A HISTORY OF KIGEZI

IN SOUTH-WEST UGANDA

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A HISTORY OF KIGEZI

Introduction: Kigezi, her historians, and her history.

Kigezi is a triangular wedge of territory in the extreme South West of Uganda, bordering upon Rwanda to the South and the Republic of Zaire to the West. Within its land area of 1,900 square miles live some 42,000 people, so that the district has one of the highest densities of population in Uganda. In this respect, as in many other geographical and social respects, Kigezi resembles the republic of Rwanda, whence much of the population has come, in relatively recent times.

Within this restricted area there are an astonishing variety of geographical zones. In the extreme South West are extinct volcanoes: the highest of these, Muhavire, rises to 13,500 feet, while two others — Sabine and Mgahinga — each exceed 11,000 ft.; less than seventy miles North, at the apex of the triangle, lies Lake Edward which is less than 3,000 ft. above sea level. Between these two uninhabitable extremes lie four clearly differentiated regions. The extreme South West, Bufumbira county below the Mputumbiro mountains, comprises open pasture-land interspersed by lake Mutanda and by a number of steep hills. Both agriculture and extensive pastoralism have been practiced in this region. Secondly, the rest of southern Kigezi — Rubiga, Rubanda and Ndoarwa counties — comprises irregular ranks of steep hills, running roughly from South-East to North West. Between these series ranks are water courses, some of which (like lake Bunyonyi) are substantial areas of open water, but most of which are swamps, which have only recently been cleared and made available for cultivation. These congested rows of hill and swamps lend themselves to intensive cultivation, and leave little opportunity for cattle-keeping on a large scale. The broken country of southern Kigezi is separated from Bufumbira by the Nyungua forest: It is separated from northern Kigezi by the Impenetrable forest and by the largest river of the region, the Minera which drains into lake Edward. Northern Kigezi — Bufumbira county and most of Kinkizi — differs sharply from the South. An annual average rainfall of 30 to 40 inches makes it much drier than the South, which expects an annual rainfall of 40 to 70 inches. The countryside is much more even and open, and lends itself to extensive pastoralism. Near lake Edward, until very recently, human and animal diseases restricted human population very severely. This area is now part of Queen Elizabeth National Park and the Kigezi Game Reserve. Fourth, and finally, the forests which separate the other three regions from each other, used to offer a suitable habitat to hunting and gathering peoples. The Impenetrable Forest, however, has been infiltrated by agricultural peoples who have cleared areas of cultivation.
Naturally the ecology of Kigezi has had a profound influence upon the economic activities of its inhabitants. For several centuries Kigezi has attracted immigrants from the west, and from the south especially. The relative density populations of the Rwanda region have found Kigezi admirably suited to their needs, offering scope for both agriculture and pastoralism. Cattle-keeping people, and a sparse agricultural population, occupied much of Kigezi by the seventeenth century at the latest. During the eighteenth century immigration continued, and an immigrant cattle-keeping group — the Beshambo, from Rwanda — established the short-lived Mpororo kingdom in eastern and northern Kigezi, a state which was similar to both Rwanda and Nkore, comprising a pastoralist caste superimposed upon an agricultural population. At the end of the century the kingdom fragmented, but the northward movement persisted, and the most durable of the successor states was established in Rujumbura, where others gradually succumbed to pressure of in-coming population.

Meanwhile both pastoralists and agriculturalists flowed into Buhumbwa, from the Congo and Rwanda directions, and practiced their economic specialties much as they probably did before they came. Ultimately, and especially during the nineteenth century, a dense population of agriculturalists moved into the south-central area, expelling or absorbing the sparse pastoralist population which they found there. Much of this movement is directly attributable to the expansion of the kingdom of Rwanda, which dislocated groups of people and induced them to migrate northward. At the very end of the nineteenth century Rwanda reached Kigezi itself. Authority was established firmly — though briefly — in Buhumbwa, which remains a Runyarwanda-speaking region. Raids were launched into southern and even northern Kigezi, though no effective political control was established. The rulers of Rwanda, being cattle-keeping people, presumably found it difficult to establish their rule in an area ill-suited to cattle; and Rujumbura was too far away from the Rwanda kingdom to be effectively controlled. When the British arrived in 1906, therefore, they discovered a Runyarwanda-speaking enclave in the extreme South-West. Elsewhere the people spoke Rukiga or Ruororo, which may be regarded as dialectical variations of Ruyankurwa. Obsessed by notions of tribalism, the British naturally divided the Kigezi population into three tribal categories: the Banyarwanda of Buhumbwa, the Bakiga of "Rukiga" (a Runyarwanda term meaning the mountains), and the Rukiga (from the Mpororo kingdom) in Rujumbura. These categories have become a part of Kigezi's consciousness.

The arrival of the British, and the partition of the region into Belgian, German and British dependencies, did not bring the migration process to an end. Until the 1930's, the Kigezi population grew at a much faster pace than the Uganda average, helped by its immunity from malaria, but also assisted by further immigration from the south. From the 1930's onwards, the rate of population growth in Kigezi dropped below the Uganda average, as the country approached a saturation point. Immigration northwards from Rwanda has been counter-balanced by emigration northwards into Ankole, and eventually into Toro and Bunyoro and Buganda. The district economy is almost exclusively agricultural. Although improved agricultural techniques have been introduced and adopted, and although swamps have been cleared for the cultivation of vegetables for the Kampala and overseas markets, young men and young families still tend to move out of Kigezi to seek land or employment elsewhere.

Geographical circumstances, which have influenced population movements and economic activities, have also influenced the social and political institutions of the inhabitants. Buhumbwa, which resembles central Rwanda in its mixture of pastures and arable hill-sides, developing a social and political system which also resembled that of Rwanda. The Buhumbwa pastoralists, during the late nineteenth century, established their political and social superiority over the Beshambo cultivators, who in turn looked down upon the few Batwa hunters and gatherers in the forest regions. Ultimately Buhumbwa became incorporated into the Rwanda kingdom as well, though the connection was severed once British Buhumbwa was separated from German Rwanda. In Rujumbura, which is very similar geographically to Ankole, a similar social and political system developed, whereby the Beshambo aristocracy achieved dominance over other pastoralists, the Banyarwanda as a whole achieved dominance over the Beshambo cultivators, and the size and nature of the system invites comparison with pre-colonial Ankole. Rujumbura was not absorbed into the colonial district of Ankole (which was an expanded form of pre-colonial Nkore), but the social and economic and political similarities have continued.

In southern Kigezi — once known as Bushengera, and later as Rukiga, but now divided into the three counties of Rukiga, Nkora and Ruhunda — the relationship between geographical factors and socio-political systems is very obvious indeed. Most of the hills afford space for one extended family to live and to cultivate; a very few of the hills can accommodate a larger number of related families. Communication between the hills is extremely difficult because of the intervening swamps and the steep hill-sides. The consequence, it seems, was that each hill-top community regarded itself as sovereign and independent of everyone else. Small-scale political and social life inhibited the development of extensive political organisations, and only very exceptional individuals achieved influence over large numbers of people. Towards the end of the nineteenth century and early in the twentieth century, three such individuals flourished: Muhundeza, the widow of a king of Rwanda; Katerege, a military adventurer who allied himself with Batwa raiders to terrorise large areas of southern Kigezi; and Nokibiri, a Mulunde from the Congo, who attempted to mobilise resistance to colonial rule during the First World War. Neither of these three created a durable political system, though it is possible that the intervention of the colonial powers may have influenced events to their own advantage, and against the interests of the three individuals concerned. In each of these cases the religious cult of Nyabingi was involved, which suggests that some powerful ideological force (such as Nyabingi) was a necessary instrument for overcoming the isolationism of each self-contained hill-top community.
In and around the impenetrable forest were a series of extremely small political systems. The rulers of these petty states all seem to have possessed crumbs of office, and therefore they should be described as kings despite the small scale of their operations. In several respects the rituals of kingship are reminiscent of the Congo, which is not surprising when one recollects that these states border onto the Zaire republic now, and must have been open to Congoese influence in the past. Little is yet known about these states, but the son of the last king of Kayonz (probably the most important) has contributed a chapter to the present volume. Until such time as further research is conducted, we may provisionally assume that his description of the history and rituals of Kayonz would also apply to the neighbouring kingdoms in pre-colonial times. In brief, the unique social and political systems along the western border of Kigezi complete a picture of diverse political systems, whose diversity is at least partly the result of varied ecological zones compressed within a very small land area.

Kigezi’s Historians.

The present volume is the result of a project sponsored by the then Milton Obote Foundation, supported by the History department of Makerere University, and executed by a large number and variety of local historians. We acknowledge with profound gratitude the assistance of the Foundation. First, it financed a conference in Makerere which gathered together local historians from throughout Uganda, in December 1969. Next, and arising out of proposals made during the conference, the Foundation financed a local conference of Kigezi historians in Kabale at Easter 1970. When the Kabale conference decided to compile a History of Kigezi, the Foundation under-took to subside the research costs and to publish the results. Despite considerable difficulties, the Foundation has kept its promises and has unfailingly encouraged the participants in the project. Without such generous aid, this volume could not have been written.

The Kabale conference confirmed a fact which had previously been suspected; that Kigezi possessed unusual resources and talents for the experiment of a collaborative History. Twenty-three people attended the conference. Proceedings were in vernacular, a decision which now seems to have been the most important single innovation of the whole project. Elders of the district, who are not at all fluent in English, were able to speak on equal terms with young men and women, and were able to express themselves with great force and effect. The essential quality of the project — that it be Kigezi history written by Kigezi people — was underlined by the fact that all participants equally could join in the planning of the research and of the final product.

As a matter of convenience, we may divide the participants and contributors into four categories, each of which brought unique talents and resources into the experiment. First six men may be regarded as Kigezi elders: Messrs. Paulo Ngoloza, O.B.E., a former county chief, secretary-general of Kigezi district, and author of Kigezi and its People; F. Karwemera, who has spent many years fostering local literature and collecting local traditions, and who is the author of The Bakiga; Mr. Zakayo Rwemunyonyi, a retired chief and the leading authority on the history of Butumbura county; Mr. MMB. Rwankwenda, also a retired chief, like Mr. Rwemunyonyi one of the first scholars to attend school in Kigezi, and the son of the last hereditary king of Kayonz; Mr. S.B. Ndebesa, a civil servant from Kinkizi, who has devoted much of his time to recording social customs; and Mr. Karanza, universally allowed to be an historical monument, or alternatively an oral library of Ruhiga history. Most of these six elders, and indeed some other elders who have since died, have shown a great awareness of the necessity for recording historical information before everyone forgets it. They lack professional training as historians, but their knowledge and enthusiasm defy description. Only Messrs. Karwemera and Rwankwenda write fluently in English, and Mr. Karanza cannot write at all. Nevertheless they have all compiled sections of this book, and have been more than generous in sharing their special knowledge with other contributors.

The second category, comprising three individuals, might be described as elders also, except that they have a much wider experience beyond Kigezi’s boundaries, than the first group. Mr. B.N. Bisamumuyi is one of the first graduates of Makerere, at the time of the conference he was a member of the Uganda parliament, and he is now a senior administrator in the East African Railways at Mombasa. His university training has given him a great respect for, and a great capacity for using, documentary sources of history. Mr. Kyakalikana, also a Makerere graduate and now a senior school teacher, helped in designing the programme but was not able to contribute a section. Father Gerad is firmly within the tradition of White Fathers amateur historians, who pioneered the writing of pre-colonial African history half a century before professional historians followed their example. Mr. Bisamumuyi’s intimate knowledge of European history was matched by Father Gerad’s intimate knowledge of the written sources on the history of Rwanda. In both cases their outside knowledge informed their approach, and proved invaluable in providing perspectives for the Kigezi material.

The third group may be described as recent graduates, who have been exposed to the study of African History at University level, and they comprised a round dozen young men and women. Miss Eva Bitete (who graduated in America) and Miss Kate Parry (who graduated in Cambridge) effectively insisted on consideration of the role of women in Kigezi history, and thereby influenced the composition of the book, though they were not able themselves to contribute. Mr. Charles Kajura, the Resident Tutor of the Makerere Centre for Continuing Education, organized and chaired the conference with great efficiency and good humour. Messrs. Anthony Muruungangabo, Philemon Mateke, F. Banenturreda, and Domine Hahya-Llenye had all had experience of field research as undergraduates at Makerere, and were able to offer useful advice on methods and problems likely to arise. Mr. S.R. Baitala, a graduate of Nairobi, had already won a prize for his research into the history of Rujumbura, and was
already registered as a post-graduate student of Makerere. His professional skills and local knowledge were freely made available to other participants. Messrs Frank Rukandeco and Sam Kakiza were at that time involved in research for their graduating essays in the Makerere History department. Messrs Tumushime Rukundo and especially Charles Gashumba, both at that time under-graduates, helped in a variety of ways. Mr. Gashumba’s work as secretary and as translator of several contributions, has been exceptionally valuable. The group as a whole tended to oppose some of the older participants, who tended to be dubious of the value of oral evidence; yet their obvious respect for the Kigezi elders enabled the discussions to proceed amicably and in the end usefully. To this group should be added Mr. D. R. Rwabikya, who was unable to attend the conference, but who independently submitted a scholarly biography of chief Katarege.

Finally, Dr. Samwiri Karugire and myself may be said to belong to a fourth group, namely: professional historians who have had no other means of livelihood. We both restricted our role to that of advisors. Dr. Karugire’s thesis, on the traditional history of Nkore, and his fluency in Rukiga, enabled him to offer most helpful advice to participants; and at a later stage of the project, when I was unavoidably away from Uganda, he proved invaluable in preserving the momentum of the individual contributors. My own function at the conference was to advise on the problems of finance and publication; and since then to edit the work and mediate between the publishers and the contributors. Contributions began to be submitted in July 1970, and continued to appear until as late as October 1971.

The reader should now appreciate the novel character of the whole project. It is generally assumed that one professional historian should enter a district, seek information from local elders, take the information away, and publish it as his own work in a book which is inaccessible to the people who provided the information. We have tried, as far as possible, to escape from that method. With the exception of this introductory chapter, and one other chapter by the editor, the people of Kigezi have written their own book, for their own interest. It should be also of interest to others, of course, and (as the only non-resident contributor) I may suggest that the book is no worse for having been written by the people themselves, and that in some respects it gives a simpler view of Kigezi society than is normal in a more professional publication. In short, the volume does not require defence.

Kigezi’s History

A composite volume, comprising the interpretations of a very diverse group of contributors, probably does require some introductory comment, in order to guide the reader through quantities of detail, and to warn him of some of the things to expect. It also seems desirable to provide a skeleton account of Kigezi’s history, so that the reader can judge where each piece of information belongs, and where it fits into the general picture. The reader should be warned immediately, that what follows is an equally personal interpretation: in History there are very seldom any final and unchallengeable judgments, and that is especially true in an area where the writing of History is in its infancy.

The twenty-one sections of the book have been grouped together in five parts, so that each part deals with a particular theme, and the themes appear in roughly chronological order. Some contributions do not lend themselves to such arbitrary handling, and therefore the divisions are by no means water — tight. Part one — Origins and Stranger Slavery in Kigezi; attempts to answer the related questions “who are the inhabitants of Kigezi, where did they come from, when did they arrive, and why did they migrate?” Though we are certain that Kigezi was inhabited before 1709, little can be said about its inhabitants in that era. It seems reasonable to guess that the Batwa hunter-gatherers were more numerous and more widely dispersed then, than they were at any later time when agricultural settlement grew denser. We may also hazard an educated guess that pastoralists were more widely dispersed then, than at any later period, and for the same reason. Butumbira was probably inhabited by small numbers of Bagaghe and Bungura clans, and already by large numbers of Basabiri; the Katuyu region was probably inhabited by Bungura and Babanda, while a dynasty of Barenge immigrants from the South or West was probably establishing itself at that time. The rest of the district, that is to say Butumbira and the three southern counties (which were then known as Bangi) seem to have been inhabited by both agriculturalists and pastoralists of the Bashenge, Banyonyi, Bagona and Mumbwa clans. The Basinakatwa enjoyed a dominant position, and provided such political counterpart as existed at that time, The Kingdom of Rwanda, under Mwami Yuhi 1 Mazimpaka, was still far distant, and unable to exert any influence in Kigezi. The states of Gisaka, Nkina and perhaps Karagwe were probably a more immediate threat to the independence and ease of the early inhabitants, Both Father Gerard and Mr. Rwanduga, in chapters one and two respectively, seem inclined to graft Kigezi history onto the semi-legendary court history of Rwanda, which leads them to propose much earlier dates of arrival, and a much closer involvement with the Banyinya rulers than is likely to have been the case. Nevertheless they are probably justified in asserting that much settlement in Kigezi was the consequence of political disputes further South, in the heavily populated region which has since been absorbed into the state of Rwanda. Political disputes would have hastened the migration of people who were in any case eager to seek new pastures and arable land. Being more mobile, the pastoralists may well have migrated more readily than the agriculturalists.

Part two — Formation of States, and Inter-Clan Competition — considers the question “what institutions did the people develop once they arrived”. The first, and by far the largest state in the area was the kingdom of Mweso, described by Mr. Baiswabul, Bashangha cattlekeepers migrated from Mweso, and that is to say, from North-East Rwanda, early in the eighteenth century. They found the Bashangha being ruled by a woman, Kitali, and they were soon able to take control for them.
selves under Kabaya Rutindangwezi. Whether Kabaya was the son of Kitami or not, it was certainly convenient that he was believed to be, since that relationship tended to legitimise the take-over, and to smooth the transition. From roughly the 1730's until the 1870's Kabaya ruled an unprecedentedly large area, stretching over most of South-West Ankole, parts of North-East Rwanda, and most of Kigezi as well. Difficulties of communication in such a large state resulted in a great degree of local autonomy, whereby sons, other kinsmen, and even non-relatives established themselves as provincial governors. It is possible that Kabaya was defeated by the expanding state of Rwanda towards the ends of his reign. In any event, as he grew older he exercised less control over his provincial governors, and the drum — the symbol of the unity of the kingdom — was lost. When Kabaya died (probably in the 1780's), the kingdom disintegrated, and power was seized by each of the local governors. Nalunya probably a client of Kabaya in his old age — established himself in Bushwagira (i.e. in most of South-East Kigezi); Kazima — a son-in-law — retained power in Butaye (on the Rwanda-Ankole-Kigezi border); several groups contested power in Kajara and Rwampare; and one of these groups — the descendants of Kiirezi — seized and consolidated power in Rujumbura during the early nineteenth century. In short, one large kingdom was replaced by a series of petty principalities.

Meanwhile we may suppose that a series of small kingdoms had established themselves in and around the Impenetrable forest, using drums to consolidate their legitimacy, but not imposing upon the lives of people far beyond the forest region. Immigration probably continued by fits and starts, especially as Rwanda was once again expanding, under the leadership of Cylina Bujagira and Kigeri III Mbarurera, during the whole of the second half of the eighteenth century. It seems likely that, even at this early date, some of the small Mpororo successor states and even some of the forest kingdoms, were subject to irregular influence from the Banyirinya rulers. This was certainly the case in the early nineteenth century, when Bagyera and Bajinga refugees from Gisaka and Nkore fled from their hard-pressed kingdoms. Bahunde, from the west, swelled the numbers of immigrants, and probably contributed to the instability and small scale of local politics. Rujumbura, under Nyamumoncyinyi, became a significant state, and absorbing or subordinating neighbouring groups of power that the establishment of Rujumbura by no means completely incapacitated that of Rwanda. In the middle of the century, indeed, the ruler of Rujumbura was obliged to send his own son to Rwanda to pay tribute, and the son failed to return. Though Rujumbura established a local dominance in most of north-central Kigezi, she remained insignificant in inter-state rivalries until the end of the century, when an invasion from Nkore was successfully repulsed.

During the nineteenth century increasing numbers of agricultural immigrants altered the power structure of South-Central Kigezi. The pastoralist rulers found their territory infiltrated by agriculturalists, who were reluctant to accept the pretensions of the chiefs, and who enslaved their land. Many immigrants were probably committed against the kind of authority exercised by Batutsi in Rwanda, and added an ideological dimension to their hostility. Matters were brought to a head by a large immigration of Basigisi, during the second half of the century. They settled in large numbers at Kagera (near present-day Kabale), whence they led the expulsion or absorption of the pastoral rulers during the 1890's. Meanwhile, in Butumbira also during the 1890's, the authority of the Rwanda kingdom was being extended by a series of hereditary chieftaincies and an alliance with a local group of Basinga chieftains. Separatists were conquered by a combination of Batutsi and Baluba, and by the time of Rwabugiri’s death (c. 1895), Butumbira was a reliable base for further raids into the rest of Kigezi. In short, political centralisation was being accomplished in the North and in the South-West, but in the centre the impact of agricultural settlers had the effect of setting up local descent groups as virtually sovereign on each hill-top. Only at the very end of the pre-colonial era did a Makige—Kakurege, son of two spirit mediums — establish his sway over a significant area, and even he does not seem to have envisaged a regular state-system.

The last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth, were a period of unusual violence and dislocation. Rujumbura, having been attacked by Nkore and Rwanda, survived but with diminished manpower and cattle resources. The small kingdoms within Rujumbura’s “sphere of interest” were plagued by refugees fleeing from disturbances farther South and further West, where Belgian activity was increasing. The other successor states of Mpororo were devastated by warfare between Nkore and Rwanda, since the war was fought in order to control the good pastures and fine herds of cattle in that region. The pastoral chiefs having been expelled from most of southern Kigezi, something of a power vacuum developed, since the Bakiga cultivators operated a series of tiny self-contained descent-groups. Most important, political trouble in Rwanda spilled over into adjoining regions. After the death of Kigeri IV Rwabugiri in about 1895, Rwamwan Mibumbwe IV succeeded, only to be ousted by force in 1896 by Yuhu V Musinga, at the head of Bagora clan. The loyalty of Bujumbira to the new regime was rather dubious at best. To complicate matters further, one of Rwabugiri’s widows, Muhumuza, arrived in the northern extremities of Rwanda to rally support for her son Buregeya, who was also a candidate for the Rwanda throne. To enhance her appeal, she purported to be a personification of Nyakubiri, a legendary queen who was the object of veneration among large numbers of Banyarwanda and Bakiga. Katurege and another adventurer named Bagayinka placed themselves at the head of Baluba raiders, and took advantage of the troubled situation to pillage large parts of Southern Kigezi. Muhumuza was briefly detained by the Germans in Rwanda, but was not finally taken out of circulation until 1902. When the British dispersed her forces and sent her to detention in Kampala. During these disturbances cultivation and cattle raids intensified everyone's predicament, so that famine ensued and large numbers of people evacuated southern Kigezi for more peaceful places farther north. Kigezi when the British arrived was in a state of unusual excitement and violence.
In part three, contributors turn their attention to the Alien impact of Colonial rule and Christianity in the early years of the twentieth century. The memoirs of Ssebalija, the Buganda chief who largely created the colonial hierarchy in Kigezi, have been included in order to provide one view of the situation which he encountered. The hostility of the local people eventually focused upon Ssebalija and his colleagues (rather than the British themselves, who were largely unseen); and in order to balance Ssebalija's memoirs, a powerful assistant of the Buganda hierarchy has been included. The alien impact, however, was not merely political. Christian evangelists and colonial administrators worked very closely together and indeed each saw his function as complementary to the other. One of the effects of the alien impact was to encourage belief in a 'golden age' before the intrusion; and Mr. Neebeea's chapter is a perfect example of that genre. Despite Bakiga criticism of the Buganda agents, and despite Bakiga criticisms of the local inhabitants, the real beneficiaries and directors of operations were of course the British. A point which the editor's chapter attempts to make is that the British deliberately turned Bakiga hostility away from themselves, by making the Buganda the dispensable scape-goats of the early period of conquest and skirmish.

