

## Introduction

These two extracts are supplements to the descriptions of Kigezi district published in *Kigezi Mountain Mosaic*.

The first, *Handbook of Uganda*, is the earliest description in English and follows the first edition by the same author published in 1913 with little difference between them. While generally accurate the section on local history is obviously written from a colonial perspective, i.e. history began with the arrival of the Europeans, but it is curious that there is no reference to WW1 or updating of the descriptions of the frontier with Ruanda which had, between the two editions, changed hands from Germany to Belgium.

The second, *Uganda – A Crisis in Nationhood*, is one of the last descriptions of the district prior to independence and is of interest for its interviews with saza chiefs and their attitudes to democracy and self-government and missionaries for their colonial biases.

Note that the spellings of names of people and places are as given in the books and are not always consistent. The texts have been slightly re-arranged and edited. There are two illustrations, one from each book, that are scans of photocopies.

*The Handbook of Uganda*, H R Wallis, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, London, 1920

### Kigezi District

This district comprises of an area of 2,056 square miles, of which area 73 square miles is water contained in Lakes Edward, Bunyoni and Mutanda.

The boundaries are as follows:- Commencing from the highest point of Mount Sabinio, the boundary follows the Anglo-Congolese boundary line until it meets the parallel 0° 20' S.; thence along the south-western boundary of the Ankole district until it meets the Anglo-German boundary line; thence along the Anglo-German boundary line to the point of commencement.

### Topography

Such varying types of country as are contained in the Kigezi district are seldom met with in so small an area, and in addition the district presents many features of extreme interest, foremost amongst which should be mentioned the chain of volcanic peaks in the south-west, the numerous lakes scattered over the same locality, and the dense forest that covers a considerable portion of the mountainous country immediately to their north.

With the exception of the low-lying country bordering Lake Edward, the average altitude exceeds 5,000', while much of the district lies above 6,000'

A clearly marked escarpment, starting from the vicinity of Lake George, runs in a south-westerly direction, dividing the low-lying country from the highlands; after passing the

Rusaiya River it becomes less clearly marked, and to the west of the Bererara River, until Mount Nkabwa is reached, it is replaced by foothills which connect up to the plains with the mountainous country to the south, though this country ultimately reaches an altitude considerably in excess of that of the escarpment proper.

From Mount Nkabwa southwards to the German border in the neighbourhood of Lake Mwulera, there runs another line which, though it cannot be properly called an escarpment, forms the marginal range of the wild mountainous district to the east.

To the north-east this mountainous district is bounded by the Bererara River, and further south from Mount Ihunga to the German border near Mount Buramma it is clearly defined by a line of marginal hills which rise from the western side of the Rushenyi plain.

The main trend of the hills in this central mountainous district is north and south, with the majority of rivers flowing north. The chief exception is the system comprised by Lake Bunyoni, the Ruhuhuma swamp and the Lakes Murehi and Mutanda, whose waters are connected up from the east to west and from the source of the Rutshuru River, since they are debarred from flowing immediately northwards by the mountain mass which stretches from a few miles north-west of Kumba to the vicinity of Mount Nkabwa.

Practically the whole drainage of the district is carried off by the three rivers which enter Lake Edward, viz.:- the Rutshuru, Ishasha and Ntungwe.

Counties have not yet been defined, but the temporary sub-divisions may be described as follows:-

### Kivumbo

In the north-east is Kivumbo, which is bound by the Mchuera River on the north-east and Ntungwe on the west, both swiftly-flowing streams liable to sudden floods and averaging 10 to 30 yards wide respectively in the dry season. The northern portion runs down to Lake Edward, and is a low-lying rolling grass county with scattered clumps of thorn bush and dense forest belts along the river; the lake shore is fringed with a broad belt of marsh and old lake levels can be clearly distinguished further inland. The southern portion across the Rusaiya River is rather more hilly. To the north of the Mchuera and between it and the Kaisi lies the small district of Kabagambi usually included in Kivumbo, which, with the exception that is more densely wooded, is similar in all respects to the latter.

In the extreme north lies the promontory, after the rains an island of Kikuhuri, usually called Kanyamwongo; the latter is properly the name of the site of an old village further south along the coast now abandoned, the name being transferred to the new site. This is the only port on Lake Edward possessed by the district, and it is the only point at which the lake shore is accessible.

Along the foot of the escarpment north and south of the Mchuera River lies the Maramagambo forest, covering an area of about 30 square miles.

### Butumbi

In the north-west Butumbi, which lies between the Ntungwe – further south known as the Bererara – and the Ishasha Rivers, the latter being swift flowing, muddy stream about 15 yards wide, which passes through a dense forest belt and forms part of the international frontier. The central northern portion of Butumbi is occupied by an almost treeless grassy expanse which slopes gradually down to the river on either side; the south-east is more hilly and better wooded, but, with the exception of this last and extreme south of Kivumbo, both these districts are fly areas and no cattle can be kept in them.

Both the above districts are practically uninhabited, owing to the greater part having been declared a sleeping sickness area.

### Rusumburu

South of Kivumbo lies Rusumburu, an open rolling country of short grass, almost treeless but well watered by numerous marshy streams. The average altitude is over 5,000'. It is healthy and supports large herds of cattle, being similar in every respect to many parts of Ankole.

