoped that members will draw upon their memories for such items and submit them in note form. It is of course essential, if the Journal is to fulfil its purpose, that all members should be regarded as potential contributors and the Journal will fail if the editorial committee are dependent upon the same contributors for every number. All members are asked to give their support by sending in contributions. The submission of a contribution does not, of course, mean that it will necessarily be published, but in the early stages it will not be necessary for contributors to enclose a stamped and addressed envelope with their article. All articles must be received by the Editor at least two months before the date of publication and photographs or maps for which blocks have to be made must be received at least three months before the date of publication. The owners of the photographs are offered the blocks at half cost price after the Society has had the use of them.

In future numbers it is intended that there should be a correspondence column, and it is hoped that certain statements contained in this issue will evoke mild controversies.

From the financial point of view a regular edition of not less than 300 is essential. At the time of going to press the membership of the Society is 104 single and 68 double members, which means an edition of 172 copies. The Committee is confident, however, that the publication of the Journal will bring increased support and they have therefore embarked upon an edition of not less than 300 copies.

The Mabira Forest.

By CAPTAIN C. R. S. PITMAN, D.S.O., M.C. (*Game Warden, Uganda*).

The Mabira Forest, roughly 120 square miles in extent, is situated in the Kyagwe Saza of the Mengo District of Buganda, in the vicinity of the Victoria Nile, and between that river and the Sezibwa.

It is probable that the majority of the immigrant residents of Uganda have never heard of this forest, and many Kampala folk would stare in amazement were they told that within forty miles of the metropolis can be found conditions very similar to those prevailing in the great Equatorial "Rain" Forest of Central Africa. Not only this, but the existence of all-weather roads enables motor cars to be taken into the heart of the forest, which presents a spectacle no one should miss—in fact a visit is really part of one's education.

Without, I hope, becoming too technical I shall endeavour briefly to describe the forest, its history, its inhabitants and its wild life.

The Mabira, florally and faunally, is West African, actually it is a now-isolated, easterly extension of the Equatorial "Rain" Forest, what is sometimes termed a forest "island" when dealing with the forest, as distinct from the savannah, flora and fauna.

In a remote past the "Rain" forest extended in places very nearly as far as, if not right up to, the east coast of Africa, and forest "islands" still remain in Southern Abyssinia and to the south of Mt. Elgon in Kenya Colony (the Kakamega Forest).

Sir Harry Johnston, in his comprehensive work, "The Uganda Protectorate," published at the beginning of the century, has drawn attention to the fact that in part of southern Abyssinia and on the western slopes of Mt. Elgon, and also in Kyagwe of the Buganda Kingdom, were to be found natives of definite pygmy affinities, and he has recorded that Uganda in the first instance was probably peopled by pygmies.

It is evident that in recent times the greater part of the region south and west of the Victoria Nile and west to the Congo border, and possibly in addition, extensive areas further east, were part of the "Rain" forest. One has only to witness present-day ruthless forest destruction to appreciate the pace at which de-forestation can be accomplished.

It is interesting to learn that within a few miles of Kampala are to be found traces of a people known as Nakalanga who are undoubtedly of pygmy origin.

In the past, on account of their hunting proclivities, they were also called Ba-teemba, *i.e.*, "people of the nets."

Unfortunately, Sir Harry Johnston does not appear to have placed on record a great deal about the Kyagwe pygmy strain, and nowadays the highly civilised Baganda seem to find distasteful the suggestion that they have any connection with a pygmy stock, so reliable evidence is well-nigh impossible of acquisition.

In other words, the Baganda are ashamed of their poor relations, so what in Sir Harry Johnston's day was accepted as fact, is now relegated to the realms of fancy.

This is not an isolated instance of deliberate endeavour to cut adrift from the savagery of the past, for not long ago python worship and crocodile worship seem to have been indulged in freely, while at the end of last century many of the Baganda readily ate elephant and hippopotamus meat, which at the present day is simply not done.

In the world-famous "Lutembe" we have a relic of crocodile worship; and recently a European planter in Kyagwe came across numerous well-beaten trails leading through dense jungle to a python coiled around a pile of eggs, to which had been made offerings of eggs, vegetables, coffee berries, groundnuts, pieces of coloured cloth, cents, etc. But let any one enquire about python worship, past or present—and, in the terminology of the film world, overwhelming surprise is at once registered, coupled with studied ignorance."

Careful enquiry has, however, elicited a certain amount of fairly authentic information on the subject of the Nakalanga. Personally, I have come across an undersized and primitive type of native in the scanty settlements to be found here and there in the heart of the forest.

I have been told that historically there is no knowledge of a dwarf tribe though whole families of Nakalanga were known not long ago, and it is believed that a few families still occur.

In Kyagwe more Nakalanga are found than anywhere else in the country, and the existing Nakalanga type, generally speaking, is a result of fairly frequent throw-backs.

The present-day erudite Muganda, scornful of association with humble origin, will tell one that the Nakalanga is an accident, in fact the joke of a forest god. Superstition, which equally should be relegated to a primitive past, is invoked to confute the laws of heredity.

A south-eastern portion of the forest is said to be the abode of the god Nakalanga, and is called by his name. In old days this god was worshipped by the local populace. Nowadays if the dwellers in Kyagwe have four or more children, the god is responsible for number four being a Nakalanga—this is the god's joke.

This is of course a simple way of refuting humble origin, and it is curious that in 1904 when the first provisional survey of the Mabira was made, the blue print is marked Mabira-Nakalanga Forest. It rather seems as if the whole locality at that time was known equally as Mabira or Nakalanga. The name Mabira is indicative of forest, and I imagine that Nakalanga referred to its association with the dwarf type or Nakalanga which peopled it. I have questioned many individual Muganda on the subject of the etymology of the expression Nakalanga, in the hope of ascertaining that it refers specifically to a type and not a tribe, but I am afraid with little result.

Individuals unfamiliar with Kyagwe have variously understood Nakalanga as referring to "a great forest" or "a dwarf people". If further questioned in regard to the half-pygmy and pygmy of the western border, they have

invariably referred to them by their tribal names, and not generally, as one would expect, by the term Nakalanga. The Mabira pigmy tribal name was possibly lost in a dim past.

The Government survey of 1909 refers only to a small portion of the forest in the south-east of the Mabira region as Nakalanga.

A great stumbling-block in one's quest is the fact that within the last twenty-five years the population of Kyagwe has been subject to various alien influences, and in consequence, reliable inhabitants of long-standing acquainted with its history are few and far between. Most of the population of the huge island of Buvuma were moved into Kyagwe when that island had to be evacuated on account of sleeping sickness. It is true that fifteen years later they were permitted to return whence they came, but many remained behind. Latterly, Bagishu in increasing numbers have been settling in this country—and so forth. That the prevalence in Kyagwe of a very definite dwarfish strain is direct evidence of a pygmy association I do not question for a moment.

As regards fauna and flora, the Mabira is unquestionably West African forest—and "Rain" forest at that, as opposed to savannah. It is accepted without demur that in common with certain forest regions in South Abyssinia and in Kakamega, south of Mt. Elgon, that it was once linked with the equatorial "Rain" forest, and accordingly the claim that it was previously inhabited by true pygmies seems to me beyond argument. It is rather entertaining that the educated Muganda should treat the whole matter as a jest, an ingenious method of disowning an inconvenient ancestor.

The Mabira Forest came into prominence early in the present century at a time when the exploitation of wild rubber in Africa had developed into a highly paying proposition, though as far as this particular forest is concerned it never fulfilled its high expectations.

At one time nearly half-a-million wild rubber trees (*Funtuma elastica*) were being tapped, but the prohibitive cost of clearing exceptionally dense forest to get at individual trees coupled with the disappointingly poor yield per tree, with the added difficulties of transportation to the coast of the finished article, combined to render the somewhat haphazard method of tapping vast quantities of trees spread over extensive areas highly unprofitable, and this in spite of the fact that rubber had on occasion commanded a price as high as Shs. 12 per lb. Compare this with the miserable 4d. per lb. or less the commodity now fetches.

The East Africa and Uganda Exploration Syndicate, who had had interests in Uganda as early as 1900, obtained the lease of the Mabira Forest, on the advice of Dr. Cuthbert Christy, in June, 1906; and the Mabira Forest (Uganda) Rubber Company, Ltd., was formed to operate the concession.

The Company was formed actually as a rubber-producing company, but the term "rubber forest" is scarcely applicable anywhere in the Mabira, although it had been anticipated eventually to attain an annual output of 500,000 lbs.

from the wild rubber. These expectations were never realised and it was not long before the Company had to turn to cultivated imported species for its supplies of rubber. There also occurs in this forest the spurious rubber *Funtumia latifolia*. The heaviest stands of *F. elastica* opened up for tapping averaged about 120 trees to the acre.

James Martin, familiarly known as "Martini" to many of the older residents of the Protectorate, an Administrative Officer of the early days who had had an amazing career, was one of the first managers. If one can believe all one is told, Martin's debut in Africa was being ship-wrecked at Zanzibar in company with a crew of free-booters. He was too mild for his companions, and in consequence, unpopular. He then got a job with the Sultan of Zanzibar, whose army for some time he commanded. Subsequently he obtained employment in the British East Africa Company under the late Sir Frederick (then Mr.) Jackson. He was at first posted to the Rift Valley and later moved to Uganda, and at one time was magistrate in Entebbe.

Dr. Cuthbert Christy, in addition to being a company promoter, was an African explorer and scientific naturalist of distinction. He lost his life in the Congo in 1932 most tragically, being gored by a wounded buffalo and lingering on painfully for three days before death mercifully put an end to his sufferings. He was under the impression that one day in 1906 he saw a bongo in the early morning hours at the edge of a forest clearing. With diffidence I suggest that he saw no more than an adult harnessed antelope (bushbuck) magnified by the mists of early morn. At any rate since then there has never been a trace of such a beast in the Mabira.

Originally the whole area of the forest was included in the Company's concession, but latterly the actual forest has been given up and the Company's holding reduced to a specified total acreage represented by seven widely-separated plantations.

The vicissitudes of "planting" have seen in turn the abandonment of the wild for cultivated (introduced) rubber, of ceara rubber, of the more profitable para rubber, and of *Arabica* coffee (unsuited to the excessively wet conditions). Now *Robusta* coffee appears to be the main foundation on which the Company's fortunes are based, and if one can judge from extent of crop alone, and ignore the vital factor of prices for produce, there should be fine prospects for the future. In the event of rubber returning to a price of 6d. per lb. considerable profit should be assured.

I am indebted to the Conservator of Forests, Mr. N. V. Brasnett, for a general description of the forest, "which is a compact block and was tapped for rubber in the days when wild rubber was a practical commercial proposition. It presents an imposing appearance on account of the fine height, growth and girth of many of its trees.

At one time all the trees between 18 inches and 18 feet in girth contained in four strips running through different parts of the forest and making up 126 acres in all were enumerated and measured. The enumeration sheets showed an average of over 75 trees per acre composed of 50 different species, of which the



Elephant havoc in a banana shamba.

[Photo. by C. R. S. Pitman]

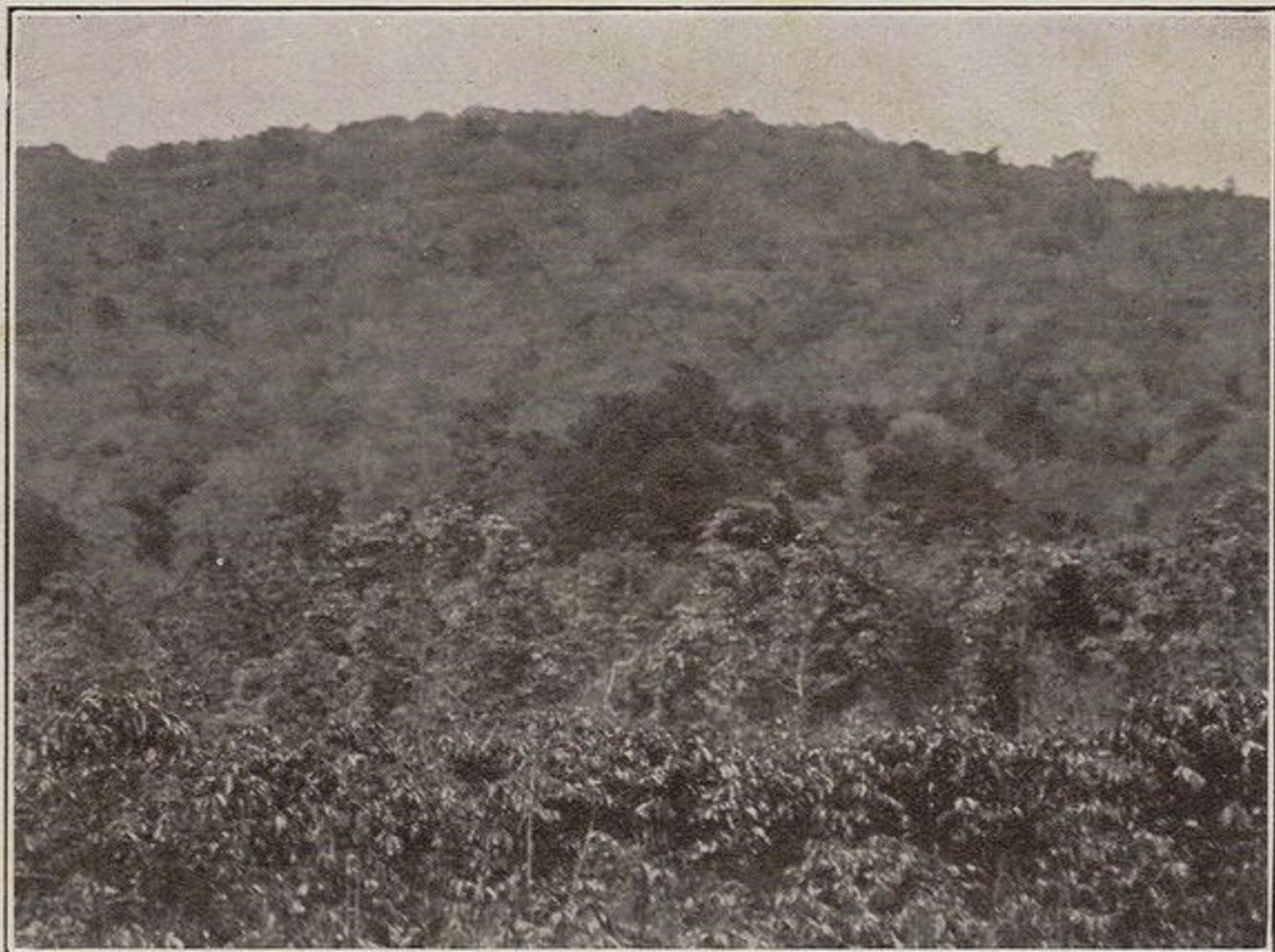
(e)



Paw-paw trees smashed by Elephants at front door of hut.

[Photo. by C. R. S. Pitman]

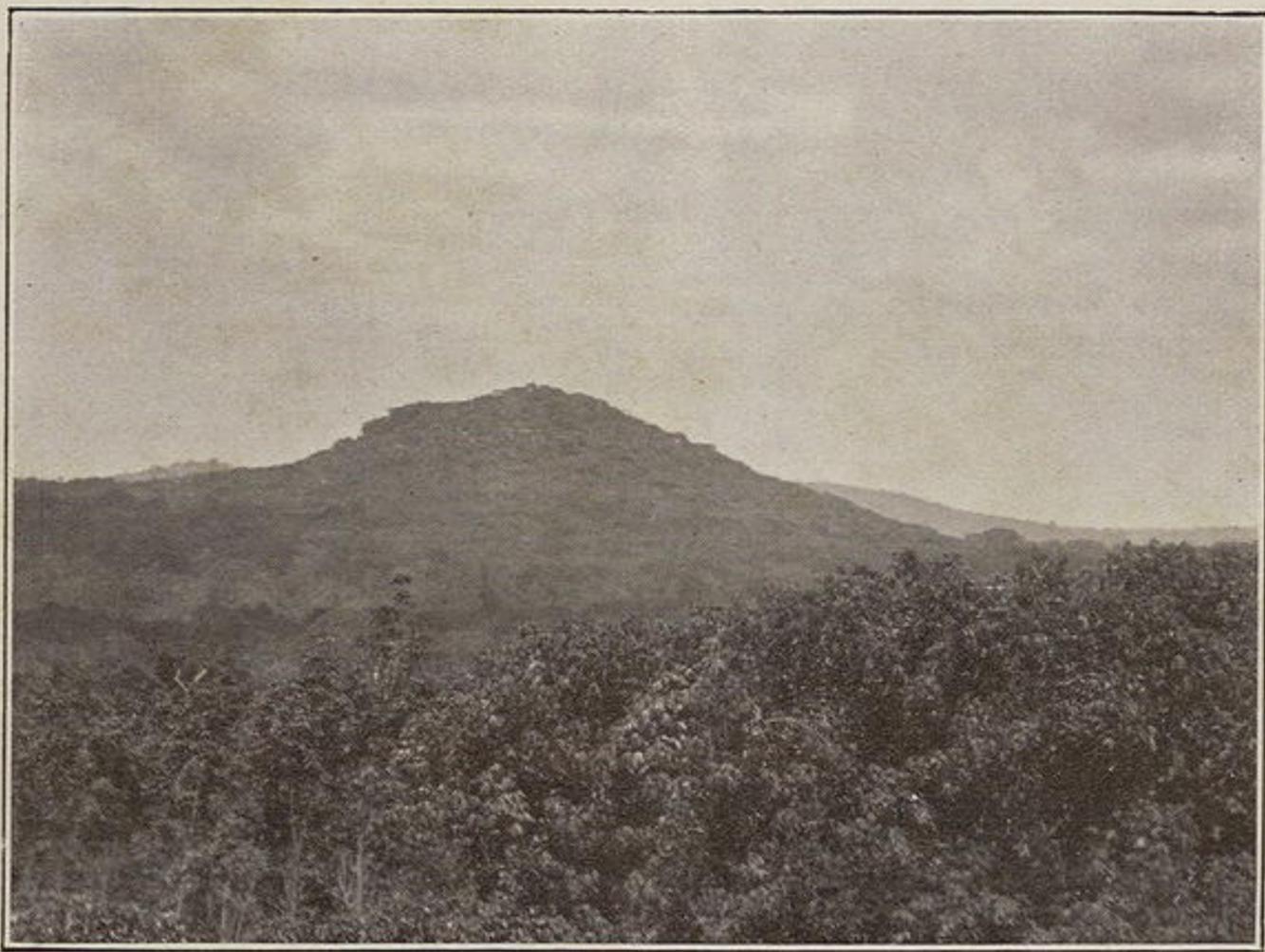
(f)



Hill in the Mabira Forest.

[Photo. by C. R. S. Pitman]

(g)



Robusta Coffee, Rubber and typical forest. [Photo. by C. R. S. Pitman]

(h)

valuable cabinet woods *Entandrophragma angolense*, *E. cylindricum* and *E. utile* ("Miovu" and "Mukusu"), and *Lovoa Brownii* ("Nkoba") between them averaged 0.8 trees per acre, and *Maesopsis Eminii* ("Musizi") 2.2 trees per acre.

Among the other species were *Albizia* spp., *Markhamia platycalyx* ("Nsambya"), of which some magnificent examples occur (these were all in full flower, August—October), *Celtis* spp., *Maba abyssinica* ("Mpimbyi"), *Chrysophyllum* spp., and other sapotaceous trees, while a tree called "Lufugu" which has so far escaped identification was the commonest. *Xylopia Eminii* ("Nsagalanyi") growing about 30 ft. is very prominent in the underwood."

Although a fair quantity of valuable timber trees of huge size occur the cost of exploitation of any one species is unlikely to be profitable, as nowhere is found a definite stand of a particular type, and one probably has to move a mile or two to find the next of a kind suitable for felling.

Species of valuable mahogany occur sparingly, also numerous types of wild fig, some of immense size.

Traces of the wild rubber tapping remain plenteously in many parts, trees frequently shewing the transverse cuts more than twenty feet above the ground.

Forest giants with immense buttressed bases, typical of trees lacking tap roots of sufficient strength and depth, and which in any case are a necessity to keep erect trees of excessive height and top-heavy super-structure, are of especial interest.

Beautiful flowers of every hue are common according to season—particularly lovely are mauve *Thunbergia* sp. near the streams, and a dark foliaged creeper with scarlet flowers of an exceptionally vivid colour. Pink and scarlet balsams, scarlet cannas, purple acanthus (at the forest fringe) and a host of other flowering shrubs and plants add to the beauty of the place.

Many parts of the forest are subject to seasonal inundation, and there occurs vegetation peculiar to the swampy conditions.

The dark humid forest abounds with all manner of fungi of strange shapes and odd colours.

Growing out of the ground in dark, damp places is found a peculiar reddish type of everlasting flower, two to three inches in diameter, which is a species of root-parasite (*Thonningia ugandensis*).

There must be dozens of varieties of ferns, some in the depths of the forest, others in luxuriance amidst the undergrowth at the edge, and still others high up on the forest trees.

The curious parasitic, large-leaved plant, popularly known as "elephant's ear" and not unlike a cabbage, a common feature of the forest trees and the rubber plantations, is in reality a species of fern. It is not surprising that marvellous orchids, usually at great heights above the ground, are not uncommon.

On the forest fringe where the Company's plantations are situated the rainfall is not as heavy as one would expect.

During a residence of a few weeks it appeared always to be raining in certain parts of the forest, especially in the low-lying valley of the Musamiya River,

and it is possible that in a rather restricted locality the annual fall may be as much as 80 inches; but generally 70 inches would be exceptional, and I believe that the plantation records indicate an annual average of about 65 inches only.

The forest, of course, attracts rain and at the same time makes rain. It is very curious to watch the forest literally smoking immediately after rain, as condensation above the forest at once takes place, and small wisps of mist rise everywhere out of the trees to form solid clouds which float away, usually to return in dense masses later. If one happens to be in the forest while this condensation is going on, one finds actually a certain amount of precipitation taking place from the misty cloud masses which are forming. Camping under such conditions is not exactly attractive. The forest is so dense in most parts that one can stand in it during torrential rain without getting soaking wet.

Many varieties of mosquitoes abound in the forest, and the "mbwa" fly—a species well named "*damnosum*"—occurs in its myriads and viciously bites at every opportunity.

In time, however, one gets accustomed to the persistent activities of this little pest; but I have been informed that there are places in the Mabira region in which this minute nuisance makes human settlement impossible.

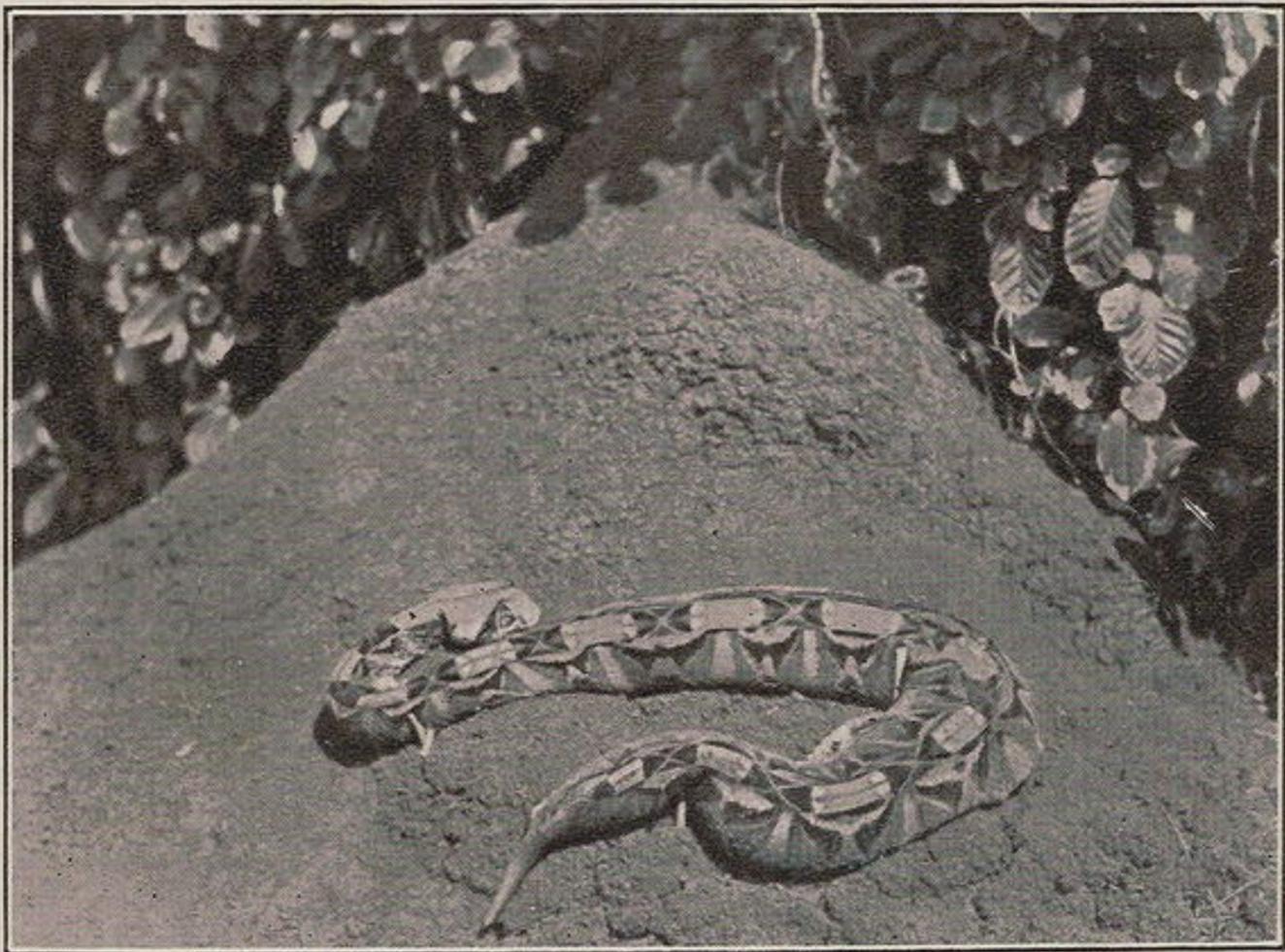
There is not a great range in temperature, and the climate generally resembles that of the more humid parts of the northern shore of the Victoria Nyanza; the nights are apt to be stuffy, and electrical activity often excessive. Some of the electrical storms experienced in the forest present a wonderful spectacle, but are very terrifying and awe-inspiring—the lightning being particularly frequent and vivid.

The forest's West African association is very noticeable in the fauna, and amongst the mammals there are curiously strange species such as the potto, the pangolin or scaly ant-eater, and the brush-tailed porcupine. The potto is a nocturnal species of slow *lemur* which has several quaint characteristics, though as a pet, on account of its timid, unfriendly habits, it is uninteresting. I have read that it is capable of little mischief with its small teeth, but all the specimens I have handled—and they are several—could bite fiercely, inflicting deep and extremely painful wounds. They are very powerful, and in attack amazingly quick. They bite to the bone, and before relinquishing their grip indulge in a good gnaw. It is impossible to make them release a hold, and short of killing the vicious little fighter, one has to let it wreak its wicked will before it lets go. It's an odd little beast, with short woolly fur and comic stumpy tail, quite out of proportion to everything else; big, staring eyes, dilating at night to almost wholly pupil glowing like orbs of fire. It looks rather like an animated "teddy bear." It climbs with agility, and is equally at home walking upside down like a sloth. On its hefty bull neck there are about half-a-dozen sharp projections from the cervical vertebræ; with these it endeavours to frighten an aggressor who may endeavour to seize it by the back of the neck. It jerks its head backwards dealing blows with the sharp points. On the forefeet it has fingers with nails and the forefinger is almost lacking, being represented by a mere stump. The digits of the hind feet are also furnished with nails except on the index, where the nail is replaced by a long claw. These curious little creatures subsist on wild



Potto. (p. 12).