Part four surveys the reactions of the local people, to the alien impact. In Rujumbura, the ruler - Makobore - needed to influence the British in order to repel the advances of the enemy Nkore; yet the presence of the British steadily undermined his traditional authority. He was retired in 1930 and replaced by his son E. S. Karugwya, the perfect example of a 'modernising colonial chief'; and the contrast between Makobore and his son is almost a microcosm of the changes taking place throughout Uganda at that time. Similarly in Bwindi, the traditional ruler Nyindo defected to the Germans during the First World War, and after some inapt British experiments with other 'traditional' chiefs, 'modernising' chiefs were employed, who satisfied colonial administrative requirements. Chiefs began to represent the British to the people, rather than the people to the British; and the tone of administration seems to have become harsher - though more predictable - as a result. Many of the modernisers were products of the first school in the district, who ultimately replaced Buganda chiefs in responsible positions. The illuminating memoirs of one such chief, Mr. Rwandawo - have been included; and the latter parts of Mr. Rwankwenda's chapter (number six) provide a similar account.

If part three made the point that colonialism and Christianity were intimately connected, then part four states the corollary, that anti-colonial resistance was intimately involved with rejection of Christianity, and that the influence of the Nyabingi cult was prominent in mobilising resistance and co-ordinating action against both aspects of the new regime. The early resistance of the Bakiga, the mis-understandings between the British and the Besiga clan leaders, and the ultimate acquiescence in the colonial situation, were all associated with shifts in religious belief amongst the various Kigezi people involved.

Finally, in part five, contributors deal with the entry of Kigezi into a new set of relationships. The ties with Rwanda were loosened by the partition of Africa; and eventually Kigezi became an intrinsic part of Uganda. This process was slower than one might expect. Colonial administrators did not encourage people to think of themselves as Ugandans, and each district administration was to a great extent a viable entity. Consciousness of the existence of 'Uganda' therefore developed very slowly, despite the increasing administrative and economic links which bound Kigezi into its new alignment. Severe local politics continued unabated, and were indeed intensified by the democratisation of the district council during the 1940's and 1950's. Mr. Ngolongo, who was prominent throughout the period from 1920's to the present day, gives a revealing account of his own impressions of the changes which took place. The two letters appended at the end of the volume indicate the continuing importance which Rukonza people (and especially the ruling house) attached to the chieftaincy of Kayambo, even at the end of the colonial period. After independence, however, the integration of Kigezi into the Uganda political system was abrupt and quite complete. Mr. Kabuga's chapter on the Banyana-Thobobo controversy, essentially an account of the trivialisation of district politics into personal factionalism, as the power of the Ugandan government became increasingly strong and increasingly obvious.

This volume cannot pretend to completeness, nor to finality of judgment even on the issues with which it deals. Much further research will prove rewarding; but it is hoped that the present volume will encourage such research, and provide provisional answers until better are discovered or until other questions are asked. It is the profound wish of the contributors that their work will demonstrate the nature and richness of Kigezi's history, and will encourage further interest within and beyond Kigezi.

Edition.
Kigezi Chronology.

Date | Sequence of events
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Before 1860: | states in the Rwanda region including Muhari (Buzigaamba), perhaps Gisaka (Bugyeera) and Nderwa in the East; Berengeye and Babsanda groups in the North-West.

1800: | Firm establishment of Rwanda under Ruranki Bwimba.


1800 - 1730: | Mpororo kingdom, small in size, ruled by Bashekatwa. Rwanda-Gisaka conflict encourages Bumbo to escape into South Kigezi. Buzigaamba continue to move into South Kigezi, for the same reason. Bashambo, defeated by Rwanda and Gisaka, move into Mpororo kingdom, straining the state, whose queen is Kitumi.

1720: | Immigrant Bashambo capture power in Mpororo, seizing the royal drum Mpororo from queen Kitumi. Birth of Kahaya Rutindangyezi.

1740 - 1790: | Kahaya Rutindangyezi of Mpororo fights against Rwanda and expands Mpororo to its maximum extent, covering most of eastern Kigezi, western Ankole, north-eastern Rwanda. In old age, having lost the drum, he loses control.

1790: | Death of Kahaya, fragmentation of Mpororo into regions, each ruled by a Bashambo lineage, and unable to control the continuing tide of refugees flowing from Rwanda.

1850: | Muhuri consolidating control of Rujumbura. Bigyezo consolidating control over Central Kigezi. Rwanda failing to incorporate Bumfumbira.

1876 onwards: | Massif immigration of Basigbi and other cultivators, obliging the pastoralists to evacuate Central Kigezi.

1890 - 1895: | Mwami Rwabugiri establishes Rwanda's control over Bumfumbira and raids South and Central Kigezi and Nkore kingdom.

1896: | Rucuncu coup in Rwanda; Musinga succeeds Mibambo. Disputed succession encourages Muhumura to rally support in Kigezi in order to enter the succession contest.

1900 - 1912: | Disturbed times encourage Katuregye and others to raid extensively in South Kigezi. Refugees flee to Makobore in Rujumbura, and to Kinkizi. Basigbi and some Bashigbi oppose Muhumura in South Kigezi.

1912: | Ikumba Conference attempts to establish a British hierarchy for the whole district, confirming Makobore, Ruhayana, Nyindo and Katuregye in office. Anglo-Basigbi alliance breaks down, and Baganda administrators become common.

1914 - 1918: | War encourages Nyindo to rebel and to join Mwami of Rwanda; Mugumire and Makobore suspected by British of neutrality; Katuregye killed while in revolt; Ntchivilo at large until 1919.

1918 - 1830: | "New men" gradually replace Baganda and pre-colonial rulers. Kigezi district administration firmly established. Beginning of complete incorporation of Kigezi into Uganda.
Further Reading

For an understanding of the Rwanda back-ground, two most important works are A. Kagame, Injenujwe Rurangira (Kabgayi) 1953; and J. Vamana, L'Evolution du royaume Rwanda des origines a 1900 (Brussels 1962). Several pioneering missionary works are also useful including Fages, Un voyage humain au centre de l'Afrique (Brussels 1933), de Laeter, Le Rwanda ancien et moderne (Namur 1938 and 1940), and L. Delmas, Au pays du Mwami Mutuma III Charles Radhikiren: Genalogie de la noblesse ... (Kabgayi 1950). Father Kagame's work in French are also very helpful, notably Les organisations socio-familiales de l'Ancien Rwanda (Brussels 1954 and L'Histoire des armees-voisines dans l'Ancien Rwanda, (Brussels 1961). Several works on social and religious traditions are more than useful, especially J. Masquel, The Promise of Inequality in Rwanda (London 1961), and L. de Heusch le Rwanda et la civilisation interlacustrine (Brussels 1965), and M. d'Hertefelt, les Clans du Rwanda ancien (Tervuren 1971).

There are three books which deal with the sociology of Kigezi in more or less detail. The best is M. E. Edel, The Chiefs of Western Uganda (New York 1957). Two important works are B. K. Taylor, The Western Lacustrine Bantu, in the African Ethnographic series; and F. Karwemura, The Bukiga (East African Literature Bureau, forthcoming). The geographical background is sketched lightly in B. W. Langlands, The Population Geography of Kigezi District (Makerere Geography Department occasional paper 26, 1971). Some aspects of colonial administration may be discovered in a chapter of A. I. Richard's classic East African Chiefs.

Since the Ankole and Mpororo region is intimately involved in Kigezi history, some works on that area would prove instructive. The best is S. Karugire's forthcoming study of The Traditional History of Butaro (G.U.P.), Meanwhile the reader may consult H. F. Morris, A History of Ankole (Kampala 1962), and the specialist work on Kajara and Rwamara, by A. Muyuzangabo and E. Kamuhangire (Makerere History papers number 6, forthcoming). The politics of the European partition of this part of Africa are handled in W. Roger Louis, Rukungiri-Urundi, 1834-1919 (Oxford 1963), a more ambitious work than the title suggests.


Finally, two more ambitious works should be mentioned. Mr. Paulo Ngongoza published Kigezi: N'Abantu Bantuwo first in Nkiga (EALB 1965) and later in English (EALB 1969). This work, by an eminent Kigezi citizen, has naturally influenced all later writings in the district. In 1970, R. I. Breberg and A. A. Muzuri published their massive Protest and Power in Black Africa (OUP) which includes a chapter on "The Nyabinghi Cult of South western Uganda" by E. Hopkins. The book arrived too late, and was too expensive ($2.50) for the contributors to consult. It proves, however, to be based on official records, and adds nothing to what was already known.

PART ONE ORIGINS AND SETTLEMENT OF KIGEZE.

The first three chapters deal with two related questions: where did the present inhabitants of Kigezi come from, and what kind of society did they establish for themselves? Father Geradl deals with the area now inhabited by the Bakinga, Mr. Rwandusa deals with Bumfumbura, and Mr. Baitwabobo considers Rutambura. Differences in subject matter partly explain the differences in their interpretations; but there are some other influences on their work of which they should briefly be noted.

Father Geradl belongs firmly in the great tradition of White Fathers who help us the work of Fathers Gorja, Nicolet, Fages, Delmas, Seife, de Laeter, and himself. These pioneers collected oral evidence, often at a very early date, as much as half a century before professional historians turned their attention to this direction. Father Geradl's chapter is a cumulative summary of the findings of all earlier White Fathers and of his own work. It is often difficult to distinguish between the different sources from which he draws his material; but the material itself is so important that it cannot be excluded simply because of the procedures involved in supporting statements. One important criticism: the White Fathers should, however, be mentioned. As most readers will be aware, the "Hemite" interpretation of the history of the lacustrine region is no longer accepted by historians, and the White Fathers' interest in the ethnic origins of different cases in society nowadays seems somewhat quaint. On the other hand, this old-fashioned interpretation does not reduce the value of the material, so long as the reader is aware that substance is more important than form.

Mr. Rwandusa, a retired administrative chief in Bumfumbura, exemplifies the intellectual influence of Rwanda on his own country and even in his own mind. Court history was a very important aspect of Rwanda's intellectual history. Court historians were concerned to portray a united community, in which each clan was related to the ruling Butungi clan; a state which had always been extensive: and a dynasty which was ancient and uninterrupted. Rwanda's history may well be shorter, less united, and
less continuous than the court wished to believe. At any rate there are
grounds for suspecting that Mr. Rwandusa, insofar as he has accepted
Rwanda traditions, may be exaggerating the age, and the size, of the
Rwanda kingdom, and, exaggerating the closeness of the relationships be-
tween the clans. His relative chronology, however, is almost certainly re-
liable, and he has accurately portrayed prevailing historical beliefs in
Butumbira.

Mr. Baitwababo, as a professional historian, naturally escape the pit-
tfalls mentioned above, and is professionally scrupulous in referring to
points of view which he does not share. The only point on which other pro-
fessional historians may quibble with him, is in his analysis of Bushambo-
Bahima-Bairu relations. Even here, his case seems strong and convincing.

Here, then, follow three accounts of the origins of the major groups of
people who now inhabit Kigezi district, and an introduction to the kind of
societies which they created.

CHAPTER ONE

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE BAKIGA

by

F. Geraud, W.F.

The mountainous region which forms the greater part of Kigezi was
regarded by the Banyarwanda as the marches of Rwanda (umutenbo ga
Rwanda). The link with Rwanda was rather weak, for the people of the
mountains never considered themselves to be subjects of the Bani of
Rwanda. They had their own leaders, language and customs.

Ngorwe, which is now the name of a county of Kigezi, used to be
the name of a much larger area, extending far south-wards into Rwanda.

Bushenuga was the name given by the Bakiga to the central area of
Kigezi now occupied by Rukiga and part of Ngorwe.

Bunyoni was the name given to the area round the lake named after the
ruling family: the Banyoni.

Kawuzi Gomboza was part of a kingdom called Buteye, which
extended into Rwanda and Mpororo. The name of Kawuzi, however, is a
corruption of Kamuhesi. This kingdom of Buteye was called Bugahe.

Nyirusanje Gomboza, together with Kayonza in Kajara and Rwakasa-
maire, formed an area sometimes called Bwishikatawa.

Kumuguzi Gomboza was known as Bugyezi while the area round
Muyebe was called Bugyebe, names derived from the clans living in these
areas.

Among the people of Kigezi, each child soon after his birth receives a
name which corresponds to the “prenomen” of the Latin people. He does
not receive another family name except that of his father’s clan. Although
this clan name is not used very often, the child will know it well. He knows
that if it he is a “Musiri” he is one of the descendants of Kasiri. The clan
name has some resemblance to the European surname except that the
African name refers to a common ancestor. To this eponymic hero is
attributed decisions of paramount importance for the future. For instance
Kakiga is said to have decided to live in the hills while Kahima chose the
plains. These represent the personification of the clan, for the actual origin
of most of the clans in Kigezi is lost in the mists of time. There are more
than 108 clans in Kigezi and among them one can find some with special
attributes. Some are widespread, found in Burundi, Rwanda, Karagwe,
Akole, and Mpororo as well as in Kigezi. They have within them people of different racial origins: one can find Hamites, Bantu and Batwa in the same clan. These large clans (Bagabo, Basigidi, Bagiziga, Bakimbiri, Bashambo, Bafira, Batsyaba, Bagisera, Bweshakatwa, Bungura, Babanda) have branches which are called emiriinao. Some clans are proper to Kigezi being branches of older clans. In this type one can list the Basubi, Bagaye, Bungura, Bweshakatwa, Bungura, Babanda etc. They all share the same totem and form of swearing in common with the larger clans. They are of more recent origin. But how do people of different racial origin come to be in the same clan? Even in the royal clan of Rwanda, one finds Batusi, Bahutu and Batwa. A number of suggestions can be made. In the case of the royal clan, membership was often granted to faithful servants as a reward. Another explanation arises out of the custom of blood brotherhood. This custom was held in much greater esteem than it is today and might have resulted in the changing of family names. Thirdly, the incoming groups might well have sought the protection of the powerful Bantu clans just as they are said to have adopted the Bantu language and customs. Indeed changing from one clan to another was an accepted practice. A man isolated from his clan might adopt the totem and the clan name of his neighbours after a few years. Fr. Torel has made a fourth suggestion. According to him cattle must have become farmers and vice versa in which case this process would result in the intermingling of clans. There are records of Bahima entering a Bantu clan and Bantu entering Batwa families. Both processes occurred in time of war. This brief picture should provide not only a clue to ancient African society but also means for discovery of its past.

Endehiro (coming from the verb okurusha) means a way of swearing and it is the sign of alliance between family groups. Families so linked (usually because of common origin or totem) call themselves Bucumbi and usually live fairly close to each other. For instance the Bucumbi and their Bucumbi sweer by Mungwe while the Bagare and their Bagare sweer by Kinyagira. Formerly it was said that an insult from a Bucumbi was tolerated while an insult from an outsider could result in a fight.

It is said that the endehiro can indicate common origin between clans. This is usually the case, but such an alliance may be only one convenience. For instance the Batsyaba in Kigezi are under the Mugara endehiro while in Akole they are included among the Bucumbi of the Bashambo while in Rwanda they are said to be Bagumbi of the Bagiziga. Other examples indicating different origin of clans found under the same endehiro may be cited. The Bana originating in Rwanda are bucumbi of the Bagare from Mpororo. The Bakimbiri, bucumbi of the Bahinda in Akole, are bucumbi of the Bashambo in Mpororo, and the bucumbi of the Beega (from Rwanda) in Kigezi. The Bakonjo from Toro are the bucumbi of the Basigidi from Rwanda. Other examples can be found which cast doubt on the value of the Endehiro as a precise indication of the common origin of all its bucumbi.

The way of swearing proper to each family group usually contains an indication of its place of origin. For example:

For the Bafira: Kisoro waiwaku Kato: Nyamwera
For the Bakimbiri: Rangabo ya Bungura: Kibwete
For the Basigidi: Musizi wa Rubona Rwakabende na Kabundi: Nsibimwe
For the Bafira: Muhuta wa Marita: Akabwete
For the Bafira: Riga ya Kabun: Kibwete

All these names refer to places, for instance Marita is on the shores of Lake Bunyonyi, Rwakabende is situated in Bwamisi near lake Museri. All these places are in neighboring countries. We cannot deduce anything of their distant origin; what we can suggest is that they indicate the starting point of their last journey. We know however that some clans have gone great distances from their places of origin, such as the Bashambo, the Bakonjo, and the Bagisera. Consequently their way of swearing merely indicates the last stage of their journey. It is reserved for men, and it is a sort of rallying cry.

Fr. Torel was told by an old man that long ago most of the clans came from a country of shells (Nambi). Can we deduce from this that many clans came from the East Coast or from the shores of a great lake like lake Victoria? The way of swearing of Bucumbi would confirm that opinion. Now they swear by Mubari, but the old people at Mubari used to swear by Rwunzya, which is the name of a lake. They also pointed in the direction of Lake Victoria as their place of origin. Rwunzya is a generic name for any great lake. It means the locust killer.

The totem (muziro) of the clan (rather than the taboo) matters very little in everyday life. Swearing on the Muziro was a solemn oath. False swearing was believed to result in leprosy. We could regard Muziro as the badge of the clan or the sign of the family. It is worth noting that clans of cattle people and cultivators can have the same Muziro. This could be explained in two ways. Bantu clans could have had the Muziro before the coming of the Bahima. The incoming Bahima adapted the Bantu Muziro before taking totems of their own. The other possibility (mentioned previously) is that agricultural clans became pastoralists and vice versa: in making the change they also changed their totem. Here are some examples of clan totems: the Epe, the Burunga, the Enzema, milk etc. To these examples we can add special kinds of cows like the Nambo of the Basengi the Rugebe of the Bagare, the Nsizi of the Bafira, the Nuwoso of the Bashambo etc. A few stories which recall the origin of totems may illustrate their nature.

The Bashambo have a totem of a little animal called epe. Nehamba the father of the Bashambo had an epe living with him like a cat. One day when Nehamba was absent the little animal went and ate something unclear. When Nehamba came home the epe ran forward to greet him. When Nehamba heard from his servant what the little animal had done, he cursed it. The epe then ran away and wanted not to be seen again by a Mushambo.
The Batsyaba have a reddish flower called *oburanga* as miziro. Once some Batsyaba saw far away in a swamp the *oburanga* which is the flower of a plant called enumba, and it looks very much like sorghum. They ran to harvest it as sorghum, but were drowned in the swamp. Consequently, Batsyaba are forbidden to touch this flower. According to clan legends, the Muziro could arise out of unhappy events. The origin does not matter much but we can say that the miziro is a very practical way of indentifying relatives in spite of the multiplication of sub-clans and the similarity of names. The institution of the miziro fulfilled the role of a registry office for families. If the number of miziro coincided with the number of Endahiro, there would not be any more difficulties, but we have a good number of miziro not so widespread but still used as identification sign. For example: *chitigü* (river), *ekizira* (newly made beer), *endcrema* (plant), *ekyende* (monkey), *enkanda* (rue), *epu* (undevolved girl).

On the other hand some ways of swearing among ancient clans mentioned explicitly a miziro as a distinctive sign. For instance: *Bayyesara* — abazira enkanda; Bashambo — abazira epu.

It looks as if a branch of a big clan felt the need of a special miziro of its own as a sign of increasing strength, and thus the miziro was linked with the name of the sub-clan to stress the difference with the main branch. But the multiplication of miziro no longer served any purpose. A quick identification was no longer possible. So the miziro system as we have it now looks rather like the remnant of a more elaborate organisation discarded and becoming irrelevant as time went on. Later people took the habit to point out new branches of ancient clans by adding to the name of the main branch the name of Beene. For instance: the children of Muhwezi were known as Beene Muhwezi instead of being identified as Bashambo — abazira epu.

Legend provides a clue of how kingship was understood, or at least explained by some people, perhaps for educational purposes. It looks like a fairy tale for children but it links the political power to its natural environment and thus enhances the prestige of the king. By attributing to the king power above nature this account is closely related with other legends of the same trend concerning “Amongi berjura” rainmakers.

Nshamba was king in Mpororo. He had two names. The first was Nshamba Rubango, because he used to throw his spear very far. The shaft of his spear was of a tree called omusingo. Even now this tree is counted among the princes of the Bashambo and is given the title of “Nyina Nyera” as it is the true title of all the Bashambo. Nshamba came with the seed of omusingo. He planted it and it grew.

The second name is his name as King. He was called Mugabe, the giver, because he was the giver of everything, for everything belonged to him alone: all drums, cows, seeds, and food, the buro and the mugusa. He is the one who brought everything. Among his little children you must count: Mugabe, Musinga, Mushikatwa, Mwitira, and Mukimbiri. As for the Bashambo there is only one great father and his name is Nshamba ya Rubango. Nshamba was not worshipping manawa and he had no miziro (totem) but he had two birds to serve him, the crested crane and the wagtail. He also had a little animal called epu.

To help in understanding this legend, it is good to know that in addition to totems or identification there are others used as symbols of good luck. Certain animals are regarded as follow clanmen, linking the clan with its environment. The crane is a Munyiginya, the wag-tail is a Mugarera, the leopard is a Muziga, the crow is a Mukimbiri, the mlanza a Mugahe.

This second legend tells us about relationships within the Bagare clan. It does not explain all of them but only how some of the Bagare became rulers and achieved their ceremonial rank. This was the way to assert the legitimacy of the Bahima rulers over the commoners. It also shows how a ruler was given jurisdiction over a smaller part of the kingdom, namely by receiving a drum and a good number of cows.

The children of Kagana (Kasita, Karji, and Kagina with their sister) came from Karagwe to Mpororo. They built a house at Kyabukujo. They were three boys and a girl and they had only twenty cows. One night a crow came to dwell on top of the house. The next morning it was gone. They went to consult the sorcerer who told them to watch and follow the bird for it would bring them a kingdom. The crow came every night. After the hatchling perched the crow went, they followed it, and it flew very far away to Bunyoro. The King of Bunyoro saw their sister who was very beautiful. He then asked Kasita, Karji and Kagina for their sister in marriage. They accepted, so the king was very pleased and he gave every one of them a hundred cows, a drum, and a kingdom. Thus they became Kings of Buhweju, Buzimba and Baturu.

The third legend tend to justify the leadership of the Barenae clan over the common people. In Rwanda the name Barenae designates ancient people who are said to have been wiped out by the Babenda long before the arrival of the Batatasi in the district of Nduga. In Kgize the Barenae are another branch of the Bashambo (see the Nshamba tradition). They are said to come from Mpororo and were lords over Kayanza kingdom.

The kings of Kayanza: Three brothers, Ndhura, Kaganza and Nyinamukaari came through the bush to Kayanza while hunting. When they arrived at Bwindi, they had to sleep in the long grass (oruharrana) but woke up to find that they were surrounded by water. After some bewild-erment, they decided that the only way out was for them to draw lots to ascertain which of them would be sacrificed for the remainder. The lot fell on Nyinamukaari, He overcame their reluctance to carry their project to nothing. “It is better for me to die so that you, my brothers, will be saved.” They then threw him into lake Kivuzi and he drowned. Then the lake divided into two parts and the two brothers crossed over dry land. When they got to shore, they heard a voice saying to them “Ndhura will be chief in Kayanza, Kaganza will be chief in Buganza,”
They carried on and finally arrived at the village of Kayonzza. They found there about ten people called the Banyarushuri with whom they lived. After a few years a Munnyarushuri went to collect grass (esihuri). When he tried to pull the grass he heard a noise and then a second time he heard it and was so afraid that he went and told Ndahura. Ndahura pulled the long grass and knew that there was a drum attached to it. He went inside a cave and brought out a drum and told the people to come and look at it the next day. They came and were greatly astonished. Ndahura had to explain to them that it was a drum for they had never seen one before. He told them that he would speak as well as the drum if they listened to what he had to say. Thus Ndahura came to rule Kayonzza while his brother went to Ibanja and Buhire in Buganza.8

Here is a list of Ndahura's successors.

Kubahire (Ndahura's son), Rwirima, Kamuranuko, Yeye, Kubaire II, Byabagamba, Rwirima II, Rutagura, Nyakarasi and finally Mugyinga.

Mugyinga had to flee at the coming of the Bajungu and no one took over from him.7

This legend is of Hima inspiration. Other accounts of the discovery of a drum have been recorded in Rwanda and Kagwae and all bear striking resemblances to our Kayonzza tale. It tries to justify by individual intervention the authority of the Barengye over commoners such as the Banyarushuri. Their authority had thus to be accepted in spite of the fact that they themselves were coming from another place in Mororo.8

The First Bakiga.