### Chinchizi

South of Butumbi lies Chinchizi, a small fertile country occupying the foothills that give rise to the mountainous district of Rukiga further south; it is well watered and well wooded, and, though somewhat hilly, cattle do well. It was the site of a small Belgian boma prior to its transfer to Great Britain.

### Kayonsa

To the south-west of Chinchizi the River Ishasha, a swift, rocky stream flowing through a deep valley the sides covered with dense forest, forms the boundary of Kayonsa, another small and extremely mountainous district. Much of it is densely forested, more especially in the valleys, while in other parts it is covered with long grass or bracken, hence travelling is slow work along the paths, and across country almost impossible. Nevertheless it is very fertile and supports in parts a certain number of cattle.

To the south and west the country rises abruptly and forms a broken mountainous mass covered with the densest forest which extends from 1° to 1° 8' S and 29° 32' to 29° 50' E.

The average altitude is close on 7,500' while many of the summits approach 8,000', and one peak attains as much as 8,551'. The forest itself is of great interest, both on account of the extremely mountainous nature of the country over which it extends and the animal and plant life to be found therein; for, though poor in mammals, such as are to be found are of considerable interest, and bird and insect life are plentiful, while the vegetation, assisted by an abundance of moisture and the ideal conditions presented by the many sheltered hollows between the folds of the hills, runs riot and presents an almost impenetrable front to any who would leave the single path that traverses the forest from Kayonsa to Ruanda in the south, and which as often as not itself requires a liberal use of the axe or machete before it will

allow the traveller to pass. Trees of all descriptions and sizes bound together with great lianas and draped with pale green beard moss, orchids and giant tree ferns, make a tropical undergrowth of surpassing beauty, whilst through it all, wandering here and there, are clear ice-cold mountain streams – altogether a wonderful and fascinating country.

Through the forest, but not far from its southern edge, run the boundaries of Kayonsa and Ruanda until the country of Rukiga is reached, when they diverge and the Kayonsa-Rukiga boundary turns off north-east through the forest to Ishasha, and the Ruanda-Rukiga frontier continues to the Ruhuhuma swamp.

This forest-clad region is rich in iron ore, more especially towards its southern border, and a considerable quantity is worked by the natives, who utilise it for making spears, hoes, bracelets, etc., and for barter.

The forest itself is entirely uninhabited, though a few natives live on the lower slopes of the hills to the west just on its border.

### Ruanda

South of Kayonsa extends that portion of the former Sultanate of Ruanda, which is now situated in British territory. Its western and southern limits are defined by the Anglo-Congo and Anglo-German frontiers respectively, while to the east the boundary with Rukiga continues from the north side of the Ruhuhuma swamp down its western arm to Lake Bunyonyi and thence down the centre of the lake and the long promontory which divides its southern end round the south-westernmost arm to the Anglo-German frontier on the Kiruruma River, the islands of the lake being divided between the two districts.

In the south-west extends the rocky lava plain of Mufumbiro, covered in grass and in parts small shrubs and brambles. There are few trees of any size, though Euphorbias are common. The soil, though of no great depth, is very fertile, and the country supports large herds of cattle. The plain is dotted with numerous volcanic cones, the majority breached on their southern sides.

In the extreme south-west commences the chain of great volcanic peaks, of which three, Mahavura, Mgahinga and Sabinio, lie partly in British territory, the first named having an altitude of 13,547'. It is covered for the most part with a shrub resembling broom, and near the summit, heath, while the lower slopes of Mgahinga and Sabinio are clothed in dense forests of bamboo. West and south-west of these mountains lies the remainder of this volcanic group of which Karisimbi is the highest, with an altitude of 14,780', while Namlagira is still an active volcano and was in eruption as recently as January 1913. Round the edge of this plain extends a series of lakes of which the largest in British territory is Mutanda, situated on its northern extremity; to the north-east lies Lake Murehi, and to the south, Mugisha and Chahafi. From the eastern side of this plain rises the marginal line of hills, mentioned earlier in the chapter, the southern portion of which is covered with a dense bamboo forest. From the summit of this range a marvellous view of the volcanic peaks, lakes and lava plain is obtained. Beyond, and situated in a long but exceedingly narrow and steep-

sided valley, lies Bunyonyi, the largest lake of the district, having a length somewhat in excess of 15 miles. It is dotted with innumerable islands, most of which are inhabited.

### Rukiga

To the east of Ruanda, and bounded on the north by Kayonsa, Chinchizi and Rusumbura, on the east by Rushenyi, and on the south by German East Africa, lies Rukiga, a mountainous country intersected by numerous deep valleys filled for the most part by with swamp-choked streams. The average level of this country is considerably higher than Ruanda, while the majority of ridges are over 7,000'. From north to south and west to east the country slopes gradually to an altitude of about 5,000', and becomes considerably less wild, thorn bush and open grass replacing the bracken and bramble with which the rest of the country is for the most part clothed.

### Native Government

For administrative purposes the district has been divided into four divisions, Rukiga, Ruanda, Rusumbura and Chinchizi.