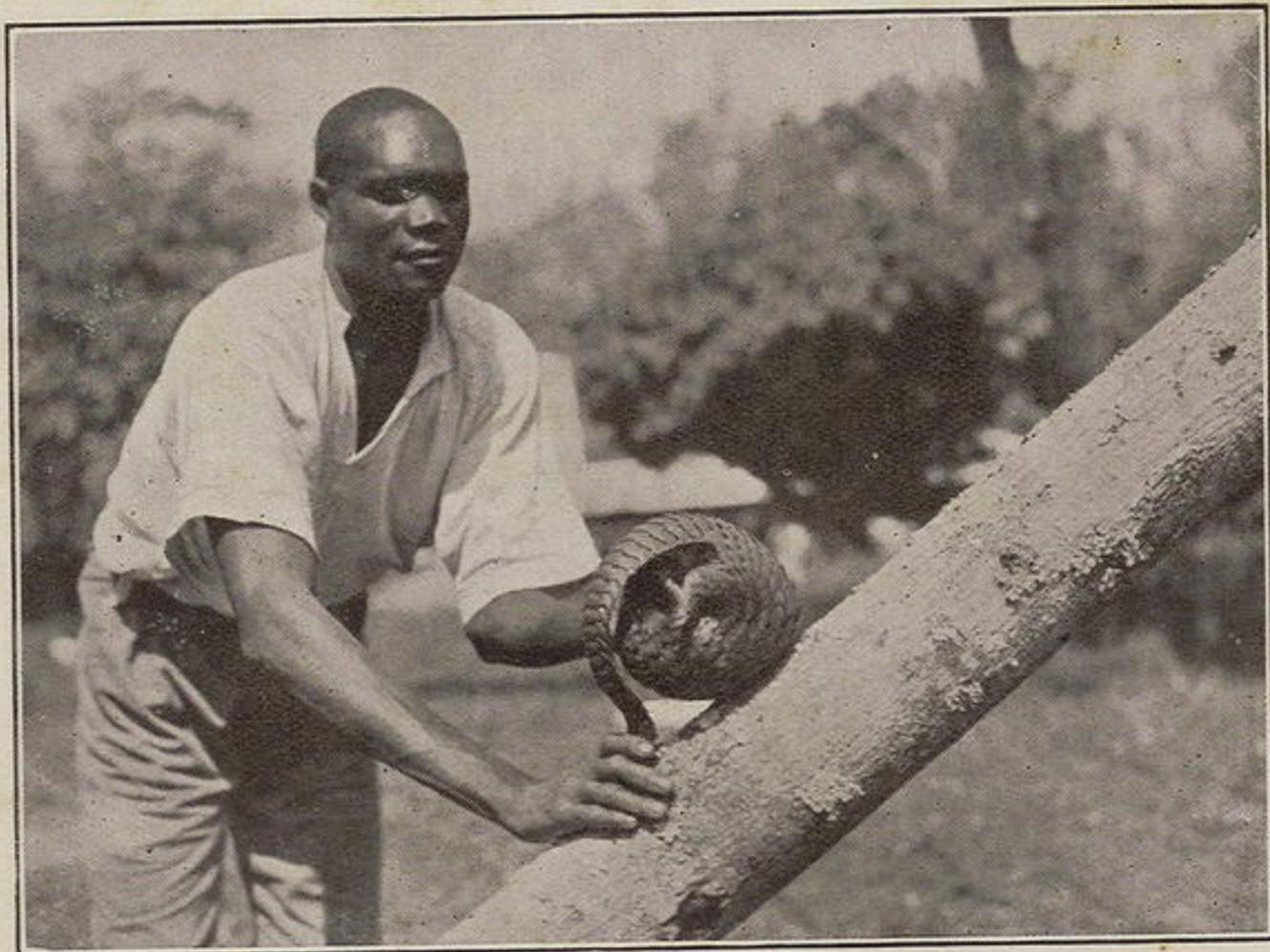
[Photo. by C. R. S. Pitman]



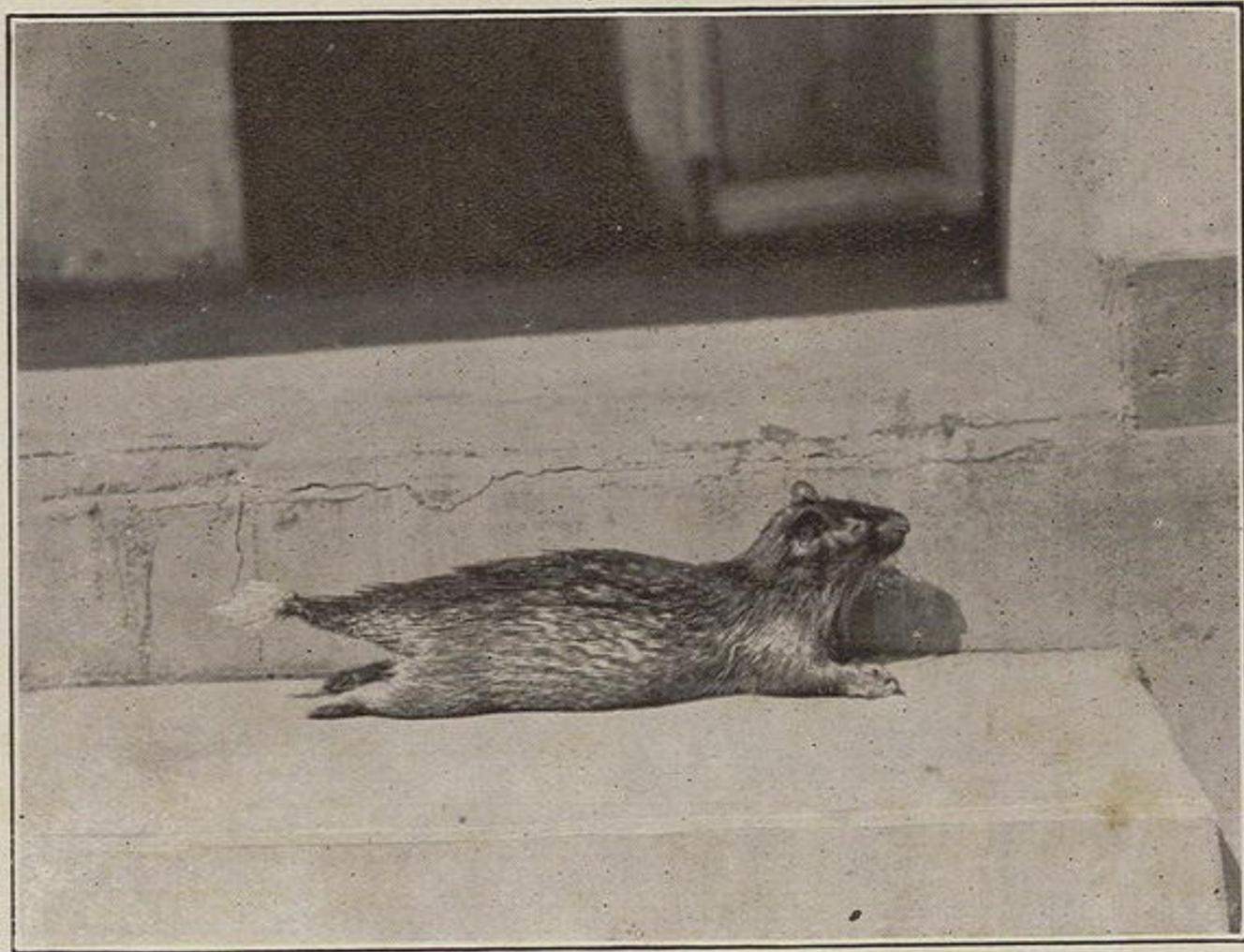
Gaboon Viper (*Bitis gabonica*). (p. 14).

[Photo. by C. R. S. Pitman]

(To face page 12).



Pangolin, or Scaly Ant-eater-when frightened. [Photo. by C. R. S. Pitman]



Brush-tailed Porcupine.

[Photo. by C. R. S. Pitman]

(To face page 13).

fruits, vegetable matter, insects, grasshoppers, moths, millipedes, lizards, nestling birds, etc., etc. They rarely if ever drink, apparently obtaining sufficient moisture from the food they eat.

The pangolin, scaly ant-eater or scaly manis, is an antediluvian object, thickly covered with sharp, overlapping scales—actually matted or compressed hair—and attaining a maximum weight of seven pounds. It has an overpowering and unpleasant smell, is an active tree-climber, coils up into a tight ball as a means of defence, and has an awkward galloping gait. Sometimes it moves all four legs independently, but when desiring to move fast it resorts to its climbing action, when the hind feet are brought simultaneously up to the forefeet. At times it can run and climb with remarkable agility. Its powerful feet equipped with long, sharp claws, enable it to dig with extreme rapidity. Its weird cylindrical, tapering tongue covered with a sticky secretion is specifically adapted for obtaining white ants in quantity from excavations dug into termite heaps, these insects constituting its staple diet. Its long, flattened tail is powerfully prehensile; at the tip, on the under surface, is a finger-like process which is evidently sensitive and serves several purposes. With the tip of the tail curled round one's finger, the pangolin will easily support its whole weight. It has no teeth, so cannot bite, but when being handled care must be taken not to allow the hand or fingers to be entrapped when it suddenly rolls into a ball, as serious damage may result. It is a difficult species to keep in captivity on account of its almost exclusive diet of termites and other small insects.

The brush-tailed porcupine and the potto, both West African species, each reach the eastern limits of their range in the Kakamega Forest, south of Mt. Elgon.

The common porcupine occurs in the neighbourhood, but not in the true forest, where it is replaced by the brush-tailed species, which in appearance is more like a glorified rat than a porcupine.

Although this species was known to occur within the Uganda Protectorate, especially in Kyagwe, from where quills were once brought me from a specimen caught by dogs and eaten by some of the local populace, as far as I am aware there are no authenticated records of specimens having been collected. The National Collection at South Kensington contains no Uganda examples.

Within the last two years a long series has been collected in the Kakamega Forest, resulting in a new race being described at the British Museum (Natural History). A pair recently obtained in the Mabira where the species is evidently not uncommon are probably referable to the Kakamega race, which differs in certain respects from the various races described from further west.

The male weighed eight, and the female five, pounds.

The straight, somewhat pig-like tail is terminated by a tuft of diminutive, whitish, hollow quills, which make a perceptible rattling when shaken; the body generally, and the back particularly, is covered with small, flat quills a few inches in length, and out of the centre of the back there usually grow two or three of the long cylindrical, normal type of porcupine quills. In diet, it is almost exclusively vegetarian. The local native name is "Sekeso."

In and about the forest both the common and harnessed varieties of bushbuck occur, and there will also be found elephant, buffalo, water-buck, bush pig in abundance, a rare type of red duiker, innumerable "Ntalaganya" or blue duiker—a tiny antelope having a maximum weight of about ten pounds, guinea-pig like tree hyrax which after dark make the forest resound with their discordant cries, red-tailed monkeys with quaint white noses and an attractive chirruping cry or whistle, black mangabeys—another type of monkey associated with forests of exceptional humidity, many types of squirrels, giant rats totalling two-and-a-half feet from nose-tip to end of tail, wild cats, genets, leopards of huge size and remarkably dark pelage, and occasionally lions. Not long ago a man-eating pair of lions were killed under dramatic circumstances, one of them being accidentally trapped in a native hut and burnt. This is not a complete list. There are of course many others, and the smaller the mammals, usually the less known are they and more likely to be interesting.

One of the most beautiful birds is the forest guinea fowl, quite unlike its cousin of the savannah, as it has lovely bright blue plumage, well spotted paler blue and a curious, black, velvety tuft of feathers or crest on its head. Its tail is relatively long. It is found in flocks which wander a great deal. These flocks are frequently seen early and late on the forest roads and tracks. The grotesque looking black-and-white hornbill occurs in abundance, and in the morning and evening at certain times of the year drives one to distraction with its incessant raucous croaking. The secretive tambourine dove is heard everywhere, its pleasing rapidly-uttered purring cry reminiscent of a small child who is pretending to be a motor-car. The brilliantly plumaged turacos or plantain-eaters, often referred to as "louries," are found in great variety. They are all noisy, but their cries are not unattractive. In some it is individual, in others it is a communal chorus; in one species it resembles the alarm note of a cock-pheasant; some have glorious crimson wings and green plumage, others are blue generally, and others deep blue and crimson. Unless one is an ornithologist or particularly interested, a long list of birds or their descriptions is apt to pall, so I shall confine myself to reference to the more interesting or prominent varieties. A few eagles, owls and other birds of prey also occur; barbets and woodpeckers, species which nest in trees, are found in abundance and in great variety. Many species of sunbirds resplendent in their lovely metallic plumage, including the largest and loveliest—*Cinnyris superbus*—are plentiful. Forest finches, waxbills, robins, thrushes, chats, and various skulking sombre-hued species, though not so much in evidence, are generally plentiful. Gorgeous little kingfishers flash along the pathways and clearings in sunshine like animated amethysts. In the streams small mud-fish and tiny fry-like types are found sparingly. Black crabs are common. Toads and frogs, as is only to be expected under the prevalent conditions, are ubiquitous. Amongst the frogs are found several species of tree-frogs peculiar to the Mabira Forest; there is also the curious plathander with huge, fan-like webbed feet and minute, beady eyes.

It is the snakes, however, more than any others of the vertebrate fauna which emphasise the Mabira's West African affinity. The puff-adder—a savannah type—does not occur at all, but this does not mean that the large vipers are absent, for there are found the Gaboon viper—*Bitis gabonica*—and the rhinoceros-horned viper—*Bitis nasicornis*—both of which are particularly deadly, the former growing to an

exceptional size. One gigantic specimen brought to me wrapped in a pig-net and tied to a stout pole was 5 ft. 8½ inches in length and weighed 18 lbs. (its stomach was empty). Its horned head was 4¼ inches long and 4¾ inches broad: its diameter was 6¼ inches and its girth 14½ inches. Its wicked fangs exceeded 1½ inches. Another specimen weighed 10 lbs. The rhinoceros-horned viper or river-jack is a markedly smaller species with a total length rarely exceeding 3 feet, and a maximum weight of about 4 lbs.

Both species when their coats are old and a change of skin is imminent are extremely dingy in appearance, but in their new raiment they are the most amazingly coloured snakes in Africa. The top of the head of the Gaboon viper is mainly clay colour, in the river-jack it has a wide black javelin-shaped mark pointing forward. The former is covered with broad, flat, papery scales like the puff-adder; in the latter they are small and very rough, especially along the back. The coloration of the former is a mixture of dark and light browns, purple, yellow and crimson; along the back is a series of pale yellowish, elongated rectangles. In the latter there is a mixture of crimson, olive and velvety-black, and down the back a chain of nicked, bluish oblongs divided longitudinally by a yellow line.

Both species are particularly deadly, the toxin they secrete being both nerve and blood destroying—a rare combination.

Snake poisons are normally either one or the other; if dealing with cold-blooded creatures it will be the former, if warm-blooded such as rodents and birds, the latter. Both these snakes are true "Rain" forest species. It has been suggested that their remarkable coloration acts as a warning; but, as for the greater portion of their lives they are extremely shabby in appearance; it is more likely that the bizarre jumble of colour after a change of skin is really protective to a certain extent. It does not warn but blends most effectively with the light and shade, the dark and pale fallen leaves of the forest background. The Mabira cobra—*Naia melanoleuca*, the black-lipped cobra, which more often than not is called a "black mamba," is another forest species, the savannah representative being the black-necked or "spitting" cobra—*Naia nigricollis*. The Mabira cobra does not exceed a few pounds in weight, and the largest examples handled were not much more than five feet. In colour this snake above is a highly glossy black like polished glass, and blue-grey below, with several broad bands of yellow or creamy across the throat. It is exceedingly poisonous and extremely active. The huge vipers on the other hand are very sluggish, but when roused amazingly quick in attack.

A species of green mamba—*Dendraspis jamesonii*—is not uncommon, though one specimen only was obtained. Thereby hangs a tale, for the six-foot example brought to me was scarcely injured, save for a few taps across the back, and to my horror was casually looped over a stick without bond of any description, and when placed on the grass began to move away! As soon as its neck was pinned to the ground it struck repeatedly at the stick holding it down. Its captor stated that he was afraid to damage the creature too much in case he lost the promised reward! The green and black mamba of South and Eastern Africa, representing different phases of the same snake, does not occur in Uganda. The Uganda mamba is a snake of extreme slenderness with

big, benign-looking eyes, but possessing highly poisonous fangs situated so far forward in the jaw that they appear to be right under the serpent's nose. The colour is bright grass—or yellowish—green for the anterior third, greenish with black between the scales for the medial third, and black with a bluish bloom like one gets on a plum for the basal third. I have reason to believe that Uganda species attain a length of as much as 10 feet.

The four above-mentioned species are the outstanding deadly kinds, and are all typical of the "Rain" forest.

The python is common, and the late Sir Frederick Jackson records a skin measuring twenty-two feet which had been obtained from a specimen killed in the Mabira forest.

One of the commonest snakes is a harmless, creamy-bellied, black species, of whose correct identification I am uncertain.

The back-fanged or mildly-poisonous snakes do not appear to be common, and are represented mainly by the boomslang or tree-snake—*Dispholidus typus*, and the hissing sand snake—*Psammophis sibilans*. The boomslang is usually green or brown in Uganda, though elsewhere it has other colour phases, and has a very big eye, and rarely exceeds five feet in length: superficially it is very like the mamba. There is a harmless species, jet-black above and below, with a very blunt snout and big eye, resembling the boomslang, which also occurs and of which I obtained a five-foot example. The hissing sand snake may reach nearly six feet and is generally brownish or olive above, and yellowish below: it is quite harmless, but the boomslang is dangerous. Several of the smaller harmless species which have recently turned up in a Mabira collection have not previously been recorded east of the Ituri and Semliki forest region of the Belgian Congo: this also applies to a species of hinged tortoise.

Night-adders occur probably more plentifully than one imagines: and there is also a species of *Atractaspis*—a slender, shiny-black viper with narrow head, addicted to burrowing, deadly, and unexpectedly alert and quick in attack. It has an unpleasant habit of feigning death when frightened—a regular trap for the unwary.

The harmless earth snakes of the genus *Typhlops* are found everywhere. They are not unlike the English slow worm or blind worm, reach two feet in length and are highly polished in appearance. Some are fatter than one's largest finger. They eat insects. This is by no means an exhaustive list, but the foregoing notes embrace the more important species.

It is hoped that this brief description of the Mabira Forest and its animal and vegetable kingdom associates will serve as an incentive to those who are unaware of its existence, though near at hand, to make its early acquaintance. I am confident that a visit will amply repay the trouble.

Bark-Cloth Making in Buganda.

By A. D. F. T.

If it cannot be said of the plantain of Buganda that it has been put to the manifold uses claimed by Pliny for the papyrus of Egypt, or by Roscoe for the *Agave Americana* of the Aztecs, it is probably only because it has not been tried. I have no doubt it would make quite good paper, and I know it makes efficient mackintoshes, because I once had one. But then the Baganda did not need paper till they made the acquaintance of the modern product, and there was always the bark-cloth tree to furnish clothing by a process simple, quick and inexpensive. As it is bark-cloth we are concerned with at the moment, I will say no more about the banana. But I have always felt that it has been rather thrust into the back-ground by its more romantic sisters, though its uses are probably no less numerous or valuable, and I could not resist this chance of putting in a word for it.

It is probable that the Baganda brought with them to Uganda the art of making bark-cloth, and it has been fostered by them ever since; but it was not till the reign of Semakokiro, probably towards the end of the 18th Century, that they covered their nakedness, inadequately concealed by skins, with bark-cloth, which they adopted as a national dress. In the reign of Mutesa (1857-1884), that remarkable person allowed certain favoured people to substitute cotton clothing for bark-cloth, but it was abandoned by the general public in favour of European materials only in comparatively recent times. Yet even to-day it is very commonly used as clothing by women of the upper classes in their homes and generally by the poorer people.

As blanket, mattress, shroud, bundle-wrapping and so on, it is invaluable. And Europeans, attracted by its rich shades of red-brown and its texture, employ it for panelling, cushions, chair seats, blotters, calendars, and such other things as an imaginative mind may suggest. They even employ those on which patterns are described (*ntone*)* as wall decorations.

It was Zakaliya who first showed me the method of making bark-cloth. Awakened early one morning on *safari* by the wood-pecker tap of his mallet as it came across the quiet valley, mingling with the lowing of cattle and the sound of women's voices as they hoed their fields, I got up to investigate. Picking my way along a narrow path between walls of dew-drenched elephant grass, cheered by the jolly song of a black chat, I presently emerged into a clearing. There he was, squatting in a low thatched shed open on three sides, hammering a bark-cloth (*olubugo*) on a log which stretched the 18 feet of the shed's length. The

*With a black dye obtained from a plant called by the Baganda "Muzukizi" (*Hypoestes Phaylopsioides*).

disreputable remains of a brown felt hat sat on his head, his face was spattered with latex from the beaten bark and his hands moved only quicker than his tongue. Two merry eyes twinkled when he saw me. "Good morning, Sir, you are up early this morning," he said, laying down his mallet, his old face creasing into a thousand wrinkles of a toothless but altogether charming smile. "My luck's in to-day that you should come and visit me." "But mine will be in too, Zakaliya, if you will tell me how you do your work," I replied. Now, Zakaliya was not only an artist in his trade but a born showman, and it was a lucky fate that led me to him. Not only did he like describing the process of bark-cloth making, but he enjoyed the superiority which the telling gave him in the eyes of the curious, who by this time had gathered round. "That I will," he exclaimed. And, prompted by occasional questions, he shewed me in the next day or so the mysteries of an art centuries old. "Of course," he began, "I am making only a small bark-cloth and working on it myself. I began at 7 o'clock and should finish by 12. This came off a small tree; but if I had taken the bark of that tree," pointing to one 12 inches in diameter and uniform in thickness to a height of ten feet, where it branched, "I could get two bark-cloths, and others yield three or even four. And sometimes two or three of us work together on a big bark cloth. Well, suppose we begin with the bark removed from the tree and ready for converting into cloth (*oku-komaga*). I first begin beating it on the underside with this mallet—the *esaka*—whose face, as you see, has big grooves," holding up a mallet with a 9-inch handle and a head shaped like a mill-stone, 6 inches across and 3 inches deep. "When the underside has been beaten twice, the upper surface is then beaten twice. That is, the bark is laid on this log" (the *mukomago*, made usually of the *Muzanvuma* tree¹, which resembles the silver birch, or sometimes of the *Omugwe* tree² or even an old *Kokowe*³), "and then hit with a mallet backwards and forwards from one side to the other, the mallet changing hands in the middle of the cloth and every square inch receiving attention." He started with it rolled up at his feet and gradually unrolled it as he beat, pushing it over the log away from him rather as a sewing machine moves on material as it is sewn. When he had beaten it on both sides, he folded it in half and beat it again using more force; and before he had finished with *esaka* the bark was folded into four thicknesses. Then the next mallet with finer grooves, *etenga*, came into use and the bark—which had begun to assume the appearance of cloth—was folded yet again into eight thicknesses. Zakaliya then hit with greater force and the cloth rapidly increased in width. The process was then reversed as the bark-cloth was gradually unfolded and the beating progressed. Small sections of cloth were folded into pads and beaten with great energy, and the unfolding went on steadily.

It is now that more men are called in to help if they are available, since a big bark-cloth will cover the whole of the log.

When the cloth has been beaten as much as is good for it, and all moisture is expressed, it is spread in the sun for 5 to 15 minutes, according to the strength of the sun. It then has its final beating (*ku'tula*) with the third and

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1. *Sapium Mannianum*, Benth.
 2. *Ficus* sp.
 3. *Ficus Eryobotrioides*, Kunth.

last mallet (*nzituzo*) whose grooves are the finest of all, the bark-cloth being opened out entirely for this beating. All mallets are made of *Nzo*⁴, a very hard, tough, white wood. Incidentally, these last for years and when not in use are kept carefully tied up in old bark-cloth. One beating on each side completes the third stage, and the cloth is then spread in the sun for some hours to dry out thoroughly.

Next day it is left in the sun all day to be coloured, since the colouring is done purely by the sun, except in Buddu where the process is helped by steaming. It is true that the *Njeruka Mutuba* produces a very light, almost beige-coloured cloth, but mainly the varying shades of red are obtained by leaving the cloth in the sun for varying periods—several days in the case of the very dark red cloths.

When the colouring process is completed, the cloth is left out in the night air for a couple of hours, from about 6 o'clock to 8 o'clock, to get damp. Next morning it is folded into a strip about 8 or 9 inches wide and kneaded with the hands and fingers for a couple of hours, by which time it should be soft and ready for sale, after tears have been mended with bark fibre and any necessary patching has been done.

As I was looking on, several people came to buy from the stock in Zakaliya's house. One, a man from Buddu, knew how they made bark-cloth there and, with frequent promptings from Zakaliya, he described the process to me. The best bark cloths, it appears, come from Buddu in Masaka district, and the next best from Mawokota in Entebbe district. The very best bark-cloth is always steamed. When the bark is removed from the tree it is put in a big earthenware pot containing water but separated from the water by a grid of sticks so that the bark does not actually touch the water. It is then steamed for an hour or so; and the making (beating) thereafter occupies a week, a little beating being done each day. This is supposed to improve the colour and possibly the quality. "Does not really dark-red bark cloth—the *kimote*⁵—come from Buddu!" ended our friend triumphantly.

"What I want to know, Zakaliya," I asked, "is how many kinds of bark-cloth tree there are—only the one?" "No, two" answered a bystander, instantly regretting his temerity. Turning on him, Zakaliya looked him up and down scornfully, and at last said, in effect: "Poor fool! do not try and shew off when you know nothing about it. Bark-cloth is made principally from various kinds of *Mutuba*⁶ tree. The best is undoubtedly *Nembe*, next I should put *Namalombe*, then possibly *Ntesa*. There are very many others such as *Setuba*, *Sango*, *Ndwagi*, *Kampindi*, *Namweruka* and *Ntawebwa*, to mention a very few. Bark cloth is also made from the *Kokowe* tree, but that is used only for children; and also from a tree called *Kirundu*⁷ which yields a cloth suitable for bags. But neither is much good." Turning back to me, he proceeded: "Bark is removed

4. *Teclea nobilis delile*.

5. So called from a man named Timothy, corrupted into "Kimote," who came from Kanabulemu. "Kimote" cloth is synonymous with Sango cloth.

6. *Ficus* spp.

7. *Antiaris usambarensis*, Engl.

from a tree for cloth-making only when the tree is in full leaf and the sap is up, then the bark comes off easily. A tree's life is about 20 or 30 skinings or more if the tree is looked after: that is, bark can be removed every year from one tree for 20 or more years if desired. The first bark ever taken off a tree is called *kitentegere*, and it is inferior to subsequent takings, which are called *musala*. To-morrow, Sir, if you come back," added Zakaliya, exhausted more by talking than by work, "I will shew you how to take the bark off the tree (*oku-subula*)." After a pause, "I have been making bark-cloths since Mwangi's reign," as if to convince me that, anyhow, after 40 years he should know something about it.