To find out were the first Bakiga in Kigezi we shall have to use our imagination a little. Let us take the language as a basis for a hypothesis. The language spoken now is closely related to Runyankore while on two of the three borders of Kigezi the language spoken is Kinyarwanda. If Kinyarwanda was never the main language spoken in spite of the many migrations from Rwanda it would suggest that the main stock of Runyankore-speaking people is much older than the migrant groups from Rwanda. It would seem that Runyankore has imposed itself on newcomers even when they have come in large groups.

If we eliminate all the clans we know to have come to Kigezi in recent times such as the Bakongwe, the Basigi, the Bakonjo, the Bahunde, we remain with a few large family groups which are still found in Mororo such as Bahire, Basilhekatwa, and others which originated in Karagwe such as the Basinga (Bagache) and the Baziga.

The Baziga claim that their ancestor Kasinga (also known as Runyankore byakama) who was a blacksmith and a sorcerer in Karagwe, was obliged to flee in order to escape the wrath of his brother Muhaya. He took refuge in Ndarovwa before the coming of the Batutsi. The Baziga are known in Kigezi as Bagache.

The Baziga are an old clan in the country. According to a Tutsi legend Kigwa, the first Mututsi, arrived in Mutara when he came down from heaven. This place is said to have been in Ndarowwa near the village of Buhanga at a place called Muka on the river Mukuwinga (Kwam). There Kigwa met the Baziga who ran away because Kigwa was white and they were black. This legend might indicate that the Baziga had been coming to Ndarowwa from Mubari (a two days walk) before the coming of the Batutsi. In short, the forefathers of the Baziga as we know them now might have come from Karagwe (a Runyankore speaking people). In Kigezi they are gathered under the endahiro of the Bambungwe and Bakyinyago. Fr. Torelli was of the opinion that the Bahale, the Bucicu, the Basko, the Basingo and the Baziga, were the older clans in Kigezi. It is significant that they belong to the endahiro of the Bakyinyago and of the Bambungwe.10

In the old days the clan organisation had an important public role. Nowadays it is more or less confined to aspects of family life and marriages in particular. In the past the clan was also a political organisation with territorial boundaries. The chief of a clan was the chief of the land and the embryonic principality was named after the main clan. So Basigi was occupied mostly by Basigi, Bagache was the place for most of the Bagache and so on. Fr. Pages collected much information concerning the Baziga living on the borders of Kigezi in the country of Byumba. We can assume that this generalisation would have held good if he had gone a bit further north. He summed up the state of affairs as he saw it at the beginning of the century in these words: “The small countries of Buberuka and Mulera (near Rubengi) kept their formal organisations and had not even a king sometimes. Every clan used to rule and administer itself according to its own light. They were often at war with each other; no agreement among themselves was ever permanent.” This situation could be found in any part of Kigezi in the past. Most of the time the heads of families (bakuru b'emyirango) were the highest authority. Sitting together they administered justice for the group. Big family groups, however, such as the Baziga, the Basingo, the Buci, the Bambungwe, were better organised. They felt the need of a central authority, a sort of king with preternatural powers over rain and thunder. His prestige was to be the nkugire m'emyiru, responsible for the welfare of the crops and purification of the people by thunderbolt. Concerning rain making, Fr. Pages said that “in Rwanda the rainmakers are mostly descendants of the local kings of the Bantu clans.” This role was formerly a part of the royal prerogative of their ancestors. The role of the king was to bring about beneficial influence for the whole of the group but the real political authority was exercised by the heads of families. The clan was subject, nevertheless, to pressures from without.11

The fact that all marriages had to be exogamous inclined clans to keep on good terms with some other clans. This tendency gave rise to the clan organisation which we have already seen: the endahiro.

We find in Kigezi three old clans fulfilling the function of rain makers. They are the Bagache in Ndarovwa around lake Bunyonyi, the Basingo in Basigi (an area now in Rwanda) and the Bambungwe in Kinkizi. We include here two methods of rain making coming from the Bagache and the Basi.
In the old days the Mwami w’enjura was a political as well as a religious leader. He was responsible for the well-being of people, cattle and plants. His power was due to the presence of a spirit (muzimu) living in the mwami. This muzimu called Nyabijura (the one looking after the rain) was the link between the water from above and the water from below. To obtain the blessing of rain, the mwami w’enjura would go into the water of the lake asking his forefather to bring down the rain. The muzimu once put into the water had the power to attract the water from above. If in the early days much prestige was attached to such a function, in later times this sort of ceremony had lost most of its glory, for insults and ill treatment were to be the lot reserved to Nyabijura medium in case of failure. This sort of ceremony explains why Ndurwa rainmakers lived around lake Bunyoni.

Here is the method followed by the Musigi Rwambukwa wa Rwendurura Mayambo ge Nyamwara ka Bajara. A special plant called "omugaba" was burned and the ashes carefully collected. The Medium had to have incisions made on his forehead and the ashes were put in those little wounds. People had to bring him offerings, mostly vegetables. This plant is given to cows which refused to be milked. After eating it, cows are willing to be milked. It had the power to change the mood of cows and therefore of spirits in charge of rain.

Around the year 1897 during the Rwanda famine the Banyoni and the Bagisi rainmakers went to see the famous rainmaker of the Babanda in Kikizzi; Kaita ka Ruhayana, to improve their methods, but it was of no avail.12

Kinyarwanda sources recall a number of expeditions against the people of the mountain. The first to have come was led by Ruganzu Nderi. The Bagisi fought him and Ruganzu withdrew. Kanyoni was, however, killed and mutilated and from then on the Bagisi and the Banyoni became the Kanyoni. This battle took place at the end of 18th century, if we believe Kinyarwanda historians.13 Was this Kanyoni the father of the Banyoni clan?

It is difficult to say since the Banyoni clan does not recall the fact. Banyoni traditions recall the names of several Bari from Rwanda who invaded Ndurwa as Mihambwe Cisauma, Yuki Musintaka, Cyilima Rusiga and Kigeri Nkabareza. In Kigali Kigeri Nkabareza is said to have killed Kaawanganyi famous among the Banyoni when the clan was defeated at the battle of Kanauma (near Kabale).14 The Banyoni explain their defeat by saying that they were betrayed by a Muvumbwa woman. However a boy called Rusia sought out the woman among the Banyawanda and killed her in revenge. After the death of Kawanganyi the family took over the function of rain making within the Bagasi clan. In the old days they lived beside the lake which bears their name, the Muvumbwa, later at Kariko, Muyobo, Butoha, Kakora and Omurinda. If rain making is a remnant of royal prerogative, this would suggest that the Bagasi and their Buhima group the Banyoni were rulers in Bunyoni before the coming of the Bagiibwe. It seems that we can apply the same rule that others have applied elsewhere, namely that successive waves of incoming Buhima joined Bantu clans by intermarriage, but later on Bahima kept to themselves and maintained their own clans. The first Bahima may have joined the Bagasi clan in Ndurwa (Bazinga). Later they could have started a muryango of their own, the Banyoni who, recognized the rainmakers, were a ruling family at one time in Ndurwa, long before Kahaya Rutindanwuzi.

The Bazinga have certainly been in Kigezi or at least in Ndurwa for a long time. When the first Hima arrived, they found the Bazinga in Ndurwa. Like the Bagyera, the Bagisi and the Banyoni, the Babanda that are among the old clans, the Bazinga were ruled by a Bantu dynasty. The Hima newcomers relying on diplomacy rather than force, found it opportune to join up with the local Muzigaba king named Kabusa (this is the Kinyarwanda pronunciation. In Kigeli they speak of Kabusi but it seems that the same person is referred to). Kabusa’s daughter Nyumigyeni was to be privileged to give birth to the wife of the great Mwami Gihanga (the creator) so the tradition goes.

The symbol of the Baziga power was the Drum “Sera” which was taken away from the Bazinga in the 16th century by Yuki II. The kingdom of the Baziga stretched from Ndurwa to Bugyera. Their southern neighbours led by Kinyenye Shumbusho pushed the Baziga out of the area south of Mubari. Another tradition relates a revolt of the Baziga against the Bugyera. They were sent from Mubari for the Baziga. The Bagyera and the Bugyera were in about 1749. The later only survived because of the intervention of Rukiga, son of Yuki Masimpaka. In Rwanda, the Bazinga were known for their witchcraft and were also entrusted with the Mvum’s cattle. They had a reputation for being good blacksmiths and it is worth noting that a sub-clan of the Bazinga, called in Kigezi the Basingwa, is said to have introduced the use of iron hoe into Kigezi.16

The Bakimbiri are an old clan in the country. Nevertheless they are not counted among the indigenous clans known in Rwanda as “Bashangwa Butaka,” such as the Basinga, Baziga, Bagyera. Like the Bagisi they have a great number of sub-clans called emiyango in Ankole. In Kigezi we find among the Bakimbiri: the Bagwa, Bahimba Beega, Bagwine Batukuza, Barahusa, Babinyi, Bakokoza and so on. In Rutuga some of them are said to be from Rutughi (a place bordering Mubari). Some others come from Kinangwa kya Batorowa. In Butumbira the Bakimbiri are from Bumbogo, south Buboruka, in Rwanda. While inquiring about the famous Ryangome legend Fr. Nicole obtained the following information on the origin of the Bakimbiri. Ryangome was a Mwambara, from Mvura byo Ngiro in Burundi. He was king of Gitara Muzinga and Murico bordering Ndurwa. Could we deduce that the Bakimbiri are from Burundi? This proposition would explain why such an old clan is not counted among the “Bashangwa Butaka” and at the same time be extremely numerous. The Bakimbiri, related with the Beega, sharing the same totem called “itu” (calf born feet first). Another peculiar feature of that family group was their relations with the ruling clans. In Ankole they are Buhima.
mbi of the Bahinda in Mpororo they are Bucumbi of the Bahamba and in Rwanda they are Bucumbi of Banyiginya. Would it not be a trace of their ancient nobility? Their traditional rulers in Nدورwa were the Bahamba and their mandwa was Mugasa. In Butumbira a Gombozora is called by their name Bukimbiri. That branch of the Bakimbiri from Bunbogo, comes among their relatives the Bugari and the Bakone. Another branch of the Bakimbiri, the Bahamba be Macamu coming from Isaliwa Keituro (Mupimb) occupied the centre of Rubanda saza. When they arrived there the Babwiga left the place at the time of Kahuya I Rugaru around 1840.17

The date of the arrival of the Basingera in Kigazi is difficult to determine. Their traditional tradition states that their ancestor came from Butumbiri with three sons. He settled in a place called Karungu and he started a small hoe industry. He is said to have introduced houses as bride gift (enjugano) (this custom was widespread in ancient Rwanda beside the traditional cow). Later they started the first rural trade school in the country and taught the smith's trade to the Bakuba, the Bazirika, the Busingera. The Basingera grew in fame and numbers. They had some trouble later with the Bakuba of Kirima. From Karungu they later moved to Bugarza, Kimuga, Ruyozza, Bwindi, Nzozi and Mpala. Their relationship to the Baziga is beyond any doubt. They still speak by Mukiri guni Rubimba.18

Towards the end of the 13th century the Muhutu clan of the Bugesera seems to have been in control of the country known as Gisaka which is also known as Bugesera. A long list of rulers and well developed traditions suggest a well established kingdom. A Hima dynasty was ruling over Bugesera down to the end of the 18th century. Wars with their powerful neighbours the Banyiginya were fatal to them and around the year 1800 Gisaka became an integral part of Rwanda. A group of Bugesera left Gisaka during the reign of Yuki Mazimpaka. They were close relatives of the Mugesera king Rutagura. They divided themselves into three miryangwa, the sons of Sendikizi, the sons of Rwamabwana and the sons of Nyakwawa.

The three miryangwa later produced chiefs in south Nدورwa: Kabuto, Rusekanungu and Munara. Perhaps it was during their chiefship that many Bugesera came into Nدورwa. The sons of Rutagura are said to have introduced the banana into Rwanda from Mpororo at the end of the 17th century during the reign of Yuki Mazimpaka.

During the reign of Mwami Mmumwe II a branch of the Bugesera the Bashinga left Gisaka and migrated into Rwanda. They were a family of servants of the dynasty. A family group called Bampinga are said to come from Musanakwa (Muleru) near Rubengeri. They came to Kigazi at the occasion of a famine. Some went to Kibina, others to Kabaleka Muziga. The groups do not seem to be related in spite of the similarity of names.

The Basingera of Kigazi came fairly recently from Rwanda and are said to be a branch of the Baziga, while in Ankole they are said to be a miryangwa from the Bakimbiri. In Kigazi, however, they are not found under either enchild. One tradition attributes the discovery of milk to their eponymous ancestor, a woman named Nyahamugasa. Could this be a suggestion that as a clan, the Basingera were contemporary with the arrival of the Batutsi and their cows? Again it is somewhat puzzling to find the Basingera as the only clan whose founder was a woman. Yuki Mazimpaka is said to have had trouble with two wives who were Basingera. So exasperated was he that he cursed and swore not to take any wives from that clan. Since then the Banyiginya dynasty has maintained this ban, but the Basingera were the ruling family in Rubugata Butwizi Kanesa.19

Before the coming of the Batutsi, the country of Ntuga in Rwanda was the kingdom of the Babanda clan. They are an old family group but are not considered as "Batwila bafata." One of their kings, the sorcerer Mwascena is said to have played a part in the destruction of the Barengye people (ancestors of the Batutsi, said to be the first inhabitants of Rwanda). At one time an army of Barengye (people from the north) invaded Rwanda coming from Ankole through Mpororo. The Babanda then joined the Batutsi warriors and the invaders were defeated. In Kigazi the Babanda are living in Kayonza. They have settled there for quite a long time. The function of rain makers was the privilege of one of their sub-clans, the Bayundo Bose Mwarakarki. The Babanda might have been in Kayonza long before the coming of the Barengye lord and their function as rain makers could be a confirmation of their ancient origin.20

The Baringura must have been in N دورwa for quite a long time. Their way of avoiding suggests a Rwanda origin as it refers to Koroba, a hero in Rwanda mythology. They are said to come from the Mupimb (the forest in the West). They had in the past some peculiar customs of their own, a kind of family day. Some members of the clan, the Bakore and the Bakitu, at some stage went to Kuchumu in Congo and settled there. They had the unusual custom of a reunion once a year to honor the spirit of their ancestor along the lines of the "Parentales" of the ancient Romans. Besides showing respect to their ancestors, they also had a sense of veneration for their place of origin: Kikoko kya Baringura. Kikoko is the central area of the clan in Kigazi although the Baringura are found at Kikumbi Kyarugundo and Kinintra in Nyarushabane. During those days of Parentales sacrifices were offered following a ritual intended to revive some familiar features of daily life of the Baringura on the shores of a river or a lake.21

The Basingera are well known in Rwanda. A legend tells us that Rubunga their ancestor was in charge of the drum at the court of the Mwami Gihanga. He is said to have given to the Mwami the drum of King Ruling the family of the Basingera. The Mwami called him Umwinegesi "the one who adds." A branch of the family, however, is said to come from Butiro, north-west of Lake Kivu. The paramount chief of the family, Gase, remained in the homeland while his two brothers Kaziranyuma and Senyabusha migrated and eventually settled in Butumbira. Like the Baringura they used to have a feast day in memory of Gase for whom they sacrificed a sheep as he had a great liking for mutton.22
Around lake Bunyoni, at Butaganda and in the Kabondo valley are found groups of people who call themselves Bakonjo but they are found in the endshire of the Bamusiga (that is of Rwanda origin). This is another example which shows the unreliability of the endshire as an absolute.

Indications are of a common origin for all its members. The traditions are unanimous. Led by Nyamarembe, they arrived in Kigezi some eight generations ago. They claim to have introduced the banana into Kigezi. It seems that they were a peaceful people for they do not record any victory nor mention any hero and though they recall their long journey through western Uganda and Rwanda, they do not mention any battle.

Though now but a single clan in Kigezi, the Bakonjo were divided into many sub-clans before their migrations from the Busugonga valley. The Bagooba, the Barenge, the Kabwala, the Baisare, the Besa, the Buwasa. Their leaders, however, were chosen from the Bakutsa and the Bumukansi before their migration. Although they came from the Busugonga valley, they do not claim to be the first inhabitants there. They still recall the names of other clans who were living in Toro before their arrival in the Busugonga plain, for instance, the Baruku, the Baitunwa, the Bakunenta and the Baitutu.

The Bakonjo claim to have settled in the Busugonga valley twenty generations ago. For an unknown reason they decided to go southward. The Barenge from Kabukure island began the journey by throwing their king into the lake. Then they followed the shores of Lake Edward and went to Rwanda, where they came into Kigezi. We can presume that they brought the banana from Rwanda into Ngora. They claim to be the first to have had bananas in Ngora, which perhaps means only to be the first into their own valley of Kabondo. Since their arrival in Kigezi some of their chiefs have been: Nyamarembe Guma, Bulegwa, Weza, Mashebe, Bebe, Kismugumu. The traditions among the Bakonjo have been particularly well preserved and handed down.  

**MURORWA AND MARINDA**

It is difficult to know much about Kigezi during the period of the great Bunyoro Kitara Kingdom. We have, however, two testimonies from Rwanda and Ankole.

Rugereke (1831) living in Rwaza related that the Mukiimi Ruyangome was king in Gitara, in a place then called Omumuzi and Muriro bordering Ngora (Seri ya Ngora) which meant, from Rwaza, Mpororo Rukiga, then part Kitara kingdom. On the other hand Tiwanyige from Rubindi stated that the Mucwezi Wamala gave the drum Murorwa to Babinga Ruyangome's father.

"So just as Wamala gave to Katukuru of the Bayangwe clan the drum 'Bagendana' to rule for him over Karo Karamagi, the same Wamala gave the drum Murorwa to Babinga Ruyangome's father to rule for him over Mpororo Rukiga."

It is difficult to obtain more information about these statements but at least we can understand now the meaning of the word "Murowa." It does not have any meaning in Rukiga but it does in Runyoro, and this is a good hint that the drum Murorwa was given by a Mucwezi. Murowa comes from the verb okuora, to see. So in the passive from murowa means in Runyoro the drum which is looked at. This meaning is quite in keeping with the name of the Ankole drums "Bagendana" the drum which is escorted. The name of the Ankole drum is in the plural for they were in fact two drums while Murowa must have been a single drum. These drums were personified. So Murowa was the drum of Babinga and his son Rangambe of the Bakhimbi. Later it became the drum of Nyaheru who gave it to his daughter Kitami from the Baishekawu clan.

There is no reason to challenge Tiwanyige's statement that the Mucwezi Wamala gave Murorwa to Babinga, Rangambe's father. What we know now about Rangambe is mixed up with legendary details. According to Rugereke he was a Mukimbi and came from Byerwa bya Ngori in Burundi. Some other people in Rwanda stated that one of his wives was from the Banyiginya of Rwanda and that he was related somehow with the Bucwezi.

One of his forefathers was called Mugaruma. We find a Mugaruma among the Bucwezi as Kyungye's son born from a servant girl but there is no evidence that he was the same person.

Not much is said about Nyaheru (or Iryakwera) except that he had the drum Murorwa and that he was born from the Baishekawu clan. He might have been living near Rwentoba where some years later his daughter Kitami was found with plenty of cattle.

In addition to the prestige Kitami derived from being a king's daughter, Kitami was a phenomenon for other reasons. She was exceedingly corpulent and extremely dull. From her disgusting and abnormal physical state, she got her name, from the word "okutumwa" which means to disgust. Her sole occupation consisted in swallowing enormous quantities of milk. She lay on her back the whole time, so it is not surprising that she daily grew fatter. Unfortunately, she was also very timorous, so that the sight of a mountain, a man or the moon was sufficient to frighten her and cause her to vomit. On her father's death she became queen of Mpororo. Her subjects never saw her face. She first lived at Kirumira but later went to Kyanzara. She was credited with extraordinary supernatural powers. Rumours of her power circulating around neighbouring lands discouraged anyone from attacking Mpororo.

As her health deteriorated and her vomiting increased, the royal household finally called in a medicine man from Butumbi called Kaimumura Munganga. First he prescribed purges but later he decided on more personal and intimate care. Kitami's health noticeably improved; after a time, in fact, it became obvious that she was expecting a baby. The family council decided to move the mother-to-be elsewhere for the birth. She moved to Katabwa near Rwentoba where a son was
born to her, said to be Murari father of Kahaya. The successful doctor was presented with cows and a body guard before he left for Shema in search of further romance. Kitami returned to her new residence at Nyan- manyoni where the drum “Murorwa” was kept by her clan, the Baishekawana.

It was while she was there that this remarkable queen died, struck down by the sting of a carpenter bee, which is the origin of the saying “Kitami akitiwa ekijumurera.” Her death was held to be an apocalyptic calamity. Prudent people left the country. Perhaps a combination of unusual happenings, such as earth-quakes, epidemics and violent storms scared the inhabitants. Whatever the cause, panic spread. First thoughts were to appease the queen’s ghost and hence a cult was started.

Kitami dead became more powerful than Kitami alive. The Bayezeri cult went out of fashion now that the people had a “mandwa” of their own. Thus Kitami became the origin of the Nyabingi cult. The name Nyabingi might mean “one who has many things” or “one who brings many things.”

The word might have lost its original meaning but it might have been used already while Kitami was still alive, for the name Kitami was not very inspiring for a queen of Mpororo.

No matter what the origin of the name Nyabingi, the proper Nyabingi ritual came directly from Queen Kitami; to be unseen, to give orders from behind a curtain of barkcloth, to shake the pillar, to utter unarticulated sounds, to change one’s voice, all these theatrical rites have entered the Nyabingi cult. Years later anyone subject to delirium or epileptic fits was supposed to be possessed (anapfungwa) by Kitami’s ghost. The new cult was to render obsolete in some places, the simple cult of family worship.

The name of Kitami is liable to create confusion for we have several persons called by that name. We have first of all Kitami who was killed by a carpenter bee. Then we have another Kitami kya Nyaweera whose story we find related in the book “Abekozire ebovukutana amuri Ankole” by Mr. Ngaruwa, page 13. But shall we see later it was the same person referred to. We have Kitami called as well Kyeumbire. This Kitami from the Bere Muhondogywa clan (Baishekawana) is said to be Nyunj’s daughter. She is said to have succeeded to Inzri as queen of Mpororo. She is therefore much more recent. There is finally another Kitami called Kamu-Jogo who came round Rwenioba after Kahaya’s death. She had a grandson Rutindangyezi who named himself Murari II.

To understand how Murari became king is difficult for traditions contradict one another. Version I: when Murari and his brother Ishemurari arrived in Mpororo, coming from Mubara, they found the country ruled by queen Kitami (from Barindu). According to this record Murari was a contemporary of Kitami. Version II: Murari was Kitami’s own son. The father would be the medicine man called Kaimamur Muganga (from Amuhinda). Version III: Murari was married to Komuyeira who was Kitami’s daughter. Kitami was killed by Ishemurari. Version IV: Nyahuru and Mub-

rari were two brothers so Kahaya and Kitami were cousins (munyanya wa ibante). This version does not explain how the drum Murorwa went from the Baishekawana to the Bashambu. Version V: Ishemurari married Kishandura (Kitami’s daughter). This girl was given to him by Kitami as a reward. She was the mother of a boy called Murari. After Kitami’s death Ishemurari would have got hold of the drum Murorwa for his son Murari (from Mubara). Version VI: Murari’s father was called Kiwam son of Ngulu, Murari was Kitami’s husband. (From Batoora).

At any rate Murari was the first Bashambu king with the drum Murorwa. According to Mr. A.G. Katate, Murari was king at the time of Nalu IV Kibabanyoro. This lack of unanimity over Kitami’s succession sounds like an echo of by-gone plots and intrigues. But two facts seem to appear from Murari’s time: the new Bashambu rulers were opposed to the Nyabingi cult and on the other hand Kitami’s ghost became increasingly popular among women, especially from the Baishekawana clan.