### Rukiga

Rukiga was at one time conquered by Dwyabagirri, Sultan of Ruanda, though never apparently administered by him, whereupon it becomes the playground of neighbouring warlike tribes, more especially the Batwa, who by their repeated raids entirely depopulated the country in parts. The remaining Bakiga banded themselves together in small clans and lived a somewhat precarious existence, concerned only with their own safety, owing allegiance to no paramount chief. This district has now made considerable progress, and is divided into five divisions of Mpalo, Bukindu, Nalusanje, Butale and Kumba, each under a Baganda chief, and an effective native administration is being gradually built up.

### Ruanda

An agent is posted in Ruanda with a sub-agent at Bufundi on Lake Bunyoni, their duties being to instruct and assist the local chiefs in administrative matters. An administrative Lukiko has been established, consisting of two Batutsi, two Bahutu and one Mukiga chief as the population of Ruanda is made up of these three tribes. There are various other sub-chiefs who exercise authority in their own villages. There are no Batwa in British territory with the exception of a few personal hunters of the principal chiefs.

### Rusumbura

An agent is posted in this district to supervise and instruct the local chiefs in their duties. The Bahima are the ruling caste. Makabole, the head chief, has a certain amount of control over the people. An administrative Lukiko consisting of Makabole and five principal chiefs has been formed to deal with native affairs.

## Chinchizi

This district is for the most part thick forest and very hilly and is only partly administered. An agent is posted here to instruct the chiefs in their duties.

### Roads

Considering the short time that the district has been opened up, and in view of its very hilly nature, remarkably good roads have been made.

All the swamps crossed by these roads have been bridged and rest-houses erected at the principal centres.

Kabale-Mbarara Road: Kabale to Lutobo, 5 hours, camp, one bad hill

Kabale-Ruanda Road via Lake Bunyoni: Kabale to Bufundi via Kagunsu, 1½ hours by road, then cross by canoes, camp. A new road is to be made through the bamboo forest to Seseme with a half-way camp in the forest.

Old Road: Kabale to Kumba, 4 hours, camp; Kumba to Ngezi, 4 hours, camp; Ngezi to Seseme, 4½ hours, camp. Very bad hills

Kabale-Rusumbura Road: Kabale to Mpalo, 2½ hours, camp; Mpalo to Nalusanje, 5½ hours, camp; Nalusanje to Makoboles, 5½ hours, camp. A half-way camp can be made at the Hot Springs. There is a track from Rusumburu to Chinchizi

Nalusanje-Kagamba Road: 5½ hours, camp. Fit for motor-cycle in dry weather

Track over Mountains: Nalusanje to Kumba, 4 ½ hours, camp

### Waterways

None of the rivers of the district are navigable, the only waterways being:

Lake Edward, on the shore of which is situated Kanyamwongo, a fishing village of some importance, and a port of call for the coastwise salt traffic from Katwe to Kabale, a Belgian post on the southern end of the lake

Lakes Mutanda and Murehi, on which there are a considerable number of canoes used as a means of communication and at times for the transport of produce

Lake Bunyonyi, on which are some 30 similar canoes used for a like purpose and which are more especially required owing to the number of inhabited islands. From the point at which the lake is crossed from Kataloghi's to Kabale the lake is not more than a thousand yards across, and canoes can easily be obtained for the transport of a safari

### Game

With the exception of the low-lying countries of Butumbi and Kivumbo bordering the shores of Lake Edward, Kigezi cannot be considered a game district, at least so far as numbers and

facilities for making large bags are concerned, though such game as is found is of considerable interest.

In Kivumbo and Butumbi the following species are to be met with:- Elephant, which range from the Maramagambo forest to the Chiruruma River; buffalo, which are plentiful in all the forest belts and more especially by the Rusaiya River, and waterbuck, topi, Uganda cob, reedbuck, bushbuck and duiker. Lions are very plentiful, especially in the vicinity of Ishasha, but are seldom seen out in the open, as are also leopard and the usual lesser members of the cat tribe, hyenas and jackals. Hippopotami are numerous in Lake Edward, the majority of the rivers and in great numbers in a small swampy lake called Kikeri.

Wart-hog and bush pig, and in Maramagambo forest, a species of giant forest hog presumably allied to *Hylochoerus Meinerzhageni*, colobi, and various other species of monkey and baboons are also plentiful.

With regard to the remainder of the district, the most interesting and at the same time the most widely distributed animal is the situtunga, which finds a home in almost every swamp. The most favourable locality in which to observe them is in the vicinity of Ngezi, where, from a suitable position on the hillside overlooking the swamp, they may usually be seen out in the open feeding grounds, which form a characteristic of this swamp, at any time of the day, in large numbers.

Perhaps the commonest animal, though seldom seen, is the bushbuck, which is to be found throughout the bracken and bramble-covered portions of Ruanda and Rukiga and in the bamboo forest south-east of Kigezi and on the lower slopes of Mgahinga and Sabinio. In the bamboo forests below the same mountains are found elephant, possessing as a rule very small tusks, and buffalo; on the lava plain a small duiker and in the bamboo forest to the south-east a species of red duiker, at present unidentified, and what is believed to be a new variety of elephant of small size and carrying light tusks.