The next day at about 5 o'clock in the afternoon Zakaliya conducted me to a tree he had especially selected. With a machet he began by scraping the outer covering of the grey bark (*bikuta*). Then, propping against the tree his ladder (*nkandago*), resembling an inverted wish-bone with three rungs, with a pad tied at the apex to prevent it from damaging the tree, he cut with a sharp knife round the piece of bark he wished to remove: first across, top and bottom (*oku-sala*), then longitudinally (*oku-tyemula*). He next cut from a bunch of bananas a section of the stalk, sharpened it, and inserting it in the incision made with the knife, proceeded to peel the bark (*oku-soka*). After detaching it with the pointed stalk (*kikolokomba*) as far up as he could reach, he caught hold of the bottom edge with both hands and gave it a sharp tug outwards (*oku-wewa*) and thus completed the operation. The bark lay at our feet looking like a trimmed python skin 9 feet 6 inches in length, 18 inches wide, and one-eighth of an inch thick. The scraping of the outside bark was completed, and the sappy under-surface (*obulebo*) was also then scraped (*oku-wala*). The whole was then rolled up, wrapped in banana leaves and put away for the night. The bark from the second half of the tree was then dealt with. As it would not be turned into cloth for a day or so (the bark must not be kept more than three days) it was not scraped, but rolled up, the outer surface outside, tied up in leaves and put away.

Then came the treatment of the tree, which I shall describe now, though it was carried out directly the bark was removed and before the final scraping. The white exposed part (*omubiri omuto*) has to be protected against the sun. This protection consists of wrapping green banana leaves, with part of the midrib removed, round the tree from top to bottom (*oku-sabika*) so that no part of the tree's surface is exposed. In rainy weather this covering is left on for three days; in dry weather for four. When the covering is removed, if the tree looks dry, it is plastered with wet cow-dung, and dry banana leaves (*sanja*) are tied in such a way as to hang down on the side exposed to the sun to form a shade (*oku-wembera*). The cow-dung is left on until it comes off of its own accord.

"Now I have told you about bark-cloth making" said Zakaliya as we sat smoking, his thin legs tucked away on one side, an old bark-cloth covering his spare body, and his hat a little more disreputable than before: "But it takes practice. You can hit more or less as you like for the first beating on each side, after that you must be careful not to hit too hard, otherwise you will tear the cloth. I thought you had done so once when you took the mallet.

I will remember to send you the piece you worked on, and since you insist on paying for it, it will cost you 3/-". The cloth which began as a piece of bark 9 feet 6 inches long by 18 inches wide and one-eighth of an inch thick is now 10 feet 6 inches by 7 feet 4 inches of tough cloth as thick as strong brown paper. It is as stiff as calico with the dressing in it, but with use it would become as soft as flannel. Bark-cloths cannot be washed, but then they are cheap, so why worry?

If, however, you are particular, you can always disinfect them by smoking them as you might a fitch of bacon.

Mutesa of Buganda.

By J. M. GRAY.

A great deal has been written at one time or other by travellers and missionaries regarding Mutesa of Buganda. One therefore owes an apology for attempting to add to what they have already said. Previous writers have described his failings and his vices. They have also been aware of the better and finer traits in his character. But the general impression left after one has read their works is that of an absolute ruler of a sycophant race, a man of regal bearing but a superlative egoist, always capricious and at times revoltingly cruel. In this paper I have not the slightest intention of attempting to defend Mutesa, but I wish to show that during his reign the kingdom of Buganda was confronted by political problems, the like of which none of Mutesa's predecessors had ever had to face. I also will endeavour to estimate the measure in which Mutesa himself was responsible for their solution.

For reasons, which were partly geographical and partly political, the Baganda were for many centuries practically isolated from the world, which lived beyond the immediate vicinity of the central lakes of Africa. About the end of the eighteenth century the barriers began to crumble. Cloth from the coast first reached Buganda in the reign of Semakokiro, who died at the close of that century (Kagwa—*Basebakabaka* p. 88); during the reign of Semakokiro's grandson, Suna, the first non-native of Africa arrived at the royal Lubiri. The first of these arrived about 1848 (Speke—*Journal*, p. 154). Others followed in his wake in search of ivory and slaves. They appear to have been a not wholly unattractive band of ruffians. At times for purposes of gain they were ready to stoop to much that was cruel and revolting, but they were at all times ready to take their lives in their hands and generally scrupulous in observing what in some respects was a remarkable code of honour. At least one amongst their number was a man of considerable force of character. Wholesale executions were at times almost the order of the day during Suna's reign. The average Arab or Swahili trader in Buganda was doubtless not over squeamish in regard to such matters and self interest restrained him from raising any protest. Ahmed bin Ibrahim, however, felt impelled to raise his voice against this butchery. On one occasion he rose on his feet and told Suna that both he and his victims had been created alike by Allah, that to Allah alone he owed his kingdom, and that it was a grievous sin before Allah to destroy those whom he had created. No previous king of Buganda had ever been addressed in such language, but Suna was struck by the bold rebuke. He asked to be told something more of this strange creed, which was no respecter of persons. Several conversations ensued between him and Ahmed bin Ibrahim, who proceeded to expound some of the elementary principles of Islam to the King (Kagwa—*Ebika*, p. 104). For a time Suna was an eager listener. He was

impressed by what he was told and his faith in his old beliefs was shaken, but he was not converted. Ahmed bin Ibrahim returned to the coast. Suna's interest in Islam does not appear to have long survived his instructor's departure. Certain of the Zanzibar traders were guilty of extremely high handed conduct in their dealings with the Baganda. Suna thereupon expelled them from the country and refused to allow caravans to proceed beyond the banks of the Kagera River (Speke—*Journal*, p. 265).

In 1857, Suna died of smallpox whilst leading an expedition into Kiziba (Burton—*Lake Regions*, II, 188; Rehse—*Kiziba*, p. 263; Kagwa—*Basebakabaka*, p. 123). He had some one-hundred-and-fifty recognised wives and left behind him over two hundred children (Kagwa—*Empisa*, pp. 65—71). Of these latter, sixty-one were sons of sufficient age to be deemed eligible candidates for the throne. One of these sons was Mutesa. His mother was a certain Gwolyoka of the sheep clan. She did not occupy a prominent position in Suna's household: nor does she appear to have been one of his more favoured spouses. When Mutesa was still a child, she gave offence to her lord and master by committing a trivial breach of etiquette and was promptly sold as a slave to a Swahili trader, who was in Buganda at the time and who carried her off to the coast. Before her departure she entrusted her child, Mutesa, to another wife of Suna, Muganzirwaza, of the elephant clan, the Queen-Mother who figures so largely in the works of Speke, Stanley, Mackay and others. Mutesa appears to have had a strong affection for his real mother and many years afterwards sent a special mission to the Sultan of Zanzibar with a request that she might be discovered and sent back to him (Munno (1915), pp. 115, 116, 160). He also had a very real affection for his foster-mother, whose clan adopted him and assumed responsibility for his upbringing. That education appears to have been conducted along the lines recommended by the elder Mr. Weller as being so eminently successful in the case of his son. The possibility of Mutesa ever taking his father's place upon the throne of Buganda seems to have been regarded as extremely remote.

Mutesa was aged about eighteen, when Suna died.

His selection was not due to any personal merit displayed by himself. Neither was it the result of any wish expressed by his father.

After selling the mother into slavery, Suna appears to have displayed not the slightest possible interest in the son. Mutesa owed his position to palace intrigue. The details thereof are too long to set out. Suffice it to say that Suna's Katikiro and the leading members of Mutesa's adopted clan found it convenient to choose Mutesa as king in preference to all other candidates (Kagwa—*Basebakabaka*, p. 126). The Katikiro, with the assistance of the Kasuju—the hereditary guardian of the king's sons—so staged matters that the clansmen and backers of the rival candidates were powerless to resist or offer any effective protest to Mutesa's nomination. Sixty-one of the sixty-three possible rivals of Mutesa were rounded up and put to death (Philippe—*Au Cœur de l'Afrique*, p. 23). The two survivors of this holocaust were infants and therefore not reckoned as dangerous. Both outlived Mutesa. One, Mayinja, was put to death in the civil war of 1888 (Kagwa—*Basebakabaka*, p. 65). The

other, Mbogo, was for a brief period during the civil wars following on Mutesa's death recognised by the Mahommedan party as king of Buganda, but subsequently formally renounced all claim to the throne in favour of Mwanga and died at a good old age in 1921.

Outwardly, the opening years of Mutesa's reign very much resembled those of his predecessors. The Katikiro, who had placed him on the throne in the hope that he had found in him a pliant tool for his own ends, had the inevitable disillusionment which had befallen so many Katikiros before him. In a few years' time, the young man decided that he was old enough to look after his own affairs and dismissed his benefactor with ignominy. There were the usual raids into the territories of adjacent rulers. Inside the Royal enclosure there were the usual conspiracies against Mutesa himself. Suna's prohibition on the entry of Arab and Swahili trading caravans was continued. Mutesa was therefore left untrammelled by what may be called foreign affairs and was able to pursue the same life as many of his predecessors had pursued. We depend for the story of these early years upon native tradition, but that tradition confirms the impressions of Speke and Grant. The portrait of Mutesa is not a favourable one as compared with that of Suna. His father had been a warrior from his childhood's days. Mutesa was fond of the chase, but left to others the leadership and dangers of the raids which he set on foot, being, however, very insistent upon a rigid account to himself of all the spoils of such raids. Suna's interest in matters theological had not apparently descended to his son. To all outward appearance, Mutesa was just a conceited, pleasure-seeking, and impossible young man, who had become intoxicated with the wine of absolutism.

Such was the first impression that any visitor to Buganda would have obtained of Mutesa at this date, but there was something more below the surface. The prohibition placed upon the entry of traders into Buganda was not in those early days unreasonable. Until Mutesa really felt secure in his kingdom, it was undesirable to have foreigners in the land, who not only might lend their retinues and their weapons to rival claimants for the throne but also might actively stir up rebellion for their own ends. In 1860 the embargo was removed (Speke—*Journal*, January 7, 1861) and the leader of the first caravan informed Mutesa of the presence of Europeans at the southern end of Lake Victoria. In the guise of traders or emissaries to brother rulers various of Mutesa's spies found their way south to spy upon this new race of men. Their reports were satisfactory and Mutesa decided to extend to the Europeans a cordial invitation to visit his kingdom.

A number of mixed motives appear to have prompted this invitation. Curiosity was undoubtedly one. Another was doubtless a desire to achieve notoriety as having achieved a record, which none of his predecessors had had the opportunity to achieve. But there seem to have been other motives which were not born of a mere fleeting whim. Speke and Grant have both narrated at length the story of their sojourn in Buganda. They each of them describe him as a selfish and irresponsible young man with one or two amiable traits as well as many others which were revolting and cruel. Both inveighed against him because his appalling egotism prevented him from concentrating for any length of time upon any rational topic of conversation, but in so doing, they

did not do him entire justice. Neither Speke nor Grant had any great mastery of any African language. It was somewhat difficult to maintain a prolonged conversation, when all intercourse had to be through the medium of an indifferent interpreter. Mutesa realised this disadvantage and, in order to get into more direct communication with his visitors, went so far as to learn a little Kiswahili—a fact, which at least shows that he was capable of concentrated application to matters of more than momentary interest.

Both Speke and Grant inveighed in particular against Mutesa's continuous procrastination in his promises to expedite their journey down the Nile. But a very good motive underlay this procrastination. Speke was continually seeking information in regard to Petherick, the British Consul at Khartoum, who had undertaken to proceed up the Nile to meet him. Mutesa had heard some vague rumours of a European traveller, who was exploring the countries to the north of Buganda. These rumours in actual fact referred to a Maltese named Debono, a none too reputable individual of whom Consul Petherick had a great deal to say. The reports, which came to Mutesa's ears regarding the activities of Debono and his agents, were none too reassuring. Debono maintained an armed part at Faloro in the Acholi country and his men waged more or less perpetual war on the countryside. A number of Bantu traditions recited that the lake regions had once been invaded by a light-skinned race, who had crossed the Somerset Nile and overthrown the existing rules of the land. There was a distinct fear in the minds of Mutesa and his advisers that history might repeat itself. If Speke were to get in touch with this mysterious European trader, he or the trader might return and overrun the land with their firearms and the days of Mutesa's reign would be speedily numbered.

Furthermore, when Mutesa decided to annul the prohibition on the entry of foreign traders, he was none the less firmly resolved that his country was not going to be used by such traders as a thoroughfare. He was resolved that Buganda should be the terminus of their trade route and that monopoly of distribution of their wares—and in particular of firearms—to countries adjacent to his own should remain in his hands.

There was considerable method therefore behind Mutesa's apparent procrastination and his attempts to induce Speke and Grant to make their way home by way of Busoga and the Masai country (Speke—*Journal*, March 3, 1861). Eventually, however, he succumbed to the importunities of his visitors and despatched them on the road along which they desired to proceed, possibly hoping that Kamurasi of Bunyoro or else the Nilotic tribes to the north of Bunyoro might effectively bar the way. As we know, after further delays at Kamurasi's court Speke and Grant made their way down the Nile to Gondokolo, where they met Baker and his wife.

The next news, which reached Mutesa, was that Mr. and Mrs. Baker had reached Kamurasi's court. This news was none too reassuring—more especially when it was followed by the news that Debono's freebooters had followed in Baker's wake and but for Baker's personal intervention would have made Kamurasi a prisoner (Baker—*Albert Nyanza*, pp. 369 *et seq*). Whilst he bore no particular affection for Kamurasi, Mutesa did not want to see the country of his hereditary enemy entirely overrun by a band of marauders. He wanted

Bunyoro as a buffer state between himself and the "Turk" slave traders. Spies were sent in the guise of emissaries to pay Baker a complimentary visit and to learn what was really happening in Bunyoro. (Baker—*op. cit.*, p. 368).

It was undoubtedly with the profoundest relief that Mutesa heard from these spies that Mr. and Mrs. Baker had returned, whence they had come. Mutesa's desire to close his country to "Turk" traders from Khartoum received the cordial support of the Zanzibar traders, who naturally did not want to have competitors in the market. They poured cold water on any project for permitting a "Turk" caravan to enter Buganda and painted their rivals in the worst possible colours. Rumours of the misdeeds of these latter, which were no doubt exaggerated threefold in transmission but none the less had a very dark and solid substratum of fact, convinced Mutesa that the Zanzibar traders were right in their advice. He therefore did everything he possibly could to encourage the importation of firearms by giving the Zanzibar traders increased facilities for trading in slaves and ivory.

Shortly after the departure of Speke and Grant, Mutesa had a serious illness. (Kagwa—*op. cit.*, p. 138). Hitherto he had led an extremely active life. The enforced sedentary life, which he was compelled to lead for a number of months after this illness, seems to have had a considerable effect upon his character. It was at this stage of his career that the selfish and rather repulsive overgrown schoolboy of Speke's days became the man with something more than fleeting glimpses of his responsibility as the ruler of a large and populous kingdom. His trade in firearms brought him into close touch with his Arab and Swahili visitors and he learnt that they could do more than supply him with cotton goods and firearms. His conversations with them showed him that they had a civilisation and a creed, which were better than anything then to be found in Buganda. He resumed once more the lessons in Kiswahili, which he had begun during Speke's visit, and also started to learn Arabic. His instructors were a certain Muley bin Salim and a certain Ali, nicknamed by the Baganda "Nakatukula." They found him an apt and intelligent pupil endowed with a splendid memory. He not only learnt to speak Kiswahili well and Arabic tolerably well, but also expressed a desire to learn to write in these languages. It will be remembered that at this date Kiswahili was invariably written in Arabic script. An old and tattered Koran, which had been left with Suna by some trader, was found somewhere in the royal enclosure and brought to Mutesa, who proceeded laboriously to learn to transcribe the characters appearing in it. (Kagwa—*Basebakabaka*, p. 139; Long—*Central Africa* p. 120).

These elementary attempts at calligraphy led on to enquiries about the contents of the book. What his instructors told him attracted him. He mastered some of the elementary principles of Islam. His royal office was too much wrapped up with the old religious cults of his country for him to shake himself entirely free of his pagan ideas, but at this stage of his career he adopted many of the outward forms of Islamic ritual. By 1867 the new religion had found such favour with him that he introduced an official calendar on Islamic lines. His zeal carried him so far that he declared it to be a criminal offence for his subjects not to greet him or each other in Arabic fashion and with the appropriate Arabic words. He brooked no opposition from the

stalwarts of the old beliefs. Twelve of his subjects, who failed to comply with his edict, were put to death. The influence of the Zanzibar traders increased and several of the Swahili amongst their number were appointed to chieftainships. (Kagwa—*Ebika*, p. 106).

In 1869 Mutesa's neighbour and rival, Kamurasi of Bunyoro, was gathered to his fathers. According to invariable custom several of Kamurasi's innumerable sons proceeded to fight each other for the vacant throne. On this occasion the strife was prolonged and embittered by the intervention of the ivory traders from Khartoum.

"Each aspirant sought the aid of the traders. This civil strife exactly suited the interests of the treacherous Khartoumers. The several companies of the slave-hunters scattered over the Madi, Acholi, and Unyoro countries represented only one interest, that of their employer, Agad and Co. Each company commanded by its independent vakeel arrived in Unyoro, and supported the cause of each antagonistic pretender to the throne, and treacherously worked for the ruin of all, excepting him who would be able to supply the largest amount of ivory and slaves. The favourite sons of Kamurasi were Kabarega and Kabugumire, while the old enemy of the family, Rionga, the cousin (?) of Kamurasi, again appeared on the scene. The companies of Aboo Saood supported all three, receiving ivory and slaves from each as the hire of mercenary troops." (Baker—*Ismailia*, p. 284).

But the ivory hunters were not the only people to take advantage of this fratricidal war. Mutesa saw the opportunity of weakening the power of his country's hereditary enemies by fomenting strife and by endeavouring to secure the throne for his own nominee. He decided to support Kabugumire and sent an army to his aid. The Baganda found Kabarega supported in considerable strength by the ivory traders, who had built themselves a fort. Though they were only armed with spears the Baganda attempted to storm the position. The traders easily repulsed the assault with their firearms. One of Mutesa's favourite chiefs was mortally wounded and the Baganda incontinently fled. Therefore Kabarega secured the throne of Bunyoro. (Kagwa—*Basebakabaka*, p. 141).

The failure of this expedition gave Mutesa serious grounds for reflection. There was not only the resulting loss of prestige. The ivory traders had managed to make their own nominee ruler of Bunyoro. They had also shown by their superior weapons and marksmanship that they might prove formidable allies of their nominee and a serious menace to Buganda. Having burnt his fingers badly, Mutesa decided to make a complete *volte face*. Kabugumire had fled to Buganda. He was told that his presence was not wanted and retired to the Chopi country on the north banks of the Somerset Nile, where he was murdered by certain adherents of Kabarega. A conciliatory embassy was sent to the new ruler of Bunyoro to express Mutesa's congratulation upon and entire approval of his selection (*Bikunya*, p. 69; Fisher, p. 167). Learning his lesson from the defeat of his ill-equipped army, Mutesa decided to arm as many as his fighting men as he possibly could. Trading caravans from Zanzibar were encouraged and large quantities of firearms imported. By 1871, Mutesa was

able to place in the field over a thousand men armed with guns. (Baker—*Ismailia*, p. 264). In the previous year he had received information that certain of the Khartoum traders wished to visit his country. The Zanzibar traders raised a protest, but Mutesa decided to allow the Khartoumers to enter Buganda. These visitors received a rude shock after their experiences with the petty chiefs in the Acholi country. They brought with them little or no stock in trade for purposes of barter. In so far as business was concerned they were hopelessly outbid by the Zanzibar traders. Mutesa's previous suspicions of them were confirmed. Throughout his life he never gave anything away without receiving its equivalent or more than its equivalent in return. He gave them clearly to understand that they were not wanted. They "slunk back abashed and were only too glad to be allowed to depart. They declared such a country would not suit their business; the people were too strong for them." (Baker—*Ismailia*, p. 264; Mr. Churchill to Earl Granville, Nov. 18, 1870 (State Papers)).

Though he dismissed the Khartoum traders with ignominy, Mutesa was shrewd enough to realise that they might still prove a formidable danger to his independence. He had sufficient wisdom to realise that the slave dealers had an organisation and a discipline, which might easily outmatch his thousand firearms. He therefore looked round him for assistance. The hereditary enmity between his people and those of Kabarega and of other neighbouring rulers made a confederation out of the question. The Zanzibar traders had, however, told him of the power and influence of their sovereign, Seyyid Burgharsh, Sultan of Zanzibar, at their suggestion he resolved to send an embassy to endeavour to conclude some form of alliance with him and to ask for shipbuilders to be sent to him. The embassy was also entrusted with another purely personal mission, which discloses one of the more pleasing traits in Mutesa's character. Vague rumours had reached him that his mother, who had been sold into slavery some fifteen to twenty years before, had been discovered down at the coast. The emissaries were therefore charged with the task of finding her and bringing her back. They were given a large quantity of ivory as a present to the Sultan of Zanzibar and also a young elephant, which actually reached the coast, and was sent by Dr. Kirk to Bombay. The embassy, however, failed in its object. The members thereof were two years in their journey to and from the coast. On their way they were plundered of most of their ivory by the Wanyambo. They failed to find Mutesa's mother. Seyyid Burgharsh received them with great courtesy, but failed to realise the fact that they came with a serious offer of an offensive and defensive alliance. The emissaries were sent back laden with gunpowder, guns, soap, gin and brandy and a polite message to their master. David Livingstone met them at Tabora on their return journey. Two at least of the members of the caravan entered the explorer's service. One, Majwara, was with Livingstone when he died, and was one of that little band of faithful servants, who so devotedly carried their dead master's body to the coast. (*Munno* (1915), pp. 115, 116, 160; Waller—*Last Journals of Livingstone*, II., 176; J. A. Grant in *P. R. G. S.*, XLII., 268).

The return of this embassy from Zanzibar more or less coincided with another event, which filled Mutesa with a certain amount of alarm. In 1872 Sir Samuel Baker arrived in Bunyoro with an armed force and formally annexed

the country in the name of the Khedive of Egypt. Baker left behind him a name amongst the natives as the one great and good administrator under the old Egyptian regime. But Kabarega had suffered much at the hands of other of the Khedive's servants and subjects; he also firmly believed that on his former visit to Bunyoro Baker had tried to bewitch him, when he accidentally dropped some cigar ash in some coffee which Baker offered him to drink. It is not surprising therefore to learn that Kabarega attacked Baker's camp at Masindi and eventually forced him to retire fighting a costly rearguard action all the way to the Nile. (Baker—*Ismailia, Passim*; Fisher—*Twilight Tales of the Black Baganda*, p. 161).

Mutesa received the news of these events in Bunyoro with mixed feelings. It was not unpleasing to him to hear that his hereditary enemy had become involved in a war and that his royal residence had been burnt. But "*jam proximus ardet Ucalegon*" is a tag, which would have had a strong appeal to him. If Baker's Forty Thieves burnt Kabarega's enclosure today, Mutesa's enclosure might share the same fate tomorrow. Mutesa therefore decided that he had better intervene. He sent a force six thousand strong into Bunyoro and instructed the commander to get into touch with Baker. In his *Ismailia* Baker treated this as a demonstration of Mutesa's friendly disposition towards the Egyptian Government and of his desire to rid Bunyoro of the "cowardly and treacherous Kabarega." But, when he reached Foweira a few years later, Dr. Felkin was informed that a very different motive had prompted the despatch of the expedition. Rionga, the chief of the Chopi district on the banks of the Somerset Nile, mistrusted Baker as much as did Kabarega and sent an urgent message to Mutesa to send troops to aid him in attacking Baker. The six thousand men were accordingly despatched, but delayed on the road. Rionga tried to keep Baker with him by outward professions of friendship, but Baker withdrew to Fatiko in the Acholi country before the Baganda arrived. When Mutesa found that his men had arrived too late, he sent a message to Baker to inform him that they had been intended to assist him in his war against Kabarega (Wilson—*Uganda and the Egyptian Sudan*, II., 41-2). Felkin's authority for this story is admittedly that of a single informant, but it receives corroboration from Baker himself. It is somewhat significant that the spokesman of the envoys, whom Mutesa sent to Fatiko, was one of the Zanzibar traders. Equally significant is the fact that Baker was informed that Mutesa "begged me to visit him as soon as possible, as he had only one desire, *i.e.*, 'to see my face' and that 'he did not wish for presents.'" (Baker—*Ismailia*, p. 447). The man whom Emin Bey subsequently described as the most arrant beggar of all African potentates whom he had ever met, was not likely to decline gifts without good reason. When we remember the length of time during which Arab traders, Speke, Grant, and subsequent missionaries were involuntarily detained at Mutesa's court, it seems clear that Baker was to be invited into a trap. Mutesa wanted a valuable hostage as security against future Egyptian aggression. The trap, however, failed, Baker sent one of his soldiers, who had formerly served under Speke, in his place and shortly afterwards himself resigned his post under the Egyptian Government. (Baker—*Ismailia*, p. 449).

Charles Gordon succeeded Baker in his post of Governor of the Khedive's Equatorial Possessions. He brought with him to the Soudan an American named Chaillé Long, who has written two different accounts of his experiences in the Kedivial service. These two accounts differ in a large number of important details and in many important respects are not corroborated by contemporary evidence from other sources. They have therefore to be accepted with a considerable amount of reserve. According to Long himself he was personally instructed by the Khedive behind Gordon's back to make his way to Uganda and to obtain from Mutesa a treaty ceding his country to the Egyptian Government. Whether this is correct or not, the fact remains that in April, 1874, he set off with five other persons and a horse from Gondokoro and in due course arrived—horse and all—at Mutesa's court. It cannot be denied that this was a remarkable achievement carried through with a very inadequate equipment. No doubt if personnel and equipment had been more adequate, Long would never have achieved his object. In the light of subsequent facts it seems clear that the party would have been refused admission to the country.

At the very first audience, which Long had with Mutesa, thirty men were seized at a given signal from the King and done to death in sight of his visitor. "The scene," said Long, "as revolting as it was unexpected, froze me and my companions with horror." (Long—*Central Africa*, p. 106). There can be no doubt that it was a carefully thought out plan designed to produce the effect, which it did produce. With all his reckless disregard for human life, Mutesa, as missionaries and other travellers testify, did not as a rule order executions to take place in his presence. The human sacrifices, which were ordered from time to time to propitiate offended deities, always took place at some secluded spot. Political offenders and ordinary malefactors were usually haled forth from Mutesa's presence to meet their doom. It is significant that the only Europeans, who were regaled by Mutesa with these appalling holocausts, were both of them emissaries of the Khedive. The executions witnessed by Long were something more than mere displays of omnipotence by a revolting egoist. They were calculatedly designed to impress Long with what might be the fate of any man who incurred Mutesa's displeasure.

On July 19, 1874, a day which he has variously described as the day of or the day before his final departure from Buganda, Long produced a document to Mutesa and requested him to sign it. Mutesa, who was proud of his newly acquired calligraphy, affixed his signature in Arabic. Long then went on his way rejoicing with the precious document preserved in a place of security. That document was a treaty whereby the entire headwaters of the Nile—including the kingdom of Buganda—were ceded to the Egyptian Government. (Long—*My Life in Four Continents*, I., 157; *Central Africa*, p. 306).

Long has preserved in his books a discreet silence as to the precise circumstances in which Mutesa was induced to sign this document. The intermediary between Mutesa and Long had been an Arab trader from Zanzibar, who out of self interest would not have been likely to take any part in the transaction if he had been aware of the actual contents of the document. Furthermore, throughout the whole of Long's visit Mutesa had manifested his nationalism in a manner most unusual for an African ruler. He had most

ostentatiously displayed a white and red banner, which he had declared was the national flag of Buganda, and had insisted on its being carried wherever Long's Egyptian flag was carried. There can be no doubt whatever that Mutesa was not in the least aware of the purport of the document, which he signed.

None the less Long reported that "Mteza, King of Uganda, had been visited and the proud African monarch made a willing subject; and his country, rich in ivory and populous, created the southern limit of Egypt." All of which information would have given both Long and the Khedive far greater cause for self-congratulation, if Mutesa had really been aware of what he had purported to do. The treaty was a veritable scrap of paper. Doubtless the incident of signing the document was completely forgotten by Mutesa within a very few hours of its occurrence. At any rate subsequent to signing Mutesa continued to rule in the same autocratic way as ever, oblivious of Khedives and other potentates.