Kahaya Rutindangyezi ka Murari (son of Murari) stands like a beacon in the darkness of the past. He is one of the few figures of whom we can be absolutely certain, for the unanimity of tradition leaves us in no doubt of his historical existence. Even now people all over Kigezi swear by him. His Kingdom consisted of Kajara, Shema, Igere, Rwamara, Nnorwa, Rukiga, Rujambura and part of Kijisi. Kigezi traditions recall that Kahaya married the daughter of the Kingdom of the drum Murorwa and his nickname Rutindangyezi is not at all connected with bridge making as one would understand it but with the crossing of Lake Bunyonyi. What is the earliest period to which we can assign the reign of Kahaya? There are several pointers to guide us. The Muwa of Rwanda Rusungwa is said to have fought against his relative Kahaya, King of Mpororo Rukiga. This Mswami reigned during the middle of the 18th century. Another tradition relates how Nalu Kibabanyoro wanted to have his drum “Defendants” made like the Murorwa drum of Kahaya (a white skin with a black stripe). Accordingly Kahiru, son of Nyanam, of the Baruly clan in Kigezi left his master Kahaya in order to work for Nalu who was ruling over Kagererangi around 1750. We count back nine generations before meeting the names of Kahaya’s contemporaries. Again we arrive at a date of around 1750. Kigiga traditions are load in their praise of Kahaya’s reign. People could move freely about the country with only a stick; spears were no longer necessary for Kahaya saw to it that vendetta and internecine fighting were suppressed. His political organisations were probably along the lines of Bunyoro Kitara and Rwanda. To men of outstanding ability, within his clan, he would entrust some of his cattle and send them off to some corner of his kingdom. This vassal whose livelihood depended on such a gift would have to take care of his lord’s property. He would strive to live in peace with the people among whom he grazed his cattle. The cattle were a sign of his authority delegated to him by the king, which exempted him from the jurisdiction of the clan elders. Both he and his people had a mutual interest in preserving law and order; he for the sake of his lord’s cattle, they for fear of the king.
Towards the end of Kahaya's life his sons began to cause trouble. He is said to have hidden the drum "Murorwa" (an essential attribute of kings in Bantu kingdoms) to prevent anyone inheriting it. He either destroyed it, or gave it to the Bagabira for custody. Since none of Kahaya's sons would accept one of their number as overlords, Kahaya's large realm was divided among them on his death into small independent principalities. Rugambaye received Rukiga; Kiremzi had Rumumbura, Kihonduwa got Kajara; Rukari got Rufuba; Mafundo got Igara; Kahaya II got Rwampare; Kagaba (Kahaya's son-in-law) got Butaye; and the youngest of them Nyakanjunga received a place in Ndorwa. Fraternal pride and quarrels having brought Kahaya's achievements to nothing, never again was there to be so extensive a kingdom in Mpororo Rukiga.28

From Bagyessa traditions we can obtain most interesting details concerning the influence of the Bashambo. When Kimenyi the third, king in Gisaka was still a young man, (around 1870-1830), the Bagyessa were attacked by the Bashambo. The battle took place at Kambuzi near the present mission of Gahinya, in Rwanda. The Bashambo won and advanced as far as Buganza. Soon afterwards, the Bagyessa made an alliance with Kigeri II, offering the Mvami of Rwanda a country if he would help expel the Bashambo. So Kimenyi II, known as Rwambanyi, and Kigeri Nyamuhenshara pushed back the Bashambo to Ndorwa where according to their tradition a queen was ruling over Mpororo. Later during the reign of Kahaya Rutindagyezi, the Bagyessa made an alliance with him against the Mvami of Rwanda. Kigeri Ntabarasa led the fighting forces of Rwanda because his father Rutugira was too old for campaigning. The Bashambo attacked from the north and the Bagyessa attacked from the south. Kigeri Ntabarasa was able to prevent the two armies from joining up and drove the Bagyessa back beyond lake Muhazi. The area, however, remained under Bashambo control.

Some years later the Bashambo and the Bagyessa tried the same plan again. By this time Kigeri Ntabarasa had succeeded his father as Mvami of Rwanda, and the Bagyessa and the Ndorwa for a while. Kigeri at the head of another army meanwhile fought and defeated the Bagyessa for all time at the battle of Kibikiri. The Bagyessa were led by Kimenyi Gaturu, and the year of the last battle was around 1795.29

Nyakanjunga was born at Iaungwe, a place in Mutara. As a young man he was looking after the old Kahaya. Some people said that he was only a servant of the king. Others relate that he was Kahaya's youngest son, born from a slave girl. Before his death the old Kahaya instructed him to have been living with Nyakanjunga near lake Bunyoni. The old king gave him a drum, and therefore a part of his kingdom to look after. This drum was to stay at Ianga and was to be used for future installation ceremonies. There is no agreement about the name of the drum but it was not Murorwa. This might imply that the area entrusted to Nyakanjunga was restricted. This area must have been around Mazita since Nyakanjunga lived at Bunyoni and died at Kizinda near Kigali.

From Ankele sources Kahaya is said to have left two drums among the Bakiga, but in Kigali we hear about three drums; Rwakarabuiwira (entrusted to the Babwiza), Mahinda mpungi (under the custody of the Bagabira), Nyakakihanga, about which there is a lot of confusion, since this drum is spoken about in many places in Ankele and Kigali.

Nyakanjunga is known as the father of at least three boys: Murari who succeeded his father, Mureire and Hweza. Murari and Hweza were promoters of the Nyabingi cause, like their father Nyakanjunga who was said to be very much in favour of fostering Nyabingi's memory. Murari became king after Nyakanjunga's death but he was himself killed by Kahunukwa's sons at Kiyana near Rwemihaga. After his death his brother Mureire became king. His residence was at Katanga near Kibiza. He gave birth to Bigwe and died a very old man.30

A few years after Kahaya's death the Bashambo rulers in Ndorwa had developed an elaborate ritual of their own for the installation of the new ruler. Lake Bunyoni was the magnificent site for these ceremonies. The most important part of the ceremony was the crossing of the lake from East to West by the new ruler, as a reminder to the descendant of Kahaya Rutindagyezi that the Bashambo had once followed a similar route into Ndorwa. The king had to spend the night of the new moon in the eastern part of the lake before coming ashore at dawn to be given the drum and other insignia of power. Amidst noisy acclamations he would beat "Murorwa" or "Mahinda," then he was presented with many gifts as token of submission. A ritual of purification (okuhangira) was to be faithfully followed for three days on the 3rd, the 6th and the 9th of the new moon (the number is not certain). The new king had to purify the drum in order to placate the spirit of the king. Most probably some animal sacrifices had to be made as well, as this was done on lake Bwanyange for the kings of Karagwe. Certain regulations were imposed. There was to be no worshipping of "mandwa." People and cattle had to be purified with water mixed with chalk, which the unmarried would sprinkle on the people and cattle when ordered to do so by the king. To understand the regulation of the ruler on the lake we must know some details on the education which was to be given to the future ruler. The future king was to undergo a limited sequester. He had to remain hidden in some place around the lake or on some island. From time to time he would come at night and meet his father the king. He was told about the affairs of the kingdom and about people, up to the time fixed for the open crossing. So the day he was entrusted with the kingdom, the new king would know everything and nobody would know that. This sort of education and secret way meant to promote his prestige but also to avoid, as far as possible, intrigues and plots over king's succession, a frequent weakness among polygamous rulers.31

Another branch of the Baghehe clan was a ruling family: the Butaye in a little kingdom called after their name: Butaye. Kinyaarwanda sources tell us that Buregyeya, king of the Bagyessa, occupied Butaye around 1790. Later Bazimwe who succeeded Buregyeya was displaced by the Bu-
shambo. This little kingdom of Bataye spread over parts of Mutara, Karagwe, Mororo and Kigosi. The Kigosi section is now merely in Kamwazi Gumbrora. At one time a Muhima from Karagwe, Kagina, was a vassal of Kahaya in Bataye. He married Ntarewero, Kahaya’s sister. She gave birth to Buta, Biraro, Runwana, Ishemuhingi and Mushwa. After Kahaya’s death the kingdom like other parts of Mororo and Ruika became virtually independent. Mushwa, however, grew up at Kahaya’s place, and received from his uncle his wife called Nyinamuhika. Nyinamuhika gave birth to Kaburubuca. One story relates that Murari went to see Kaburubuca to require from him a sign of submission (muitogo). This Murari was considered as a Kyumbwe ( usurper). Murari told Kaburubuca that he liked him but disliked his children. The children were listening from a hiding place, whereupon they plotted with their father and killed Murari. It is not possible to identify this Murari with Kahaya’s father. This man Murari was coming from Karwera, next to the swamp of Rulera on the Rwanda border. He required offerings from the Bagina for he had Nyanbingi, a woman from the Basoga who was acting as a mudiruru of the cult. At one time a leader known as Ny consummated the marriage of the Bataye was ruling over Bucundura in Ruika. The Bataye were ruling over the Batoke, Batsaba, Bafuta and Bafumbu. They were driven away by the Basogi, Bne Nyanbingi and Bne Buhiri (at the time of the Bana’s uprising). But it seems that those people called Bataye had no relation with the Bataye of Bataye; the latter may have been a branch of the Bne Kihembe. In any case they were not relatives of the Bne Kagina. Here is a list of the Bana rulers: Kagina, Mushwa, Kaburubuca, Rwanyegemo, Kainambara, Kalarwe (alive in 1911).

The Rule of Bigweyo Bwa Mureire. Here is a picture of Bigweyo as we could gather from his descendants. Bigweyo was a Muhima of the Bshambo. Single handed he managed to bring some kind of unity to Bushongera for a period of time. He was pleasant, gentle and diplomatic and found it easy to make friends with everyone. Many are the stories, fables, proverbs, and byeyango attributed to him. He also had an interest in speculative matters as witness the division of the year into two months, the measurement of Mubara by pacing, the improvement of agriculture by varying it according to the season, all of which rightly or wrongly attributed to him. He is also said to have changed the name of Bushongera to that of Ruika. This shows a certain Kinyarwanda influence, although he was sufficiently ill acquainted with the language to go to Bugumbira to improve his knowledge of Binyarwanda. His great popularity enabled him to move from clan to clan, his charm, wit and wisdom gaining him an enthusiastic reception. He was a great traveller but his residence was at Lomera near Mzabu. He was opposed to the collective frenzy brought by the Nyabingi sect both from personal taste and from political motives.

Bahunda and Bakonjo leaders met Bigweyo’s opposition, and years later the Nyabingi movement met the strong resistance of the Bne Bigweyo with their friends the Batondura and the Baidika. But great as he was Bigweyo was unable to arrange for a successor. After his death around 1945 no one was ever able to awaken among the Bakonjo a desire for a greater unity. The country was to remain divided and for a long time threatened with invasions.3

Here are names related to Bigweyo. Murari, Kahaya, Nyakajunya, Mureire, Bigweyo, Bang-wingi, Nyamuhuka, Pulu, Ntabira Tshingyana, (born 1920), Murari, Kahaya, Nyakajunya (orwana w'omwisana) Mureire, Bigweyo, Rwobishuka, Ntabuhuka, Kayabuku (alive in 1920). Bigweyo’s drum was a Mahinda. After Bigweyo’s death Mahinda was in possession of the Bene Rugambagwe.

We can easily calculate the time of the arrival of the Bakonjo clan in the Gumbrora of Bugumbira, thanks to a Kyewuza well known to the clan’s elders:

Semakokiro ari Bakaba Buganda
Bwawe alire engoma Kisi
Busale ari agha Bunyanpaka
Abekywegwe nabo behakira Butundu

All the rulers mentioned in this Kyewuza were ruling somewhat a bit before 1840. In fact Semakokiro was Bakaba around the year 1830 but the Bakonjo arrival in Bugumbira was followed by a solar eclipse and father Torelli in 1913 spoke to an old man of the Bakonjo clan who saw that solar eclipse “Bwita kabi” as a little shepherd. So it is likely that the last migration of the clan must have taken place between the years 1830 and 1940.

The Bakonjo were coming from Bugungyo (Kayamza) but others were coming from Guguza bwa Kagasa in Rwanda. In Bugumbira they found the Baisi. A battle took place and the Baisi went to Bugumbi and Kinyarwanda.

The domestic divinity of the incoming clan was a manwa called “Nyabingi wa Nyanjumuranda” a variation of the “Nyabingi N’Iheko.” Some time later a famous Makongwe chief Bitooko, coming from the Mijumbi, and having obtained a rifle, thought the time was ripe for proclaiming himself king on the west side of lake Bunyoni but the Bne Bigweyo set an ambush into which Bitooko promptly fell, losing both her life and his wife. It was only later that the Bakonjo could settle on the west side of lake Bunyoni.4

The Bahunde are late arrivals in Kigosi, having been forced to move from the area around lake Kivu and lake Edward by the pressure of the warlike tribes of the Warcha who were on the move in Congo. First the Bahunde took refuge in large groups in Bugoyi near Nyunde. Because of their ignorance of the local language the Binyarwanda nicknamed them the “Ibairag,” which means “Deaf-Mute.” The Bahunde, however, were renowned for their ability as blacksmiths. After a few years of living peacefully with the Binyarwanda, the Bahunde’s position deteriorated. The Binyarwanda, despised by the Bahunde, decided to drive out the refugees. A man called Mucumu with the consent of the Mwami Rujugiri, organized an attack on the Bahunde, with warriors from the Basinga (Bagamu) and Bukora (Barkoro). In the first encounter, the Binyarwanda
had to withdraw to make better preparations. After training war dogs and enlisting help from other clans a second and more successful attack was made which compelled the Bahunde to withdraw to the north. They settled in north Kigezi and Butemba.

By the end of the 19th century five small kingdoms ruled by the Bahunde were to be found in Butemba and in the neighbouring Congo, when a Rwawugiri expedition passed there. Kahaya III a Muhunde was ruling over Bushengyera for a while during the reign of Rwengeri around the year 1860. The ability of Bahunde to transform themselves from refugees to being rulers within a century might have been due to their reputation in witchcraft, but it may be due to their contact with Bahaya hunters. About this period hunters from Karagwe used to go to hunt elephants in Bahunde, this part of Kigezi known as Butemba. These Bahaya hunters must have passed on information to Speke for he made a map of northern Kigezi in 1861 while staying with Bamenaka in Karagwe. In northern Kigezi, the Bahaya were known as suppliers of rifles and gun powder. The Bahunde might have got hold of rifles and thus increased their influence over southern Kigezi later on during the Nyabingi disturbances.33

Kahaya Ka Ruguru 1860. Not much is known of this Kahaya. He seems to have been the source of some confusion for many people who did not realize that there may have been several people bearing this famous name. We now allow for three Kahayas in Kigezi. The first Kahaya is Kahaya ka Murari. The second is the son or grand son of ka Murari, he was known in Rwanda as Kahaya Kimenyi and might have been ruling his small county of Rwampara around 1860. The third is Kahaya the Mahunde or Kahaya ka Ruguru.

How this Muhunde, a foreigner, came to rule over Bushengyera is difficult to know. Was he a leader of the Nyabingi cult in the country? This hypothesis is likely, for we know that the Bahunde used to make drums for the Nyabingi cult and that Kakenke, another Muhunde and Nyabingi leader, later came and settled where this Kahaya used to live. For a time Kahaya’s house was at Kahanja on top of the big hill which dominates Buhinda. Kahaya got his nickname of Kahaya ka Ruguru because of his house’s situation. It refers to Kahaya from above rather than Kahaya from the south as it could be understood. As a Muhunde, Kahaya came from the “Mpimbili” he reached Kahanja (Kabale) and settled at Kahanja. He went to fight at Rubanda where he is said to have captured and made blind the Mahinde Majwe of Rukwanda. When he came back he went to Butemba and Nyakibale. As a well-off farmer, Kahaya did not mind being unpopular. Knowing that the cattle might be a great temptation to the local people he did not allow his cows to go down to the swamp. Instead the people had to organise chains of carriers to bring the water to the top of the hill. There must have been some swearing, as some still do, by Kahaya ka Ruguru. Kahaya died after ruling for two years, during a smallpox epidemic in about 1883, for Rwawugiri was not yet Mwami of Rwanda. Kahaya was reported to Rwengyera (the Mwami) as being involved with the Nyabingi movement. As a leader his concern for the common good was not foremost in his mind.34

A branch of the Bagabe clan called the Bushengyera gave their name to the centre of Kigezi, nowadays known as Rugira. The only remain of that ancient name is the small village of Rwabwegianya near Mpabo. Today the Bushengyera are not known in Kigezi, although some live in Ankole. Nobody knows why they left. Some suggest a smallpox epidemic, others particularly the Bihanga todo, the Baganda, speak of a war in which the Bushengyera lost all their cattle. At any rate around the years 1870 they were probably still in Kigezi. Names of a few of their leaders are still known. People still speak of Mutima wa Kingere, Mutumwa Ndaguzi, Rukunda wa Nyamagyegege. According to the Bahama, Bena-ramugamba, in the old Bushengyera there were these villages amongst others: Kibondo, Kabaasi, Nyamahoro, Kapinga, Kati, Kajje, Kavu, Kitiabuka, Kabonera, Bumirima, Obuzikira, Mafika, Bukutsi, Kikungiri. We can see some difference when we make a comparison with Rugira today, Rugira and Kyanamirera Combora now in Nswe used to be in Bushengyera. Indeed, the name of Bushengyera is now never used, having been changed by Bigye to “Rugira” which in Kinya means “mountains.” Moreover, there is a small district south of Subereka in Rwanda which is also called “Rugira” where many of the Baganda came from.35

Mutumwa of Ndaguzi was a Mahinde from the Bashamba, lord over Bushengyera, people speak of him as a great war chief and that he had his private army recruited among the Baganda. His residence was at Bumirima but his authority was recognized by many clans such as the Esiru, Basyaguhwa, Barihima, Bogyiri, Batiyoma, Balyebuka, Basimba etc. He must have had an important part to play during the Baganda Uprising (1875). Kusengeya, the paramount chief around Kabale, withdrew with his people and cattle towards Msheka and Bumirima. They stayed there for some time, apparently without disturbance, under the protection of Mutumwa’s warriors. Mutumwa’s position in Bumirima might explain why the Baganda did not advance very far in this area whereas they went rather far away in the direction of Kisiizi, where they did not meet such organized resistance. Some years later Mutumwa tried to oppose the invading Baganda but he was killed by Rwawugiri soldiers around the year 1883.36

Here are few names of ancient rulers, kings over Mperoro Rugira: Wamula Munyiswe who gave the drum Munyiswe, Bunagira Oomukami, Ryangombe Oomukambi (probably killed by the Baganda/molls), Nyaheri Oomukami, Kitami Oomukami (probably killed by the Bashamba). Mutumwa I, Omushambo, Mutuma wa Kizima, Kiahaya Rutundzegeye Oomukambi who gave the drum Muhinde, Nyamakunza Ndaguzi Omushambo. Mutumwa II Omushambo, Mutuma wa Nyakatunga (killed by the Baganda). Mureire took over after Mutumwa’s death. Bigye Bya Mureire Omushambo, Kiahaya ka Ruguru Omuhunde, Mutumwa Ndaguzi Omushambo. (Killed by the Banyarwanda).
An old tradition such as the one recorded below gives us plenty of names and details. Unfortunately it is almost impossible to check it. Names of kings and clans appear to be mixed with legendary details. Nevertheless we give it as it stands. Numbers have been added for the sake of clarity.

1. Nshamba ya Rubanga, known also as Mugabe, the founder of the clan. When he died he gave the staff to his son Kwanaramutanga. 2. Rurangamuha. When he died he gave the staff to his son. 3. Iguru Rikinya. He was very fat and had a boy and a girl. The girl was called Burungi lw’Eigure. She was married to the Bucwezi. When she died she became “mandawa.” Kahu Kagula and Kahu Keiguru were her brothers. 4. Kahu Keiguru looked very much like his father Iguru Rikinya. 5. Kibiru Kresherekwanyi, father of the Bene Kibira, his brother was 6. Kibira Kigumiro Nyabweserekho. 7. Muhanga N’Okukumira who had the power to distribute milk. 8. Kirimansi Under him his people became very numerous, he is the father of the Bene Kiriima. He gave the staff to his son. 9. Rutema Nyumba. He was a butcher: they called him Rutemanizaire. 10. Nyamuteke he gave the staff to his son. 11. Nyabubere, so named because the people got the disease of Buheru. 12. Kinyoro so named because the people got the disease of the Banyoro when he was born. He was the first to get ill. 13. Kinyiginya. He taught the people to make mats and forbade people to bury the dead in skins they had used for clothes. He ordered people to use omugugu n’omumbimbiri to make good mats to protect themselves against the cold. This is the reason for him to be called: Kigugu mulamba myigango. Even now the Bakigugu are in Mporgo. 14. Munyengye Ivoro. He ruled for a short time he was given a Saza by his uncle Butundu. He went to the west of Kinkizi, but left the place and settled in Kayonza. His descendants are the Barenge who are included among the Bashambo: Mugiga was his grandson. 15. Butundu, Munyengye’s uncle. He is the father of the Bene Butundu. 16. Mwere. He could make cows speak with his stick. Even now they call it ekubadira ente (to stroke, to pet). 17. Rakima. He was a Butobere near Kabale because it was a cold place, in order to escape small-pox. He died, however, of Bikaciya with all his wives, except one who was pregnant. 18. Nyakizi, meaning the only one on earth. He introduced the royal installation ceremony on lake Bunyonyi on the day of the new moon, to show that their ancestors came from the other side of the lake. Then he went back to Butobere. 19. Nyamugabo. Bad tempered, he would never go back on his word and was feared by the people. Murorda was his drum. 20. Kagyenda. He was a traveller and a fighter, he was called Mureraa I. 21. Nyabuburo. The father of the Bene Nyabuburo. He got assistance from the Batwa. Therefore the Batwa do not join a clan but are at the disposal of the king alone. 22. Katuragana he gave the staff to his son. 23. Musirahungu. He gave the staff to Muyaba Kacwero, Musirahungu, Nyozi. 24. Kacwero became king. When he died his brother became king. 25. Musanwa settled at Ihunga (Nyarusigenge) and went to Kayanja. He is buried at Kizobona omugoro. 26. Kagyenda, called Mureraa II, settled at Ihunga on the mountains on the Rukiga Kayaranga, border whence you have a fine view of Mporgo. 27. Katungo became king in place of Ishemuru Bure Kavyenda. He left Ihunga and settled at Mpale so that his people would not have to climb so much. He was weak and died soon. He was called Kaswija Kazima as well as Kasurin. He left the staff to his brother Kayaranga. 28. Kayanja took over and went to Rutangara (Bukinda) later he went to Nyabugando where he is buried. 29. Musumbwa Munywa lived at Katavonza near Rutenbo. People disliked him, and he abdicated. 30. Kibiru Businga Munywa’s brother. He lived on large owned banana plantations. He was a drunkard. 31. Isaka Muryar. He visited Katatonga and Cyahui in Rwanda. He is known in Bufumbira. 32. Myungwe. He lived at Nyakizinga (Kajara) and then at Kirumului. He was a good king, consequently called Kigiro because out of a bad place he made a nice one. Then he went to Kajara where he settled. 33. Businga Munywa’s brother. He lived in Rutangara near Kayanja. In Buzamuzi he started to hunt pigeons and tame them. He forbade anyone to kill them. Any offender was put to death. At Ruhinda he and Muryar. The Bene Myungwe were counted among the Bashambo. Kigiro was attacked by Niare who took all his cows but the country remained under the Bashambo. He grew old and when he died his brother Bigveyo took the staff.

33. Bigveyo. He settled at Igorora near Maziba on the way to Kahala. He left his place and went as far as Sabakari for the sake of peace. At Igorora even now you can find some of his descendants. The Europeans found Kayakabi as chief of the Bene Bigveyo.

34. Itanzi. He went to Mutara (Kumvazi) in Rwanda then to Rujumbura, Ruhinda, disliking to remain in one place. One day he went hunting in Rwanda. He was wounded in the knee by a piece of wood. Young Munyiginya cured him. As a reward Itanzi named him Muringasha instead of Rushonyoka. Later this man received the Saza of Nshenye near the Volcano of Busweere. Itanzi had a son who was lame and had a hare lip. People refused to have him as king.