The dense forest south of Kayonsa is believed to contain gorilla, though it is possible that this in reality be the new variety of chimpanzee discovered by the Duke of Mecklenburg on Mgahinga; there is also a small antelope as present unidentified, pig, leopard, and on the edges lion, which sometimes range as far as Ngezi and Kunga and are also found in the hilly country north-west of Nalusangi and in the vicinity of the volcanic peaks. A small herd of buffalo live in the hills to the west of Ngezi and a few occasionally visit those on the east. Otters are plentiful in many of the swamps and lakes and are much hunted by the natives. A certain number of hippopotami are found in Lake Mutanda.

#### Native Government

In April 1914 it was decided to move the Government headquarters to Kabale in the centre of Rukiga, where a better site was obtained. The offices, police lines and government offices are situated on Kibale Hill, while the European quarters are situated on Makanga Hill that slopes up from Kabale.

Kabale promises to be one of the most picturesque stations in the Protectorate.

## Local History

The early history of the district is the history of the Kivu Mission, which was undertaken in 1909 for the purpose of occupying territory in the direction of Lake Kivu, to which the British Government laid claim. The outcome of this Mission was an arrangement with the Belgian authorities for the laying down of a definite Anglo-Congo frontier, which was subsequently demarcated by a joint Boundary Commission. The territory thus acquired, which had been formerly in the occupation of the Belgians, was officially handed over to Britain in May, 1911. Kumba, which had been originally occupied by the Mission as a purely military position, now became the headquarters for the administration of the newly-acquired area, under a Political Officer. In the meantime an agreement had been made with the German Government for the transfer of a considerable stretch of country lying S of 1° S latitude – which up to this time had formed part of German East Africa – to Great Britain. The new frontier was again laid down by a joint Boundary Commission, and in January 1912, the formal transfer of the territory was effected.

Prior to this transfer, in September, 1911, it had been necessary to take active measures against a well-known Nabingwe or witch-doctress, by name Mamusa, who had been assiduously preaching an anti-European crusade, and raiding and looting all the friendly chiefs who had refused to join her standard. The operation was successfully carried out by a company of 4<sup>th</sup> K.A.R., under the Political Officer, Captain Reid, Mamusa herself being captured and subsequently deported to Kampala.

During April 1912, the German Government took action against Bassebia, chief of a section of Batwa resident in German territory, who had been raiding and plundering his neighbours; his capture was effected in May, and his prompt execution followed. Considerable relief was felt by the Bakiga at his death, and with the establishment of a Mututsi of standing as paramount chief of the German Batwa in September, all likelihood of Batwa raids has ceased. At the end of October 1912 the district was brought under ordinary civil administration.

Ever since July 1912 that part of Rukiga that had been the scene of Mamusa's activities had been disturbed by the presence of Ndungutzi, who had accompanied Mamusa, but who had made good his escape after the fighting, and who, according to some authorities, was the rightful heir to the throne of Ruanda, and, though the popular candidate amongst the Bahutu for this position, was dispossessed in favour of Msinga, who had the support of the Batusi and the German authorities, and who now proclaimed himself and was admitted by several minor chiefs to be Sultan of Rukiga. As a result these minor chiefs resident near Kabale refused to carry out Government orders, and began to be actively hostile to the agents and friendly chiefs. Matters reached a climax in January 1913 when, as a result of the prompt action on the part of the District Officer, and the fortunate circumstance of Ndungutzi's apprehension at Mbarara, through which he was passing on a secret visit to Mumusa, the whole matter was brought to a satisfactory conclusion, and it is improbable that anything of the sort will happen again.

Periodical raids have since been carried out by bands of Batusi under the leadership of a witch-doctor named Ndochibiri, but a punitive expedition, consisting of Uganda and Belgian-Congo Police, succeeded in ejecting the offenders from British territory with considerable loss. Ndochibiri, however, re-appeared at the head of a strong force in June 1919 when the retreat of his party was cut off and Ndochibiri and other leaders killed.

### Population

Appendix A (pp.302-3) gives a native population of 70,000 males and 80,000 females with one male European and eleven male Asiatics. Density was 84.66 per square mile, the third highest in the Protectorate after Bukedi and Entebbe. Approximately 65,000 were employed in agriculture, 1,000 in manufactures and 100 in commerce. Rates of births, marriages and deaths are not given as 'records not complete'.



Photo by E. J. Whistler,

FRACTURE PLANE (FAULT) BETWEEN KABAHE AND KIGALI.

# *Uganda – A Crisis of Nationhood*, Harold Ingrams, London, 1960

## Chapter 18: The Little Lake District

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After one nostalgic look back over the far-stretching plains and hills of Ankole, I turned to go down the valley into Kigezi. The scenery was very different. Eucalyptus trees grew tall and shady along the road, with numerous barrel-shaped beehives hanging on them. There was also black wattle, a characteristic tree in Kigezi, for taxpayers were compelled to plant twenty trees a year, and wattle bark for tanning was once an export.

From Kabale, the district headquarters, I went to Lake Bunyoni to visit the leper settlement on Bwama Island. Nick Champain, brimming over with interest in all that went on around him, gave me a running commentary on current affairs and the passing scene.

Kigezi had recently had its elections, he said. Few of the voters had any clear idea of what it was all about. One newly elected councillor had asked him just what a councillor was, and there were frequent enquiries about what voting was for. In the end it had become an affair of Protestant v Catholic.