Nevertheless Long's achievement led the Khedive to develop grandiose schemes for the annexation of the whole of Africa as far south as the Equator. For a time, at any rate, Gordon was filled with the same enthusiasm for a Greater Egypt, which he believed might be instrumental in destroying the slave trade. He mooted an ambitious project for opening up Central Africa and expanding the Khedive's dominions by "concentrating myself in the south near Kabarega, and trying to do the only thing, which will open Africa, *viz.*, coming down on the coast at Mombasa Bay, north of Zanzibar I hope the Khedive will let me do it. It is the only mode of helping these countries." (Birkbeck Hill—*Colonel Gordon in Central Africa*, p. 68). It was a remarkable scheme born of a very imperfect knowledge of distances and geography. It completely overlooked the political rights of the Sultan of Zanzibar, which Gordon had heard of as "a large place, (which) is near Mombasa." (*Ibid.*) He had apparently not heard that the Sultan claimed to exercise very real sovereign rights over Mombasa and the adjacent coast.

In order to carry out his plan Gordon decided that he must obtain a permanent footing in Mutesa's territory. He therefore proposed "to get the Nile communication open to the Lake, to start Chippendall on the Lake, to put boats on the Victoria Nyanza, to say goodbye." (Birkbeck Hill—*op. cit.*, p. 78). With this object in view he decided to send an expedition to consolidate the position, which Long had apparently gained in Buganda. The Khedive had proposed to send two sheiks to teach Mutesa the Koran. A magnificent coach was also despatched from Cairo to be delivered to the Khedive's supposed vassal. It was too cumbersome a present to be delivered at once. Perhaps if it had reached its destination, Mutesa would have written to acknowledge receipt in words similar to these, in which he accepted another present from Gordon himself a few years later, namely, "You sent me sometime since the saddle and bridle for a horse; I have no horse and would thank you if you would send me one." (Long—*My life in Four Continents* I., 164; *Central Africa*, p. 132; Gessi, p. 79; Birkbeck Hill—*op. cit.*, p. 160).

Gordon decided to entrust his mission to a Belgian named Ernest Linant de Bellefonds. At the same time he despatched another officer, Romolo Gessi, to hoist the Khedivial flag at Magungo on the shores of Lake Albert (Gessi—

p. 316). Linant was given an escort of seventy men and supplied with a number of carpenters to build a house on European lines near Mutesa's residence. A Mahomedan sheik also accompanied the expedition. Linant was to have started in the last days of 1874, but was delayed by illness. He met with further delays *en route* and did not reach Mutesa until the following April. (Birkbeck Hill—*op. cit.*, pp. 58, 60, 106; Long—*My Life in Four Continents*, I., 164). His reception is best given in his own words:—

“ The King is standing at the entrance to the reception hall. I approach and bow low to him *à la turque*. He holds out his hand, which I press. I immediately perceive a sunburnt European to the left of the King, whom I imagine to be Cameron I address the traveller, who sits in front of me on the left of the King: ‘ Have I the honour to speak to Mr. Cameron?’ ‘ No. Sir; Mr. Stanley.’ ” (Stanley—*Through the Dark Continent*, I., 204, 205).”

I do not propose here to give any account of Stanley's expedition other than to say that he was despatched to Africa on a journey of exploration under the auspices of the proprietors of the *Daily Telegraph* and the *New York Herald*. Nor do I propose to discuss Stanley's general character. Both in his lifetime and after his death he has had innumerable critics. Not all of them have been entirely just, but there is no denying the fact that Stanley had not a few failings and faults. Whilst in Buganda he appears to have shown considerable tact and regard for the feelings of his hosts and left a remarkably good name behind him amongst a people who are prone to be extremely critical of foreigners. Of one side of his character there can be no possible doubt. Stanley was a man of very strong and very earnest religious convictions. There was an almost child-like simplicity about those convictions, but they were there and they were very genuine.

One must be left to imagine what were the feelings of Mutesa when he learnt that two armed parties were advancing to his capital from two different directions and that a third party was threatening Bunyoro. Certain of his advisers urged him to refuse admittance to both. Others were in favour of his receiving one party and not the other. Mutesa, however, decided to receive both. As Linant chose to go by the name of Abdul Aziz, Mutesa may well have classified him as a Turk. On the other hand, he was well aware that Stanley was of the same race as Speke and Grant. He may therefore have thought that he could play Stanley off against Linant. At any rate he realised the impolicy of offering serious opposition to either party. He decided to allow both men to enter his country. He took, however, one precaution. As he did not want the arrival of both men to coincide, he gave instructions to his outlying chiefs to delay the approach of Linant until after the arrival of Stanley by those passive methods of outward ceremony and courtesy, which contemporary writers describe as so dear to the hearts of the Baganda.

The result was that Stanley reached Mutesa from the southern end of Lake Victoria five days before Linant. Though he little knew it at the time, those five days had great consequences both for Mutesa and for Buganda.

The story of Stanley's visit to Buganda has been so often told that it is unnecessary to retell it at any length here. Stanley was much struck by Mutesa's intelligence and, whenever opportunity offered, led the conversation round to the subject of Christianity. Linant, who was a Calvinist, was present at several of these conversations and displayed a sympathetic interest in Stanley's efforts to convert Mutesa. Eventually Stanley penned his memorable letter to the *Daily Telegraph* calling for missionaries to come to Uganda and water where he believed he had planted. The letter was entrusted to Linant, who subsequently returned to Labore where he met Gordon. From Labore the letter was despatched to London and in due course was published in the *Telegraph* to meet with the response which is so well known.

Stanley genuinely believed that he had sowed seed in good ground, but external evidence shows that he was duped by Mutesa—in the light of after history one must say splendidly duped. It is only by appreciating this fact that one can realise the heart-breaking difficulties which confronted the very earnest band of missionaries who answered Stanley's call.

Gordon, who once described Mutesa as an "abib" or slave, decided to take no notice of this letter, but it contained a great deal of sound sense. The writer warned Gordon to keep his hands off Bunyoro and further warned him that, if he continued in his purpose, there would be an appeal to Bombay. If the Bombay Government did not intervene, Mutesa would enforce his request by some "other road." If Gordon wished to keep on good terms with Mutesa, let Bunyoro be treated as a buffer state.

Having decided to disregard the letter, Gordon now resolved to put into execution his plan of securing Lake Victoria for the Khedive. For this purpose he proposed to dismantle a 108 ton steamer, which had been placed on the Victoria Nile and carry it overland to the Lake. (Birkbeck Hill, p. 172). He decided to go personally to Mruli, where the Somerset Nile debouched from Lake Kioga and thence overland to the Ripon Falls, and after hoisting the Khedivial flag on the Lake to return back by the Nile to Mruli. If possible, he wished to avoid trouble with Mutesa but was resolved to carry out his plans, whether Mutesa liked it or not. In order to have a base for his operations he sent his advance force of 160 men under Nuehr Aga and Mohamed Effendi to establish a stockade in Bulondoganyi, a district which actually lay in Mutesa's dominions.

For various reasons Gordon delayed his own advance. In August, 1876, he received the somewhat surprising information that his advance party was not in Bulondoganyi, but had proceeded at Mutesa's request to his capital, Rubaga. Gordon's commentary on receiving this news was "As it is Mutesa's own wish, I will let the 160 soldiers stay there. It is his own fault. I wished him to preserve his independence, and therefore chose the Nile route, viz., Urodogani and Cossitza (Ripon Falls). But now Mtesa has the garrison at his capital, a very few men will suffice for those places, as I can make him a prisoner if he is troublesome. You see, also, I secure all the Zanzibar trade; and in fact he has virtually given up his independence . . . I know what he will be at, viz., trying to reduce the officers and men to go and attack his enemies." (Birkbeck Hill, p. 178).

It may be that Gordon accurately guessed one of the motives which prompted Mutesa to invite the enemy inside his gates. But it seems clear it was not the only motive. If he was to have an armed body of foreign troops in his territory, it was preferable to have them at the capital, where possibly he might be able to cope with them, rather than on the outskirts of his kingdom, when the task of dealing with them in case of hostilities would be much more difficult. From his conversations with Muley bin Salim Mutesa had already appreciated the fact that Islam had loftier ideals than had that strange medley of animism and hero worship, which constituted the religion of his people. His few conversations with Stanley showed him that Christianity had ideals and held out hopes, which were even greater than those of Islam. But his early upbringing and the fact that much of the religion of his people centred round his kingship made it impossible for him to divorce himself utterly from the ancient beliefs of his country. If upon one occasion he showed himself disposed to favour Christianity and upon another Islam or Paganism, such disposition was not the result of any temporary conviction. The motive therefore was purely political.

Nothing illustrates the truth of the foregoing better than an incident, which happened within a very few days after Stanley's memorable letter was penned. That letter was handed by Stanley to Linant on the shores of the Lake Victoria. Stanley then set sail to circumnavigate the lake. Linant stayed six weeks longer at Mutesa's court. During that time he was requested to build the first brick building which was ever constructed in Buganda. This building was a mosque. One is led to wonder what were the feelings of Linant after the very recent and earnest conversations which he had witnessed pass between Mutesa and Stanley. As he chose to style himself Abdul Aziz in front of the natives, he perhaps rather invited this unconscious piece of sarcasm. Linant attempted to comply with Mutesa's request, but was not entirely successful in his efforts at brickmaking. He was unable to bake his bricks and left the mosque in an unfinished condition. (Kagwa—*Basebakabaka*, p. 147; Schweitzer, I., 33).

Linant's visit was marked by one other incident, which hardly evidenced that change of heart in Mutesa in which Stanley so genuinely believed. One day Mutesa picked up a gun, which Stanley had given him, and, bidding Linant watch, deliberately fired at one of his many wives, blowing her head off. He then turned to Linant and asked him if he did not consider him a good marksman. It was an unusual act of ferocity on Mutesa's part. He never attempted any such act in the presence of Stanley. As in the case of Gordon's other emissary, Long, the outburst appears to have been deliberate and done for the special purpose of impressing an emissary of the "Turk" government. (Long—*My Life in Four Continents*, I., 165).

Linant in fact did not find favour with Mutesa for many reasons. He refused to cooperate with Mutesa in an expedition against the Bavuma. (Birkbeck Hill, p. 178). At a later date Stanley proved more obliging. Linant's refusal is to his credit but it did not enhance his popularity. But this refusal was not the only ground for his unpopularity. Though he found Linant "a very agreeable man" Stanley could not but observe "that there was a vast difference

between his treatment of his men and the manner in which I treated mine, and that his intercourse with the Waganda was conducted after exactly opposite principles to those which governed my conduct. He adopted a half military style, which the Waganda ill-brooked, and many things uncomplimentary to him were uttered by them. He stationed guards at the entrance to his courtyard to keep the Waganda at a distance, except those bearing messages from Mtesa, while my courtyard was nearly always full of watongolehs, soldiers, pages, and children." (Stanley—*op. cit.*, I., 206).

As the accredited agent of the suzerain power, Linant felt he must exercise some measure of outward authority. As neither Mutesa nor his people realised that they were subject to any suzerainty whatever, they failed to appreciate the necessity for this outward display. They still more intensely disliked the presence in their country of a camp of armed foreigners. It was therefore with considerable relief that they saw Linant and his men take their departure. After an absence of four months Stanley returned to Mutesa. He assisted the Baganda in a campaign against the Bavuma. To his credit it must be said that in the hour of victory he restrained Mutesa from a wholesale massacre of the defeated islanders. In the intervals of campaigning and of other distractions he renewed his religious conversations with the King. Mutesa showed such enthusiasm that with the help of one of his followers, Dallington Muftawa, he prepared an abridgment of the Bible in Kiswahili. Mutesa and many of his chiefs read the abridgment with avidity. Stanley was persuaded to leave Dallington behind to act as a Bible reader until such time as the European missionaries should arrive to confirm the King and his people in the Christian faith. (Stanley—*op. cit.*, I., 297—415).

At the end of 1875 Stanley departed from Buganda to make his way by way of the Congo River to the west coast of Africa. Mutesa viewed his departure with real regret, but not for the reason which Stanley fondly believed. His outward profession of Christianity was not due to any sound sense of conviction or even to any momentary access of religious favour. It was very calculated and very deliberate. It was clear to him that the time was not far distant when Egyptian troops might endeavour to establish themselves in his country. The chain of posts, which Gordon had established in the Acholi country, was ominous. Gordon's attitude to Kabarega gave great grounds for uneasiness. The armed escort, which Linant brought into the country, had behaved in a high-handed manner and Linant himself had treated him somewhat cavalierly. For what ever may have been the faith of a few of the Khedive's servants, the Egyptian government stood in Mutesa's eyes for Islam. The Zanzibar traders were also Mahommedans. Whilst they were commercial rivals of traders from Khartoum. Mutesa had learnt that co-religionists often stuck to one another when it came to a dispute with a person not of their faith. The mission to the coast had come to nothing. The Sultan of Zanzibar had neither given nor promised any practical assistance to Mutesa. On the other hand, Stanley had done what Linant had declined to do, namely, assist in a punitive expedition against the Bavuma. He had shown himself to be a leader of men, and like the Zanzibar trader, this remarkable man's chief topic of conversation seemed to be his religion. The Zanzibar traders had proved useful

when Mutesa had shown an interest in their faith. Stanley was obviously a far greater man than any Arab trader. If all his countrymen were like him, a profession of interest in their religion might enlist the aid of invaluable allies against Egyptian aggression. As I have already said, Stanley was splendidly duped. Neither he nor his duper could have dreamt what the result of such duping would be for Buganda.

Dallington, the boy whom Stanley left behind, was little more than seventeen years old. He had been a pupil of the Universities Mission in Zanzibar. (Stanley, I., 75). In addition to his duties of Scripture reader he acted as Mutesa's secretary, and conducted Mutesa's diplomatic correspondence in a misspelt and ungrammatical English upon odd scraps of paper left behind by Stanley, whereon he wrote laboriously in a sprawling hand. He was left alone for eighteen months in a strange land. His position was by no means easy. Not only large bands of pagan diehards but also the Zanzibar traders showed marked disapproval of his evangelical work. None the less Dallington to the best of his ability carried out the task entrusted to him by Stanley. When European missionaries did ultimately arrive in the country, they were surprised to find what he had achieved despite innumerable handicaps.

Conversation with Dallington confirmed Mutesa in his opinion that he had done well to invite Christians to his country. As a native of Zanzibar, Dallington had learnt something of the strength of the British Government. When in the past other nations had caused trouble with the Sultan of Zanzibar, the British Government at Bombay had intervened and matters had been righted. The same Government might well be induced to come to Mutesa's aid.

On his return journey Linant had been attacked by Nyamuyonjo, a nominal vassal of Kabarega, who ruled over the district of Bunyala (the modern Bugerere). Linant had an escort of the Baganda at the time with him, but they promptly deserted him—not out of cowardice but with a strong sense of satisfaction in seeing a very unpopular guest in difficulty. (Stanley, I., 443). Gordon resolved to send a punitive expedition against Kabarega in the belief that he had instigated this attack. At the same time he decided to send an Italian, named Romolo Gessi, in a steel boat to explore Lake Albert. Finally, he announced that "I want to push on to the Lake (Victoria Nyanza) to hoist the flag, and enable the Khedive to claim its waters." (Birkbeck Hill, p. 150). The two first of these plans were put into execution at the beginning of 1876. The punitive expedition came to little. Kabarega fled directly Gordon appeared on the banks of the Somerset Nile and Gordon made no attempt to penetrate into Bunyoro in pursuit. Gessi circumnavigated Lake Albert, meeting with a hostile reception whenever he put close in shore. (Gessi—pp. 99—139).

Intelligence of these expeditions reached Mutesa before they had actually started. Dallington was commissioned at once to send a letter to Stanley to beg him to return and also another letter to Gordon. His letter reached Gordon at Labore and reads as follows:—

“ To Sir Canell Gorlden. February 6th, 1876.

“ My dear friend Gorden hear this my word be not angry with Kavarega Sultan of Unyoro I been head that you been brought two manwar ships

but I pray you fight not with those Wanyoro for they know not what is good and what is bad. I am Mtesa King of Uganda for if you fight with governour you fight with the King. I will ask you one thing but let it may please you all ye Europeion for I say if I want to go to Bommbey if the governour and if the governour if Bommbey refuse me to past, will I not find the orther road therefor I pray you my friends stop for a moment if you want to fight put ships in the river Nile take west and north and I will take east and south and let us put Wanyoro in to the middle and fight against them but first send me answer from this letter. Because I want to be a friend of the English. I am Mtesa son of Suna King of Uganda let God be with you all Amen."

" Mtesa King of Uganda "

" Febuary 6th, 1876."

(Birkbeck Hill, p. 160).

Nuehr Aga and his men arrived at Rubaga and constructed a zeriba. They were accompanied by a large body of porters, who had been recruited in the Acholi country. Mutesa persuaded Nuehr Aga to discharge these porters on the strength of a promise that he would replace them by as many Baganda porters as might be required. This promise was never fulfilled. Excuses were made from day to day for the non-fulfilment, but the porters never appeared. Without them the Egyptian troops were immobile. Birkbeck Hill, p. 187). Their commander tried to be overbearing, and to bluster, but he found the attitude of the inhabitants very different to that of the tribes further to the north. The Egyptian flag was hoisted over the zeriba. This was answered by the hoisting over the royal enclosure of the same flag, which Mutesa had previously displayed when Long had visited the country. The Egyptian Commander instructed Mutesa to haul it down. He was told that the flag was the flag of Christianity and would not be hauled down. (State Papers—Lieutenant Shergold Smith to Dr. Kirk (enclosed in letter of Dr. Kirk to Lord Derby, Nov. 28, 1877). This gave Nuehr Aga to think. It was clear that Mutesa had served out firearms to a number of his subjects and that a great concentration of fighting men was taking place. Nuehr Aga's own troops were none too well disciplined. He had to depend for his supplies upon the country. The recollection of Baker's disastrous retreat from Masindi in the face of a far less redoubtable enemy was all too recent. The Aga therefore deemed it unwise to insist in his demand. He may not have been aware that on each occasion, when he visited Mutesa, a couple of men were told off to stand behind him and each member of his escort to pinion them at the least sign of hostility. It was, however, very apparent to him that the whole of the countryside was under arms. Great fires were kept burning every night and the Egyptian troops were in constant fear of an attack (Ashe, p. 115).

Nuehr Aga had other evidence that he was dealing with the most Christian—for the time being—King of Buganda. Just before his arrival certain Buganda converts to Islam had scoffed openly at Mutesa's sudden fervour for Christianity. They had refused to eat meat, which had not been killed according to Islamic rights, and announced that Mutesa was a mere pagan Kaffir. Such treasonable utterances were speedily silenced. Mutesa's bodyguard of professional

executioners were sent into the countryside to search out all those who professed and called themselves Mohammedans. Some two or three hundred managed to escape by joining Arab caravans and making their way to Zanzibar. Others concealed their faith, but some seventy were arrested and put to death at one of the places of public execution. (Nicq., p. 225; Kagwa—*Basebakabaka*, p. 149). Relics of this massacre still lay about the countryside when the Egyptian troops arrived (*Schweitzer, I.*, 33).

The situation was critical for several weeks. It is a matter of surprise that the Egyptians and Baganda did not come to actual blows. The credit for this was due partly to Mutesa himself and partly to that Ahmed bin Ibrahim, who many years previously had given Suna his first introduction to Islam. Ahmed bin Ibrahim realised that retaliatory measures on the part of Gordon would put an end to the Zanzibar trade in Buganda. He acted as interpreter between Nuehr Aga and Mutesa and there can be no doubt that his tactful and conciliatory conduct saved the situation at more than one critical moment. Mutesa had a bodyguard who were dressed in military uniform and armed with guns and who were spoiling for a fight, but Mutesa still had fresh in his memory the disastrous attack by the Baganda on the slave traders in Bunyoro in 1869. He had also seen the reprisals meted out to Kabarega when he had attacked Egyptian troops and was shrewd enough to know that any aggression on his part might be visited with the same consequences. He therefore kept in check his own fireaters, but it required a strong man to do so. For several weeks his men and the Egyptian troops faced each other, in danger every moment of an incident, which would let slip the dogs of war. The Egyptian troops were confined to their zeriba more or less in a state of siege. Their supplies ran short and were only replenished by Mutesa on sufferance. He had, however, the wisdom to see that, if the garrison was actually reduced to starvation, they might take matters into their own hands and forage for themselves, thus making bloodshed inevitable. He therefore ordered them to be supplied with food but kept them on very short commons. Some of the garrison deserted. Nuehr Aga realised that he had got himself into a hopeless position. He therefore decided to leave his men and return to Gordon and make a clean breast of the whole affair. Mutesa allowed him to depart unmolested and entrusted to him a letter for Gordon penned by Dallington, the contents of which were "a jumble of bits of prayers, etc., and keeps repeating he is the King of Uganda, etc., and the greatest king in Africa." (*Birkbeck Hill*, p. 181).

When Gordon received Nuehr Aga's report, his comment was "Mtesa has annexed my soldiers: he has not been annexed himself." (*Birkbeck Hill*, p. 181). He at first resolved to proceed personally to Rubaga, extricate the troops, and post them in Bulondoganyi. But later hearing that "Mtesa's court is as full of etiquette as the Pekin court," he decided to entrust the task to a Silesian doctor, named Edward Schnitzler, who became better known to the world as Emin Pasha. By training Emin was a doctor. By inclination he was a naturalist and a botanist. He was bespectacled and not of at all imposing appearance. Therein he stood in striking contrast to Gordon's previous emissaries to Buganda. A less military looking individual could not possibly be imagined. Recently he had publicly professed his conversion to Islam. Thereby he excited

the ridicule of his superior officer, and Gordon's correspondence at this date is full of contemptuous references to him. What Gordon and Emin himself did not fully realise was that the mission, with which the latter was now entrusted, was not only extremely delicate but attended by considerable personal risk. Little as Gordon was able to appreciate the fact at the time, Emin, the one and only European who ever established friendly relations with Kabarega of Bunyoro, was pre-eminently fitted for the task.

Emin reached Mruli in July, 1876, and started at once for Buganda with an escort of only six soldiers. Mutesa had been forewarned of his approach. A band of five hundred men had been despatched to the frontier apparently with orders to refuse him admission to the country. Emin got into communication with this party, who temporised by informing him that he must wait at the frontier pending the receipt of instructions from Mutesa. Emin grew impatient. After several days' delay the leader of the Baganda informed Emin that he would not be allowed to enter the country without Mutesa's special permission, and that, without such permission, no porters could be supplied to him. Emin then decided to put on a bold front and announced that he would continue his advance whether he received permission or not. The commander of the Baganda outpost was apparently without any definite instructions and did not like to assume the responsibility of a clash of arms. He further realised that Emin's escort was not at all formidable and therefore could easily be dealt with if it proved troublesome. Moreover, the curious European, who spent all his spare time in camp botanising did not seem very dangerous. He therefore offered no opposition when Emin struck camp. Emin met with further difficulties on his march and it took him twelve days to reach Rubaga. (Schweitzer, *I.*—30; 31).

Mutesa had in the meantime decided to receive him. But he was very soon given to understand that it was still the Most Christian King who reigned in Buganda. On his arrival he was greeted with the following missive penned by Dallington:—

“To my dear friend, I thank be to God for bringing you home safety. Therefore I send Chambalango my chief to see you how you do and thank be to our Lord Jesus Christ to be thy shield.” (Schweitzer—*I.*, 32).

From time to time during his sojourn he received other letters in a like vein. When he interviewed Mutesa, he was invited to embark on a religious conversation extolling the merits of Christianity to the disparagement of those of the Islam. Mutesa, who had hitherto been rather proud of displaying his knowledge of Arabic, relapsed entirely into Luganda and conducted all his interviews with Emin through the medium of Ahmed bin Ibrahim. As long as Mutesa insisted on diverting conversation to religious topics, it was difficult to arrive at any arrangement for the withdrawal of the Egyptian troops. But he suddenly changed his attitude. The Zanzibar traders were becoming alienated by his aggressive profession of Christianity and a wild rumour reached the court that all Christians had been expelled from Zanzibar. Mutesa thereupon altered his tone and expressed his entire satisfaction with the tenets of Islam. Emin had done some doctoring whilst he was at Rubaga and thereby made favourable

impression on the Baganda. Mutesa decided there was no guile in him and, acting on the advice of Ahmed bin Ibrahim, decided to allow the Egyptian garrison an unmolested passage out of the country. (Schweitzer, I. 32—39).

On August 31, 1876, the Egyptian troops quitted Rubaga for Mruli, where they met Gordon. News took a long time to travel down the Nile to Cairo in those days. When the Khedive heard the first report of the occupation of Rubaga, he telegraphed Gordon his congratulations and conferred upon him the order of the Medjishih. The telegram reached Gordon after the evacuation of Buganda. "This is dreadful," he wrote, "for it is obtained under false pretences." (Birkbeck Hill, p. 196). He had in fact already before the receipt of the Khedive's telegram decided to make the best of a bad business and had on August 30, written to Mutesa proposing a treaty "recognising the independence of the country of Uganda and offering to take his ambassadors (!) down to Cairo" (*ibid*, p. 183). Mutesa's reply was a jumble of prayers and requests for arms and ammunition, but said nothing about the treaty (*ibid*, p. 192). It was really not necessary that it should be mentioned. He had clearly demonstrated the worth of the document, which Long had persuaded him to sign in 1874, and all question of annexation of Buganda by Egypt was at an end.

Gordon now turned his attention to Kabarega, personally leading an expedition to Bunyoro. This did not serve to allay Mutesa's fears, but he had by now received the news that the European missionaries, whom Stanley had promised to send, were on their way from the coast. He eagerly awaited their arrival, not from any anxiety to hear more of the doctrines, which he knew they would teach, but because he thought they were like all other missionaries whom he had previously encountered. He had sized up the Arab missionary fairly well. Mutesa realised that an Arab's religion meant a great deal to him, took up a great part of his life and that he could often be a zealous proselytiser, but he also saw that his Arab visitors had time for other more mundane matters. They could trade and buy ivory and slaves. They were ready to supply firearms and ammunition in exchange. Mutesa appreciated their superior knowledge and realised that both he and his people could learn much from them. He was therefore ready to tolerate their religious zeal and to display a certain measure of outward willingness to accept their creed in exchange for the other more worldly advantages, which they could bestow upon him. It was in the like spirit that he prepared to receive the first European missionaries.

The first party of the missionaries were despatched under the auspices of the C.M.S. The first to arrive in the country were Shergold Smith and C. T. Wilson. The former had been a naval officer but had been invalided out of the service with the sight of one eye badly impaired as the result of illness contracted whilst engaged in the suppression of the slave trade on the west coast of Africa.

Such was his anxiety to have the missionaries at his side that Mutesa despatched a special fleet of canoes to convoy them and innumerable letters urging them to "come quickly." In the course of their voyage the missionaries put into the island of Ukara at the southern end of Lake Victoria. They were attacked by the inhabitants with a shower of stones and poisoned arrows.

Wilson was wounded in the arm by a poisoned arrow. Smith was struck by a stone in his 'best eye,' but despite his pain had the presence of mind to put the helm about and get his ship out of range. Blinded as he was and suffering acutely, he then proceeded to suck Wilson's wound to get the poison out of the arm. The remainder of the voyage was without incident and on July 2, 1877, the missionaries presented themselves to Mutesa. (Wilson—I., 100, 191).