35. It was decided that the next king should come from the Baitira. They drew lots, consulting the mandwa, for the clans of the Bahima Baghe: Bainekeka, Baitira. The Bainekeka were chosen. Among the Bainekeka they had two emirango, Bene Kivuma and Bene Mubondoogo. The Bene Mubondoogo were chosen. They were asked to bring a girl to take over the drum Murorwa. They drew lots to consult the mandwa. The girl designated was Kitha Kirembira daughter of Nyanji (enjera yamweera). So Itanzi gave the staff to the Bauumbi, Basaba, Barisa, Batawa, and Bucweze.

What can we make out of this document? If we take into account legendary figures we remain with about 20 names liable to be historical. What is more puzzling is finding together Bashambo clans only. Nine of them are counted as emirango of the main Shamba line in Ankole; they are Bucweze, Barenge, Baturagana, Banyazi, Banyamugamba, Banyakobere, Basimba, Bahweke, Baktibira. Nine other clans of more recent origin are known in Ankole as more or less collateral relatives with the King — they are, Bene Butundu, Bene Hamzi, Bene Kinyany, Bene Nyanji, Bene Rukima, Bene Kagyenda, Bene Ishemurari, Bene Kirima, Bene Bigveyo.
This evident intention of joining together several sub-clans within the chieftainship of the Bashamo is enough to question the historical accuracy of the document. There is no mention of Kahaya Rutindangwezi nor does it speak of the clan emanating from his sons such as the Bene Rugambaye, which we know for certain took place as the Banyarwanda tried to establish their authority over this country. This document could be of some value if we would consider the names given as names of some subordinate chiefs ruling under the authority of the main families: such as the Bene Kiboduw, Bene Kirengi etc. Another detail is that the symbol of their authority was not always a drum but a staff. This might indicate a sort of subordinate position in the ruling hierarchy. Therefore we should disregard the chronological sequence and keep in mind that some of these subordinate chiefs might have been ruling at the same period but in different parts of the Bashamo kingdom, as the little commentary on Murangya Rwabo (No. 14) seems to suggest.

As for the names of places mentioned in this document from Cyahi to Ruhinda most of them are included within the actual border of modern Kigezi such as Butobere, Banyoni, Ihunga, Mpalo, Burangara, Iggora, etc, as for most of the other names of places such as Katabonwa, Nyabugando, Kyanjanya etc, they are places within a few miles of the Kigezi border in Kajara county.

On the other hand some of these names of people are still known from other sources and more enquiries should still reveal more details about them.

For instance Kagveda (No. 26 on the list) was called Murara. He lived at Ihunga. Nowadays in Nyantheju at the bottom of Ihunga hill people still swear by Ihunga ya Murara. Kasasa (No. 27) is known as a mandwa in Ankole and the Basasira in Kigezi count up to ten generations to reach his name. Kanyazi (No. 29) is spoken of in a little folk song around Nyabugambo, where the Eboni Kanyazi were well known. Ishe Murari (No. 31) is still spoken of in Bukumbura where his place of residence is still remembered. Muhweju (No. 32) the Bene Muhweju, abazira epe are still known in Kigezi and Muheweu is known as a man who introduced a new sort of kigezi and Muheweu is known as a man who introduced a new sort of the Bashamo kingdom. They might have been secondary rulers somewhat like some chiefs ruling from the time of the great Kahaya (around 1750) down to the end of the Bashamo kingdom at the time of the Basogi uprising. Another hypothesis could be made on this document. The main point of this testimony could as well be the last paragraphs which try to explain how a girl could have become queen of Mpopororo. In that case all this testimony could justify the silence of the document about Kahaya and his sons.

Here is the genealogy of some relatives of Kahaya Rutindangwezi given by Batoora (1963) Muzora. Nzimba, Kinwa Murari, Kahaya, Butere, Rugambaye, Rutembere, Kasugwe, Rumanzi and Batoora.

THE END OF THE 19TH CENTURY

The actual area now occupied by the Basogi is the result of an uprising which took place in the 19th century. Although most of them came to Kigezi about 100 years ago, they were only coming back to their place of origin. According to traditions they are closely related to the Baganda. They are said to have come from Butaya (Bugasa), then they went to Kitojo, and Mubiwa, and later settled round Rulindo, south of Rubaya in Rwanda. The place was later called Basogi.

Early in the 17th century, the great Mwami Ruganzu Ngori launched a number of expeditions against the difficult county of Ngora which was not under his control. He fought against the Basogi. The chief of the clan then was Nyamikayenze, whose authority was based on power over people. The Mwami w'evenjera lived on Karama hill near Rulindo. His official title, Mwami w'evenjera (Lord of the rain) was a title of great reverence and respect among the Basogi. It is said that Nyamikayenze with the help of a Mwiri of the Banyiginya seized the drum Kalinga and hid it in Basogi. Ruganzu could not tolerate such an insult and launched a punitive expedition. He first recaptured his drum Kalinga, killed the Mwiri traitor and incorporated Basogi as part of his crown land (Drum land would be a more accurate description). Ruganzu, however, was wise, although the possessor of the land, he respected the previous owner of the drum. Nyamikayenze was asked to carry on his benevolent activities for the benefit of the people and their cattle. Down to the beginning of this century the descendants of Nyamikayenze lived in Basogi as makers of rain and sunshine. Another tradition relates very simply that Nyamikayenze gave to Ruganzu Ngori the drum Kalinga. Later the Basogi forgot how they had been defeated by the Banyiginya. Remembering how they had once possessed the great drum of Rwanda, they felt it necessary to provide for their descendants a genealogy which would safeguard their nobility and antiquity. The brother of Kasogi was therefore called Musinguzi. Now Musinguzi is said to have been the father of the Banyiginya thus the face was saved for future generations.40

The Uprising of the Basogi. Some Basogi were living around Mpalo as long as the beginning of the 19th century. Later for some unknown reason they withdrew and went around lake Banyonyi to Kitojo kya Butundi. From Bukumbura and Buburukwa they had been migrating slowly northwards so that by 1770 they had reached Rubaya and Butundi. The rulers of Ngora at this time were the Bahima of the Bene Rugambaye clan, and the Banyonyi. The paramount chief at the time seems to have been Rulinda.

Some Basogi started to cross the lake and to settle round Kabale. Mwazi and his people went to Kagarama, Nyakamwe went to Butobere, Nzimba went to Rukarama.

Musinguzi
About 1875 a Musigi, Rukariro son of Rwanyarwe took his cows to the place called Rukiziro. Butanga and his followers attacked him in order to seize his cows. The alarm was sounded and the Basigizi came out to fight. The Bahima of Masaka killed Rukriziro, Rukariro's son. After six days of furious hand to hand fighting, the Bashambo withdrew first to Butabira then to Busamata. They retreated as far as Maabha and Bumanira where the Basigizi were stopped by the Bashambo of the Bugyero clan.

Towards Mpaalo, the Basigizi did not meet such obstacles and ransacked as far as Butundula, Kiiza, Kihale and Nyaruhangwe. Practically the centre of the Kigeli was theirs. First impressions suggest that this uprising was due to the lack of villages against their masters, a kind of revolution against the Bashambo. Other reasons however pushed the Basigizi to war. For instance population pressures were beginning to build up as groups like the Bakundu moved into Rwanda. In fact it was an ordinary war without any idea of revolt against the established authority. Although the Bene Bugamugyere were pushed out of Kigeli, other Bashambo were not. Kayakibi was still master in Masaka long after the Basigizi raiding. The Byonyi, Bahima branch of the Kigeli were in a more difficult position, as the Bahambo, Basigizi and Bahula made an alliance to drive them out as well. In due time the Byonyi were warned and came to a compromise with their adversaries. They agreed to leave the shores of lake Byonyi and move to Kahunza, near Rubuzero, where they settled as rainmakers. From there on they continued supplying girls from the Baturu clan. From then on they were known as rainmakers rather than Bahima. In the past the Bashambo had suffered heavy losses from this clan and always managed to reclaim their position as lords of Ndirwa. This time, other factors prevented them from doing so. The Nyabingi cult led by the Bahuma and Bakwenge had done much to discredit their authority. The Banyarwanda and Batwa cattle warlords discouraged the Bashambo (whose wealth in cattle was more vulnerable than farmers' crops) from returning to possible danger and loss. Aware of their weak position, the Bashambo decided not to return and settled instead in Kajara.

Now let us record the judgment formulated by this event by a Musigi. The fight of the Basigizi helped all the other clans to become independent of the authority of the Bahima. The Bwengo, Byakwenge, Bwihui, Bwihutu, Bwihutamira, Bwihutamba, Bwihutuka and Bwihutukuyi were liberated from the rule of the Bene Kihandwa. The Bwihutu, Bwihutu, Byakwenge, Byakwenge, Bwihutu, Bwihutu, Bwihutu were liberated from the Byakwenge and the rainmakers. Others remained under the Bahima, such as Byakwenge and the Bene Kihandwa. Butabira was left free from the power of the Bene Bugamugyere. The Bahuma, Bahuma, Bahuma, Bahuma, Bwihutu were liberated from the Byakwenge and the rainmakers. Others remained under the Bahima, such as Butabira with the Bene Kihandwa and Kavuno ya Kizikizi with the Bwihutu.

This judgment is somewhat partial. But it summarizes the situation well. All these results at the hand of Bashambo rule - the clan migrations and the incoming new people-combined to give the Bashambo uprising features unforeseen at the start, but which now incline us to regard it as a sort of revolution.

This document gives some indication of the old organisation. The Bashambo could not reorganise the unity of the kingdom as it was during Kigeli's reign. On the other hand, their authority over the people was not uniform, particularly in the parts of Ndirwa. In some remote parts they were ruling over grazing land. The authority over the people was in fact the authority of Bakuri, Bumugyere. At other places the power was more firmly recognised, for instance ruling the Bagabya of Gahagwe.

The Musigli Murekuru was ruling the Bahambo at Mpalwa, the Musigli Kasaakanye was ruling the Basigizi of Kabaale, the Musigli Rutasa was ruling the Bahambo at Mpalwa. Some other clans were traditionally ruled by Basigizi chiefs such as the Bagabira (drum keepers), the Bahumwe (shield makers), and other servants of the dynasty such as Bakoobiko, Bakura-Bakura, Bumugyere, while others as sub-clans of the Musigli or the Kasaakanye were also under their leadership, such as the Bagabya, Baganya, Bumugyere and so on called abairu baba.

The uprising of the Basigizi was not inspired by any principle of democratic inspiration, far from it. History is the story of the people for the people in the fight against the rulers. The non-Basigizi clans in Banyarwanda were labelled as "bairu" by the new Basigizi rulers. Now in what way did 130 years of Bashambo rule bring some advantages to the people? Looking back we must say that their presence in Kigeli prevented the complete take over of the kingdom by the Bumi of Ndirwa. The Bumugyere of Rwanda could never establish in Banyarwanda, and the grip of their administration as they did so successfully in many other countries round Rwanda. On the other hand, the lack of a strong central power and the lack of cohesion and real power of the Kigeli, were one of the cause of the civil wars and internal disorder as in the case of the Nyabingi movement, or in case of external danger with Batwa raiders, the people of Banyarwanda could do nothing but cry and bear it.

The Mwami of Rwanda, Kigeli IV Rwabugiri was a kind of adventurer, even to his own relatives, a brilliant organizer and warrior who was feared from Burundi to Toro, from Congo to Buganda. Four times during his reign of thirty years he visited Kigeli. Twice he passed around Kivu en route to Ankole and at least once he must have passed along the shores of lake Edward moving from Butabira to Bumugyere. Kigeli was a young man when he became Mwami. A few years after his accession, he invaded Ndirwa and Nalwa. Little is known of this campaign except that he killed Rukaha and stole his cattle. This took place probably between 1867 and 1870. The second invasion was punitive, to deal with some Baki who were causing disturbances at a centre of the Nyabingi cult. He came to what is now Kagega (Kibuye) Gumbral and killed the chief Bagaka-Busudi of this area which was called Bugyere. A priestess of the Nyabingi cult called Kabaiki killed the Bumugyere soldiers when she heard of their arrival saying that she was going to meet her brothers. The Bumugyere beat her to death with sticks. This expedition at a limited nature occurred a few years after the first, perhaps in 1874.

The year after the rinderpest epidemic of 1882 (carnaambo) had devastated cattle, Rwabugiri decided to replenish his herds by raiding Ndirwa,
About 1875 a Musigi, Rusabiro son of Rwanyamwe took his cows to the place called Kigauza. Rukanga and his followers attacked him in order to seize his cows. The alarm was sounded and the Basigi came out to fight. The Bahima of Musiga killed Rukanga, Rusabiro’s son. After six days of furious hand to hand fighting, the Bashambo withdrew first to Rutabuye then to Rushegura. They retreated as far as Musiga and Barmacwa where the Basigi were stopped by the Bashambo of the Bagweyo clan.

Towards Mjale, the Basigi did not meet such obstacles as they did in the north. The centre of the Kigazi was the east. First impressions suggest that this uprising was the result of unrest among the Basigi, a kind of revolution against the Bashambo. Other reasons, however, pushed the Basigi to war. For instance population pressure was beginning to build up as groups like the Bahima moved in from Rwanda. In fact it was an ordinary war without any ideas of revolt against the established authority. Although the Bune Bugamuswe were pushed out of Kigazi, other Bescimbu were not. Kayakuki was still master in Musiga long after the Basigi rising. The Bounyoni, Bahima branch of the Bescimbu were in a more difficult position, as the Bashambo, Basigi and Bahima made an alliance to drive them out as well. In due time the Bounyoni were warned and came to a compromise with their neighbours. They agreed to leave the shore of lake Bounyoni and move to Kama, near Rushegura, where they settled as rainmakers. From there on they continued marrying girls from Batora clan. From then on they were known as rainmakers rather than Bahima. In the past the Bashambo had suffered attacks from the Bescimbu, but they had always managed to reclaim their position as lords of Ndoma. This time, other factors prevented them from doing so. The Nyanibiga clan led by the Bahima and Bahamwe had done much to discredit their authority. The Banyarwanda and Batcha cattle raiders encouraged the Bashambo (whose wealth in cattle was more vulnerable than farmers' crops) from returning to possible danger and loss. Aware of their weak position, the Bashambo decided not to return and settled instead in Kajara.

Now let us record the judgment formulated years after these events by a Basigi. The fight of the Bashambo helped all the other clans to become independent of the servitude of the Bahima. The Bugeye, Bahyoseba, Bariweju, Bakimbi, Bankali, Balambira, Bahimwe, Bashambo were liberated from the rule of the Bahima. The Bulkake, Bagende, Bageye, Bakimbi, Bageye, Bageshweju, Banyakinya, Banyamwe, were made free from the power of the Bune Bagembe. The Bagenkwe, Bakimbi, Bagembe, Banyakwe, Bagenkwe were liberated from the Bagenkwe and the rainmakers. Others remained under the Bahima, such as Rujumura with the Bune Kigazi and Kayonza wa Kikidza with the Bagweyo from Mpororo, Baheka Kizesi. But this war brought about more trouble among clans in Rutagira. The Bagesyora were defeated by the Bakimbi, the Bakukis were defeated by the Bagweyo, and the Bahima by the Bagweyo.

This judgment is somewhat partial but it summarized the situation well. All those results at the end of Bashambo rule - the clan migrations and the incoming new people combined to give the Basigi uprising features unforeseen at the start, but which now incline us to regard it as a sort of revolution.

This document gives some indication of the old organisation. The Bashambo could not reorganise the unity of the kingdom as it was during Kigazi’s reign. On the other hand their authority over the people was not uniform in all the parts of Ndoma. In some remote parts they were ruling over grazing land. The authority over the people was in fact the authority of Bakiri Bembya. At other places the power was more firmly recognised, for instance ruling the Bagweyo at Gwagwaga.

The Masihambo Mukena was ruling the Batimba at Moshi, the Masihambo Kasigwara was ruling the Bashambo of Kabale, the Masihambo Ruhumwe was ruling the Bakimbi at Mjale. Some other clans were traditionally ruled by Bashambo chiefs such as the Bagikira (drum keepers), the Bahwengu (shield makers), and other servants of the dynasty such as Bapukika, Bapukika, Bapukika, while others as sub-clans of the Musiga enshaho were also under their leadership, such as the Bagweyo, Bagwaga, Bahima and so called abano bahi.

The uprising of the Basigi was not inspired by any principle of democratic inspiration, for after their victory against the ruling families the non-Basigi clans in Bushambo were labelled as “bairu” by the new Basigi rulers.

Now in what way did 130 years of Bashambo rule bring some advantages to the people? Looking back we must say that their presence in Kigazi prevented the complete take over of the country by the Bwami of Rwanda. The Bwami of Rwanda could never establish in Bushambo Banyoni the grip of their administration as they did so successfully in many other countries round Rwanda. On the other hand, the lack of a strong central power and the lack of means of communication, made it possible for the different clans in Kigazi to co-operate with internal disorder as in the case of the Nyanibiga movement, or in face of external danger with Bwami raiders, the people of Bushambo could do nothing but grin and bear it.

The Mwezi of Rwanda, Kigazi IV Rwabugari was a kind of adventurer, even to his own relatives, a brilliant organizer and warrior who was feared from Burundi to Toro, from Congo to Buganda. Four times during his reign of thirty years he visited Kigazi. Twice he passed around Kamwazi en route to Ankole and at least once he must have passed along the shores of Lake Edward moving from Rutshuru to Bunyamwaku (Rugali). Rwabugari was a young man when he became Mwezi. A few years after his accession, he invaded Ndoma. Little is known of this campaign except that he killed Ruhuma and stole his cattle. This took place probably between 1892 and 1893. The second invasion was punitive, to deal with some Bwami who were causing disturbances at a centre of the Nyanibiga cult. He came to what is now Kamuganguzi (Kikore) Gombora and killed the chief Bugi ka Bujuri of this area which was called Bugwaga. The priestess of the Nyanibiga cult called Kukulakuguru ran towards the Banyarwanda soldiers when she heard of their arrival saying that she was going to meet her brothers. The Banyarwanda beat her to death with sticks. This expedition at a limited nature occurred a few years after the first, perhaps in 1874.

The year after the rinderpest epidemic of 1882 (umywambwa) had decimated his cattle, Rwabugari decided to replenish his herds by raiding Ndoma,
Mpororo and elsewhere. This third expedition is still well remembered in Kigosi. The Banyarwanda came through the plain of Mutara towards Maziba and through Irera. A battle was fought at Buzurisyo near Rushume, and another at Kagarama. Then the raiders went on to Muyumbu on their way to lake Bunyoni. A battle was fought at Nyakasamara. Chief Mutara and the men of the Baganda clan could do little against 4,000 Batwa and 2,000 Buhuta auxiliaries. Although Mutara was killed and his men routed, Buhuga was unconquered. These fights in the mountains gained little for Rwabugiri. He lost many of his best fighting men, usually young Batutal, without gaining sufficient spoils in compensation. (This was the opinion of some of Rwabugiri's veterans interviewed later by F.R. Pages.) The Bakiga remained as stubborn and independent as ever. On one raid to Mpororo, returning Banyarwanda with their stolen cattle were ambushed near Maziba. On another occasion when a company of Banyarwanda were trying to remove the drum they were attacked and wiped out by the Esagaba of Rushana.42

At one time Rwabugiri wanted to kill a Mulabazi of his, called Nyabwana, a Musiizi. Nyabwana took refuge at Kagarama with many other Basiizi. When the Banyarwanda arrived at Nyamiringa, there was a fierce battle and the Basiizi withdrew. However, Nyabwana then organised an ambush at Kikore into which the Banyarwanda fell on their way home. The subsequent battle lasted several days. Banyarwanda interviewed later thought the battle of Kikore was indecisive. If this was the opinion of participants many years later, it is most likely that they suffered heavy losses at the time. The battle of Kikore might have taken place around the year 1898; during his last visit to Kigosi, Rwabugiri got as far as Rubinda passing through Nyakisheni. In Rutunza he fought against the Bene Kiremi of the Bashambo clan.43

The 1897 While Rwabugiri was devastating Kigosi, the suffering Batswa comforted themselves by reminding themselves of a prophecy of Kabaya's time that the king had cursed the country because of his troubles - some. However he was fulfilling the curse on the beloved land of Bushengera was about to die. Rwabugiri was identified as this troubleshooter and it was believed his end was coming. Unfortunately for the people the prophecy was not exactly fulfilled, for after the Mwami's death the Batwa started raiding the country. Some people said that the Batwa took advantage of the confusion over the Mwami's succession but in support of a later date for Batwa raiding is the famine called Rwandera, for the Batwa were raiding for food, and this famine took place in 1897. Some time after the death of Rwabugiri, until the coming of British, the Batwa were the scourge of Kigosi. Old people remember this time as one of continual terror. Though not numerous, they had developed better tactics with their bows and arrows. They were also united under one leader Basesiizi, but the Bakiga were divided. The Bakiga soon developed new methods of defense and in swamps with their warriors standing in the water facing the Batwa as they came down hill. By such tactics they kept hidden and had the Batwa within the range of their bows for a longer time. They would also dot the swamps with traps, and they used boomerangs as hand grenades. Nevertheless the Batwa usually had the advantage of surprise and their raids were prepared by careful spying beforehand. The Bakiga fought back. One of the Batwa leaders Bwamukuta rwa Nyamunukulu, who went as far as Bukundu, was killed at Kabere by a Mungura Mwebe. When the resistance of the local people became better organized the Batwa reacted by putting themselves under the leadership of the Mwami nyama chief Kafuturo. In the meantime the British arrived. One of the paramount chiefs among the Basiizi, Rwanza, joined efforts with the Europeans, together they got a better control of the country. The Batwa ceased raiding. As for Basesiizi, they only caused much trouble to the new Mwami Musinga, he was finally caught in Busee county. Two policemen disguised as merchants went to his hideout and seized him, but being afraid of the other Batwa shot him on the spot and left him. The news of Basesiizi's death on 15th May 1913 caused great rejoicing among the people.46

Let us construct an hypothesis for the sequence of events in Ngorwa concerning the evolution of the Rwabugiri movement. The Kitami cult was popular among women, and at the time the Bashambo rulers were opposed to it. These two tendencies look like the sign of a popular reaction not only to the death of queen Kitami but also to the change of dynasty, for the Bahakatara clan was very much in favor of such a veneration of Kitami's ghost. Bahakatara's legitimacy would have been challenged from the beginning by few people from Kajara, the cult however spread towards Mutara in Rwanda. It came into Ngorwa after the solar eclipse of the Batwa. One Batwa cult priest has to have come from the harbinger of BATWA and Nyanjili with Nyanjili and a rifle. This first attempt to take over the power from the Bashambo failed but the cult became stronger. Years later the cult had a large following in Ngorwa. A few men (Bahurito) turned it into a political tool to establish their authority. This would explain the appearance of Kahara ka Ruguru who came into Ngorwa with "Nyabingi and rifle." Having achieved political expression in Ngorwa, the Nyabingi cult, popular in Rwanda, suddenly became a danger to the eyes of the Mwami. This sudden change of attitude would explain the confusion created by Rwabugiri's expedition to Kikore where Kahakatara, a Nyabingi priestess went to welcome the Banyarwanda as her brothers, she said, but she was beaten to death on spot. Then the Banyarwanda went to Kabere to kill another Nyabingi Rugwiza. She ran away but finally was caught at Bukore where she was killed. She was called Nyakwezi kwe Shorebuye (from the Batwa, Shiga clan). In Reine, and perhaps in Karungya, the Nyabingi cult was so strong, Rwabugiri's men were well informed and knew what they were looking for. If the reaction of the Banyarwanda was somewhat unexpected, the attitude of the Bashambo in Ngorwa was a constant rejection. This explains why the Bete Bigeyi killed Rituwara and later the same Bete Bigeyi killed Katonka, another Muhunde who came from the Munyu with "Nyabingi and a rifle." The Nyabingi then was no longer peaceful ancestor worship. It had become a political force bringing about fear and slavery and became of all these disorders many clans in Bushgina were opposed to it, as witness the following Kyewoge "We got our cows at Mrang at Katonka ku Mubandana's courtyard. He trusted his Nyabingi, the ghost of the pillar, but we had confidence in the bows of the Bene Mutatu" (Bainmbe Abuguma).47
When Emin Pesha arrived in Mpororo from Keragwe in April 1891 he was asked to kill and destroy everything on his way "so that Nyahingi may reign again." The cult was then on the decline in Kajara where the Bashaamo were firmly established. "The queen of Mpororo," he added, "has been seen by none, not even her own subjects. All they know of her is a voice heard from behind a curtain of barkcloth. Such theatrical practices have gained for her the reputation of being a great sorceress capable both of bewitching or blessing people." This queen, might have been Kitami Kyobumbi (No. 36 on the Nshaombo list) recognised as queen by only half of her subjects. In Ndarwa however the Nyahingi cult was having a greater influence after the departure of the Bashaamo leaders. By the end of the 19th century at least 6 important Nyahingi centres could be counted in Ndarwa, Rubanda and Bukage. "At Kikola hill (Bukinda) Kabonkwa (Mukungwe). "At Kepeka hill (Kabale) Kithokwa (Kawone). "At Kigaye (Bukinda) Kima (Mukungwe). "At Kabale (Bukinda) Kipungo (Mukungwe). "At Giteka (Bukinda) Kivonde (Mukungwe). "At Kibokol (Bukinda) Kibokol (Mukungwe)."