The problem of the district was always its overcrowded population which had doubled since 1921, and it was an uphill task to find room for expanding agriculture. There was now going to be a European agricultural demonstration officer for each county, but the main job was the settlement elsewhere of the large surplus of the population. It was supposed to be voluntary, but there was necessarily some pressure, and thousands had been moved with government assistance. About 30,000 also go down country each year to seek work. The majority are Bakiga, the most numerous tribe in the district.

Kigezi is famed for its scenery, and with its mountains and valleys, its forests and lakes, there can be few districts in Africa with more beautiful views. The steep, striped, hillsides demonstrated modern methods of resting land and combating erosion. The alternate strips of fallow and crops or brown tilth follow the contours and prevent the soil being washed into the valley. It is now the idea that blocks are better than strips, so soon the hillsides will look like chessboards.

The 25 miles of road round the lake cost only £2,000. The money came from community development funds. The labour was 'voluntary', but you got fined if you did not do it. Nevertheless it was a great achievement and people took great pride in it. Feasts were given to celebrate the various stages of its progress.

Bwama Island in Lake Bunyoni, the Lake of the Little Birds, used to have a 'witch's tree' connected with the spirit of a queen of Karagwe who reigned about 1700. Her title was Nyabingi. 'one who possesses great riches'. Her husband chopped off her head and that started the trouble to which the cult of the vengeful spirit led. It was largely suppressed and

the island returned to bush. It was offered to the C.M.S. as a site for the leper hospital which was founded in 1930. In this new guise it has been called the Island of Miracles.

Sister Jane Metcalf, a stalwart North Country woman, looked an excellent advertisement for the healthiness of life on a leper island. She was a happy person, who had found fulfilment in the work to which she had dedicated herself.

Leprosy is looked on as a disgrace in Kigezi. The people used to drive the lepers out and build huts for them but then leave them for the wild animals to eat. But on this island there was hope. Sister showed me a woman terribly disfigured with nodular leprosy; if she lived through the next year she had a chance of a cure in the following twelve years.

I talked to some lepers who are now working on the staff. Erisa Kanyarugano, a Munyaruanda who grew up in Bafumbira with a hoe in his hand, had been in the settlement for twenty-four years. As a little boy he had two patches on his leg, but he never knew what they were. He learnt to read at church, was baptised and in time became a Christian reader.

Then one day, he said, when he had worked six years as an evangelist, a doctor saw the patches and recognised them as leprosy. So he came to Bunyoni and was promised not only treatment but work. Now he was the head attendant of the hospital. He has two farms in Bafumbira. Church members plant his bananas for him. He is cured and when he retires hopes to get a permit to sell medicines among his people.

*ii*

Bufumbira county in the extreme south-west of Uganda is famous for its volcanoes. The soil is lava and very fertile: the higher it is the richer. This is reflected in the cultivation of sorghum and beans which everywhere cover the hills.

We passed into the dense Echuya bamboo forest at 8,000' – the highest point, 8,100' was recorded by the roadside. The huge bamboos were closely packed together and it was no easy to pass between any two of them. This forest is a reserve for the carefully protected mountain gorilla. Then we came out at Kanaba Gap at 7,800'.

It was quite a breath-taking view, one which people come long distances to see. There in all their majesty were the volcanoes of Bafumbira. Unfortunately they persisted in a certain coyness, wrapping wispy clouds round their tops, though now and then one would permit a brief glance. We drove down crossing upward-bound traffic from the Congo on the road. Quite a lot comes in every day and, usually nighting in Kabale, makes its way to Kampala and the railway.

At Mutolere, Father Cinqmars and Father Grandmaison told me their station was founded in 1929, because the 'father of Kabale who used to visit Mutolere was enormously fat'. There was no road in those days, so it meant crossing the lake and the mountain. The mountain was too much for the Father; he had to be pulled up on one side by a rope and let down the other. So he came to the conclusion it would be easier to live here. The house and the church were

all built by local labour. There are now 12,000 Catholics depending on the station now, but there remain at least 100,000 pagans in the neighbourhood.

“If the Europeans were to go”, said Father Cinqmars, who had lived thirteen years at Mutolere, “everything would go back and things would be even worse in a year. Cleanliness, flowers, views mean nothing to these people. They have a purely materialistic outlook. There is no demand for an educated wife: better they say, an uneducated one, for she will work. Sometimes teachers educate their wives. They have politeness, but no gratitude, and there is no word for it in their language. They have courtesy, but they are hypocritical.”

I asked whether Christianity took root.

“The Banyaruanda are neither hot nor cold. Their motive when they came first to the mission was profit, but now they see they can get things the things the mission gave them without Christianity. There are some Christians perhaps, not many, who would never leave their religion: they have a conscience, but no sense of responsibility”.

Father Cinqmars said that the Bantu Banyaruanda believed in one god, Imana, remote but kind, Spirits were troublesome, so they sacrificed through the medium of Nyabingi to propitiate them. Sacrifice is less than of old.

“They are always slaves to fears”, he said, “so there is a sense of insurance about a new religion. They still observe their superstitions when they are Christians.”

“There is a lot of polygamy. If the first marriage is successful and the wife bears children who do not die, the marriage goes on. But if it goes wrong they take another wife, and another and another. Divorce and the return of cows paid as bride-price is rare: it is cheaper to keep the women.”