Shergold Smith wrote an account of this first meeting with Mutesa. The letter is somewhat pathetic reading. It begins: "This was our reception. I could not see, so my report is that of ear" and closes with the words "Eye says, you must stop." On the first day Mutesa was most enthusiastic, but on the following day "from some cause he seemed suspicious of us, and questioned us about Gordon, and rather wanted to bully us into making powder and shot, saying: 'Now my heart is not good.' We said we came to do as the letter told him, not to make powder and shot; and if he wished it, we would not stay. He paused for some time, and then said 'What have you come for—to teach my people to read and write?' We said, 'Yes, and whatever useful arts we and those coming may know.' Then he said, 'Now my heart is good: England is my friend. I have one hand in Uganda and the other in England.' He asked after Queen Victoria, and wished to know which was the greatest, she or the Khedive of Egypt. The relative size of their dominions were explained to him, and referring to our letter, I said how desirous England was that his kingdom should be prosperous." (*The Victoria Nyanza Mission*, p. 53).

After this conversation Mutesa decided that the new-comers might be useful to him and allowed Shergold Smith to return to the southern end of the lake to the remainder of the contingent and more stores. At the end of his journey Smith penned a letter to Dr. Kirk, Consul-General at Zanzibar, reviewing the political situation in Buganda and concluding with the words "If you could exert your influence to prevent the annexation of Mtesa's dominions to Egypt, I shall be much obliged. I see by a letter from Colonel Gordon that he speaks of this as already completed, saying, 'Mtesa has annexed himself.' Though it is not the case yet, it shows which way the wind blows; and I can see no greater harm to civilisation than the inroad of Mahomedan ideas." Some eighteen months before he had received this letter Kirk had had to protest on behalf of the Sultan of Zanzibar against the Khedive's unwarrantable annexation at the suggestion of Gordon of the Sultan's mainland territories at the mouth of the Juba River. That protest had been successful and the Egyptian army of occupation had been recalled. Kirk therefore gave a sympathetic ear to Smith's plan for Buganda. He forwarded the letter to Lord Derby, then Foreign Secretary, who in due course notified the Khedive that any attempt to encroach on Mutesa's dominions would meet with the same disapproval on the part of the British Government as had the Khedive's previous attempt to annex the Sultan of Zanzibar's dominions. (State Papers—Dr. Kirk to Lord Derby, January 7, 1878). Shergold Smith's brief visit to Buganda was therefore not without good fruit.

After Shergold Smith's departure from Buganda, Wilson was left alone for many months. He was soon to find that Mutesa's enthusiasm for missionaries quickly waned. When Smith failed to return with the stores,

which Mutesa doubtless hoped would include a few kegs of powder and some guns, Mutesa began to bully Wilson and to demand that he should produce arms and ammunition or at least to assist in the procuring of these articles. When Wilson refused, Mutesa showed his resentment by cutting off supplies of food and trying to evict him from his house. (Wilson—*I.*, 112, 113). In the little Wilson published concerning these solitary months he has tried to make light of his experiences, but it is clear he encountered many difficulties and hardships. To Mutesa's suspicious mind a foreigner who chose to settle in his land and neither to trade nor to fight must be there for some very sinister motive.

At the end of 1876, wearied in his almost single-handed fight against the slave trade and against the corruption and misgovernment of the subordinates on whom he had to rely, Gordon returned to England "with the sad conviction that no good could be done in those parts, and that it would be better had no expedition ever been sent." Though Kirk's despatch had not then arrived, Gordon was doubtless surprised to find that his activities in the region of the Central Lakes had received some notice in England. He was asked to call at the Foreign Office and, as a result of an interview, promised that, if he returned to the Soudan, he would not go back to the lakes (Birkbeck Hill, p. 210). In 1877 he returned and in pursuance of his promise decided to attempt to enter into friendly relations with the rulers of Bunyoro and Buganda. He entrusted Emin Pasha with this mission. Emin first visited Kaberega and concluded arrangements with him, which appeared to augur well for the future. From Bunyoro he proceeded to Buganda.

Mutesa knew nothing of Shergold Smith's letter to Kirk or of the effect which it was likely to produce. Still less did he know of Gordon's change of policy. For him the Egyptian menace was still a very lively one. He stipulated that Emin was to bring no soldiers into the country (Schweinfurth, p. 68). He furthermore took great pains to conceal the fact that there was already another European at Rubaga. It was not until five days after his arrival that Emin became aware that Wilson was also at Mutesa's court. The two met in Mutesa's audience chamber and Emin started to take Wilson to his house. On their way they were stopped by messengers, who told them that Mutesa desired each to go to his own house and not to remain together—a command with which Wilson deemed it prudent to comply. The two only had one other opportunity of meeting. Wilson asked Mutesa's permission to go and visit Emin at his house. After some hesitation Mutesa consented but told Wilson that he must go at once and that an escort would accompany him. Mutesa apparently wished to prevent Wilson of having any opportunity of communicating with Gordon and possibly of complaining of the treatment which he had received. But Wilson outwitted him. He had his letters already written and slipped them into one of Emin's boxes when his escort were not looking. (Wilson—*I.*, 112, 116; Schweitzer, *I.*, 57—59).

Emin spent three months with Mutesa. He subsequently complained that he found great difficulty in getting his host to talk business. Emin tried to obtain permission for himself to proceed with an escort to be supplied by Mutesa to the Mufumbiro Mountains and thence to Zanzibar. Mutesa's fixed

policy of not allowing his country to be a thoroughfare made that impossible and the proposal only served to arouse his suspicions (Stuhlmann—p. 195). Emin was also instructed to try and induce Mutesa to send an embassy to the Khedive. He was put off by Mutesa announcing the fact that he was sending an embassy to England or else to Zanzibar. Emin then proceeded to enlarge upon the possibilities of developing an ivory trade between Buganda and Khartoum. Mutesa became more interested and finally, on Emin promising to act personally as his commercial agent and on his assurance that the Khedive would send him magnificent presents, agreed to send a deputation to Khartoum. (Schweitzer, *I.*, 57—65).

Certain events had in the meantime happened, which explain why Wilson and Emin had no further opportunity of meeting and also disclose a motive for Mutesa's changed orientation in his policy. On the last day of 1877 news reached Buganda that Shergold Smith and his colleague O'Neill had been murdered at the southern end of the lake. Their bodies were never found. If Shergold Smith needs a memorial other than his own work, I would fain inscribe thereon the words written by certain of his brother officers to commemorate an officer of the sister service, who lies in an unknown grave far away in the Antarctic—"Hereabouts lies a very gallant English gentleman." The news of this calamity filled Mutesa with considerable alarm. He allowed Wilson, whom he had kept virtually a prisoner, to leave the country to enquire as to the fate of his comrades and to rescue the stores of the mission. (Wilson, *I.*, 114—117). For the moment it appeared to Mutesa as if the road to Zanzibar was closed. If that were so, commerce with and assistance from Zanzibar or England would be out of the question. He therefore felt compelled to negotiate through Emin with the Egyptian Government. At the same time he resolved to reopen the road to the east coast and for that purpose sent a punitive expedition to the south of the lake, which ravaged the island and district where the European missionaries had met their fate. (Kagwa—*Basebakabaka*, p. 150).

On hearing of the death of Smith and O'Neill the Church Missionary Society decided to send another party to strengthen the hands of their solitary representative in Buganda. The route from the east coast had already proved costly in more ways than one. The climate had claimed one of the original band as a victim and others of the party had been compelled by illness to drop out on the way. The carriage of stores on porter's heads was wasteful and expensive and there was the constant risk of interruption on the lines of communication. Until the interior was connected with the coast by railway—a proposal first mooted by Wilson in 1882 in a paper showing remarkable insight into the political and commercial possibilities of such a venture (Wilson, *I.*, 339), the Nile route offered decided advantages over the east coast route. According to reports received by the Society the Soudan, was efficiently policed. Steamers were available for the transport for a great part of the distance. It was reckoned that a journey from London by the Nile to Buganda would cost £500 less per head than by the other route (Felkin—p. 358) and would also take at least two months less to complete. Gordon, who was a strong supporter, albeit a strong critic, of missionary enterprise, had offered to defray all the

expenses of any missionaries travelling through the Soudan and to give them every assistance on their way. The Society therefore decided to send their reinforcements to Buganda by way of Khartoum.

Wilson had in the meantime returned to Buganda, where shortly afterwards he was joined by Alexander Mackay. They broached the question of the admission of their colleagues to the country. The project caused Mutesa great uneasiness. These Europeans had not so far come up to his expectations in regard to commerce, arms, or ammunition. Now they were asking him to open a door which he definitely desired to keep closed. Were they and the Egyptians in league? The Zanzibar traders said they were. Mutesa more than once told Mackay of his mistrust of Egypt and even spoke of going to fight Gordon. Mackay at the time wrote home to say "I have had some stiff arguments with him on this point." (Mackay, p. 102). Those arguments did not serve to allay his suspicions. Wilson, however, with his long experience of Mutesa was able to explain that the newcomers were in no way the servants of the Egyptian Government. Mutesa agreed to let them enter the country and in anticipation of their arrival once more displayed a strong Christian fervour.

This fresh contingent of missionaries reached Rubaga on February 14, 1879. Three days later two more missionaries arrived from the south. These were Father Lourdel and Brother Amans of the Order of the White Fathers, which had recently been founded by one of the greatest of modern liberationists, Cardinal Lavigerie. It was almost by an accident that the first Catholic missionaries reached Uganda from the south instead of from the north, and that accident had a very important effect upon the fortunes of the mission in Uganda. A Catholic mission had for many years been established in Khartoum. The southern limit of the Apostolic Prefecture's boundary had been in latitude four degrees south. Until communication was opened up with the lake regions by Gordon no opportunity had occurred for endeavouring to establish mission stations in Equatorial Africa. In 1878 Monsignore Daniel Comboni, the head of the mission, resolved to establish ports on the shores of both Lake Victoria and Lake Albert. Gordon placed one of the Government steamers at his disposal for this purpose. The Vatican, however, had in the meantime decreed that this mission field should be allotted to Cardinal Lavigerie and Monsignore Comboni abandoned his project. (Gessi, pp. 175, 223). One very much wonders if Catholic missionaries under the aegis of Gordon would have been allowed to enter the country.

As it was Father Lourdel and his companion did not enter Buganda under the most favourable of auspices. They had violated an unwritten law by entering the country without the King's permission. This act naturally aroused Mutesa's suspicion, and he refused to see them for several days. Fortunately for them, at this date a Swahili named Toli was attached to Mutesa's court as bandmaster and drill instructor of his personal bodyguard. Earlier in life he had been a sailor and had travelled in one of the Sultan of Zanzibar's ships to Marseilles. He assured Mutesa that he knew they were Frenchman and vouched for their characters. Mutesa than decided to receive them and after an interview consented to allow the remainder of their party to enter the kingdom. (Nicq—pp. 102—106).

The rest of the White Fathers arrived in due course under the leadership of Father Livinhac, who subsequently became Vicar Apostolic of the Nyanza diocese and ultimately Superior General of the Order. It very soon became apparent to Mutesa that these newcomers were people apart from the other band of missionaries. They were habited differently. They spoke a different language and the doctrines they taught were different. Unfortunately certain members of the two bands had a personal difference of opinion in front of Mutesa himself. No doubt each of the protagonists regretted the incident as soon as it had taken place and the story thereof is a thing of the past best consigned to oblivion—more especially as the other members of the two societies lived on quite friendly terms and frequently rendered each other mutual assistance and acts of courtesy. None the less the fact remains that Mutesa very quickly perceived that the two bands of missionaries were not likely to combine together.

It was a position of affairs which gave the King the liveliest possible satisfaction. He soon learnt that the land from which the French missionaries hailed was apparently as powerful a country as England. The Englishmen had failed to come up to his expectations. They declined to produce arms and ammunition and now they appeared to be leaguering themselves with Gordon and the Egyptians. The French might prove less disappointing. They had come from the south and apparently had no connection with or interest in Gordon. Their friendship seemed therefore to be worth cultivating. At the same time, just as it had been advisable to guard against a possible alliance between the Zanzibar traders and their co-religionists from Khartoum, it appeared to Mutesa advisable to ensure that the French and English missionaries did not form an alliance. It was for that reason as much as any other that Mutesa took a particular delight in inviting the members of both missions and the exponents of Islam to embark in those theological discussions, which the missionaries of both faiths report as having taken place so frequently at this date.

When the White Fathers arrived, Mutesa was seriously debating the despatch of a deputation to England under the aegis of one of the C.M.S. missionaries. When Shergold Smith had informed Dr. Kirk of the position of affairs in Buganda, the latter had written Mutesa a letter of kindly advice. Kirk had warned Mutesa of the inadvisability of any act of aggression on his part against the Egyptian troops and had at the same time assured him that, provided Mutesa obtained from any act affording a *casus belli*, he would do his best to secure the intervention of the British Government, if any attempt was made by Egypt to interfere with the independence of Buganda. Mutesa was much impressed by this letter and late in 1878 or early in 1879 despatched a mission to Zanzibar to thank Kirk for his advice and also "for keeping the road open to the coast," a line of communication on which Mutesa had learnt to set great store. (State Papers—Dr. Kirk to Lord Salisbury, October 15, 1879).

Kirk's letter led Mutesa to consider taking the more important step of getting in direct touch with the British Government. When the contingent of C.M.S. missionaries arrived from Khartoum, it was suggested to him that one of the missionaries should escort the embassy to England by way of the Nile. The proposal at once aroused Mutesa's suspicions. Doubts arose in his mind as to whether the missionaries, or Gordon, or the Khedive would allow his

delegates to proceed beyond Egypt. The timely arrival of the White Fathers suggested to him the idea of diverting the intended embassy from England to France.

The subject was broached to Father Livinhac with a request that either he or one of his confreres should escort the delegates to France to arrange that Buganda should be placed under French protection. Father Livinhac had received definite instructions from his Superior not to intermeddle in local politics, but the request was put forward in such circumstances that anything but a very diplomatic answer might have seriously jeopardised his own personal safety and that of his colleagues. He therefore replied that he was unable to spare a member of his mission to accompany the delegates, but that, if application was made to the French Consul at Zanzibar, that officer might be able to make the necessary arrangements. At the same time he wrote both to the Consul and to Cardinal Lavigerie acquainting them with what had transpired. The latter got in touch with the responsible French minister and urged that Mutesa's offer should be accepted. He was thanked for his interesting information and the interesting documents supporting his arguments. Thereafter the latter were in due course pigeon-holed in some office in Paris. The time was not favourable for mooted schemes of colonial expansion. Recent attempts to form settlements in Indo-China had cost the French much both in men and money and public opinion in France was asking whether these colonial ventures were really worth while. (Philippe—pp. 50, 51; Nicq, pp. 153—155).

Finding that Father Livinhac would not immediately comply with his request, Mutesa reverted to his old plan and requested English missionaries to take his delegates to England. In June, 1879, three Baganda departed for Khartoum under the care of Mr. Wilson and Dr. Felkin. In due course they reached England and were given a reception by Queen Victoria. They returned by way of Zanzibar and arrived in Buganda early in February, 1881, bringing presents from the Queen to Mutesa. Mackay and other contemporary writers suggest that the mission was barren of results. There can be no doubt that Mutesa was disappointed with its outcome. Prior to the return of his envoys he had heard of the gracious reception accorded to them by Queen Victoria. This news so aroused his interest he even proposed to go to England himself and to leave the Queen-mother to govern in his absence, but his leading chiefs raised strong objection to this. When this plan was given up, he asked the missionaries to obtain one of Queen Victoria's daughters as a wife. (Stock, p. 81). When the envoys finally arrived, it was a grievous disappointment to him to find that they brought back with them merely the customary presents of courtesy, which he had previously received from such persons as the Sultan of Zanzibar, and no practical proposals of alliance. He did not, however, wish to make any outward display of his disappointment in front of the missionaries and therefore upon their return dismissed his envoys, from his presence in the same manner as he dismissed any servant or petty chief after reporting that he had performed some trivial or menial task. (Mackay, p. 210). Afterwards he promoted the envoys to important chieftainships. (Munno (1924), p. 91); and it is clear that he was very much impressed with their accounts of England, and realised that the English were a powerful nation, which might render him

valuable aid in time of need. There can be no doubt that it was this knowledge, which induced him to resist the popular clamour which arose more than once in his latter years for the death or expulsion of the Christian missionaries.

Whilst the envoys were in England, Mutesa's apprehensions in regard to Egypt began to be allayed. In 1880 Gordon withdrew the more southerly Egyptian garrisons. In 1883, a Dongolese carpenter named Mohammed Ali raised the standard of revolt in the Soudan and as Mahdi preached a holy war against Europeans and Egyptians alike. Two years later came the tragedy of Khartoum. Thereafter Mahdism stood for more than a decade as a formidable barrier to all intercourse between Egypt and the lakes.

The removal of the Egyptian garrisons from the banks of the Somerset Nile caused Mutesa such relief of mind that he wrote a letter of thanks to Gordon (Birkbeck Hill, p. 160). Emin Pasha wrote to suggest that Mutesa should occupy the abandoned post at Mruli. The Zanzibar traders, who feared that the occupation of Mruli would divert the slave and ivory trade to the north, opposed the suggestion and, despite the fact that it was supported by members of both missions, Mutesa relinquished the idea (Nicq, p. 189). Feeling himself rid of this menace, his attitude towards the Christian missionaries underwent a certain change. They were no longer in his eyes persons to be humoured in the hope that they might exert their influence in favour of Buganda with the rulers of their respective countries. The fact that the members of both missions firmly set their faces against all solicitations to embark in trade did not meet with his approval. The personal rebukes, which one or two of their number administered to him, did not enhance their popularity.

All external trade was still solely in the hands of the Zanzibar merchants. The missionaries not only preached against the religious beliefs of those merchants but also denounced the traffic in human beings, in which they indulged. Slaves comprised a valuable part of the export trade of Buganda and any discouragement of the traffic might seriously interfere with the imports, which were brought to exchange for this commodity. Mutesa was therefore prone to lend a ready ear to anything which the Zanzibar traders might have to allege against the missionaries: those traders who were in many respects remarkably tolerant people and had frequently rendered the members of both missions valuable assistance in times of difficulty. But the denunciation of the slave trade attacked one of the main pillars of their economic system and converted them into rabid opponents of all teaching of Christianity. The large ultraconservative element among the Baganda disliked the radical changes in the established order of things which the missionaries advocated. They were far too strong a party for Mutesa to ignore, even supposing he felt the inclination to ignore them. The result was that except for moments when there was a brief reaction in their favour, the Christian missionaries underwent considerable hardships and perils. Attempts were made on the lives of Messrs. O'Flaherty and Mackay. (Mackay, p. 232). Mutesa must, however, be acquitted of complicity in these attacks. His superior intelligence and understanding of their superior knowledge and civilisation and his strong hand more than once protected them from personal violence when popular feeling ran high. Even Mackay in one of his most despondent moments could write of Mutesa that "through good report and

evil report he befriended them to the last." (Mackay, p. 467). None the less the situation became really dangerous for the missionaries. Mr. Pearson of the C.M.S., was left for several months during 1880 alone in Buganda and during one of the frequently recurring Mahomedan reactions suffered real hardships and privation, being more than once on the verge of actual starvation and dependent for food on the charity of one or two friendly disposed Baganda. (Stock, pp. 79—80). Rumours were sometimes spread abroad that the members of the two missions were combining to hatch some diabolical scheme. On one occasion Mackay and Litchfield of the C.M.S., started on a friendly visit to take some medicine to one of the White Fathers, who had been ill. They were stopped by an armed mob and forced to return home. An attempt was made to lodge a protest personally with Mutesa, but he declined to see the missionaries. (Stock—pp., 71—72). The position became so critical that at the end of 1882 the White Fathers on the instructions of their Superior, withdrew to the southern shores of Lake Victoria (Nicq—p. 229). Messrs. Mackay, Ashe, and O'Flaherty of the C.M.S., remained in Uganda.

On October 18, 1884, Mutesa, who had long been ill, was gathered to his fathers. Perhaps he was *felix opportuniatē mortis*. The scramble amongst the European powers for Africa was only just beginning. How he would have faced this fresh problem, if he had lived, must remain a matter for speculation.

I have omitted all reference to the more unlovely side of Mutesa's character. His failings and his vices were neither few nor small. It is as well to draw a veil over many of them. Looking at him in the most favourable light possible, one can not ignore his intense vanity, his appalling egoism, and his frequent paroxysms of ferocious cruelty. One cannot lay claim for him that a faint and flickering desire to follow the gleam led him to welcome Christian missionaries to his country or that he ever seriously meditated casting aside his old beliefs for those which the missionaries offered him. Whilst his intelligence may from time to time have momentarily convinced him that the doctrines expounded to him held out ideals more lofty than those he had hitherto known, he never for one moment thought of renouncing his paganism. His encouragement of missionary enterprise was purely due to motives of worldly policy. The credit for such success in the spread of Christianity as was achieved rests with the missionaries themselves and those few early Baganda converts, who embraced the new religion at very great personal risk. Mutesa died almost if not quite, as thorough-going a pagan as he had been when first he ascended the throne.

Mutesa's claim to be remembered by posterity rests on other grounds. He saved his country from an Egyptian domination, which could only have had one or other of two dire results. Either there would have been a complete disruption of his kingdom and the country would have been ravaged from end to end in a desperate struggle for the recovery of independence; or else Buganda would have been immersed in the welter of Mahdism. Admittedly not all the credit for saving his country from these evils rests with Mutesa. The Baganda owe much to Shergold Smith and Dr. Kirk for the preservation of their independence in these critical years and also to the purely disinterested intervention of Lord Derby as spokesman of the British Government. It is also true that at certain critical moments Mutesa leaned for advice upon strangers within his gates and

that without the benefit of their knowledge of the greater and more civilised world beyond Buganda he would have failed pitiably. But Mutesa had an extraordinary instinct, which led him to take the best—albeit sometimes not the most disinterested—advice at the right moment. Worldly wisdom such as this is not to be despised in the ruler of any race. One other fact, to which Linant, Emin, and the missionaries testify, must also not be forgotten. During the greater part of his reign Mutesa was a constant invalid. Yet, great as were his physical sufferings and subject as he was to caprices, moods, and paroxysms, which wracked and shook his body, he was never shaken from one steadfast purpose. In the face of problems and difficulties, with which none of his predecessors had ever had to cope, he saved his country harmless from the very real dangers which beset it and handed it on intact to his successor. The history of Africa is full of instances in which the rulers of one time powerful races have failed utterly before the rising tide of Arab or European civilisation and have dragged their people down with them. Those rulers, who have successfully piloted the ship of state through those stormy seas, have been few and far between. Mutesa was one of that very small band.

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| | ... <i>Basebakabaka ba Buganda.</i> |
| | ... <i>Ebika bye Buganda.</i> |
| | ... <i>Mackay of Uganda</i> (by his Sister). |
| Nakirayi, and Lwanga, K. ... | ... <i>Kabulireyo Sengiri Mpwanyu</i> (Munno (1915)). |
| Nicq ... | ... <i>Le Père Siméon Lourdel.</i> |
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| Philippe, A. ... | ... <i>Au Cœur de L'Afrique, Ouganda.</i> |
| Rellse, H. ... | ... <i>Kiziba—Land und Leute.</i> |
| Sabalangira, Y. G. K. ... | ... <i>Abaganda abasoka okugenda e Bulaya</i> (Munno (1924)). |
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| Schweitzer, G. ... | ... <i>The Life and Work of Emin Pasha.</i> |
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Notes on the Flora and Fauna of a Uganda Swamp.

By W. J. EGGELING, B.SC.

Although a very large proportion of the surface of Uganda is covered by swamp, very little is known concerning the flora and fauna which these swamps support. This is chiefly due to their inaccessibility.

In the case of Namanve swamp in Kyagwe, which stretches from a point about a quarter-of-a-mile south of mile 9 on the Kampala—Jinja road to the head of Murchison Bay east of Port Bell, this difficulty is to a great extent overcome.

At Namanve, during the past four years, work has been in progress on a scheme for swamp afforestation which was initiated by the Forest Department in 1930—a scheme aiming at the formation of a series of Eucalyptus plantations capable of supplying the demands of the Kenya and Uganda Railways and Harbours and other commercial concerns in Kampala for fuel.

In the course of this reclamation work, a main drainage ditch had to be cut through the centre of the swamp from its upper end to open water, a distance of nearly seven miles. As this drain passed through samples of all the types of vegetation comprising the swamp, it opened up the area for observation purposes in a most satisfactory manner.

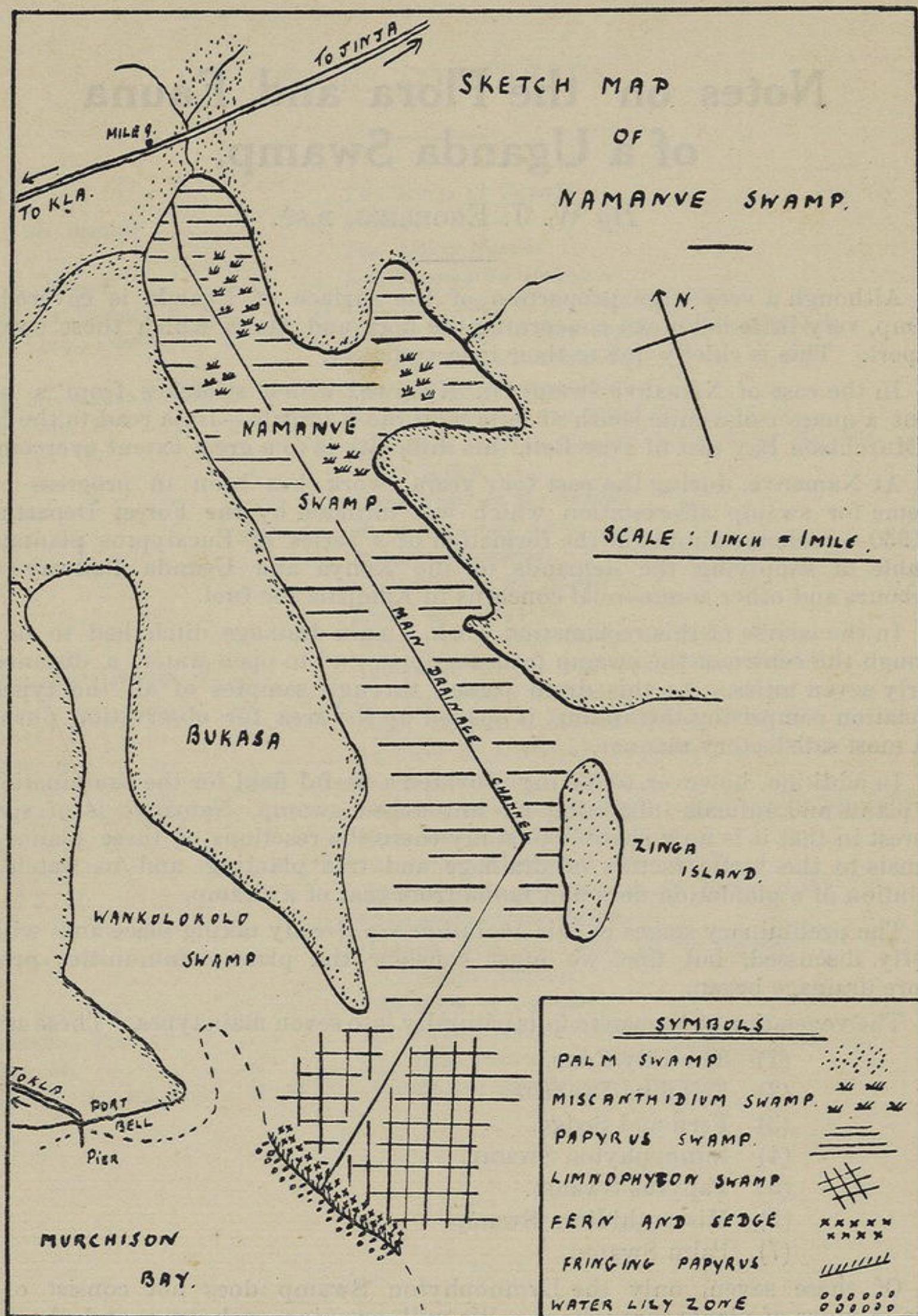
In addition, however, to having provided a useful field for the examination of the plants and animals inhabiting an untouched swamp, Namanve is of special interest in that it is now possible to study there the reactions of these plants and animals to the biotic factors of drainage and tree planting, and to watch the evolution of a plantation flora and fauna from that of a swamp.