Many other centres were known at times as Nshiha (Bukinda)-Kiswerebebe (Bukinda)-Kitaunga (Bukinda), but these had nothing to do with the Nyahingi practices. Offering of persons was not required." They did not turn people into slaves. The Nyahingi cult itself had no reason to be anti-foreigner, but the established authority (Bashaamo, Banyarwanda, and later Europeans) had to be anti-Nyahingi by the end of the century the cult had become a public nuisance being a slave-making business.

In 1961 Speke, guest of King Nyanza in Keruwa, made a sketch of the Muhavura Volcano and a map of Mpororo Kigizi. That was the first mention of the country in geography books. Speke never came in the country which he could see from Keruwa but he obtained enough information from Banyarwanda hunters to be able to draw a fairly accurate sketch map. This implies that the Banyarwanda hunters were familiar with Mpororo and Kigizi. It was perhaps through them that the Bakonkwa had ridden during the time of Bigewe in 1839.

In 1909 Emin Pesha (Edward Schnitzer), was commissioned to cross the continent at its centre from the Indian to the Atlantic Ocean. For this purpose he established his base at Bukoba and organised his journey along the first degree of latitude south, which was implicitly recognized as a temporary border between the German and British spheres. So he travelled through Keruwa, crossed the Kagera river and reached Rwashamaire on the 20th of April 1891. Having skirted lake Nyabibhoko, he spent the night at Nyanabuguruki (within a mile of Kigizi border). He entered Kigizi between Minera and Keruma having in mind to go to Rubamb hot springs. He was said to be the first European to enter Rwanda (at the time the country was called Rwanda by the Banyarwanda people) but he did not go to Rubamb and went back to Rwashamaire. Later his friend Dr. Stuhl-

man, the First Resident of Bukoba, must have come to Kigizi around Kavuma Gornborora about two years after Emin Pesha's journey to lake Nyabibhoko. Another German reached the Bubumwira Volcanoes in 1934, called Von Goebelt. A few years later around 1937 two companies of Askanir under German officers set up their headquarters in Uzumbara with Captain Bethe and at Bukoba with Captain Von Berenge. Their aim was to prepare for the exploration of the country between Uzumbara and Bukoba. Thus round 1891 Rwasa Berenge coming from Bukoba arrived in Kigizi. He then went by Kiboki and Rwakabara. The askaris asked for some beer. They brought them very bad beer and somebody, perhaps a bit drunk, threw a spear to them, insulting them (according to the oral evidence of Kavuma they said, "mutatina chakanzi obiyimeme bime emuliga uno agarwe"). The soldiers brought the spear to Rwanga Berenge who then gave the order to shoot. The askaris went around Kiboki and Kikungi, shooting at sight and killing people. The following day they went to Kagaara, Ambawiru, then back to Nyamirima and Katerare. After a week spent at Kiboki, they went to Nyabubwab and Mpolo. On the way some sick askaris lagging behind were killed by the people. At Mpolo they built a camp and stayed for some time. Some other people were killed round Mpolo and Ikumba. Von Berenge is said to have arrived at Nyabarare and Kajara putting up stones and flag poles on top of high hills. A year later other askaris led by Captain Bethe came from Uzumbara. They reached Kigizi through Kerumjara and came to Marieke staying around lake Bunyoni. Some people were shot at but the main concern of the foreigners was to erect large flag poles on high points.

In 1903, before Mijoro, the first White Fathers, Frs. Clase and Bufays, with Br. Hermengolde came through Kigizi. They came from Bukoba and arrived at Ruwabo where they went to see Muhumuna, whom they may have regarded as queen of the country. She did not receive them well. Although she was interested in what they brought her she refused to sell them food for their porters. Next day they went towards Bunyoni, rounding it on the south, and were seen at Butaba. After much trouble they finally reached Rwaza where they started their first mission station on 10th November 1903.

The coming of the foreigners was the beginning of a new era for the Bubiga. Coming from Buganda, Keruwa, or Rwanda the European administrators were not impressed by what they saw in Kigizi. They had a very poor impression of the Bubiga. What they saw, however, was the result of 30 years of war. What they saw was the outcome of many years of almost perpetual fighting, disturbances, plunder and raids from all sides. To these misfortunes were added the rinderpest and small-pox epidemics (1885 and 1889), the Inset invasion, the famine of 1887 (Rwanda) and the famine of 1888 (Kisange). During these years of great distress many things were lost. Even the deepest family ties were put under excessive stress. During that terrible time of the famine parents went as far as exchanging their children for a bit of food. What the foreigners saw, in arriving into Kigizi, was a devastated people in a desolated country.
The Basangi had not yet felt the necessity to reorganise themselves as the new rulers of the country. The gap left by the departure of the Basambo was causing chaos. The Nyabingi cult increased inter-clan fighting. The conclusion was completed when, on one hand Mahumuzi wanted to involve the Bakiga in Rwandese politics, and on the other hand three European intruders appeared to have different views about the future of this country.

If the foreigners had come before 1875, let us say at about Bigeyevo's period, they would have found Bakiga society divided into three ruling families but still in an organised kingdom, with plenty of faithful supporters of the established order. They would have found the society somewhat disturbed by the Nyabingi cult but still living in harmony. They would have found traditions equal in every respect to any oral traditions found in the neighbouring Kingdoms. They would have found commercial routes (Kabale salt), traders, and artistic expressions and they would have appreciated the agricultural skill and energy of the people of the mountains.

References

1. Delmas, Genalogies de la noblesse..., p 4.
2. Notes left by Father U. Torelli, in the possession of the White Fathers.
3. Oral evidence of Aronzi Muhinda, collected by Fr. Torelli.
4. Variations of this legend may be read in J. Nicolle's MS Histoire du Royaume de Kitara Buringo, in the possession of the White Fathers; and in K. Ngamwe's Abakozire bu'okatangi wosari Amo. This version was first recorded by Fr. Torelli, from oral evidence by Businga.
7. Compare this list with that provided by Rwankwenda (chapter 6) and Rwamihindu (Chapter 7).
10. Notes of Fr Torelli.
11. Pages, op. cit., pp 76 and 44.
12. Oral evidence from Bejiuka (Kasama) and Kangogere (Kahura). 
14. Oral evidence from Bejiuka (Kasama). The Enyonyi have a proverb which states that they cannot be driven away because they are the people who summon the thunder.
18. Oral evidence of Buringo (1940) collected by Fr Torelli.
CHAPTER TWO

The Origin and Settlement of People of Bufumbira, by Zakayo Rwanduga.

SOURCES In 1918 I interviewed Muhangira (my grand-father's brother), Busezo, Tizarura Yumulogo Abagiri, Kanyangebe Onyigiza, Sekatwa Onyigiza, and Birya Onyigiza who wahanwemwe Rubagiri. In 1921 I interviewed Bucurukiri, Bubanza, Chaka Akabongo, Esila Onyigiza, and Karindua Onyigiza. In 1927 I interviewed Bimugiraki, Maboba, and Kirunguro Abarugi. In 1928 I interviewed Birungi Abarugi by Mapeko, and Mihoro ya Bujuzi. In 1930, in Chali, I interviewed Semarara ya Bikumura Onyigiza, Kibuye Lya Mumina Onyigiza, and Mpopwe ya Kibanza Onyigiza. In 1938, at Nyakabenda, I interviewed Rwanyoonga, Buseyo, Kizzyome, Rugwanyoosi Onyigiza, wakubukamba, Minyango Onyigiza, and Nsamba Onyigiza. I have consulted the work of Mr. P. Nekongo iti Ekiizi and its People) and have enlarged upon his information. What follows is an analysis of the origins of the eight clans of Ekiizi, who custered earlier Batwa inhabitants.

1. Baziiga ba Mubwiri. They were the first to enter Ekiizi, and they came from Rwanda, where they had occupied the following places: Muremure na Nyamirembwa, Gahini na Bukura, Mwampera na Mutara, Gisozi na Kayonzi, and Munukumbi.

The Mukasa of the Baziiga was called Kabeso. Some believe that the Baziiga originated in Ethiopia, and travelled via Madagascar, Zanzibar and Zanzibari. They settled in Muremure, where they installed Kabeso as their first Mukasa. In 1900 A.D. the first mass migration of Banyirinya arrived from Somalia, bringing their cattle. On arrival in Rwanda they paid tribute and pledged loyalty to Kabeso, who allowed them to settle. Kabeso was succeeded by his son Nyamityigo.

Soon there was inter-marriage between Baziiga and Banyirinya. Kazi, a Mbuso, married Mukasa Nyamityigo's daughter Nyanurukamara, and their first-born was named Gihanga Nyamuryigo's doctors and fortune-tellers advised him that Gihanga would overthrow the Baziiga dynasty, and that Banyirinya would take the throne. Therefore Kanyamityigo sought to kill Gihanga, but the latter escaped to Mubuga and then to Bugwizi where he found asylum with the Mukasa of the Buziga, Zoni son of Rubira. Eventually he married Zen's daughter Nyanususa, who gave birth to his son, named Kanyarwanda Gahima I.

Ultimately Gihanga returned to Rwanda where the Banyirinya nicknamed him 'Gihanga Ngumyina', meaning 'adviser to a hundred regimes'. He was fond of presenting cows to people. When Gihanga died, his son Kanyarwanda Gahima overthrew the Baziiga dynasty, and some of the Baziiga were scattered to Byumba in Burundi, while others went to Kuyamiri, in 1131 A.D. Nyunyiga's son, Rwimura, remained in Musiri. He was succeeded by his son Bikiyedi, who in turn was succeeded by his son Chomba, who decided in 1182 to go to Byumba.

Mwami Yuni II Gahima of Rwanda attacked and killed Chomba in Byumba, so that the Baziiga fled with their drum Murerwa. The second drum – Kibwiti – was captured by Banyirinya who re-named it Muhubula (meaning 'guide'). The man who captured the drum was Gasakuru, the progenitor of the Banianga. He and his brother Goza settled at Kuku, where they founded a village called Isorome. The place-name implies that it had heavy stores, and I saw the two particular stones myself in 1923. Gasakuru remained there, but Gasakuru came to Bufumbiri, where he became the progenitor of the Baziiga who live in Bufumbiri, particularly at Bubuga, Nyakabenda and Kakoobu.

The Baziiga are remembered particularly, on account of the brave Nyakabenda in Mubwiri, the son of Katuga, the son of Kwenge, the son of Kunyaha, the son of Byororia, the son of Rubika, the son of Kagumbiri, the son of Gasakuru II.

The sub-sections of the clan are: Banyangaba, Bagabira, Bubwiri, Bakingipa, Bubanza, Busakuru, Bubinka, Banyangaba from Nyamuruma, Bikomera from Busana, Bwembwa from Marika and Gihasa in Nyakabenda, Bubanza, descended from Kagema, son of Galwa, son of Nkara. Nkara was also the father of Kagema, and great-grandfather of Bwembwa who are also known as Batyaba). The Baziiga who remained in Rwanda were descended from Nkwya son of Muvungi. They are now known as Batyaba. Other Baziiga, particularly in Byumba, live in areas which were absorbed into Rwanda after the partition of Africa. The Baziiga of Byumba are in fact Bakoza.

2. Bugwizi. They arrived in Kigali in 1460, from Rwanda, where they had occupied Bubandaga, Muduka, Kigango, Bwimyabanga, Bubona and Bugwizi. They are the first Buziga to arrive was Nkurunkumbi, a kinman of Ruganza. Ruganza's sister Rubwa, was the wife of the Mukasa of the Baziiga, who lived in Gisaka. Ruganza's fortune-tellers warned him that Rubwa's son would combine Rwanda and Gisaka, overthrowing the Banyirinya dynasty. The Banyirinya despatched Nkurunkumbi to assassinate Rubwa before she gave birth to a son. Nkurunkumbi feigned sickness in order to evade his mission. When the Banyirinya persisted, he pretended to be dead, and so Ruganza had to attack the Buziga himself. He provoked them to war by alleging that they had hunted and killed some animals in his territory. In the war Ruganza was killed, and when his sister Rubwa heard the sad news she committed suicide. In the ensuing political instability Nkurunkumbi escaped to
Kigeti. He is the founder of the following sub-clans: Bahanda, Bucucu, Bayundo and Bahaes. These sections were augmented by other sections of Bagahi from Buhangandara, Indiga, Bugoyi, Bunyamwizi, and Gashir in Congo. The Bagahi also include Bukongwe and Bisinga, descendants of Niziga son of Rugak.

3. Bagyera. They are believed to have arrived in 1430 from Gisaka in Rwanda, where they were ruled by Kimonyi son of Ruhinda. The Banyinya devised a means of killing Kimonyi of the Bagyera, in order to avenge the death of Ruganze. They asked Mukubu to pretend to have been deported, and to seek asylum with Kimonyi. The plan was executed, and Kimonyi received Mukubu well, making him his own servant. The message was that they were going to the Bagyera to help Kimonyi. Mukubu seized the opportunity to kill Kimonyi. He cut off Kimonyi’s head and brought the trophy to Kirima Rugwe, Mwanzi of Rwanda, as evidence. Leaderless and fearing Banyinya domination, many Bagyera fled from Gisaka and settled in Kigeti. Their sub-clans in Kigeti are: Bagyero, Basambo, Bagungo, Bazaki, Barunga, Batukawiti and Bato. The Bagyera in Bufumbira claim the following ancestry: they claim to be descendents of Kirima Nyakatema, the son of Nwam, the son of Kimonyi, the son of Ruhinda, the son of Bagyera.

4. Bagisi. They came to Kigeti in 1450. They are supposed to have originated in Buganza in Congo. From there, via Bwisha, Rutshuru and Bugoyi, they arrived in Rwanda, where they were known as Bajubi (or in Kinyarwanda, Bagoyi), meaning rain-makers. In 1458 Mwami Kigeti I Mukobanyo of Rwanda attacked them. The Banyinya killed the Bagisi with their king, Munganza, son of Muyaruko, son of Bagoni, who was a rainmaker. They also lost much property. The frightened Bagisi escaped via Iremea and Naburuka, to Buhumba and Bufumbira. Others settled in Bufundu, whence some crossed lake Bunyonyi and settled in Rubona. Kahanya (a.k.a. Kasigi) is the progenitor of the following clanheads: Kazadi, Nika, Kihaga, Njar, Kasa, Kugiga, Kagezi, and Kaka. Other significant numbers of Bagisi from Buganza included Kihara son of Mwamawala, son of Mugana, son of Rubhinda. Others came from around lake Rusongi, and included the Bagisi, Bakungo, Barunda, Boumbo and Baddadi. Their taboo is a cow with a spotted skin, because most Bagisi lost their lives in conflict with Banyinya over such an animal. The skin of this cow was used by the Banyinya to make drums, and they are revered in Bagisi kraal for victory against the Banyinya, who named the drum Inzangi Karinga to commemorate their victory.

5. Bagiri. The taboo is a skin used for clothing. They came to Rugika in 1532 to escape persecution by Yuhi Il Gahngerwa, Mwami of Rwanda. The Banyinya selected Mwanyi, one of the Bagiri, as a sacrifice to their gods to ensure victory in battle against the Bagiri. Mwanyi’s brother Kiranga (who was the son of Nziya, son of Rusaga, son of Nggiga, son of Mukumira, son of Sekyuma, son of Mweza, son of Ndaryera, son of Mukoro) made Mwanyi escape by persuading him that they were going hunting. He built a house in Nyakabande on a hill near Nkomero in Gakenye. The hill is now called Butimba. Here Kiranga left his brother while he himself returned to Rwanda. In 1700 Kiranga fled from Rwanda with all the property of himself and his younger brother, and came to live at Bukongwe. Mwemangashoro, son of the Bagiri clan, had spread through to rule Bufumbira, the Bukongwe clan of the Bagiri clan had spread throughout the area across lake Murebe, namely Mugaza. Later they spread from there into Rukiga, Rugumbira, Dina and Kikunde and Kizimbwe in Congo. Other Bagiri sub-clans came later, namely the Bagyera, Bagyengo, Balingwe, Bahimba, Buhunda, Banyawo (descendants of Kinawoyya), and Basinga. Of these, the Basinga, to escape persecution, passed through Bugoyi, Rubhinda, Mwemangashoro, Mugaza and thus to Bufumbira.

They are said to be descendents of Bagiri, son of Sekyuma, son of Mweza, son of Ndaryera, son of Mwambo. Another group of Bahimba are supposed to be descendents of Mugaza, son of Bagiri, thereby demonstrating their relationship to the Bagiri.

6. Bagara. They were also known as Battyba. They are descendents of Kagama, son of Gahije, son of Ngora, who was a Muziga. Kagara’s mother was Nyirarutya, daughter of Gihanga. Gihanga had two wives, Nyiramusa (the daughter of Zadi Omusenge, and Nyirangira, the daughter of Ramba Omukono or Omugiri. One day Gihanga was hunting and killed an animal (known as enkunda in Rukiga, and as impi in Kinyarwanda). His wife also wanted the skin, and a fight broke out. Nyiramusa was rescued by her daughter Nyirarutya, who struck Nyirangira in the stomach. The blow induced the premature birth of Kibonu Kihiga. Nyiramusa, however, died, and Nyirarutya fled in fear of her father’s wrath. She joined the Bagyera, and married Gahije, son of Ngora, and their first son was named Kagara. From that time onwards the Bagara admired the animal that killed the Bagara. When Gihanga returned he found a wife and his daughter dead. Later he fell ill. When Nyirarutya heard the news she took milk in a pot to her father. Gihanga, having cursed and disowned her, refused to let her approach him: she went behind his house and smuggled the milk in to him, returning home with an empty pot. When Gihanga recovered, he ordered his servants to locate Nyirarutya, and to find out what cow had produced the medicinal milk. His servants found Gahije’s house and raided the cattle. The Basinga pursued the raiders, but the Mwamgashoro told them to pay the bride-price for Nyirarutya. When Gahije sent the bride-price he also sent Kagara, since he had been born before the bride-price was paid. Kagara grew up at his grand-father’s home, and when he came of age a wife was provided for him by his grand-father. Kagara’s children were called Battyba, after Kagara’s mother. As the Bagara increased in number, they resented being identified by a woman’s name, so they abandoned the Baityba and built separate communities. They installed their own leader Nzena, son of Muramira. Eventually Nzena was killed by Mwami Ruganza II Ngoro of Rwanda. The Bagara were
scattered, and in 1750 came to Rukiga. Strictly speaking, the Bagara can be divided into Bateyaba and Bashendwe?

7. Bateyaba. They came from Impumbi in Congo; thence to Bwamba and later to Rukiga. Others settled first at Ishinda, then passed through Bwanga and Bugyo to Rwanda near lake Kivirwa, and from there came into Rukiga. The Bateyaba include the following sub-clans: - Bateyaba, Batambara, Bufungura and Basayungura.

8. Bashendwe. They are also known as Bainika. They came from Congo specifically from a place called Rwitu Ishiru Buhande near Bungira. They came as hunters and their route lay through Kishansi. Others passed through Bwanga and Bugyo, and settled in Rwanda at Bushiri, Mbuta, Muthomba and Bukamba. These are some men who came to Rukiga. The Bainika, also known as Bainika (and in Kinyarwanda, Aheina) are descendants of Kainika, so called because he was a hunter and used to trap animals. The Bainika are more numerous in Congo than in Rwanda and Kigezi, since Congo is their original home. They may be divided into the following sub-clans: - Bainika, Barshendwe and Babanza who live in Bufumbira.

Clan Taboo

The Bazigaba avoid leopard.
Bagaga avoid "engobe", a black and grey cow.
Bagayesera avoid "enkaendo", a cow with a particular stripe.
Barhira avoid "engobe".
Bagiri avoid a skin used for clothing.
Bagara avoid "elikho", or Hibiscus abyssinicus. Some children observed these across a river, mistook them for sorghum, and drowned in trying to reach them.
Bungura avoid human milk. Any young mother sleeping away from home was obliged to drink medicine before suckling her child. One Munyura mother sucked her child without taking these precautions, and the baby died.

Though each clan tends to have its own village and its own ruler, inter-marriage took place between clans, and there were alliances between some clans. Blood-brotherhood between two individuals might affect relations between their two clans, so that each would be reluctant to offend members of the related clan. Sufficiently good relations existed between the eight clans. No single county is composed of a single clan.

Clan elders in the sub-counties of Bufumbira

Nyiranzuza

Biruhira, son of Mpunywe, was the leader of Bagara in Gitenderi.
Ruzigara, son of Rugabuka, was the leader of Bagiri in Nyagisenyi.
Gatungaza, son of Sebitobotebo, was the leader of Baziga Bagasheda in Mabanga.

Sebingo, son of Bisogo, was the leader of Bagiri in Sagitwe.
Kagina, son of Gokarwa, was the leader of Baziga in Karabakwa.
Rakara, son of Bikorabagabo, was the leader of Baziga in Murembe.

Chahi

Nyirsc, son of Masiki, was the leader of Bagiri in Chahi.
Nyiranumwarita, son of Nyamubwe, was the leader of Bagagira in Kintare.
Semara, son of Namukumura, was the leader of Bagayesera in Rukumba.
Mute, son of Bitwakwa, was the leader of Baziga in Mute.
Mwagwa, son of Kabanza, was the leader of Bagagira in Mugusche.
Mute, son of Mwagwa, was the leader of Bagagira in Nyamagana and Gahama.
Rugema, son of Kajuga, was the leader of Bagayesera in Bungura.
Kisigurumbe, son of Kungyabumbe, was the leader of Baziga in Mubasa.
Serukoko, son of Chiyuka, was the leader of Bagagira in Nyakabindo.

Nyakabende

Mushakambwe, son of Bivango, was the leader of Baziga in Gisenyi.
Nyakabende, son of Rukwaku, was the leader of Bagagira in Kibumba.
Buhiriwe, son of Mwembe, was the leader of Bagiri in Kikongo.
Mugahuma, son of Mwubango, was the leader of Baziga in Maraha and Kugilare.
Mwakwarita, son of Sebtruma, was the leader of Bagagira in Kigezi village and Chyangwe.
Sebuharamita, son of Kizimura, was the leader of Bagayesera in Gashira and Mute.

Nyabwanda, son of Mabumbwe, was the leader of Barigira in Matimba.
Swire, son of Mwamba, was the leader of Baziga in Rwambye and Gakoro.
Sebito, son of Semifongo, was the leader of Bagiri in Busendi.
Mubwana, son of Muhima, was the leader of Bagayesera in Bumiranga and Matimba.
Ngirabakabiro, son of Mabangwa, was the leader of Bagagira in Butongo.