“Things are changing a lot now”, said Father Cinqmars, “the country is overcrowded and the young men go off to Kampala to work. But the conditions in the homes of the people are beyond description in respect of rats and dirt. There is no appreciation of cleanliness.

“But there hospitality is good. They help each other out to build their houses and in misfortune. There is much love between children and parents. If you deal with them in their own way you can do what you will with them – we are too impatient, always in a hurry to get things done, so we often lose.”

“I’ve been here nine years”, said Father Grandmaison, “and I’ve learnt that the shortest way between two points is the roundabout one.”

They took me round their cigar factory where workers sat quietly rolling and cutting tobacco into cigars, gumming them up and pressing them. They buy the tobacco.

“Do you train your own workmen?” I asked, looking out on to the plain where a hard-working brother was building a new school.

“People come to learn carpentry”, he shrugged his shoulders, “but they drift away”.

They did not sound like balls of fire, these people who live among extinct volcanoes.

*iii*

Paulo Rukeribuga, the saza chief of Bufumbira, is a Mahutu by tribe and started his career in 1917 as an askari. This is his native county and his father, who was a mukungu chief (a grade lower than a miruka chief) was a small farmer. The Bahutu are cultivators. They were here before the Batutsi, who are cattle people.

Every village has its mukunga chief and when the chief died the people chose which son should succeed. Until 1911 Paulo's village was under Belgian rule.

"I was a boy when the English came, I used to carry their food for them. There were no schools in those days. I learnt to read and write a little when with a C.M.S. catechist and I used to belong to the C.M.S."

"Used to?" I asked.

"Yes, they chucked me out when I got my eighth wife. They said it was too many. I had eight wives and twenty-eight children. Now I've only got five wives and eight children are dead. Sometimes I go to church when I am not busy".

"And do all your wives get on well together?"

"Well, I have plots of land in different places. I need them to keep animals and produce food. Like that it's not difficult to support them. I keep one wife at saza headquarters, and they take it in turns to come and see me; when I have free time I visit them. Some of my children are grown up and have their own homes and children, but I've still got fourteen children at school. My wives would be angry if I didn't send them to school. My ring-wife gets angry sometimes because I have so many others."

He talked of the respective merits or demerits of German, Belgian and British rule, and said that those who had been under German or were under Belgian rule prayed to be under British. He preferred the British because cases in court were settled justly: women, the aged, cows and goats were not taxed and if you paid your tax you could 'sit freely'.

"In the Congo", he said "I'd be paying tax on each wife".

"The Banyaruanda were here", he added, "before and after the British. All this country was under the King of Ruanda. He sent his forces into Buganda and kept the Baganda away. People would not like to have the Baganda ruling them, and would fight. We have a saying that 'The police lines at Mengo are thatched with grass'. We could burn them, so the Baganda are not all that strong. The time has not yet come for self-government yet. The British should wait until the people say it has. But the councils work well here; they are not a new thing, and the people choose their own chiefs."

Paulo Rukeribuga was a considerable personality and ruled his saza firmly. I visited his home later and was interested to see on his walls pictures of the Kabaka and the King of Ruanda, of

Queen Elizabeth and King Baudouin. It reminded me of a French house I saw with Petain in one reception-room and de Gaulle in another, of border houses in Hong Kong with Chiang Kai-Shek and Mao Tse-tung.

*iv*

The miners of Kigezi live on hill-tops. They are rather a mixed community of Norwegians, South Africans, Greeks, Hungarians, Cypriots and Seychellois. They mine wolfram, bismuth and tin. The mine of Kirwa is on a hill whose terracing made it resemble some of the pyramids. Mr Kikkides started mining in 1936, and in 1942 made a find here. So on Kirwa, he and his wife have built their house with a wonderful view. The mountain-top garden surrounds the house and we walked around it looking into the distance.

A large notice-board sign-posted the way to Kigezi, which means 'little lake'. It also told us that the district was named from this 'little lake' where in 1910 Captain Reid had set up the district headquarters. In a district noted for beautiful lakes of national size there seemed something humorous in having it called after a rather inferior duck-pond, which was all the 'lake' proved to be.

The district is a mixture of smallish tribes, of whom the Bakiga are the most important. They probably first arrived from Ruanda between 1800 and 1850. There are six counties, Bufumbira, Kinkizi, Ndorwa, Rukiga, Rubanda and Ruzhumbura, each with marked peculiarities of its own. The earliest known inhabitants of Ndorwa and Rukiga were the Abashambo, related to the Bahima, and like them Hamitic cattle men. Gradually increasing population and Batutsi drove more Bakiga in from Ruanda. Those who came first accepted the Bahima people as lords of the land, but as Bakiga numbers increased, they drove these Hamites into Ruzhumbura and Ankole.

The Bakiga had no chiefs but were divided into over a hundred loosely conglomerated clans. Batutsi from Ruanda occupied Bufumbira where, with the more numerous Bahutu, they formed the Banyaruanda. Rukiga later divided into two – Rukiga and Ndorwa, and these two counties and Kinkizi are the main strongholds of the Bakiga. The Bahororo occupied Ruzhumbura. They are said to have owned royal drums brought from Mpororo.