The preliminary stages in this evolution are already taking place and will be briefly discussed, but first we must consider the plant communities present before drainage began.

The vegetation at Namanve falls naturally into seven main types. These are :—

- (1) The Lily Zone.
- (2) Fringing Papyrus.
- (3) Fern and Sedge.
- (4) Limnophyton Swamp.
- (5) Papyrus Swamp.
- (6) Miscanthidium Swamp.
- (7) Palm Swamp.

Of these seven, only the Lymnophyton Swamp does not consist of the same mixture of plants throughout. We will examine each type and the plant community or communities it contains.



(1) The Lily Zone.

The Water-lily community is a pioneer community forming a belt twenty to fifty yards wide round the mouth of the swamp where it meets open water. It embraces both fixed and free-floating members. The two most characteristic species found in this zone are the blue or pink flowered *Nymphaea* nr. *Heudolotii*, and the white flowered Sacred Lotus, *Nymphaea lotus*. Both these plants have long been introduced into English lakes.

Other interesting plants include *Brasenia peltata*, *Trapa bispinosa*, whose triangular, serrate leaves with swollen red petioles form beautiful symmetrical patterns on the surface of the water, *Limnanthemum niloticum*, a gentianaceous species with yellow flowers, and the hornwort, *Ceratophyllum demersum*, which is widely distributed and is found in Britain.

(2) Fringing Papyrus.

Immediately within the Lily zone lies the Fringing Papyrus. This consists of a narrow belt of Papyrus, five to twelve yards wide, the reeds usually about ten feet high. With the exception of a few ferns and a stray herb on the peaty bases of the clumps, and some large-leaved duckweed (*Lemna polyrhiza*) on the heavily-shaded water between the clumps only *Cyperus papyrus* is present.

This community does not develop *in situ*. It owes its origin to wind-blown masses of papyrus torn during storms from neighbouring swamps. These floating papyrus islands drift through the Nymphaea zone and finally come to rest against the fern and sedge belt, or where this is absent, against the Limnophyton swamp. In the course of time, by the natural expansion of growth and the addition of fresh masses, a complete papyrus fringe is built up.

(3) Fern and Sedge.

The Fern and Sedge community forms a strip about twenty yards in width between the Fringing Papyrus and the Limnophyton swamp. In many lake-shore swamps it does not occur and at present the lines of its development are not known. In shallow water it can and does arise directly from the lily community and, perhaps, it only spreads over deeper water from such shallow centres.

But for a saw-leaved sedge, *Rhynchospora corymbos^aum*, which forms isolated clumps twelve feet high by five or six feet thick, all the plants within this belt are small. By this one feature alone the fern and sedge is readily picked out from the taller growing communities around it.

The plants forming the belt occur in intimate mixture, their roots so binding themselves together as to form a thin, compact, floating mat of vegetation. When walked upon, this mat sways and sags in a horrible manner beneath one's feet, several square feet at a time disappearing completely below water should one cease moving even for a moment.

The chief species represented here are the sedges *Pycnus Mundtii*, *Pycnus* sp., *Fimbristylis subaphyllus*, *Cyperus Haspan*, and *Fuirena umbellata*, the fern *Dryopteris striata*, and a pink-flowered polygum, *P. nr. serrulatum*.



Ditch Vegetation.—*Pistia stratiotes* (Water Lettuce) and *Ricciocarpus natans*.



Crested Crane's nest, showing chick and egg. The young bird is just about to leave the nest in answer to its mother's call. (i)

(4) Limnophyton Swamp.

As may be seen from the accompanying map by far the greater portion of Namanve consists of swamp in which papyrus is the dominant species, *i.e.*, papyrus swamp and limnophyton swamp. Extending back from the fern and sedge, however, for a distance varying from three quarters-of-a-mile to a mile, there is an area in which papyrus colonization is not yet complete, and where open pools up to thirty or forty square yards in size still occur. At the margins of these pools and among the papyrus clumps between them is found a handsome water plant, *Limnophyton obtusifolium*, which is very similar to the English *Sagittaria*. This plant, which has large arrow-shaped leaves and tall spikes of white flowers gradually becomes suppressed and finally disappears as the papyrus colonization is completed.

It is the rather open type of swamp in which the arrowhead exists that is known here as limnophyton swamp.

This swamp contains two distinct plant communities, the Papyrus—Limnophyton Community—and the Pool community. In the former, *Cyperus papyrus*, *Miscanthidium violaceum* and *Limnophyton obtusifolium* (near Entebbe this is often replaced by a very similar looking plant, *Caldesia reniformis*) are the dominant species, the first two forming clumps and tufts six to ten feet high. Small sedges, ferns and a few unimportant herbs and grasses much commoner in the slightly drier Papyrus swamp also occur.

In the pools is found once more the lily, *Nymphaea nr. Heudelotii*, together with the smaller but otherwise similar *Nymphaea nr. zanzibarensis*, as are the pondweed, *Potamogeton Richardi*, and a large yellow-flowered bladderwort, *Utricularia Thonningii*. On the oozy peat at the edges of the pools is the spike-rush *Eleocharis fistulosa*, the rush-like *Xyris capensis*, and a smaller bladderwort, *U. exoleta*, also with yellow flowers.

(5) Papyrus Swamp.

Passing from the Limnophyton swamp to the Papyrus, we enter a type of swamp in which there is much less standing water and a much greater accumulation of decaying plant remains above water level. On this peat, many species of herbaceous plants can thrive, given a sufficiency of light, and as, owing to its habit and mode of growth, papyrus does not cast a dense shade, the papyrus community is a particularly rich one.

Many species have been recorded here of which we may mention the following:—Dominant: *Cyperus papyrus*; frequent to abundant: *Miscanthidium violaceum*, *Dryopteris striata* the climber, *Cissampelos mucronata*, *Dissotis rotundifolia*, a pretty little plant with pinkish flowers; and the grass, *Panicum chionachne*. Less common but still frequent: another fern, *Dryopteris thelypteris*; the sedges, *Fuirena pubescens*, *Fuirena umbellata*, *Pycneus Mundtii* and *Pycneus* sp.; two figs, *Ficus umbellatus*, with large, shining leaves, and *Ficus verruculosa*, leaves smaller and more pointed, both suppressed woody species attaining tree size on drier sites; *Mikania scandens*, a twiner on the papyrus stems, and a bramble, *Rubus rigidus* "Nkenene" whose reddish-orange fruits taken with cream and sugar make delicious eating.

Other interesting and important species are a pink-flowered balsam, *Impatiens procrudioides*, two tall reeds, *Cyperus latifolius* and *Trichopteryx flammida*, the bulrush, *Typha latifolia*, whose leaves are useful for mat-making, *Cyperus Haspan*, *Rhus glaucescens*, *Vigna capensis*, *Leersia hexandra*, *Seleria* sp. a climbing fern, *Lygodium scandens*, common in green-houses at home, the tall marsh orchids *Lissochilus porphyroglossus* with pinkish-purple flowers and *Lissochilus paludicolus*, flowers yellow, both species attaining eight to twelve feet in height; the smaller and infinitely more beautiful *Lissochilus Wilsoni*, a shrub *Myrica Kandtiana* an infusion of the roots of which is sometimes taken by the Baganda as a cure for stomach troubles, and a small tree with white flowers, *Syzygium cordatum*.

(6) *Miscanthidium* Swamp.

The *Miscanthidium* community occurs as isolated patches scattered through the upper and older portions of the papyrus swamp. These patches, which vary from a few square yards to several acres in extent, appear to coincide with areas where the clayey beds which underlie Namanve are nearer water level than is the case beneath the papyrus, and in the course of the natural elevation and drying of the swamp through the gradual accumulation of peat they are constantly increasing in size.

In marshes surrounded by grass or scrub-lands, the *Miscanthidium* swamp is a stage further advanced than the Papyrus swamp in the development towards the climax community—Tropical Rain Forest. Succession proceeds from the papyrus direct through the *miscanthidium*, thence by several stages to grasslands with scrub and finally by further stages to forest. This succession is well illustrated at the Kanyamusanga swamp to the west of Old Entebbe.

Where a marsh is already completely surrounded by forest as at Namanve, development through grasslands does not usually take place and the *Miscanthidium* swamp is then only an additional and unnecessary stage in the otherwise direct development of the papyrus to palm swamp.

There are three differences between *Miscanthidium* swamp and Papyrus swamp. Firstly, in the former the surface of the ground is roughly level since the *Miscanthidium*, which is a true grass, does not form tussocks. There are, therefore, none of the small pools always found in the papyrus, no matter how dense it may be, pools seldom more than a foot wide but often fairly long, which twist about among the papyrus clumps, and which are so heavily shaded by the herbaceous tangle that they do not support a flora. Secondly, the *Miscanthidium* grass forms dense stands eight to twelve feet high, and casts a heavy shade, often aggravated by the flattening of the stands by wind not found in the other community. Lastly, the roots of the *Miscanthidium* form a close, solid mat so that there is none of that soft blackish ooze found below the papyrus.

Owing to the heavy shade, few plants can exist with the *Miscanthidium*.

The chief species present in the community are the dominant *Miscanthidium violaceum*; a number of ferns, chiefly *Dryopteris thelypteris*, and *Dryopteris striata*, with a few Adders' tongues—*Ophioglossum* probably

lancifolium; herbs, such as the carmine-flowered *Otomeria dilatata*, *Satyrium niloticum* (an orchid one to three feet high with handsome pink flower spikes) both of which plants are confined entirely to this community, the purple *Dissotis incana*; and a very few twiners, sedges and grasses.

(7) Palm Swamp.

Between the Papyrus and Miscanthidium swamp communities and the forest is a narrow belt of Palm swamp. The Palm swamp is generally twenty yards or less in width except where a stream passes through when it widens out to follow the stream inland.

The flora of the Palm swamp is characteristic. It consists in the main of water-loving, woody species with an average height of twenty to thirty feet. The chief of these are the wild date palms, *Phoenix reclinata*, the large-leaved, white-flowered *Mitragyne stipulosa*, *Voacanga obtusa*, also white-flowered, *Ficus umbellatus*, *Syzygium cordatum*, and where the swamp merges to forest *Raphia* palms, *Raphia Monbuttorum*, an occasional *Pachystela*, probably *Pachystela brevipes*, a very hard-wooded species, and the common *Pseudospondias microcarpa*, usually heavily buttressed at the base. Where the swamp widens out one can generally also find some of the white flowered moisture-loving *Acacia*, *Acacia Mildbrædii*.

Below these woody species, the floor consists mainly of bare slimy mud and open shallow pools. On the side nearest the swamp where light still enters freely the undergrowth is chiefly *Cyperus papyrus*, elsewhere it consists almost entirely of species of *Clinogyne* including *Clinogyne ugandensis*, whose split stems are used by the Baganda for mat and basket making.

Of the above types of swamp only portions of the last three have so far been affected, or are indeed ever likely to be affected, by the work of afforestation, and of these too little of the Palm swamp for us to speculate upon. Already, however, a new community can be recognised in the Miscanthidium areas whilst the drainage ditches too have a flora of their own.

This latter community we will consider first. It is a community which, if it were allowed to develop, would soon resemble that which is to be found in Uganda on the slow moving water at the edges of larger rivers like the Albert Nile or the Sezibwa. As it is the ditches at Namanve are periodically cleaned to assist their flow so it is only at their extreme upper ends where they pass beyond the plantation boundaries, or where there is some temporary obstruction that the community forms at all. The species comprising it, which actually grow in the water, are the water lettuce, *Pistia stratiotes*, *Ricciocarpus natans* common on lakes in England, and a small duckweed, *Lemna gibba*. These three plants develop with amazing rapidity, all the *Pistia* at Namanve having been derived from four rosettes which drifted down to it in 1931 from the overflow of a native well.

In addition to these plants *Limnanthenum niloticum* and *Utricularia exoleta* are found where the ditch edges resemble the edges of the pools in the Limnophyton swamp. On the banks of the ditches hanging down over the water occur *Hydrocotyle bonariensis*, *Hydrocotyle asiatica* and *Hydrocotyle monticola*, the last

of which may extend some distance back into the drained Papyrus swamp on either side.

* * * * *

The changes which have occurred in the Papyrus and Miscanthidium areas since man's interference began appear so far to be due more to the repeated slashing over of the vegetation, which is necessary to protect the young trees from becoming smothered, than to the effects of draining.

In the Papyrus areas which always contained a large variety of plants the changes to be noted are rather in the increased spread of some of the species than in the appearance of new ones. Where fresh plants have been recorded, however, it is as a rule from areas where the results of draining are noticeable and such species are generally speaking well-known dry-area pioneers.

In the Miscanthidium areas, the changes are quite as much due to the appearance of plants hitherto excluded by the density of the shade as to the changes in status of the species already present.

DRAINED PAPYRUS SWAMP (after two years of treatment).—Taking the community as a whole, *Cyperus Papyrus* is still the commonest species but it is gradually becoming suppressed through continued cutting back. The chief reaction has been in the greatly increased spread of the grasses and sedges, all those previously recorded becoming abundant, locally sub-dominant or even, over small areas, locally dominant; in the almost immediate suppression of the woody species *Rhus*, *Myrica*, *Ficus* and *Syzygium*, and of the *Rubus*; and on drier areas in the increased growth of the yellow flowered Legume, *Vigna capensis*. This state of affairs is obviously going to be of short duration, for as soon as *Eucalyptus* begins to get properly under way, and some of them are already eighteen feet high two years after planting, the sedges, at any rate, are bound to become quickly suppressed. Even now some areas look as if they would shortly contain little else than a tree crop of *Eucalyptus robusta* with a ground cover of an umbellifer, *Oenanthe Uhligii*, which was very rare indeed in the untouched swamp.

The following are typical of the pioneer species which have invaded the papyrus community following drainage—Blackjack (*Bidens pilosa*), *Commelina nudiflora*, *Alectra communis*, *Aspilia latifolia* and *Gynura vitellina*.

DRAINED MISCANTHIDIUM SWAMP.—Much as in the case of the papyrus community the first response of the Miscanthidium swamp to the increased light conditions following repeated slashing has been the great spread of the grasses and, more especially, of the smaller sedges.

These plants and the fern, *Dryopteris striata*, none of which were more than occasional in the untouched swamp are now exceedingly abundant, and often co-dominant with the Miscanthidium which indeed is in places no more than frequent. Here, as in the papyrus community, all woody species and twiners have disappeared, whilst *Dryopteris thelypteris* which preferred the cool dark conditions of the dense uncut stands has become rare where originally it was locally frequent. *Dissotis incana*, *Oldenlandia goreensis*, *Satyrium niloticum*, *Otomeria dilitata* and *Ophioglossum nr. lancifolium* are all

much commoner and amongst new comers are *Leersia hexandra*, *Fuirena pubescens*, *Cyperus Haspan*, a small cordate leaved plant possibly *Merremia emarginata* and two orchids, *Cynorchis anacamptoides*, with small purple flowers, and a new species of *Habenaria* not yet named, a plant belonging to the same genus as the rare Frog Orchids of some English counties. As with the *Satyrium* and *Otomeria* none of the last three species have yet been recorded at Namanve from outside the *Miscanthidium* swamp.

It will be seen from the above list that of the dry-area pioneers which are appearing in the drained papyrus swamp none occur in the drained *Miscanthidium*. This is probably partly because much less peat is formed by decaying *Miscanthidium* than by decaying papyrus and so less food is available for other species, and partly owing to the much greater root competition. *Eucalyptus* grows very poorly in *Miscanthidium* swamp, the best plants being now, after two years, barely three feet high. It is extremely doubtful if it will ever be possible to raise a plantation on these areas unless with continued draining the peat can be completely dried out and intensively cultivated.

As previously mentioned, a new community has appeared within the *Miscanthidium* swamp, it first being noticed after about eighteen months continuous slashing. This community from which so far only four species have been recorded occurs as patches seldom more than two or three square feet in area and occupies any damp depression.

The commonest member of the community is a species of *Sphagnum* moss, *Sphagnum Franeonii* among which is found the club-moss, *Lycopodium carolinianum*. In some but by no means all of the patches is a very pretty pink-flowered Sundew, *Drosera madagascariensis*, and from one patch only has been collected the fourth species, *Disa Eminii*, an orchid with flowers of vivid red.

None of these plants were recorded from any portion of Namanve prior to draining and slashing and it appears likely that at any rate at low altitudes, this community only develops when the normal succession is upset. It has been found to occur in two other Uganda swamps besides Namanve,—at Luzira and at Lake Nabugabo, on the strip of swampy ground separating that Lake from Lake Victoria. In both these areas the *Sphagnum* community has arisen in annually burnt *Miscanthidium* swamp (*i.e.*, swamps where the fire factor has allowed light ingress just as slashing has let it in at Namanve). At Luzira the *Sphagnum* patches are still small but a fifth species occurs, the small bladderwort *Utricularia subulata*.

At Nabugabo the community covers several acres and is much more advanced. *Disa Eminii* is common and other species present include *Crassula* *nr. alsinoides* a small herb with white flowers, a sedge *Ascolepis capensis*, also white flowered, a species of *Syngonanthus*, a very pretty plant with pink flowers, *Vausagesia africana* (a new record for E. Africa), *Otiophora pycnostachys*, the orchid *Phaius occidentalis*, and a new bladderwort clambering up the stems of the sedges which has been called *Utricularia appendiculata*. It will be most interesting to see at Namanve if and when the *Sphagnum* community develops further how many of these species will appear and in what order.

Turning to the birds and animals inhabiting Namanve, we find that in the virgin swamp the Papyrus, Miscanthidium and Palm areas are very poorly peopled.

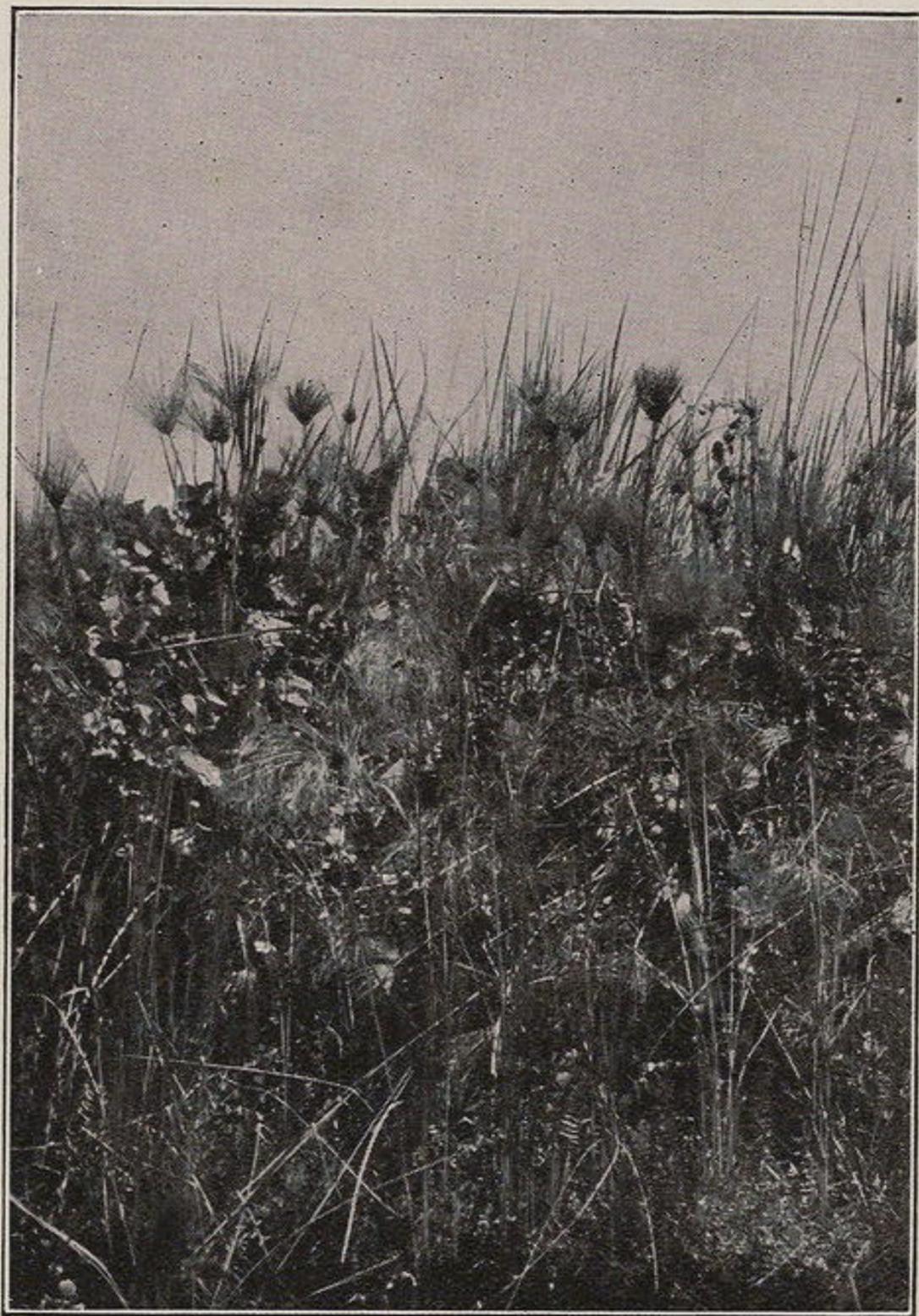
Of nesting birds, there are records of only one or two warblers, a coucal or bottle bird (*Centropus*), and one kind of weaver from the papyrus, two kinds of weaver in the Phoenix Palm, and of no nesting species at all in the Miscanthidium swamp. The number of birds visiting these communities for feeding purposes is also small. Birds of prey of several species pass over, mainly hawking for insects, as too do martins, swifts and swallows in their season. A few finches visit the grasses and sedges when the seeds are ripe and sometimes an odd black-headed heron lands to feed. In the phoenix zone, most of the forest birds can be seen at some time or another, plantain eaters (*Corythaëola* and *Schizorhis*) visiting the palms when the dates are ripe, and forest doves coming to drink.

Of animals, the same thing holds good. Otters (the clawed variety) and Sitatunga (*Limnotragus*) are the only two swamp dwelling mammals, and though probably there are some resident rodents none have been as yet caught or even seen.

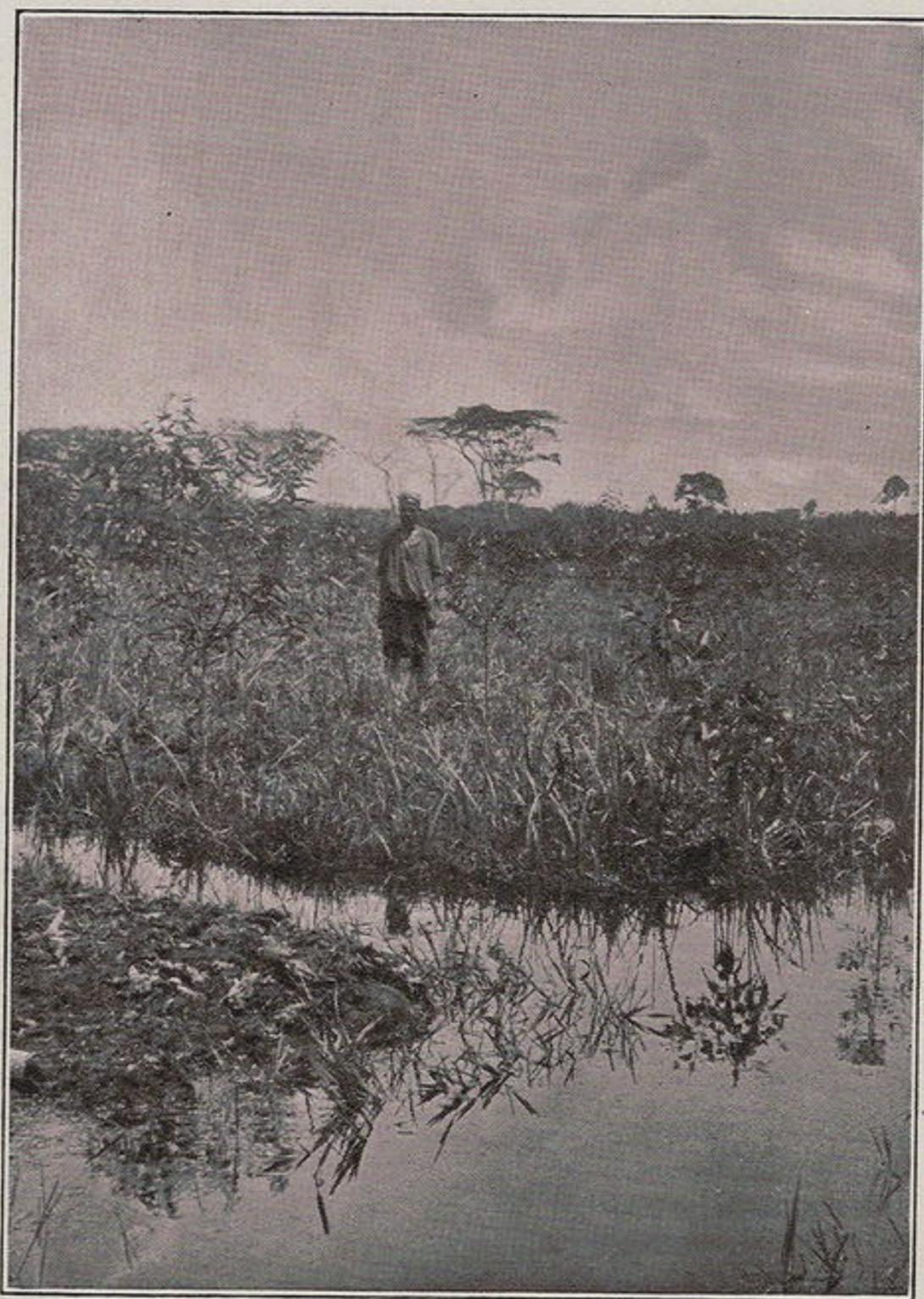
The sitatunga roam over the whole of Namanve to feed but during the day generally rest either in the Papyrus or Miscanthidium, though they can occasionally be started from the Phoenix belt or from the surrounding forest. They are typically night feeding animals which when looking for food may leave the swamp altogether although this is less the case at Namanve than in swamps surrounded by grassland or scrub.

At Namanve, they feed chiefly on the Miscanthidium grass, in the patches of which fresh tracks can always be found. The calves are apparently dropped in May and June, at least two were found at Namanve during these months in 1932. Captain Pitman suggests that on the island of Victoria Nyanza otters may occasionally help themselves to young sitatunga. There has so far been no evidence of this at Namanve, and here leopard are a far greater menace. Their spoor can frequently be seen following up sitatunga trails and twice remains of buck obviously eaten by leopard have been found. The Otters are also common. They appear to feed chiefly on the frogs and snails of which there are many, and also on mud fish. Whilst slashing over papyrus in August, 1932, some porters came upon an otter cub apparently about a week old. There may have been more in the litter but if so the parents had already removed them on the approach of danger. Amongst occasional animal visitors to these three communities are at least three species of monkey of which a white-nosed, red-tailed *Cercopithecus* is the commonest, which visit the palms for dates and enter the Papyrus community in search of figs; genets; mongooses; civets, and serval, all presumably looking for frogs and such-like. The leopard has already been mentioned. One specimen, probably an old male, was started from the same spot in the swamp at about mid-day for three days in succession. It appeared to be sunning itself.