Bukimbi

Bujumara, son of Bujura, son of Mwendo, son of Kagezi was the leader of Bagiri in Bukimbi.
Mwemugwanda, son of Buyirwa, son of Mayaya, was the leader of Bagagira in Gisakwe.
Karabamu, son of Kanyahambwa, was the leader of Bagiri in Birara.
Bishaka, son of Kibanza, son of Kagezi, was the leader of Bagagira in Buziga and Butongo.
Karibungo, son of Kanyihambo, was the leader of Buseti in Makaporo.
Makabe, son of Murekabwambe, was the leader of Baziga in Kagezi and Kaga.
Musha, son of Muterere, was the leader of Bagiri in Kaseke and Kabitojo.
Ngamartwe, son of Baryamubwa, son of Kete, was the leader of Bagiri in Ruzarimbwa.
Baryamubwa, son of Ndagwa, was the leader of Bagiri in Rwanja.
Rwamugwanda, son of Kugulu, was the leader of Bagiri in Kibwanza.
Kigungera, son of Kibera, was the leader of Baziga in Musonero and Kagezi.

instance, he would be transfixed until the owner discovered him. Similarly the process could apply to adulterers. The offended husband would have time to gather men of his own and of his wife’s clan to come and witness the adultery. The man committing adultery would then be ordered to produce a goat in order to appease the gods. When the clansmen had approved of the size of the goat offered, the husband would separate the couple by means of “oruguriko.” “Okushambya” often occurred if a witch-doctor found people drinking beer, and they refused to give him some. He would then make the drinkers fight each other, thereby spoiling the party, until the host offered him beer and asked him to restore order. If only one man refused to offer beer, the witch-doctor could harm him into paralysis while the others went on drinking. Another form of sorcery was to make the grinding stone from each of two homesteads meet and begin assaulting each other. This would continue until the doctor ordered them home. The same could be made to happen with the roofs of two granaries, which would subsequently be restored with no straw missing. A man might also charm his wife to prevent her from leaving home, however much he maltreated her. Or a girl who rejected all her suitors might be charmed so that she never married. If someone’s property was stolen, or if his wife ran away, he might — after consulting his neighbours and clansmen — consult a witch-doctor. The doctor would come to the victim’s compound, place a stone on the ground, and utter some words into it. Thereupon an “orutumbe” tree, complete with roots, would roll to the doctor’s feet. A huge snake would emerge from the tree, and the tree rolled back to its proper place. The doctor would order the snake to come to him, and would give it some jujube squeezed from herbs, after which the snake would be instructed to go to the home of the man who had stolen the property or the wife. He would then plant a tree called “ekiko” in the compound, and there the snake would report the success of its mission. Animals and children were kept away from the tree; while the owner of the compound kept a regular watch. If he found dead rats or dead birds there, he could assume that the snake had found and punished the culprits, whereupon he could go and reward the doctor.

There were prophets and fortune-tellers in Kigali, most notably Nyakaisi, son of Mwogo, Another famous one was Nyiriranguxa, a woman whom I once saw. There was a beer party at Baleky’s, the son of Senzo, a Mudugiga, and I and other children were watching. Nyiriranguxa came and asked Baleky’s mother, Nyawuzi, for food. After two mouthfuls she looked up as if she were choking. She said “Ha! Look at our king Rugaju, the holy one is crossing from the other side of the lake.” Fixing her gaze in one direction she continued, “Eeeh! He is with men carrying bundles of hoes on their shoulders.” She went on eating until suddenly her attention was distracted from the food, and she said “Look at that red snake tracing the way that king Rugaju passed. The snake is so long that it must be infinite and has never been seen anywhere before.” As if in a trance she went on, “Look at the children pushing wheels, but following the path of the snake.” After a short time she continued, “Eeeh! Look at the garbage full of people, also following the path of the snake.” We looked around anxiously, but saw nothing. Suddenly she looked up and said “Look

Ruwamwabo, son of Muhaburu, was the leader of Bagyesera in Mukezi and Kamakoma.
Numbara, son of Murumura, was the leader of Bagara in Mutenda near Lake Mutanda.

Bukenze.
Mugabiyambere, son of Rutunganya, was the leader of Bazara in Ruseke and Gakoro.
Kajuga, son of Murinda, was the leader of Bagere in Nshungwe.
Nshobori, son of Murubwike, was the leader of Bagyesera in Mwurundi.
Baraza.
Nyangumbe, son of Bihira, was the leader of Bakono Bagiri in Nshungwe and Gatena.
Bagiri, son of Murusha, was the leader of Bazinga Bagehe in Gitanga.
Ruhumubobo, son of Muzo, was the leader of Bagyesera in Ndunguru and Kirimba.
Naguramabye, son of Mbutakwe, was the leader of Bagyesera in Kabarasa and Kiver kra.
Bizabakwe, son of Nkundabanya, was the leader of Bagara in Buhodi.
Birene, son of Nzeyimwami, was the leader of Banomera Bafasha in Nisamani.
Kabaka, son of Matabi, was the leader of Bagara in Kihimbi.
Nyebushenci.
Mbubwose, son of Gakwenye, was the leader of Basigari in Kibuga.
Kirera, son of Rukara, was the leader of Bagara in Mvigrayi.
Kamugisha, son of Buhingwa, was the leader of Bagiri in Kirundo.
Kirongore, son of Burwenuma, was the leader of Bafisia in Ibagiro and Rusabunga.
Naburara, son of Matongo, was the leader of Bagiri originating in Kashi in Kigali.
Birye, son of Byandagari, was the leader of Bagyesera in Honeke and Hamushenyi.
Birege, son of Kaguri, was the leader of Basigari from Baha, in Nyabwenyena, Murari and Kikango.
Sehjado, son of Ryuma, was the leader of Bagyesera from Ruseresere in Nyarutumbe.
Kihira, son of Mwendambwuko, from Mucanza, was the leader of Basigari in Nteko and Mpimbri.
Kamara, son of Mpanja, son of Murumira, was the leader of Bagiri in Gishuru, and Binja and Kikonde.

Sorcery, and religion.

“Okugaki” refers to the practice of some cattle-owners, whereby a bull calf was trained to run and jump and make a great noise, so that cattle-thieves would be delayed. “Oruguriko” is a process whereby a thief become stuck to the subject of his theft. If the object was seraphin or maithe, for
at the boat floating in the air carrying jubilant girls." Many people assumed that she was mad, and averted their eyes. Despairingly she concluded "Alyeh! Allah I shall die before I see all these things."

In the same year she died. She had come from a place called Mpimbi in Congo. She was tall and very dark, and used to wear bead decorations around her head. In 1910 we saw the English and Germans and Belgians, and their askari carrying guns on their shoulders. This reminded us of Nyiranzirugamba. Her prophecy might be interpreted as follows: the king Ruganj was represented by the Europeans, the bundles of hoes the guns, the infinite smoke the road system, the children's wheelchairs, the bicycles, the motor car, and the boat in the air the aeroplane, whose engine noise might sound like jubilant girls.

There were many gods, but the greatest was Ryangombe. He was of the Bega clan, the son of Babina of Nyundo. He used to hunt with three friends: Mugashana, Binsegu son of Kajumba, and Muhima Chilli. Ryangombe was gored to death by a buffalo, and later his three friends shared the same fate. Other hunters began to worship Ryangombe's spirit, in order to be protected from buffaloes. Other people adopted the cult, and also worshiped his friends as lesser deities. Each clan had a leader — "ombudimbi", usually one of the oldest men — who conducted the ceremonies. On some occasions he would wear, upside down, the skins of animals known as "enji" and "ungeno". Round his hips he would wear monkey skins decorated with beads and flowers. He sat on a chair with a pot of beer before him, called "amazing", which was drunk only by old men and women. A smaller pot of beer was also placed before him, and another small pot containing beer and various flowers. A fourth pot of beer was placed near him, called "amatahe", and it was this beer that the young people, who were not worshippers, could drink. Then omudimba dipped a motali of beer. Women would make children brought them before him, and he spat the beer on each child, saying "Never suffer from skin diseases or any other disease". Then he dipped the flowers in the water pot and sprinkled the congregation, so as to bless those on whom it fell. There was always a congregation to be sprinkled by this water. Then he invited the old people to sip the beer in front of him, saying to each man "Omulendeni nyuma amacwazi", and to each woman "Onwari nyuma amacwazi", both meaning 'sip this beer'. When they had drunk, they danced and sang in a language which was not their mother tongue — usually Rutunga or Ruhambe — praising their gods thus: "Win Ryangombe son of Babina of Nyundo", "Win Mutsa", "Win Binsegu of Kajumba", and "Win Muhima. The women would hop on one leg like children, while omudimba rocked in his chair to the rhythm of the music.

When it was time for omudimba to go home, he installed a successor in case he himself became ill or died. He would authorize an old man to sit in the chair. First, the candidate would kneel before omudimba, who dipped his fingers in the water pot and sprinkled the candidate's neck, saying "You will be feared by evil spirits and enemies". Sprinkling water on the candidate's chest, he would say "Have peace at home, have many children, and be prosperous." Sprinkling the right shoulder, he would say "Be great and towering above all men." Finally omudimba would declare the candidate responsible for conducting the ceremony of worshipping Ryangombe whenever he himself was indisposed or dead. With these words the crowd would jump with joy and dance all over the place.

Nyabingi.

Nyabingi was a woman of the Bugesera clan in Nkore, before the area was called Nkore, and was still known as Bugesera. The name Nyabingi originated from Baganda attacks. When the Baganda realized that the area was a good one, they named it "Nkole-Bukole", meaning that God favored its creation. From Nkole-Bukole derived the name Nkore. However, while it was still named Bugesera, it was ruled by Nyabingi, who enjoyed the status of queen. She was a handsome man named Muhinda, one of the eleven Baryinya from Rwanda. He told her that he sought refuge from the Mwami of Rwanda, whose reputation was challenged by Muhinda's bravery. Nyabingi sympathized and agreed to keep him in her palace. He found it easy to integrate in the community, for genealogical reasons. Muhinda was the son of Mwedwa, son of Nkole, the brother of Ruganzu Bwina, who was the father of Kirima Rugwino. Muhinda was charged with plotting to kill Kirima Rugwino, so that Mwedwa might rule. When the ruler fell ill, therefore, Muhinda was suspected of having poisoned him. Consequently he fled, first to Karagwe, and then to Nkore, where he is alleged to have become the father of all succeeding Bagande. In any case, the Bugesera who were dominant in Nkore were the local counter-parts of the Banyinya in Rwanda, of which the Bahinda were a sub-group.

Nyabingi sought permission to return home to bring his children, promising that they would become Nyabingi. Meanwhile Nyabingi was becoming very unpopular. In the mornings, instead of settling her subjects' disputes, she devoted herself to domestic work and to beautifying herself. While she was so occupied, Muhinda consulted her subjects, heard their problems, and gave them advice. One evening Nyabingi was drunk, and while she slept she was assassinated by Muhinda and her own servants. The following day Muhinda announced that she had died a sudden but natural death. She left no children, and therefore the elders chose Muhinda — who they regarded as Nyabingi's son — and because many people admired his ability as a judge and adviser. They also felt that he would be an improvement upon Nyabingi, as he was a very industrious man.

Some time later, Nkore was struck by severe drought. When the witch-doctors were consulted, they attributed the drought to Nyabingi. People thereupon began to worship her spirit in order to break the drought. The Banyarwanda also adopted the belief, sometimes referring to Nyabingi as 'Biheko'. Banyarwanda Nyabingi originated in Nkore, the worshipper had to use some Runyakungu words in addressing her, whatever his own tongue might be. From this period the 'bagirwa' may be dated — priests or spokesmen for Nyabingi, through whom requests had to be made, and for whose services people had to give presents of cows, goats, sheep, beer or a young girl, depending upon the gravity or complexity of request. If the
Mugirwa liked the girl, she would not marry, but would live in Nyabiingi’s hut. Young men would fear to court her, lest Nyabiingi kill them. When the Mugirwa died, the girl might succeed him, and the people would believe that Nyabiingi had chosen her as a servant. It was also believed that, if Nyabiingi required the services of a married woman, she could cause her to leave her husband for a year to that purpose. If the mugirwa selected a girl, but Nyabiingi rejected her, she might be given in marriage to a man as a sign of disapproval.

The Mugirwa was well prepared to impress people. When they came to consult him, he sat on a chair and leaned against the wall of a closed room, in which Nyabiingi was supposed to be present, and from which she would not come out. The Mugirwa held one end of a piece of string which ran through a hole in the wall and was attached to calabashes within. Inside the closed room were a strong young man and a girl tending a fire. When the Mugirwa heard the people’s requests, he would address Nyabiingi thus: “Great queen, Saviour of your Servants, listen to your servants complaints.” He then clapped his hands, pulled the string and made the calabashes rumble the young man leaned against the strongest pole in the house and shook it. The girl placed some perfumed wood in the fire, so that the odour permeated the house. This was supposed to be a warning that Nyabiingi was coming. The people who had come with requests would clap their hands in reverence and respect. Soon afterwards the girl in the inner room would enumerate the list of presents required, upon which the people would again clap their hands in gratitude. They then went home to prepare the presents, which might involve butchering a bull, or bringing live-stock or a girl or lesser items. The presents were usually handed over after the meeting. The problem was, in the event of the people being unable to assemble all the required presents, a daughter of the house might be accepted instead.

The Comings of the Bagyinya to Bufumbira.

The first Munyinya in Bufumbira was Munegenahuru, son of Yuhi Gainza, in about 1850 A.D., during the reign of Ndahira II. He came with his cattle and men, and found that Bufumbira was used for grazing. There was short grass, and the local Bathu produced large quantities of food. He returned to Rwanda to bring all his cattle, and passed on the news to some other Bathu, who also came to Bufumbira. Some Bathu also came when they learned that they would be able to grow good crops. Munegenahuru concentrated on his cattle, giving some to his Bathu friends. His single bid for power, however, was frustrated when the clan leaders declined to accept his rule. After which he retreated to simple pastoralism. Eventually Munegenahuru and his friends returned to Rwanda, taking their cattle, and accompanied by some Bufumbira Bathu who had become his clients.

Another Munyinya, Mwangabwoba, came around 1700 during the reign of Yuhi III Mzimpaka. He came specifically to rule, but once again he was frustrated by the opposition of the clan leaders, and returned to Rwanda. He was followed by Buiki, son of Mulabwwa, a Mugave and one of the Basinga sub-clan. He is believed to have come around 1885 during the reign of Mwambe Rukubungi. He too sought power, and enjoyed the Mwambe’s support, in the form of royal troops to fight for him and install him as ruler. After force resistance by the Bathu, Buiki accepted. During this phase of the struggle Buiki’s son killed Nyabiingi’s Mugirwa Kahoogegeku (her name meant ‘skin from heaven’) from Kyante. With re-inforcements from the Barere in Rwanda, Buiki overran Bufumbira and turned his attention to Rukiga. During the Rukiga campaign Buiki’s forces included Bufumbira and Barere, and there are thought to have been many casualties. The conflict inaugurated the long hostility between Bufumbira and Rukiga, which is evidenced by the absence of interaction between the two groups. Buiki’s targets included Bufumbira and Bubukimi. Being unable to break the resistance of the Rukiga, he appealed to Rucubungi for re-inforcements, and when these were forthcoming he managed to over-run Rukiga as well. In the process Kamazzi, a military hero and son-in-law of Rucubungi, was killed.

Rucubungi built a palace at Muganza and at Muhango, and brought his daughter Beerabo and his son Nyundo to occupy these residences. He then pressed his campaign onwards into Nkore. Meanwhile, however, Buiki’s rule became increasingly oppressive and unpopular, amongst the Bathu in Bufumbira. Observing Buiki’s unpopularly Rucubungi appointed Munyanyakinda, son of Gaffi, of the Baghe clan, to help in the administration. He came as a saviour. Unlike Buiki he was not harsh, and he permitted the Bufumbira to rule themselves at the lower levels of organization and administration. He appointed elders for each clans, who were to settle minor disputes. Over these elders he appointed one elder in each place, to whom the others were responsible, and who in turn was directly responsible to Munyanyakinda. This elder approximated to today’s gomomboka chief. The following are some of those appointed by Munyanyakinda: Birihaka, son of Mpilwuye, of the Baghe clan, in Nyerusa; Mutesi, son of Nturo, of the Barhira clan, in Chahi; Mushakabamu, son of Birirwe, of the Baghe clan, in Nyakabanda; Khatush, son of Kugumwa, of the Baghe clan, in Budungi; Bgwegana, son of Bujara, son of Mwendo, son of Kagenzi, of the Baghe clan, in Bubukimi and in Nyabvonshwino; Hugumakwane, son of Mbuyebyombi, of the Bagyinya clan, in the area between Kikia, Kimunira and Nyamurupa, son of Bhirwe of the Baghe clan, in the area between Busengo, Rubona in Giteve, and as far as Kimungo. In this way Munyanyakinda earned a reputation and popularity in Bufumbira. When he returned to Rwanda he was succeeded by Nyundo who preserved the status quo and was thereafter equally popular. He liked the Bathu, and gave cattle to some of them. He was still the ruler when the Europeans came. Being himself a hunter, he admired other successful hunters, and would give cattle to any Bathu hunter.

The Buhuta Rebellion.

There was a Mutusi girl named Nyamitamwari, who regrettably fell pregnant though not legally married. In accordance with traditional practice,
she was taken and thrown into the forest. In fact she was tied to a tree on a swampy island. It happened that a Mutwa hunter named Nekso saw her while he was hunting, by which time she was nearly dead of starvation. He released her and took her to his home as his wife. Their first son was named Basebya, and he resembled the Batwa rather than the Batwa. When he grew up he went to the Murimi of Rwanda, Rwabugiri, to join the corps of professional dancers (entole).

On Rwabugiri’s death in 1886, Basebya sought to turn the confusion to his advantage and seize power for himself. He left Nyanza in Rwanda and came to Mukyante, where he began to train Batwa and Buhutu as soldiers. He used these troops to loot property and eventually became a ruler. He appointed a Mutwa, named Kirabo, as his chief adviser, and Kirabo himself became a Mugirwa of Nyabingi. The situation was worsened by the Byarugamba famine of 1895. Kirabo invaded Bukinibiri, but encountered strong resistance from the Bakiga, who killed a Mutwa military hero named Senzoga, the son of a woman named Nyiramuhinya, and thereby defeated the invaders. Queen Nyirayuhu, mother of Mwami Musonga of Rwanda, used Batwa warriors and declared war on the Batwa. Basebya’s men, both Batwa and Buhutu, inflicted heavy casualties on Nyirayuhu’s forces, including the death of a brilliant warrior named Mahiyoli. In despair, she sought the aid of the Germans who had just arrived in Rwanda. The relieving forces were led by Rwubusisi, a Mutusi. His men concealed their guns and took the field against the Batwa. Then Rwubusisi tricked Basebya. He went for Basebya, saying that Nyirayuhu wished to thank him for killing Mahiyoli, who had been unjustly hostile to the Batwa. Basebya duly met Rwubusisi at the home of Mihayo, a Mutusi. Rwubusisi gave him beer, and they began to drink while Rwubusisi’s warriors were concealed in one of Mihayo’s rooms. He also presented a leopard’s skin to Basebya. When Basebya had drunk the beer he felt asleep, and when he awoke he discovered that he was in handcuffs. He was tied with ropes taken to Nyanza, and killed. Some of the Batwa were shot, others fled from the area, and order was thereby restored.

References.

1. The author has derived his dates from Rwanda’s traditional historian Kagame, who is now regarded with some suspicion by professional historians. Both the age and the extent of the Rwandan kingdom have been exaggerated. Mr. Rwandura’s dates, therefore, should not be accepted as accurate. The relationships between Rwanda clans has been derived from Rwanda court historians, and should be regarded as popular myths, possibly based upon hard evidence, but also attempting to integrate the Rwanda clans into a united nation.

2. Ngoloza, in Kigezi and its People. EALB 1969) P.5 provides a slightly different list of sub-clans. Since he is describing clans among the Bakiga, this is not surprising.

3. Ngoloza, loc. cit., again differs marginally. He names the whole group Ba-Kinyagiro.


5. While some Basili may well have entered Kigezi several centuries ago, more recent research suggests that the bulk of them left Busigi in Rwanda in the late sixteenth century.


7. Ngoloza, loc. cit., names the whole group of clans Ba-Mugera.

8. Ngoloza, loc. cit., names this group Ba-Korobwa.

9. Ngoloza, loc. cit., names this group Ba-Muhuto. In addition to Rwandura’s eight clans, Ngoloza adds a very small group known as Ba-Mwisyika.

10. The origin of the Nyabingi cult is more commonly attributed to Mpororo, where a queen, Khiani, was deposed and replaced by Bashambo rulers in the early eighteenth century. Bugesera, which Rwanda asserts is in Nkore, is now in fact in eastern Rwanda.

CHAPTER THREE

Foundations of Rujumbura Society

by S. R. Baitwababo

Rujumbura is the northern part of Kigezi District, Geographically and historically it has much in common both with its eastern neighbours, the counties of Western Ankole, and with the Southern areas. The name is said to have been derived from a small hill, one mile south of Rukungiri, named Karujumbura. Why the hill should have given a name to the area is yet unknown.

A history of Rujumbura has yet to be written. So far, the only attempt available is the author's preliminary study "Bashambu Rule in Rujumbura" which forms a chapter in Ngano (2) The work mainly concentrated on the political aspects of society. The present survey aims at a more comprehensive work.

The present county is much larger than its historical namesake. It now includes the north-west portion, formerly the kingdom of Kuvumvubu, the north eastern part of Orohinda, and Rujumbura proper, covering the southern portion of the country. The country is a hilly plateau rising to a height of 5,000 feet above sea level. It is surrounded by a river system which makes it more or less an island. A hilly range divides the area into portions, the northern Orohinda being hilly, and the more undulating south is Rujumbura proper. The home of cattle in days past. To the East is the Maranamagamo forest. The rift valley hill system rises gradually until it evens out in the general plateau between 4,500 feet. Apart from forested, the general flora has always been rolling grass interspersed with shrubs and trees in the valley. The area is rather well watered except some areas in the east which experience water shortages in the dry season.

Physical features favoured animal life in general and man in particular. The soil conditions permitted the raising of crops and the breeding of animals. Wild fauna abounded - antelope, buffaloes, pigs, hyenas and birds of all kinds. Domesticated animals could thrive. Dual economic activity, namely agriculture and pastoralism, was practicable. The nature of the land permitted the easy movement of people to and from the area. The interaction of various groups is the theme of Rujumbura's history in precolonial times.

The people of Rujumbura called themselves Banyaruhumena and were called the same by the people of Iga and Kajara. The Bakiga and people of Butumbi called them Bavororo. Bavororo are what anthropologists call a tribe. It has subdivisions called clans and subclans or lineages. The terms Bahororo or Bakiga do not denote groups related by blood, but people some of whom may be related, inhabiting the same geographical area. The Bahororo are not a homogeneous people but do live in an area known to their neighbours as Mpororo.

Mpororo was the land south of Nkore, and north of Rwanda and the Bakiga county. Its borders were always fluid and indeterminate. Bahororo differed from the Bakiga and Banyabutumbi neighbours in that they spoke a different dialect of a related language and were more slender in build. Among themselves they called themselves Bairu or Bavoro, but collectively the members were known according to where they lived as Banyaruhumena, Banyarukuru, Banyabutumbi.

The meaning division common to both Bavoro and Bairu is that of clan - "ruganda". A number of clans can be grouped in an association called "ebituka" or "muyango". The clans of Rujumbura can be grouped into four classes or "Bibunu" as follows: - Bazigaba, Bashambu, Baitira, and Baishakatwa.

THE MAIN CLANS OF RUJUMBURA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BAZIGABA</th>
<th>BASHAMBO</th>
<th>BAITIRA</th>
<th>BAISHAKATWA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bagahé</td>
<td>Banzira</td>
<td>Bairinda</td>
<td>Bairuuntu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basingo</td>
<td>Batswaba</td>
<td>Bakimbi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baranizi</td>
<td>Banyabutumbo</td>
<td>Barima</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Each clan has a taboo, an animal or insect that the members may not touch or eat. It is called a totem or "muziro". The basis of the above classification is that clans share an association called "Bukubu". Clan members who are "bakumbi" regard themselves as having some sort of affinity. When they meet they crack jokes about each other without taking offence. People sharing the same totem have an endogamy bar. They may not inter-marry. There is no such bar among "bakumbi". Some clans e.g. some of the Bashambu group permit endogamy.