*v*

We started for Kinkizi county by climbing again into the mountains through valleys whose sides were impressively covered with cultivation. It was a remarkable road, aligned and built by a Muganda, one Kiwanuka, who was works supervisor of the Kigezi district council. We drove through a forest of pine and cypress. Mafuga forest is a creation of the forestry department: the cypress trees are natives of Mexico and the southern states of the U.S.A.

The cottage of Miss Hornby at Kirima, just off the road but with miles of impenetrable forest all around, stands in a perfect sunlight glade. She calls it 'Advice', because everyone gave her so much advice on how to build it. It was not yet a year old, and had cost her 7,000 shillings.

She told me her home was originally Kingston-on-Thames. The C.M.S. had been in her blood since she was a child and got 2d a month pocket money: a halfpenny used to go to C.M.S. and a halfpenny to the Bible Society. She came to Uganda in 1916 and was posted to Kigezi in 1923, to start women's education. There was not a literate woman in the district but the doctor's wife had a small class. She took this over and her idea was to collect children on safari. So she travelled across from Kabale to Bufumbira and got four from the saza chief. They were daughters of his beer women. On the way back, on the Kanaba ridge, they ran away, but she managed to catch them again. It took her five years to collect forty.

"The Government had strong objections to women travelling about the country alone", she said, "I took no notice of this and travelled with a man of the tribe. He carried a spear with him and when I went through the territory of one tribe, I would be met by a man of the next tribe, also with a spear. The man I had come with would stick his spear into the ground saying 'Muntu yetu' – 'This is your person', and so I was handed from tribe to tribe.

"I travelled so much in little known parts that the D.C. got agitated and wrote to the Government about it. The Governor wrote to the Bishop and the Bishop wrote to me. Then I was given a Muganda soldier to protect me. He got very drunk on my first safari with him, so of course I had to appeal to the chief of the territory I was in to remove him. After that I had no more trouble and was allowed to travel wherever I liked."

Miss Hornby had no more illusions about the fundamental nature of the people than had the Fathers at Mutolere: although retired she keeps a watchful eye on her own girls as they marry and have families. Husbands with slovenly wives appeal to Miss Hornby and things improve.

She said that when she came the Bakiga all had grass huts with only a mud cooking stove, a hoe, cooking pots, water pots, skins and a bed – four sticks stuck in the ground with a frame stretched on it. The woman went out with a baby on her back and a hoe in her hand and cultivated with her husband. She cooked and slept under a skin. Husband and wife no longer cultivate together: the woman does it and he can buy a Humber Hawk!

Men had 'no end of wives' in the old days, but there was no immorality. The code was strict. With progress fear had gone and 'look at things now'. Miss Hornby spoke of a girl educated in England who got into trouble here and was ostracised. In the old days she'd have been thrown over the waterfall. Against that was all the planned cultivation on the hillsides. She said she thought all that had been done was wonderful, but we'd gone too fast. When Bishop Aberi Balya, the saintly African Bishop of Fort Portal, came down to Kigezi he said to them, "I marvel at your civilisation, but you go too fast. In Toro we have the *mvule* tree (one of the most beautiful trees of East Africa). It grows slowly but it never blows down in a storm. Down here in Kigezi your tree is the eucalyptus, which grows fast and blows over when the storm comes".

Miss Hornby's little sitting-room, so feminine and English-looking, was now invaded by some ten large men, chiefs and elders, who obviously held her in great affection and respect.

The party had of necessity to dispose itself mostly about the floor. It was headed by chief William Bitoyi, the county chief, reputed the best dressed chief in Kigezi. He wore his London-built suit with easy nonchalance and had a bow tie. The rest belonged to the Abayundo clan of the Bahororo. They are over 30,000 strong, Hamitic cattle-owners, with the usual peasant element among them. Daudi Rukunya, the retired gombolola chief, is in fact the 21<sup>st</sup> king of the Bahororo. The saza chief gave me their genealogy. Hii was the first of the dynasty and Kintu the second. Daudi Rukunya told me that the Bahororo believe that Kintu was the first man and came from Kabanda, 'in what is now Congo Belge'.

"Kintu had a company of men when he came", he said, "He fought the people here before him and conquered them and settled here, and established himself as the ruler.

"The Abayundo remember that their clan was a leading one, with royal drums, which held the power. The big drum called Nyakahoza has been taken by teachers to the museum at Kampala. When the drums were taken away the power went. They also had horns, but only the drum was important.

"The kings had rain-making power, but when a king died, it was not announced, because the people would have stopped cultivating. After half a month they gathered and the drums announced the death. The people came and carried the body to Muburembo, a small wood three miles away. They put the body there on the bed and built a hut over it; the body was then dried with fire. A few weeks later a leopard would appear, for the dead man had a leopard in his stomach.

"Actually," interposed chief William, in a gloss in English, "the leopard liked roast meat, and having eaten the body of the King had got a taste for human flesh."

"As soon as the people returned to the capital", went on Daudi Rukunya, "they appointed one of the late King's brothers as a temporary ruler, while they discussed the crowning. Two special clans made the one a stool, and the other a spear for the new King. So the elders went to Omukyotera hill and beat drums.