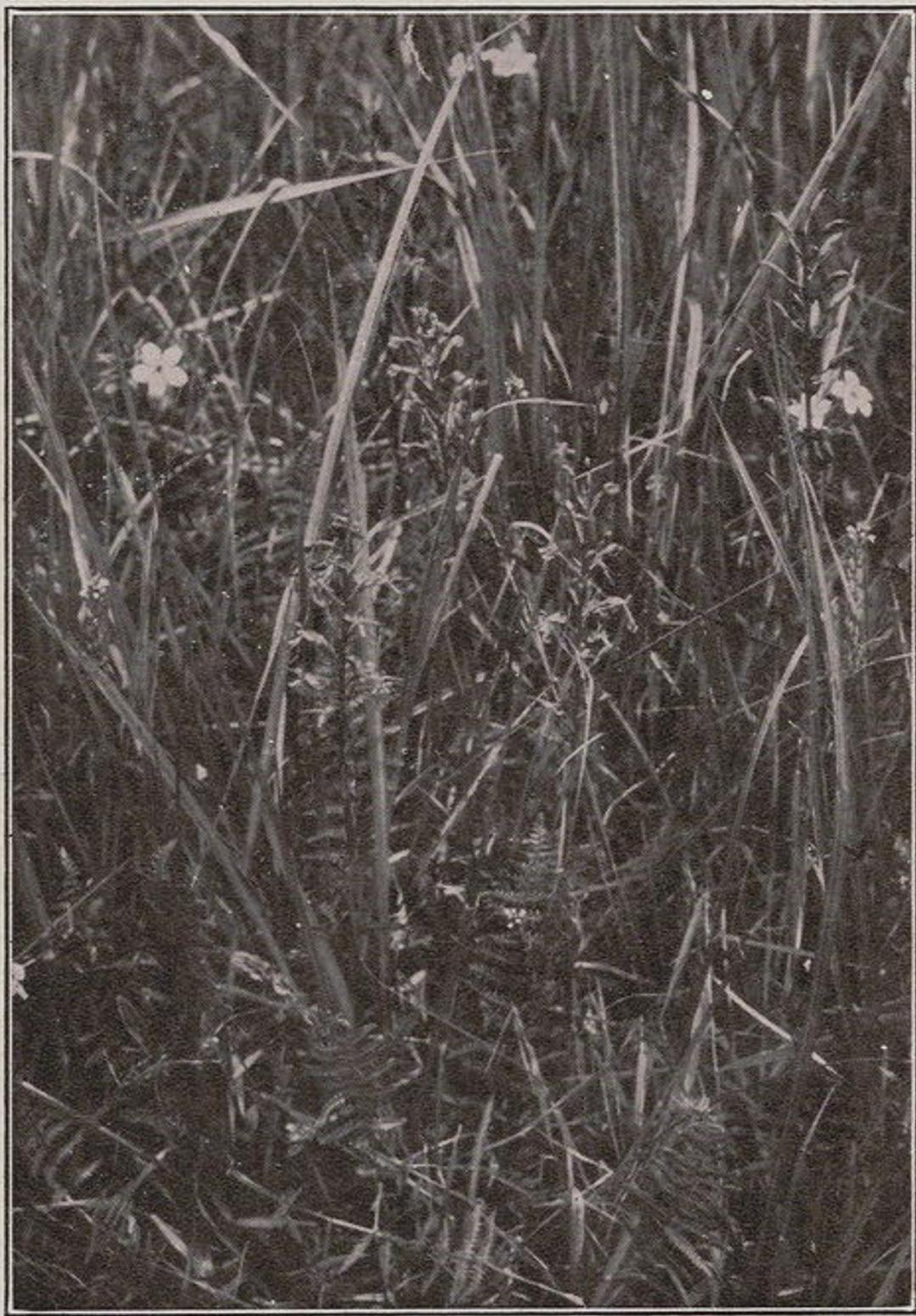
In June, 1932, two lions visited the swamp entering from the east and passing straight through to Bukasa. They succeeded in giving a porter who



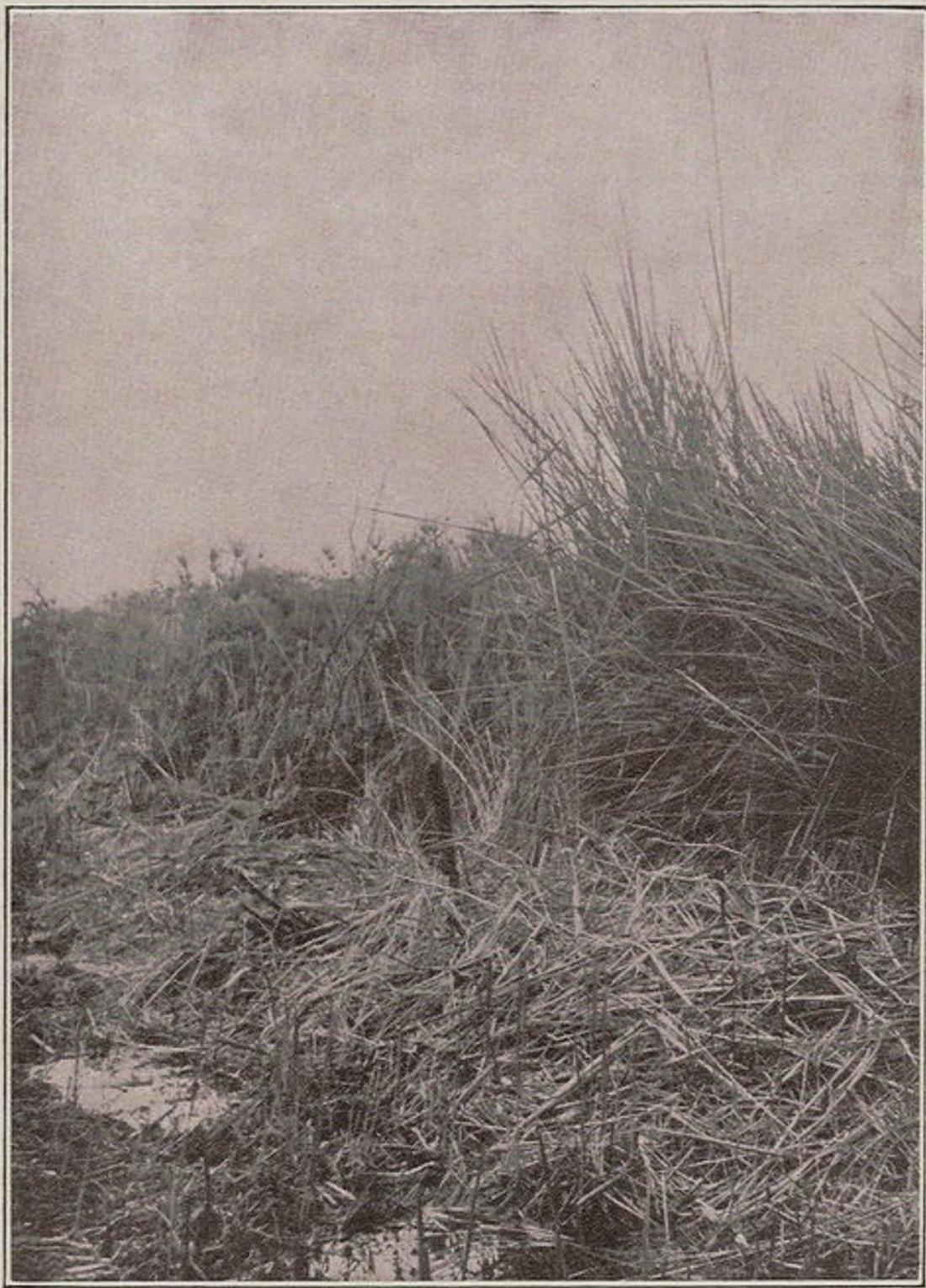
(j) Papyrus Swamp, shewing the variety of species present,
with *Ficus umbellatus* especially noticeable.



(k) Drained Papyrus Swamp, with two-year-old Eucalyptus.



Drained Miscanthidium Swamp, with *Otomeria dilitata*,
Cynorchis anacamptoides and *Habenaria* sp. nov.
(1)



Miscanthidium Swamp, the vegetation partly cut over.

Note that *Miscanthidium violaceum* is the only
species to be seen.

(m)

came upon them a very severe fright but were not seen again and did no damage. These must be regarded as very unusual visitors.

Although in the near-lake communities the only animals to be found are the sitatunga and the otter, birds are much more frequent.

The Lily zone is essentially a feeding area, the lily trotter (*Actophilornis*) being the commonest species. Its smaller relative *Microparra* which is fairly common on the Kigezi lakes and has been reported from Lake Victoria has not been seen at Namanve. Other species found here are the shags or cormorants, (*Phalacrocorax*), darters, (*Anhinga*), and, sometimes, ducks. Of the latter, Whistling teal (*Dendrocygna fulva*) are commonest, but yellow-bills (*Anas undulata*) also occur.

Just as the Lily zone is a feeding ground so is the Fringing Papyrus a resting ground. After fishing the darters and cormorants retire here to sit with outspread wings sunning themselves, whilst Goliath Herons, Purple Herons, Black-headed Herons, and generally one or other of the Egrets *Casmerodius* or *Egretta* can, as a rule, be flushed. All these species feed at Namanve in the Fern and Sedge or Limnophyton areas and with the exception of the Black-headed heron which builds in trees all may nest. Other birds occasionally seen in the Fringing Papyrus are the Buff-backed Heron (*Ardeola ralloides*) and the Green-backed Heron (*Butorides*), whilst there is, or was in 1932, a night roost of Tick birds or Cattle Egrets (*Bubulcus*) in this zone.

In addition to most of the above, some or other of which can usually be seen feeding in it, the Fern and Sedge will usually show during migration time, chiefly in February and March, one or more species of snipe, great, common or Jack snipe.

It is in the Limnophyton marsh, however, that most species are found. Herons and Egrets feed here, and perhaps nest, as certainly do Lily Trotters, Black Crake (*Limnocorax flavirostra*), Reed hens (*Porphyrio* definitely, and perhaps also *Porphyryla*) and Africa Moorhen (*Gallinula chloropus brachyptera*). In addition rails of several species must occur but have so far escaped observation while we have only one tentative record of a Dwarf Bittern (? *Ardeirallus sturmi*).

On pools in this area, Pigmy geese (*Nettapus*) and Spur-winged geese (*Plectropterus*) have twice been seen, and round their margins in the early months of the year have been noted common sandpipers (*Actitis Lypoleucos*), Wood sandpiper (*Tringa glareola*), Green sandpiper (*Tringa ochropus*), Redshank (*Tringa totanus*), a probable green-shank (*Glottis nebularius*), Curlew (*Numenius arquatus*), Little Stint (*Erolia minuta*), the three species of snipe already mentioned, and a Ringed Plover (*Charadrius* sp.).

The changes in the animal life of the swamp which have been brought about by the work of afforestation are so far not very important. Cutting back of the vegetation and the exposing of small pools and puddles as well as the opening up of drains has led to a great increase in the number of frogs. Otters presumably feeding on these have increased, or, at any rate, visit the area

more often. The *sitatunga* on the other hand has been pushed back with clearing and except on rare occasions only enters the slashed swamp at night for feeding.

Among the birds large numbers of black-headed herons visit the drained swamp, here again attracted by the frogs. Two or three pairs of Hammerkops have also adopted Namanve as a feeding ground and pace up and down beside the drains. One pair had their nest in 1932 on a fig-tree close to the main road near mile nine. Cormorants and an occasional darter sometimes follow the drains up to the head of the swamp, and small flocks of yellow billed ducks may be seen upon them from time to time. In November, 1932, a pair of these ducks nested but the eggs were unfortunately taken. On Lake Naivasha, this species apparently breeds much earlier in the year than at Namanve.

Other species which have bred in the slashed swamp are weavers, of two kinds—both nesting in Eucalyptus trees, a Coucal, and a pair of Crested Cranes, which frequented Namanve in 1932. The Crane's nest which was composed entirely of dry *Miscanthidium* leaves was discovered in the last week of June when incubation was well advanced. It contained three eggs two of which proved to be unfertile, one being broken by the mother bird before the single chick emerged. This nest must have been a very early one since the usual season is August and September.

Occasional visitors to the Papyrus and *Miscanthidium* areas not noted before slashing include Snipe, Hagedash, Saddle-Billed Storks, and Open Bills. These later arrive in large flocks which spend most of the time circling round and round overhead. When they descend they either perch in surrounding trees preening themselves, or stalk about the swamp feeding. After a day or two the whole flock moves on again elsewhere.

Just as the grasses found in the papyrus have spread with cutting so the number of finches feeding on the grasses has increased in proportion. Large flocks of several species can always be seen. More hawks too appear to frequent the area.

Although not referring to either the flora or the fauna, one other item concerning Namanve may be of interest. In the course of the cutting of a drain through the Palm belt at the north end of the swamp, a small seam of an unusual light blue-grey clay was exposed. This clay which is known in Luganda as "Nsomere" or "Nakasa" is said to be found in only one other locality in Kyagwe. It may sometimes be seen exposed for sale in Kampala market at the rate of 50 cents. per lump of about 2 lbs. weight, being eaten by Baganda women as a sweatmeat. It is slightly sweet, dissolves slowly and is free from grittiness. It does not appear to be taken medicinally. Men do not eat the clay, the habit possibly being considered effeminate. There is a proverb which runs "Kimwa kitole ng'omusajja alya ebumba"—Only a greedy man eats clay!



Drained Miscanthidium Swamp. The orchid *Satyrium niloticum* amongst *Miscanthidium violaceum* (with white midribs), and the fern *Dryopteris striata*.

[*The photographs illustrating "Notes on the Flora and Fauna of a
Uganda Swamp" are by W. J. Eggeling.*]

NOTES.

NOTES

The Uganda Staff List for 1895.

UGANDA ADMINISTRATION.

Commissioner and Consul General:—

- (1) ERNEST J. L. BERKELEY.

Military Officers for Service with the Soudanese Troops (4):—

- (2) MAJOR T. B. P. TERNAN, D.S.O. (Manchester Regiment).
 (3) CAPTAIN W. P. PULTENEY (Scots Guards).
 (4) LIEUTENANT H. J. MADOCKS (Royal Welch Fusiliers).
 (5) LIEUTENANT C. F. S. VANDELEUR (Scots Guards).

First Class Assistants holding a Royal Commission as Vice-Consul for the Protectorate of Uganda and the adjoining territories (3):—

- (6) F. J. JACKSON.
 (7) R. J. D. MACALISTER, A.M.I.C.E.
 (8) CAPTAIN C. G. H. SITWELL (Manchester Regiment).

First Class Assistants (for transport) (3):—

- (9) MAJOR A. F. ERIC SMITH (late First Life Guards).
 (10) C. W. HOBLEY, A.M.I.C.E.
 (11) GEORGE WILSON.

Second Class Assistants:—

- (12) CAPTAIN C. ASHBURNHAM (King's Royal Rifles).
 (13) LIEUTENANT WILLIAM R. DUGMORE (North Staffordshire Regt.).
 (14) W. GRANT.
 (15) G. D. SMITH (Accountant).

Second Class Assistants (for transport) (3):—

- (16) F. G. FOAKER.
 (17) STEPHEN S. BAGGE.
 (18) JAMES MARTIN.

Medical Officers (3):—

- (19) ROBERT U. MOFFAT, M.Ch., M.B. (*Edin.*).
 (20) WILLIAM JOHN ANSORGE, LL.D., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.
 (21) ARCHIBALD D. MACKINNON, M.D. (*Aberdeen*).

[This contribution has been arranged by R. A. Snoxall from information supplied by J. M. Gray].

Not blazoned in letters of gold in any public place in Uganda, nor carefully cherished and displayed in a Uganda museum, but as plainly and baldly appearing in the Foreign Office Handbook, such is the Uganda Staff List of 1895 as it appears above. Fortunately, however, a certain amount of autobiographical reminiscences have been left by these earliest officials of the Protectorate, and it is possible to glean information from the books of other travellers and explorers in Africa, so that something further than the mere names can and should be read and remembered by the 527 officials who to-day figure in the Uganda Staff List, and, indeed, by every inhabitant of the Protectorate.

“ Began life in the mercantile marine. Shipwrecked off Zanzibar, 1882. Subsequently employed by the Church Missionary Society at Mombasa. Accompanied Joseph Thomson through the Masai country to Lake Victoria, 1883. Second in command of the troops of the Sultan of Zanzibar, 1884. Entered the service of the Imperial British East Africa Company, 1889. Accompanied Mr. (afterwards Sir) F. S. Jackson to Uganda, 1889—90. With Captain (now Lord) Lugard in Uganda 1890—2. Joined the Zanzibar Government Service, 1892. Second class assistant for transport, Uganda, 1894. Afterwards Collector, Uganda.”

These brief notes happen to outline the career of James Martin, but they might also be a modernised authentic synopsis of 12 years of the life of Sinbad the Sailor and they start off furthermore with the necessary shipwreck! In a little over twelve crowded years James Martin had been a “ little Maltese sailorman,” a soldier, a missionary, a pioneer, a transport officer and a collector, and all this before most of those who to-day figure in the staff list had been born and, to quote Sir F. J. Jackson, “ it was the more remarkable when it is considered that he was quite illiterate.” Joseph Thomson, the great Scottish geologist and explorer, who includes a photograph of James Martin as the frontispiece to his book “ *Through Masai-land*,” ascribes the whole success of his great expedition to the energy and capability of this remarkable man. When last seen he was buying chillies in Dar-es-Salaam unknown or forgotten by the younger generation amongst whom he moved and was described by them as “ a filthy old Dago.” Yet we have the audacity to state that life in the modern world moves so fast that there is no time to think and meditate on the past.

Consider Captain W. P. Pulteney, of the Scots Guards, one of the four Military Officers for service with the Soudanese Troops. Having served in the Egyptian War in 1882, and seen further service in Africa he joined the Uganda Rifles in 1895. He soon got his active service in Uganda, for in that very same year he served in the Bunyoro Expedition and in that and the following year was also in the Nandi Expedition. He 1899 we find him now Vice-Consul to the Congo Free State and after serving throughout the South African War 1899—1902 he seems to have disappeared from the History of Africa. His D.S.O., he received in 1896 and a C.B. in 1905. During the Great War which he began as a Lieutenant-General, he commanded the 3rd Army Corps, in 1915 received the K.C.B., the K.C.M.G. in 1917, and the K.C.V.O. in 1918.

For those who wish for information on the engrossing career of the late Sir F. J. Jackson, he has left a book of his own writing “ *Early Days in East Africa*,” which enables us to form some idea of how a man who arrived in East Africa for the first time in 1884 could command the expedition of the Imperial British East African Company to Uganda only five years later and in 1907 rise to the position of Lieutenant-Governor of the East Africa Protectorate.

Death in action in 1900 cut short all too soon the life of Lieutenant-Colonel C. G. H. Sitwell, who by his personal influence succeeded in preserving the loyalty of the Military Garrison in Toro at the time of the Soudanese mutiny, 1898. Merely one day’s motoring now separates Fort Portal from Mengo

and makes it perhaps a trifle difficult for us to imagine the dangers of the isolated position of this First Class Assistant with his mutinous troops, and to appreciate at their true worth his services in preserving the loyalty of the Toro Garrison.

Lieutenant William R. Dugmore performed a like service with the Soudanese Garrison in Bunyoro, and by his personal efforts probably preserved peace in Bunyoro where only three years previously there had been war.

With the first Principal Medical Officer of Uganda from 1898—1906 we feel we have almost personal contact, for his name still heads the list of those old servants of the Protectorate who are still receiving their richly deserved pensions and of whom there are only four.

In 1891 Dr. Moffat, together with Mr. G. Wilson, associated themselves with Dr. Stuart who was the first Scottish Missionary to come to East Africa and after surmounting inconceivable difficulties at length succeeded in founding the first mission station in Kikuyu at Kibwezi.

In 1893 he was appointed Medical Officer to Sir Gerald Portal's Mission to Uganda and saw active service during the Bunyoro campaign and the Soudanese Mutiny.

Native Music.

By X. Y. Z.

Primitive peoples were satisfied with a scale of five notes only, which are fairly near the five black notes of our pianos. These five notes provided their composers with all the material they needed for the expression of their musical thought. This scale still survives in use in some of the remoter corners of Europe, such as the highlands of Scotland, and is also found among the aboriginals of Australia, as well as in Central Africa. In Europe it was superseded by the Greek scale, introduced during the Greek ascendancy, upon which the modern European scale is based.

Primitive music, like other primitive creations, is elementary in structure, seldom rising beyond melodies with which "Round the Mulberry Bush" might be compared. It consists of continual repetitions of a single musical phrase, to which there is sometimes added a drone, like the Scottish bagpipes, which are in fact said to be the music of the Ancient Britons. It has been maintained by some investigators that the drone occasionally develops into an elementary second part, but by others this is denied.

It would be interesting if readers of this Journal would contribute to it an account of any observed facts concerning native Kiganda music. Although those Baganda who have become acquainted with European music show little interest in native folk-song, and although the tradition must be expected to die out, the songs themselves will be preserved, thanks to a series of gramophone records of them made a few years since.

[Observations on Native music other than the Kiganda will, of course, be welcomed.—EDITOR.]

Acholi Dances (Myel).

By R. M. BERE.

The following is not intended to be a description of the various Acholi dances but a classification of the different types of dance. The Acholi people are well known for their dances, which are very varied in type. The songs which are sung during the dancing are very tuneful, especially in the chief's dance, Bwola, and Myel Nanga. They usually sing about ordinary everyday subjects, but there are certain songs which refer to well-known incidents in the past. Solo dancing in the way which is known to the Baganda is not practised, all the dances are communal, and everyone learns to dance from early childhood. The following are the different types of dances :—

(1) *Lalobaloba*, in which all the dancers carry little sticks. The men form the outer ring of the circle and the girls the inner ring. There are no drums at all in this dance and the movements are rather slow and stiff. If a man is pleased with the dancing of any particular girl he leaves his place in the ring and catches her right hand, which he lifts above his head. Beer is not made and there are no special occasions for the dance.

2 *Otoli*.—In this, dancers all carry spears and shields. Very large numbers may take part, groups from different villages advancing in turn upon the arena from different corners. This dance, though very spectacular on account of the large numbers of armed men who take part, is not particularly beautiful as there is no definite form and there is more shouting than singing. The dance consists mainly in encircling the drums, which are attached to the post in the middle of the arena. At sunset spears and shields are put down and *Lalobaloba* follows.

3 *Bwola*.—This is undoubtedly the finest of all the dances and is the most important. It is the Chief's Dance and is only called by the Rwot. The men form a large circle and each carry small hand drums (*Kitino Bul*) which are held in the left hands of the dancers. In the right hand a short drumstick is carried, and the movements of the feet are synchronised with the beating of the small drums. The girls dance separately inside the circle, without drums. The circle is formed round the chief's four drums (*Latong Bul*). This dance has a definite leader, who moves by himself within the circle; he is the big drummer, (*Lagoyo min Bul*) and a very important figure. He sets the time and leads the singing and is usually one of the few people in the community who is allowed to wear a leopard skin, which is the chief's special sign.

The dance *Bwola* can only be held on the following six occasions :—

(a) To honour the building of an Abila, which is a small hut in which offerings are made to the god Jok.

(b) When in the middle of the year the people have finished their customary cultivation for the Rwot and a bull has been killed.

(c) On the occasion of chair-taking by a new chief.

(d) During the harvest moon at the end of the year.

(e) At the funeral of the Rwot or a member of his clan, or when an important person has died whom the Rwot wishes to honour by taking his dance and drums to his house. This is the only occasion when *Bwola* can held away from the Rwot's village.

(f) On other very special occasions as arranged by the Rwot; beer is always made and drunk in large quantities.

(4) *Myel Awal*, or *wi lyel*.—This is the funeral dance in which the women wail round the grave and the men, carrying spears and shields, dance much as in *lalobaloba*.

(5) *Apiti*.—The girls' dance in which the men do not take part. It is held when the rains are good in the middle of the year. The girls dance in a line, not a circle, sing, and move in a sort of shimmy.

(6) *Ladongo*.—The dance held after a successful hunt while the people are still away from their villages. This is similar to the common form of Karimojongite dance. The men and the women face each other in two long lines and jump up and down, clapping their hands.

(7) *Mye Nanga*.—The men all sit down, play their harps (*nanga*) and sing, whilst the women dance *Apiti* in front of them. A man usually holds this dance after marriage or on other occasions after he has made a great deal of beer.

(8) *Alila*.—The now practically obsolete war dance, held on the eve of a battle. All the dancers are armed and go through the motions of spear fighting (*cobo*) and thrusting (*two ki ne*).

Note on the Origin of the Payera Acholi.

By R. M. BERE.

The ancient history of the Acholi, like that of most other tribes, is somewhat obscure. The Acholi of the present day are really a collection of small tribes brought together by the great Nilotic upheaval which is supposed to have occurred some three or four centuries ago. The most important group, both at present and in the past, is that of Payera, who alone claim to have lived always in approximately their present home. The account which the late Rwot of Payera, Awic, gives of the origin of his line is as follows.

Lwo was the first man, he was without human parents. He sprang from the ground and it was taken that his father was Jok (God) and his mother the earth. Lwo's son Jpiti, whose mother is unknown, had a daughter Kilak, who was never known to have a husband. At one time, however, she became lost in the bush for a while, no one knew where she had gone. She came back with a male child and it was said that the devil was his father. Labongo was the name given

to this child ; he was born with bells at his wrists and ankles and with feathers in his hair. There was something definitely satanic about him, for he danced all the time and all the time his bells jingled. Labongo married and had children in the same way as ordinary people in spite of his peculiarities, and the present Rwot traces his descent directly back to Labongo in an unbroken line.

Lwo's home was at Bukoba, near Pakwach on the Nile. He possessed a famous axe, the father of all the Nilotic tribes. Near Bukoba he drove his axe deep into the ground and from the centre there radiated the chiefs of many tribes. In connection with this legend it is noteworthy that the Shilluk claim to have originated from the shores of a great lake (Lake Albert) and to have moved northwards to their present home around Fashoda.

Labongo, previously mentioned as the first of the line of the Rwots of Payera, is the same man as Isingoma Rabongo Rukidi, the first of the line of the Mukama of Bunyoro. He is said to be the twin brother of Kintu, the first Kabaka. The first Namuyongo of North Bugerere is said also to be the son of this same Rabongo.

The interconnection between the various peoples of this part of Africa is always interesting and most complicated. It seems strange that two peoples of apparently such different types as the Bunyoro and the Acholi should have a common origin, but there is little doubt that there is some quite close connection between them. The presence of the Nilotic Chopi in Bunyoro points to this connection and many groups of Acholi, such as Pajule, trace their origin direct to the Chopi. The Payera are, however, the only Acholi who have any clear idea of their ultimate origin, however mythical it appears.

Explanatory Note to Genealogical Table.

This is shown to illustrate the article on the origin of the Payera Acholi and is definitely open to correction. Kintu is said to be alternatively father, son or twin brother of Isingoma Labongo Rukedi, who may alternatively be Mpuga. The alternative origins of this man are given. He is also suggested by another Banyoro legend to have come from across the Nile, and in the origin of the term Bukedi, this gives some support to the Acholi account.

The Alur are brought into the picture tentatively and in the hope that some information will be forthcoming. It is merely suggested that the Highland Alur and the Lowland Alur have some connection. The Lowland Alur show a far closer Acholi affinity.

There should be room in this picture for the ancestry of other paramount chiefs.

A Dry Crossing of the Nile.

By E. J. WAYLAND.