"And they brought too a young girl from the Abachimbere clan, and a small stool for her. She was a girl with no blemishes and with both parents alive. They said 'This is your wife'. The young King too must have no blemishes either, and that is why the eldest son was always carefully looked after – even a jigger in his foot would disqualify him." I remembered that some rulers of ancient lineage in South Arabia, including the Imam of the Yemen, might have no blemish.

"They spent the whole night beating the drums and thus all knew the King was crowned"

"There was beer", said Daudi, "lots of it, goats and cattle. The clan leaders all brought a present. On the next day they took the King to Akanzera, and the ceremonies were repeated; and then they came to Muburembo where there were bark-cloth trees, and the ceremony was repeated there and the drums were beaten, and the King must then walk to his own palace with his wife and be crowned there also". This came to me like an echo of the 'recognition' in our own coronation ceremony.

In the Bahororo coronation, they told me, there must also be another man crowned with the King to manage his affairs as Prime Minister and to protect him. Furthermore the girl who appeared as the King's bride was not actually married to him, but usually to a brother, and the sacrifices must all be entire and without blemish. The ewes must not have been to the ram, nor the cows to the bull. There were echoes of this in the Old Testament.

The King alone, they told me, had the rain-making power. The holder of the secrets was present and I asked him to tell me about it.

"They have taken away our royal drum", he said. "Why should I give away the rest of our secrets?"

I asked them what they thought of then and now: did they like the present or sigh for past glories?

They said they were content enough now, "but when we think of the power we had all those years, we do not think it right that it should have been taken away".

"People", they said, "are equal now, and if you are lacking things the Government helps you. Religion teaches people to be humble and quiet, Government and religion run together. If the time is right for us to have self-government, you can hand over".

The would-have-been-king said "The time is not right yet, if you pack up and leave, a great danger will arise. Another tribe will come and invade us – the Baganda."

"Democracy is very complicated", he went on. "If the Government packs up, will the missionaries go too?"

"No, the time is not yet for the British to go," said chief William. "There are councils, it is true, but if you ask us, the time is not yet". Councils, he said, are better than kings, because the people choose the councillors themselves.

Later, as chief William drove me away in his own car, he spoke of the alertness of the new councils. You find them criticizing action and saying 'This is not what the council has decided'.

He told me he was all against self-government. He had a long talk with the Congress people, and found them men of straw. He had asked them how an independent Uganda could be defended and all they could say was that they would call in the Americans.

Festo Ruanunahe, William's brother, who is the saza chief of Ruzhumbura, gave me some family history as we drove through his country. Their father was a pagan, and a gombolola chief. These days, he said, the chiefs are all Christians, because you can't be a chief unless you are educated and you can't be educated unless you are a Christian. There are no pagan primary schools, so people who want an education are forced to be either Catholic or Protestant. So he and William became Christians. A third brother, a clergyman, has a parish

in the district. Their mother is still alive and lives with him; she has only recently been baptised.

We drove through areas in which Bakiga are being settled. The original population were Bahima cattle-people and Bairu peasants. The subsistence crops are small millet, oburo and beans. There is not much cassava, but it is grown compulsory as a famine reserve. There are also plantains. The principal cash crop is tobacco, though there is a little coffee and some maize and groundnuts. At Bugangari we visited a flue-cured tobacco factory, especially popular with the Bakiga settlers; most of the tobacco of the county is cured there.

Festo said the Bahororo did not like having Bakiga chiefs placed over them. For historical reasons the Bahororo feel themselves superior. He also spoke of the religious rivalry and the shocking feuds at the recent elections. He thought the missionaries most to blame because they kept on saying what would happen if the other side got in. There was so much rivalry between the religions in the ordinary times that a few years ago even the school sports could not be held. Protestants, he said, were more powerful than Catholics in Ruzhumbura county, but the pagans were the most numerous. They followed their chiefs in election time, voting Catholic or Protestant, according to which the chief was.

I asked him how the tribes got on together, and he said there was now some inter-marriage. This would never have happened at an earlier time. Miss Hornby had told me that a Mukiga woman could marry a Munyaruanda man, for example, because she had not to think of the 'name', Bakiga being of no status; but a Mukiga man could not marry a Munyaruanda woman. Festo said bride-price was officially a bull and a calf, but unofficially it was a good deal more. The Catholics tried to keep it at one calf.

Presently we reached the Minerva river, the boundary with Rukiga county, and headed back into the densely cultivated area so typical of it. We passed through a fertile valley with hot springs and reached an old flax factory. Flax production started in 1941, part of the war effort, and though it was promising at first the disease *pasm* became severe and the industry was wound up in 1955. The power for the factory came from a waterfall, picturesque but sinister, for here not so long ago, girls who had been naughty and were found out, were thrown over the waterfall. Since the practice stopped, immorality was unchecked.

We climbed up Soko hill to another lovely pass. The little round huts were clustered in family groups among cultivation on the hill-sides and down the valleys as we drove down to Kabale.

My last impressions were again of the beautiful scenery of Kigezi, its overcrowded conditions and the hard-working Bakiga. Few African tribes can work harder.



Bakiga blacksmiths smelting local iron ore. The temporary mud furnace is fed at the top with charcoal and the blast from the skin-covered bellows enters at the bottom