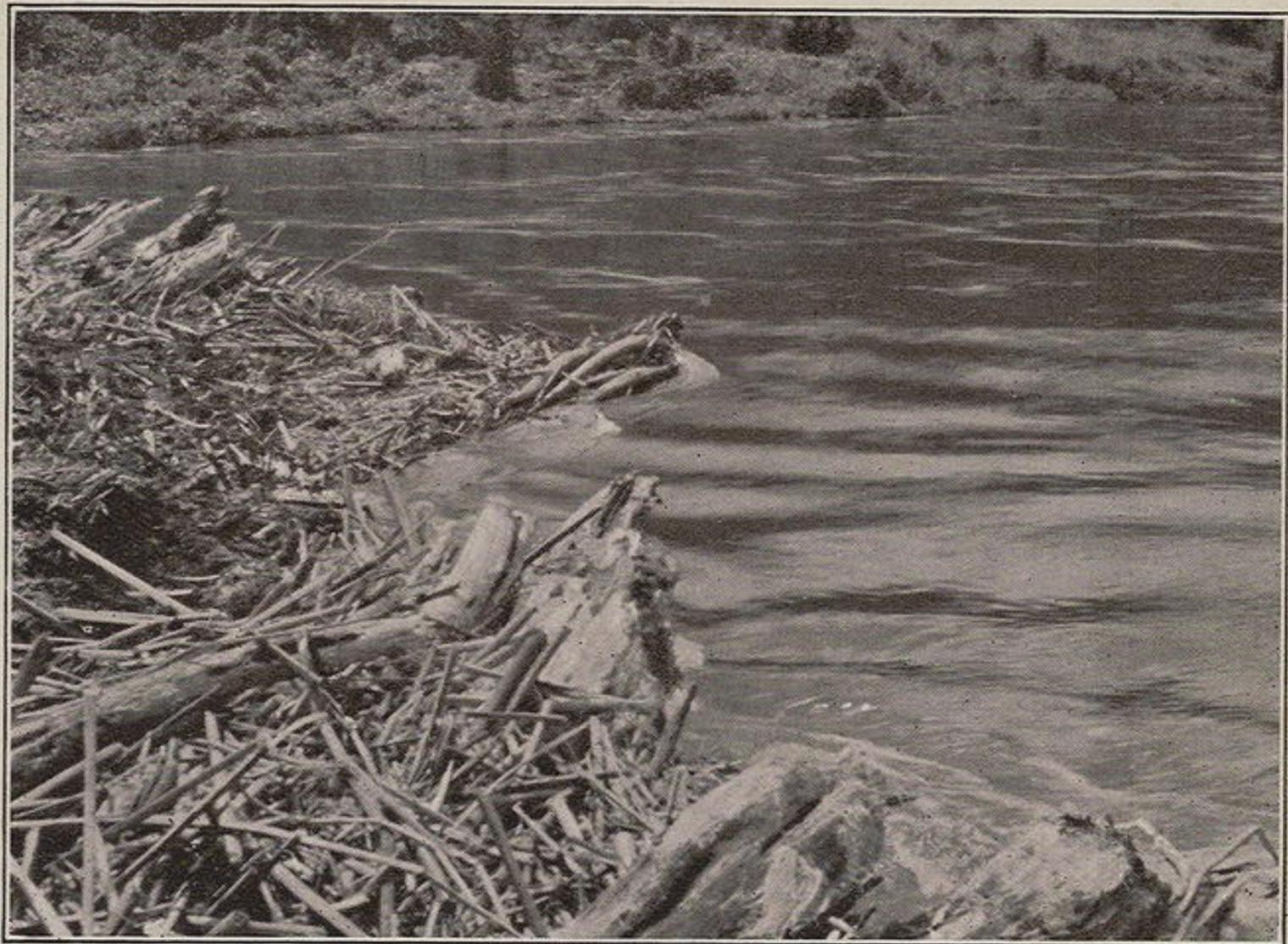
On the Sudan—Uganda border at about E. 32° 1', N. 3° 35', near Nimule, the Nile makes a very sharp turn to the north-west and maintains that trend for a great distance. In more ways than one this is a particularly interesting stretch of a fascinating river, and the most unexpected thing about it is that some seven miles below the Fola rapids, at a point about one-and-a-half times that distance from the Nile bend, it provides a dry crossing.

I first saw this from the air in 1930. My friend, who was piloting me, expressed the view that the Nile has an underground channel at the point in question; but this I could not accept, so we dropped down a few hundred feet to obtain a closer view. What appeared at a greater height to be rock now revealed itself as vegetation, grey because it had been burnt; and we concluded that here was a temporary blockage due to the jamming of a group of floating papyrus islands, such as one sees so frequently on the Nile between Lake Albert and Nimule.

Early this year, 1933, I was again in the Madi country, but this time on *terra firma*, and at the ruined Belgian Post at Yamba, some fourteen miles from Nimule but on the Uganda side of the river, I was told by one of my porters that not far away was a place where one could walk over the Nile dry-shod. I asked if the crossing was rocky and he replied that it was not, adding that the water went underground at that spot. From my knowledge of the physiography of the valley this seemed impossible. Moreover, the Nile below the Fola rapids is a powerful, wide and swiftly flowing stream which, owing to a relatively recent uplift of the land, is now unremittingly engaged in cutting its channel through an earlier bed. I had forgotten the supposed papyrus blockage seen from the air three years before, and as I frankly did not believe my informant I offered him a certain reward if he could show me where I could cross the Nile dry-shod without the assistance of a man-made bridge or without stepping from stone to stone. So we started off; I full of curiosity, he full of joy, for the reward was virtually his already.

I crossed the Nile as my informant said I should: dry-shod in all conscience! for there was at no spot any danger of getting one's feet wet, the difficulty was to prevent them from being burnt.

The dry crossing is a blockage some 1,200 feet in length and about 370 feet across and occupies the entire width of the Nile at that place. Its surface consists of soft soil with a very high percentage of vegetable matter, supporting an herbaceous land flora, but no papyrus. It is edged on its upstream side



Detail of the south-east end of the dry crossing.

[Photo. by E. J. Wayland]



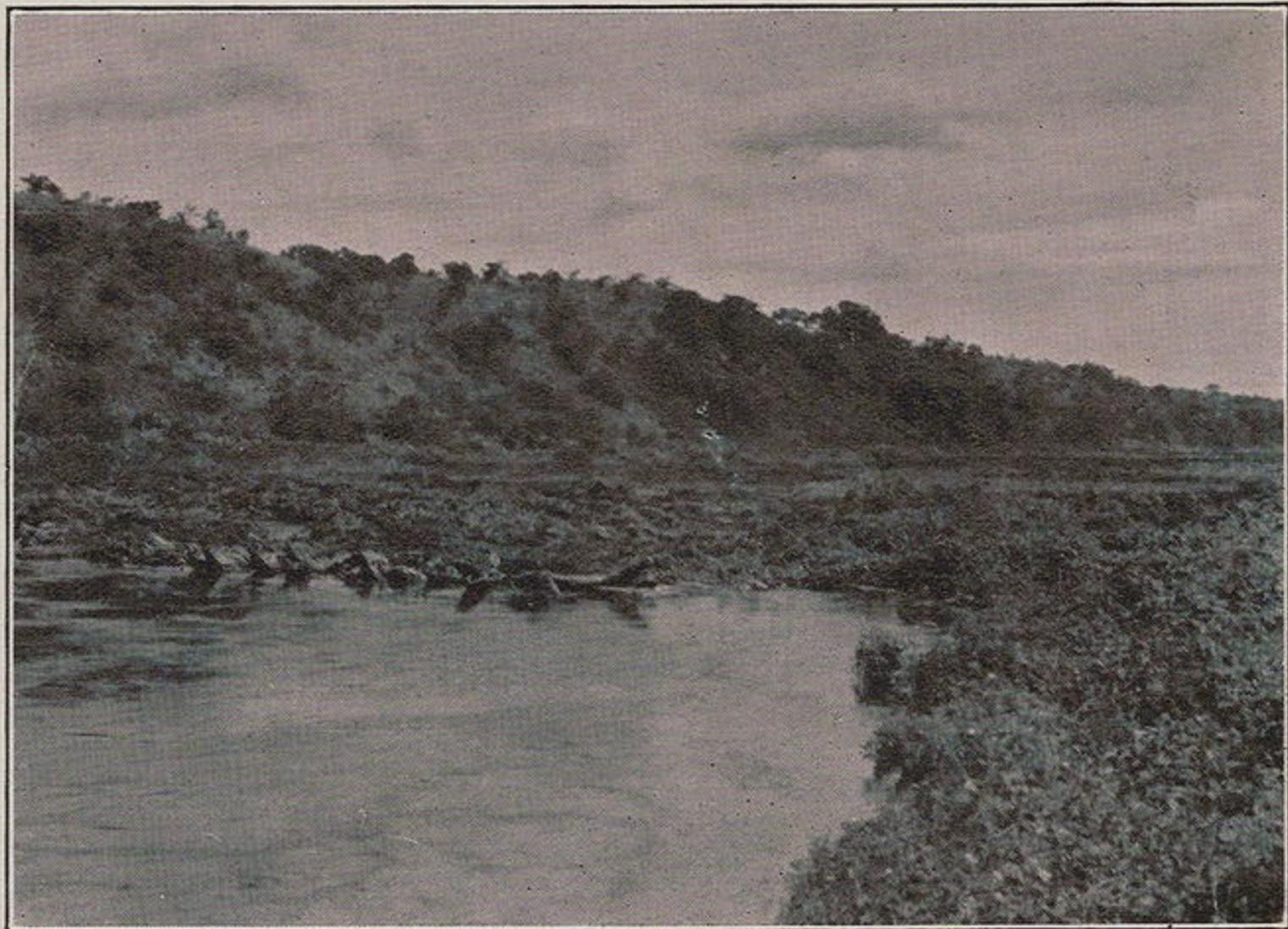
The dry crossing, looking north-west (down stream).

[Photo. by E. J. Wayland]



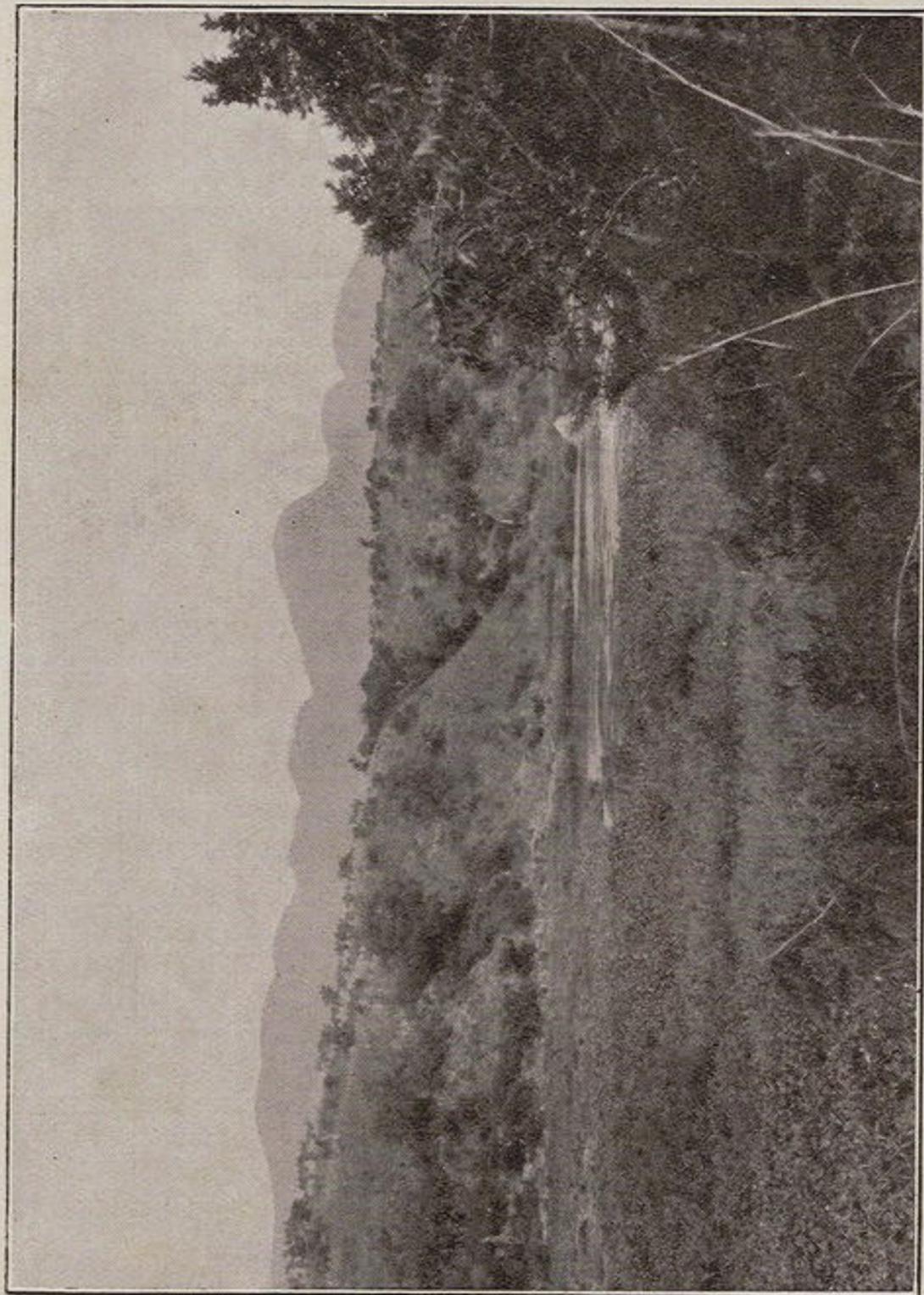
The Nile immediately up-stream of the dry crossing, taken from left bank.

[Photo. by E. J. Wayland]



The south-west (up-stream) end of the dry crossing, taken from right bank.

[Photo. by E. J. Wayland]



The north-west (down stream) end of the dry crossing. [Photo. by E. J. Wayland]



The dry crossing looking down stream, from the left bank.

[Photo. by E. J. Wayland]

with a broken line of tree trunks (for the most part boles of palms) leaning steeply upstream and thus recalling a raked blockage. Apart from being soft and powdery the ground is unyielding, except near the right bank where it responds to the foot as a mattress does on a spring bed; but there is so little danger of going through into the water below that elephants cross over the surface, as some fresh spoor clearly indicated.

About 570 feet upstream of the usual path over the crossing and extending for a length of seventy-five feet an oily-looking pool breaks the dry surface, and from time to time ugly swirls appear upon it, and immediately downstream of the path is a much smaller pool of a similar kind, while in line with this at the downstream end of the blockage there is an exposed channel along which water can be seen swiftly flowing. It would appear that the main course of the Nile under the blockage is by the right bank.

The natives say that the blockage is not permanent, that there have been several at different times in the same place; and that they appear during famines and last for several years; it is further maintained that their formation is in no way related to the height of the river. On my pointing out that there was no famine in West Madi at the time, I received the reply that the present blockage started in 1930 and that famine conditions would have been in existence then and now had it not been for efforts of the Administration directed toward the spread of cultivation and the stocking of famine stores. I was also told that men from the Sudan were daily crossing over to Madi to purchase food. I asked why it was thought necessary to burn the vegetation on the surface of the blockage while that on the steep banks and beyond was not burnt, but I obtained no satisfactory reply. Why and how this blockage forms I am uncertain, and prefer for the time being to offer no definite solution.

Neolithic Man of the Early Stone Age.

By E. J. WAYLAND.

Among the remarkable prehistoric finds in Kenya that have been foreshadowed by discoveries in Uganda is that of Chellean or pre-Chellean neolithic man; not that his bones were found in Uganda, as they were by Leakey at Kanam, in Southern Kavirondo, in 1932 (indeed, they have not yet been searched for on this side of Lake Victoria), but in August, 1930, a hollowed-out digging stone made of phyllite was discovered at a depth of about 16 feet below a strongly marked and widely developed Chelleo-Acheulean horizon at Nsongezi, on the Kagera river.

The Chelleo-Acheulean horizon is one of peculiar interest, for it marks an oscillation in the second pluvial period, during which the waters declined and lacustrine and other sediments were exposed as dry land, upon which early man roamed, fashioned his weapons and hunted. When the lake rose again, the then tool-littered land-surface was slowly silted over with about 50 feet of false-bedded sands and clays. The digging-stone was found in quite undisturbed

well bedded sandy clays in a shaft that had been dug through the Chelleo-Acheulean horizon, so that there can be no doubt that this remarkable relic was *in situ*. Its discovery was very disconcerting and came as something of a shock, for it upset one's ideas of the order of things, and although I wrote to several distinguished authorities about it at the time, I refrained from publishing the news in print until 1931 ⁽¹⁾ when the controversy over the age of Oldoway man, whose vast antiquity has since been disproved, ⁽²⁾ was directing attention to the possibility of *Homo sapiens* as the maker of Chellean tools in Eastern Africa. This digging-stone is by far the oldest ever discovered in Africa or elsewhere.

(1) *Nature*, Vol. CXXVII., Dec. 12-1931, pp. 1003—1004.

(2) *Annual Report, Geological Survey, Uganda*, 1932, paras. 65—72.

A Corrigendum to Speke's Journal of the Discovery of the Sources of the Nile.

By J. M. GRAY.

The object of this note is to endeavour to save others from following a will o' the wisp, which I was led to follow as the result of a passage in Speke's *Journal of the Discovery of the Sources of the Nile*. The passage in question is to be found on page 17 of the original edition of that work, which reads:—

“ Colonel Rigby now gave me a most interesting paper, with a map attached to it, about the Nile and the Mountains of the Moon. It was written by Lieutenant Wilford from the “ Purans ” of the ancient Hindus This, I think, clearly shows that the ancient Hindus must have had some kind of communication with both the northern and southern ends of Lake Victoria.”

Wilford's paper was published in 1801 in Volume III of *Asiatic Researches*. Unfortunately neither Rigby nor Speke were aware of the fact that in Volume VIII at p. 249 of the same periodical Wilford had been compelled to acknowledge that, at the time of writing his original paper, he had been the victim of a very elaborate imposition. He had told a pundit of his acquaintance something about ancient European mythology and had informed him that he was anxious to find out whether the Hindus were acquainted with the same stories. In course of time the pundit sent Wilford extracts from what purported to be the Puranas, which Wilford translated. Afterwards Wilford discovered that the pundit had invented certain of the legends and had gone so far as to falsify the manuscript by erasing the original name of the country appearing therein and substituting Egypt. He had also removed some leaves from the original manuscript and replaced them by others of his own composition, which he thought would suit the theories which he believed Wilford wished to expound. As soon as he realised the manner, in which he had been victimised, Wilford very properly made public acknowledgment of the fact that he had been hoaxed. No blame attaches to him or to Rigby or Speke for what is unfortunately a very misleading paragraph in the *Journal* of the last mentioned.

A Precursor of Krapf and Rebmann.

By J. M. GRAY.

The missionary J. L. Krapf and his colleague Rebmann are generally credited with being the first Europeans in modern times to obtain tangible information about the Central African Lakes. Recently I had the opportunity of reading a journal, which was kept between the years 1824 and 1826 by a British Naval Officer and which discloses the fact that Krapf and Rebmann were anticipated in their information by about a quarter of a century.

The writer of this journal was a certain Lieutenant James Barker Emery, who was Civil Governor of Mombasa during the temporary British Protectorate of 1824—1826. The journal of which I have a transcript, affords highly interesting reading. Administrative officers may perhaps think that some of the problems, which confronted the writer, bear a very strong resemblance to the problems which confront themselves to-day. The chief point of interest to people in Uganda regarding Emery is that in the course of his dealings with the Arab and Swahili population of the coast he learnt that "a very large lake exists in the interior, its banks thickly studded with buildings, lying nearly due west of Mombasa." This information was obtained nearly thirty years before Rebmann and Erhardt published the famous "slug map," which led to the explorations of Burton and Speke. Emery's informant was a certain Fumoluti, the ancestor of the Sultans of Witu, who caused so many international complications at the end of the nineteenth century. At one time Emery proposed to lead an expedition to this lake and thence to the West Coast. He was to be accompanied by Fumoluti's son, another Arab, and two Wa-Swahili. The expedition was to have started from Ozi at the mouth of the Tana River and to have made its way up to the source of that river and thence to the lake. Fulomati's son professed to know the route and to have great influence with the tribes which would be encountered along it. Emery's opportunity, however, never came. The British Government withdrew from the Protectorate in 1826 and Emery was invalided to England.

Subsequently Emery communicated such information as he had in regard to the interior of Africa to "the comparative geographer," W. D. Cooley. This gentleman is now chiefly remembered as a voluminous armchair critic of all contemporary African explorers. He demonstrated, for instance, by an elaborate process of deduction that Kenya and Kilimanjaro were only the figments of the imagination of Krapf and Rebmann. Emery's information naturally did not fit in with Cooley's preconceived and immutable theories. Cooley poured cold water upon the reports supplied to him by Emery and it was no doubt due to Cooley's attitude that Emery did not further attempt to make that information more public.

In conclusion it is not without interest to note that Emery, who was born in 1795 and was in 1826 sent to England "suffering from an impaired digestion and great debility obviously brought on by a long residence in the unhealthy island of Mombas," lived until 1889.

Hypsignathus Monstrosus.

By H. LYNDBURST DUKE, O.B.E., M.D., Sc.D.

“The night has a thousand eyes” so runs the song: here in Uganda it has also quite a formidable number of tongues. Mammals, birds, and even reptiles contribute, and there are noises that are soothing and seemly and noises that, quite definitely, are not.

To the dweller in headquarters—be it “backwater” or “hub”—the noises of the night are those commonly associated with our civilisation. The true voices of the wild seldom reach his ears, the lion’s throbbing roar, the cry of the tree hyrax, the rustle of elephants round the camp and many another sound that comes in from the spaces beyond the log fire, reminding the drowsy traveller at once of the snugness and the frailty of his flimsy tent. Instead there is the all-night gramophone, the neighbour’s wireless, his dog, cat, or baby, and at regular intervals his fowls calling the hour; a beer racket in the suburbs; and, in the small hours, the homely crow upon the roof.

But there is one “wild” noise, proper to the forests of East and Central Africa, that comes to town from time to time, a noise utterly unlike any of these familiar disturbances, and that is the harsh metallic note of Basil the Superbat. Basil is a sleep-destroying menace compared to which the Ancient Mariner’s albatross was a mere hawking amateur. His full official designation is *Hypsignathus monstrosus*. He is known also, euphemistically, as the hammer-headed bat, but the authority, quoted below, who makes this generous concession, wisely qualifies it by adding that our subject “is much better pictured by its scientific name, which refers to the enormously swollen nasal region of old males, the monstrously developed pendulous lips, the grotesque ruffles around the nose, the warty snout, and the hairless split chin.” As all this only refers to the front end of the creature, there’s no getting away from it, “*monstrosus*” barely conforms even with the low standards of veracity expected of zoologists.

Basil is an out-size fruit-eating bat, perfectly harmless and innocent of all Vampire taint, reminiscent though he is at times of the active phase of Bram Stoker’s monster. He is also quite distinct from the common “fruit bat” that haunts our gardens, a dainty little creature with a head like that of a tiny fox.

Basil is bizarre in his ugliness, a creature after Doré’s own heart, eerie and mysterious. In design he rivals, nay outpoints, the famous gargoyles of Nôtre Dame. His head is some four inches long and in shape half hippo, half horse, and from his nose stands out a pair of wrinkled naked sense organs that help perhaps to keep him straight. He has, be it frankly conceded, neat little ears, but his eyes are shockingly exophthalmic and look exactly like two black boot-buttons sewn on to the light-coloured fur of the entirely expressionless

face. The chest is powerfully built to support the great wings which in the adult attain a spread of nearly three feet; and, bat-like, he has a useful assortment of claws at various convenient points about his person.

Basil starts feeding soon after dark. He eats fruits of various kinds and is especially addicted to guavas and certain kinds of wild fig. On the dorsum of his tongue he carries a beautiful little diamond-shaped patch of roughened mosaic which acts as a rasp. He snatches mouthfuls of fruit while still on the wing, and returns again and again until the fruit drops off. The American naturalists state that the fruit is also sometimes plucked and taken to a convenient stance in a tree hard by and there devoured. After a time he hangs himself up in a tree and starts honking, while his friends and admirers flap about round him and enjoy themselves.

Within the strong chest, under the breast bone, lies a large cartilaginous sac with thick walls, connected with the wind-pipe—obviously his sound box. Once one of these creatures starts its postprandial soliloquy in a tree in one's compound it may be relied upon to carry on without a break for an hour or more, when it may perhaps move on a little and start another performance. Sometimes two or more collaborate with exasperating persistency. The noise usually begins shortly after everyone has gone to bed, and consists of one metallic note constantly repeated.

The American Museum Expedition to the Congo in their report devote several pages to Basil, his habits, internal arrangements and various gadgets. The following brief excerpt may be of interest, if only to show the impression our friend made in the minds of these distinguished scientists.

“Every evening, shortly after sunset—about 6-15 to be exact—some of them would be seen crossing the stream to the south bank, not in a flock but single, in straggling fashion. Entering the trees on the far side they would start at once to call. Each individual gave a loud *pwök* or *kwök*, repeated at short intervals, say of one-third to half-of-a-second, though occasionally several notes would be emitted in very rapid succession.

This noise would continue without serious interruption till 10 or 11 o'clock, to be taken up again at intervals later on, but ceasing by half-an-hour before daylight. During this performance their utter lack of fear was amazing. Neither talking, rapping on the trees, lighting a lantern, nor even firing a gun could induce them to cease their calling In no other mammal is everything so entirely subordinated to the organs of voice.”

Shade of Xantippe, what an overwhelming indictment is conveyed in this last sentence!

It must be remembered in reading this extract that the Americans met Basil on his native heath, undisturbed by man. In contact with civilisation he becomes in many ways a much more sophisticated creature, and very soon learns to discern good from evil.

When the noise starts, turning a deaf ear uppermost—if one is lucky enough to possess a really defective organ—may be sufficient for the strong-minded, but a light sleeper hasn't much chance. Fortunately, however, there is to hand another

remedy which in its application combines grim urgency with the thrills of the chase. Take a .410 collector's gun—it makes so much less noise than a 12 bore—and a torch, and, not forgetting the permit to “shoot within the township,” softly approach the tree wherein hangs Basil. Turn on the torch and holding it along the barrel with the left hand so that it illuminates the foresight, sweep the gun round until you pick up two little glowing points of light—his boot-button eyes. Remember that he is upside down and aim an inch or so above the lights, and if all goes well Basil will drop with a gratifying thud at your feet. Number 8 ammunition is excellent.

In his fur there are usually a few athletic wingless spider-like insects which in their humble way offer excellent sport to the entomologically minded, for they are amazingly quick on their feet. Indeed, what with Basil himself in all his weirdness, the thrill of the sudden flash of his eyes in the torch light, the shot in the dark and the answering chorus of outraged dogs, and finally the hunt for parasites in his thick fur, you feel, with the Village Blacksmith, as you return in triumph to your comfortable bed, that “something attempted something done has earned a night's repose.”

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Sir,

In connection with the study of the periodicity of locust outbreaks there is one minor subject which has received little attention, namely, records of past outbreaks. Though the collection of such references is of academic rather than practical interest, it is not improbable that by this means many interesting side lights would be thrown on conclusions arrived at in other ways, and at least the course of earlier occurrences of locusts might be traced with more confidence than at present.

Such references as these are scattered through the travel and other literature dealing with East Africa. The undersigned would greatly value the help of your readers, particularly those well versed in African travel literature, who can supply references.

Two difficulties are confronted at the outset, namely, uncertainty in many cases regarding the species of locust in question, and again the impossibility of knowing whether any information of value can be gleaned until material in sufficient quantity is in hand.

Notwithstanding all this a collation of such references appears to be worth attempting, and should anything meriting publication result, perhaps you will consent to open your columns for a short article on the subject.

In every case the title of the publication and page will suffice.

Yours faithfully,

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