BUKUMBI CHART

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ORUGANDA (CLAN)</th>
<th>BAKUMBI</th>
<th>ORUGANDA</th>
<th>BAKUMBI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bazigaba</td>
<td>Bagahé</td>
<td>Baitira</td>
<td>Bakimbi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bagahé</td>
<td>Bazigaba</td>
<td>Bairinda</td>
<td>(Baitira)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basingo</td>
<td>Bagebe</td>
<td>Bakimbi</td>
<td>Baitira</td>
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<td>Banyabakuro</td>
<td>Barima</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bazigaba</td>
<td>Banzira</td>
<td>(Bashambu)</td>
<td>Bairuuntu</td>
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<td>Bazigaba</td>
<td>Banyabakuro</td>
<td>(Baishakatwa)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bazigaba</td>
<td>Banyabakuro</td>
<td>(Baishakatwa)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Owing partly to the existence of a centralized institution clans in this area do not possess a coherent body of traditions. Most recall short genealogies going only a few decades back. It is therefore not possible as yet to determine the origins of most groups as the remembered places are those of immediate, not ultimate, origin. Clans in the past lived in compact units, but have spread out since the advent of colonial rule. Of those groups inhabiting the area at the close of the last century, the largest in terms of numbers and subdivisions is that of Bazigaba. Their totem is the antelope “Engabli”. The following are some of the lineages:

Bajumura, Bataizi, Baruru, Bajara.

The clan is spread all over Rujumbura. Without exception all these groups claim origin from “Mubari” a place on the present border of Rwanda and Tanzania.

Their Bakumbi, Bazigaba, are another big clan. Their totem is “ngobe” or “kinya” a cow of greyish brown colour. The immediate origin of the group is Rwanda. Another associated group is Basingo. Their totem is “omurara” but in most places they have none. This clan has long been associated with Nkore and Bunyoro and is absent in south Rigezi. The probability is that it entered through Nkore. It is, however, together with Bahinda and Baitira one of the oldest groups.

The Baitira have human milk “amashereka” as their totem. Together with their Bakumbi Bahinda they entered by way of Nkore. The Bahinda claim to originate from Karagwe. Their totem is a monkey. There are some Baitira groups like the “Bakoma” who came from the West, i.e. by way of Congo. It is unanimously agreed that the Baitira of Mariba in the south of the centre of Rujumbura are the oldest group in the area. It is said that along with Bakoko (Bunyoro) of Rukungiri, the Bahinda of Nyakagame and the Baisheka (Bahinda group) and later the Banyabusano, these are the oldest groups.

Another big clan is Bashambo. Bashambo are a Bahinda group. There are Baire associated groups locally called “Bania” and in Nkore “Bahiria.” Their totem is “equi” an animal no longer in existence.

Some lineages are:-

Bahinda
Banyamgamba
Bararira
Banyabusano

Bashambo are fairly recent in the area. They entered by way of Rwanda but are said to have been living in Northern Uganda by the 16th century. The Banyabusano, Bararira and Banyamgamba are older groups which entered by way of Nkore. The Baire groups also came by way of Igara and Nkore. The Bakumbi, the Batsyaka, are fairly large in distribution but have only one sub-group, the Bakwenke. Their totem is a plant called “burungu”. Their immediate origin was Rwanda.

The Bakumbi whose totem is “kafule” (an animal born with legs first), are said to have come from Rwanda.

There are a number of clans which moved into Rujumbura at the end of the last century or at the beginning of this century due to the outbreak of Bugiki or the great famine of Rwanda. These are:-

Bahumbu
Bahingo
Bazobiki
Bashaki

and Baruru (Bazigaba) in Nyakagame and Basharu (Bagahie) who live in Kigasa. These groups can be grouped into the above scheme thus:-

Bahumbu (Baitira) Basharu (Bazigaba)
Bahingo ("" ) Bashaki (""
Bazobiki (Bashambu) Baruru ("

The study of clans, by no means exhaustive, shows the numerous problems involved. There have been many movements and interactions so that it is relatively difficult to establish chronology. Another important factor is that although the clans may have entered the area from different directions, the pointer is that the point of dispersion may be similar, that is somewhere to the West of Uganda. Consequently there appear three general points of entry. These are the Eastern through Nkore and possibly Bunyoro. The second is the Southern via Karagwe and Rwanda, and lastly the Western along the length of the present Congo border. By the beginning of the 19th century most of the above groups were already established.

The Pattern of Settlement

It cannot be established with any degree of precision when people first inhabited the area and for what reasons. Judging by the tone of the general studies of population patterns, the area has been inhabited for four or more centuries. What is certain is that most groups were in the area by the beginning of the 19th century. The population was never dense and by the end of the century following human and animal diseases, population was estimated at over 20,000 people.4

The motives for movement have always been
(i) The pressure of circumstances — disease, beasts of prey or those which eat crops, famine, land hunger or emnity of neighbours or strangers.

(ii) The other motive is voluntary, where people move to live with relatives or friends.

Apart from the Baitira of Mariba, all the earliest groups in Rujumbura occupied areas near the hills. For instance the Bahinda of Nyakagame,
Basingo of Bwanda. This implies that defence must have been foremost in the strategy of these groups.

As time went on, settlement patterns arose with the agriculturalists predominant in the hilly and montaneous areas while the pastoralists occupied the undulating plains. The population of this area, as in the whole Lake area, falls into the two groups of Bahima and Bairu, one exclusively pastoral and the other predominantly agricultural. The Bairu are believed to have been part of the Bantu invasion of East and Central Africa from the fringes of the equatorial forests. Physical appearance and way of life have inclined people to link the Bahima with the populations of North East Africa. The differences, physical and otherwise, were said to be due to the fact that they belonged to two different races.

This theory is being rejected in favour of the one that states that the differences may have been caused by diet and living habits. Plausible as this explanation is, it does not explain why one of two groups living together, chose a diet of high protein and relatively easy life while the other opted for starchy food and a laborious life. In fact there is ample evidence to show that the Bairu have always attempted with little success to secure cattle and lead a pastoralist life. The theory of voluntary choice is too simple to stand. To reject the migration explanation is to forget that the process has not been a monopoly of Bahima (Bairu are not indigenous) but rather one in which all people from time immemorial have participated. There is no physical or geographical limitation that could have made Bahima movement from North East Africa impossible. In fact migration from different areas seems to be the only reasonable explanation of the whole phenomenon of Bairu and Bahima.

The different occupations would be explained by the fact that the pastoralists came into contact with cattle long before the agriculturalists and did their best to maintain a monopoly. In Nkore and Mpororo the evidence about relative chronology is scarce but it suggests that Bahima found Bairu living in the area. Here is a piece from Mpororo:

"It is said that formerly this country was not ruled by Bahima but by Bairu. Then came Bahima with their cows and were allowed to live and pasture freely".

Mubangizi in a poetical form says of the people of Ankole:

"There are two groups Bairu and Bahima. It is unknown where the two come from. The Mvira, one never left behind, settled here first. The pastoralist, Bahima found him here!".

In Rwanda and Bunyoro traditions are clear about these movements and can be dated.

The second aspect of the Bairu and Bahima problem is the fact that the latter invariably held political power while the former were subjects.

Increasing criticism has been directed at the theory of conquest, as the basis for the pastoral dominance. The conquest theory was given by the early colonial writers as the explanation for the status quo. Stated briefly, the theory held that the better organized Bahima moving into Bairu held areas defeated them and ruled them. Superiority in military organization was held to derive from the fact that their life was geared to the defense of cattle against animals and people and that consequently they made potentially better warriors.

This theory rests on an imaginary foundation of conflict between the two groups. It ignores the fact that the modes of life tended to be complementary in the first instance. Bairu food products were bartered for dairy products of Bahima and therefore they had little to quarrel for. So long as there was plenty of land, the agriculturalists inhabited the hills and valleys while the pastoralist favoured the plain as ideal for cattle where they roamed at will.

Present day conflicts between the agriculturalists and pastoralists over land arise because agriculture has expanded over the areas formerly exclusively for cattle. Conflicts tended to be between cultivators among themselves over land, and among pastoralists for reasons peculiar to their occupation.

A new school of thought favours the "economic" theory as responsible for the political hegemony of the Bahima. The theory states that the possession of cattle by Bahima, led Bairu to be associated with them as workers or partners in exchange. Cattle were desired by both groups because of meat, milk, butter and hides. The Bairu either worked for Bahima or exchanged agricultural products (especially millet) for dairy products. The relationship remained for years between the two groups, since some dairy products especially butter used as oil for food and body lubricant were very necessary. So were hides. The desire for cattle led to gifts of beer and manual services such as mending of fences etc. In time, what had been voluntary gifts or duties could be transformed into regular remittances known as "kuteija" rendered inadequately in English as tribute.

This theory rests on the simple fact that Bairu no less than Bahima found cattle useful and did their best to acquire them. It is well known how the power of wealth and patronage produces political control. This is in accord with a local proverb that "He who has property is lord!"?

Another possible method by which the political system may have further been consolidated may be the process of "periodic invasions and clashes". This is the process by which invading groups of pastoralists clashed with those already established resulting in the displacement of the political arrangements or in consolidating them.

This theory rests on two bases. First is the well known tendency of pastoralists to fight over cattle, water or pastures, as cultivators fight over land. There might be abundant land, but some pastures are better than
others, containing water, salt licks or mineral springs. Cattle have always objects of contention among pastoralists and raiding has always been a commendable activity. The second consideration is the succession of migrations which have marked the population patterns of the interlacustrine area.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIETY

1. ECONOMIC MECHANISMS: Historians are of the opinion that the first occupants of this part of the world were hunters and food gatherers. This mode of life was possible owing to the abundance of wild fruits, roots, herbs, honey and wild game and bird life. These inhabitants retreated in the wake of the cultivator invasion which it is believed, formed part of the Bantu movement. Their relative success over the previous people was their knowledge of ironmaking as well as the possession of food plants. With iron they made weapons of offense and defence as well as tools for cultivation. As plants take time to ripen, a settled life became a necessity. Settled life on the other hand pushed both the forest and wild game farther away and this rather than armed confrontation pushed away the food gatherers.

(a) IRON-WORKING: For both the cultivators and the pastoralists, iron working was the chief craft. The raw material for iron was the ore called “Obutane” which was smelted in the furnace called “ziko” where the charcoal was heated using a bellows (mujuba). The hot iron ore was shaped by hammer “nyundo”. All manner of shapes were made: the only thing unknown was an object with a hole.

Iron working remained a jealously guarded art for those who had acquired it. It tended to become hereditary because once a father was a smith the son took after him. Smiths formed a wealthy class along with other skilled people, medicine men, because of their skill and the scarcity of iron. The sources of iron ore were quite limited. The usual practice was to take a worn out iron object. It usually took a matter of weeks before an order could be delivered. Alternative sources of iron-ore and finished materials are in Kayonza. The journey to this area was hazardous. Smiths exchanged their products for stuffs, articles of dress and domestic use. Because they accumulated those objects valued by society, they became rich.

(b) FOOD PRODUCTION: Millet was the chief food of the agricultural people providing food and drink. The raising of the crop was the chief annual activity. The fields were cleared April—June; sowing was done August—October, followed by the weeding to December. Harvesting began January—February. The harvested grain was husked, ground and prepared into a kind of bread or porridge. The other old food crops were sweet potatoes, yams, a number of legumes such as beans, and a variety of cultivated herbs. The relatively newer crops were bananas, maize and cassava. Millet has many legends around it. It is said to have been introduced from Karagee.

Until recently bananas were raised only in inaccessible areas, far from the cattle. The clearing of the plantation, unlike the other crops, was the man’s job. When the bananas matured, they would be put in a hole to ripen. They would be trampled on in a wooden trough. Water and sorghum powder were added and the mixture left to ferment for a day or two. Then beer was ready for consumption.

Food production and preparation was primarily the work of the women the exception being the plantation. The man helped with the difficult jobs like clearing the field. Food was cooked in earthenware pots shaped from clay. Millet was served in baskets, vegetables and meat on clay dishes. The living area often served as the cooking place as well.

For: Bamba milk and meat formed the main items of food, with dairy products like butter and blood. The food was supplemented by such food stuffs as millet, bananas and vegetables like “eshagy” (Banana beer) and occasionally sorghum and a variety of beer millet were consumed by both groups, though produced by Baira. The work of food production among Bamba revolved on cattle breeding. Looking after cattle was the man’s job. Pasturing, watering, milking, dispensing medicines, mending fences and constructing new ones, were some of the varied chores in which the Baira dependents helped. The woman looked after the milk. She churned it for butter, washed and perfumed the milk pots and containers. She wove the milk pot covers. The woman exchanged dairy products for Baira products.

Besides the primary activities of food production, there were a number of secondary activities aimed at satisfying man’s other needs. These include all forms of carpentry producing domestic utensils, the treatment of hides for clothing and there were those who produced armbands, and leg ornaments.

(c) ECONOMIC INDICES: The produce of society was distributed through barter. Given the modern use of money the barter method appears somewhat complicated. If allowance is made for the fact that each family produced its needs in food, and considering that geographical units were small, it can be realised that a person would always know what the producer needed. In addition, certain commodities functioned as media of exchange. The main ones were hoes, food-stuffs like millet, beer and more often domestic animals, goats, sheep and occasionally cattle. Smiths for instance exchanged their products for goats or sheep, skins or millet. Goats also were exchanged for such deer products as salt.

Despite the absence of clearly defined media of exchange, the accumulation of certain commodities valued by society constituted wealth and consequently disparities occurred in society. Ultimately the possession of many cows, children and dependents were the outward manifestations.

Land was seldom an indicator of wealth because people held no claim to its ownership. It was owned by the Mukasa and his subordinate chiefs.
The cultivators held land as tenants. The difference between the tenants was whether one could muster labour and tools to cultivate the land.

2. SOCIAL MECHANISMS

(a) THE FAMILY: The basic social unit for both Bairu and Babina was the family (Eka) which consisted of the father, his wives, children and usually their wives and children. The married members of the family built their houses around the main house “nyarur” the house of the family head "NYINEKEE" (literally “I have a home?”) The family acted as a unit, ate and drank together, settling and resolving quarrels before they were known outside. Lineages tended to settle in the same locality. The members of the same lineage shared in community activities like building houses, drinking beer, attending weddings, and lineage the religious activities.

An ideal site was one on the western side of a hill or on top if the hill was gentle. Availability of water was an advantage although a site too near water was not suitable as it brought mosquitoes and cold. The houses consisted of the bee-hive structure called “kituna” built with sticks, reeds and thatch. It had one entrance, occasionally a small opening at the back (Zurir), but no ventilation. The house was supported by pillars, and walls divided the round structure into a number of partitions: the main living room, a cooking place and a place for animals.

Building a house was always the joint effort of all the people in the neighbourhood. The person wishing to build first gathered materials - sticks, reeds and rope. He prepared or bought beer. In the morning the men put up the structure and cut grass, while the women cooked, fetched water and carried the grass. The process of building took one to three days. The whole was covered with grass on the outside; the inside was smeared with mud to about five feet in height.

The routine of building a house was like every aspect of life, hedged with numerous taboos. The couple was debarred from sexual contact with an outsider, while the work went on. If one did, he or she deserted the house “kwita enju” and it was said the other partner would die. To understand the mechanism of society, it must be understood that life functioned in a limited geographical setting in which mobility was restricted and the forces of social change gradual. A man was in a village, grew there, married nearby and died there. The few extra-village activities such as raiding, going for salt or food during famine, were but a departure from the usual routine. Owing to the poor means of transport and the fact that the needs of living were satisfied locally, mobility was limited. Given the economic set-up a man was born at the village and there were few chances of changing that occupation. The cycle of life remained about constant. One could live and die without witnessing any unusual changes except the normal ones of growth and death. Ideas and institutions hardly changed though life was not static.

(b) PERPETUATION OF SOCIETY: MARRIAGE & ITS DESCRIPTION

Marriage was by far the most important institution of society since it was by this means that it was created and perpetuated. There were variations in the practices among Babina and Bairu and differences occurred from area to area. There were however, common underlying themes such as (i) the lineage bar on endogamy, (ii) the age, procedure, rituals of marriage and (iii) the laws governing married life.

Most clans buried marriage within the group which shared the same totem. This led them to seek brides from other clans, especially those from which they had already got wives. This practice held good among most groups except the Bashambo and associated groups (Batinda and Babina) who did not have the bar and could marry within the same clan.

The practices of instituting marriage followed the general pattern. Marriage was a family affair and never for an individual. The bride and bridgegroom never met until they were married except when they lived near one another. When a family had chosen a suitable candidate, the family of the boy (hereafter to be called “proposers”) a spokesman was despatched to open negotiation with that family, hereafter called “respondents”. When the offer was accepted, the father of the boy brought beer to make a formal declaration. Discussions were held on the amount of “bride gift” which varied according to the capability of the proposers, from five goats to ten cows among the pastoralists. During the famine it sank to two goats and a hoe, to a cow. The gift was taken to the respondents or collected from the proposers.

There followed a time of waiting lasting between a month and a year when the proposers took beer to visit the respondents to “kutuba”. When the period was over a date for the wedding was fixed. A chain of rituals stretching over several days culminated in the departure of the bride. This is the period of “majuta” when the contracting parties observed taboos and abstained from sexual offence. The ceremonies began with proposers taking the bride a wedding garment. A return visit is made for the ritual shaving of the bridegroom, followed by another group of “BAEGUZI”, whose job is to inspect the place before arrival of the bride. Lastly a party of the proposers (“Ekeve” literally sons-in-law) went to collect the bride. The climax of the rituals was the formal presentation of the bride to the father-in-law after which the bride would be taken out after protracted struggle between girls and their brothers. The bride and girls in accompaniment made voluntary incantations (Omusaiki, pl: Mtsiku). The bride would be accompanied to the groom’s residence by a party of males and females led by an Aunt.

The bride carried in a litter reached the husband’s place where a festive mood was characterized by drinking, eating and dancing. The guests would be fed until morning when the meal ended. The rituals at the home of the bride groom were numerous but the important ones consisted of the formal reception of the bride by the father-in-law. Then there was the symbolic consummation of marriage - “Kutobina” during which the groom after persist-
tent struggle touched the bride's genitals with his hand. Later there followed the actual consummation.

When ceremonies were over there followed a period of rest during which the bride did no laborious manual work; she stayed indoors, made baskets among Baimu, or milk-pot baskets among Baimina. At the end of the period a feast was held at the home of the father of the bride, attended by many people from both sides. The bride and groom then made several journeys to and fro fulfilling the needs of tradition.

**ANALYSIS OF MARRIAGE**

Seen from the background of society, marriage was its focal point and the greatest single factor making for its stability. The ceremonies, if critically examined, show this clearly. The kinship principle was the only thing that mattered; consequently outsiders were regarded as strangers and enemies. Exogamous marriages therefore acted as links, breaking down the barriers to contact and widening the scope of social intercourse. Marriage was often used by parents to cement relations with allied groups or even among formerly feuding groups. It was for this reason that marriage was never an individual but rather a community venture.

Those who could afford it favoured early marriages. They were aimed at preventing the boys from running around but essentially had the effect of tapping the potentialities of fertility. Numbers were very important to society which valued them for defense. A group which could put many fighters in the field potentially stood greater chances of winning.

The "Bride gift" which has mistakenly been called "dowry" or "Bride price" was another institutional device that made for stability in marriage. The gift was the seal to a contract proposed by one group and accepted by the other. The deal was one of reciprocity. The proposers on one hand undertook to treat the daughter well while the daughter on behalf of the respondents undertook to keep the link between the two groups. The return of the gift symbolized the end of the contract.

Rituals and ceremonies brought many people together, and festive occasions had the effect of easing tensions and promoting understanding. They also had the effect of inculcating in the young people the importance and sanctity to society of the ceremony. In this way the two people individually and jointly were reminded that those present were witnesses to the contract.

The requirement of virginity in the woman, and ritual sexual abstinence for the man, emphasized the role of fidelity in married life. Virginity provided contact with man which meant that the bride started her married life with a clear record that created respect. The fact that the wife belonged to the family was symbolized by the ceremony of "eating millet" when the bride with brothers-in-law partook of gruels of sun dried millet. The device legalized sexual dealings between the participants and the bride, but excluded outsiders.

The mechanism of marriage procedures, and rituals were so complete because they aimed at building not just a lifetime relationship but foundation for society.

**SOCIAL CONTROL**

(i) **Family Life & Education**

In the family the father was the head and held supreme authority over everything in theory. However, in practice, this was not so because all the members, the mother, son, their wives, daughters all had rights and duties. Family education taught everyone what to do and what not to do.

The father was expected to provide shelter, clothing, tools for food production and in general to love, advise, punish his subjects as well as defend them from whatever dangers there was including the dangers of strenuous work like cutting down the forest before cultivation. The family in return were expected to love and respect him. This respect was institutionalized in the custom of not mentioning his name. Children called him "Tata" father, the wife called him lord "Mukammawange" or the father of such a one. This respect was expected by all relatives older than oneself.

It was the duty of the mother with her daughters to look after the feeding of the family. They produced food, cooked it, and served it. The work of looking after the children and entertaining the visitors was hers. A man interesting himself in the management of food was resented. This clear division of roles was emphasized by the practice which forbade a man, woman or child from doing certain things or eating certain foods. The father for instance did not eat pumpkin seeds, certain internal organs of an animal, the lower jaw if his father was alive. The women and girls were forbidden to eat goat and mutton, grasshoppers, liver of a cow, they did not hold a spear or whistle, while children did not eat liver, or chest, taste uncooked salt at night, whistle at night or mention their elders' names.

It is today commonly believed by women that men forbade them from eating certain foodstuffs out of selfishness and greed. This however was not the case. These taboos were not only on food but every aspect of life. They were the means of regulating behavior in society. The taboos were the unwritten rules of education and the legal code enforceable by tradition. Each child growing up learnt these rules and taught them to his children or juniors. The home was in fact the first school.

A child was usually born to a married couple. No matter who was the physical father, the legal father was the woman's husband. All children born outside wedlock were illegal — "etumandano". Society discouraged premarital sexual intercourse and prevented contact with women. A legally conceived woman was helped to deliver by an elder woman. A festive mood followed. The mother rested for a week or so before resuming manual work. Her mother brought gifts to the baby. The delivery of twins was considered very unfortunate. It was attended by numerous rituals of purification for all the inmates of the family and visitors.
Each child born received its own name depending on the whims of the parents, their relationship with their neighbours, the time, or the major event of the period. There was no systematic arrangement of names. A boy born during a local invasion was called “Rwenzuzwe” after “inzwe” loots; a girl born during a wedding ceremony became “Kobugyenyi” after “Bugyenyi” wedding feast.

Depending on the material possessions of the parents, child upbringing was always a difficult job. The child sucked for a year to two before depending entirely on solid food. The child got its education in the home. The boys later looked after sheep and cattle as they grew up they understudied their fathers; girls helped the mother with the baby and with the general domestic chores before accompanying her to the field. It was in this way that the children learnt the skills of their fathers such as iron working, carpentry, pottery or medicine.

(ii) The Religious Mechanism

From the earliest stages a child learnt that certain things were good, and could be done, others were bad and were discouraged. Besides those actions within man's control there were others beyond his control — people could be cut off from life.

Man found there was a need to reconcile the needs of life to the complex world of natural and supernatural powers. The totality of man's attitudes, approach and dealings with this complex situation constituted the religious system of the people. Thus religion pervaded every aspect of society; the economic activities, the purely social, the political and even military were hedged with taboos or rituals of all kinds. Religion therefore was not simply the cult of “Emantwa” or “Baweu”.

These were mere aspects of an all pervading system.

In view of the complexity of the system to insulate what was and what was not religious in society is difficult. By abstraction man's activities, beliefs and rituals may be grouped in two broad classes:

(a) The social vehicles of control and

(b) The religious practices proper.

What has been called social vehicles of control for lack of a better word were taboos, customs and traditions. These were the external manifestations of the unwritten law of morality as well as the cumulative prescriptions of society through the ages. The function of these was to regulate man's dealings with his neighbour. Such things as the clan totem, the practice which forbade a wife mentioning her mother-in-law's name, belong to this class.

There were however certain practices which dealt with man's relations with the supernatural powers. There was never a clear theology as to the identity of these powers. It was generally believed that a supreme being, the maker of things existed. Names such as Kazoola, Rugaaba, Nyamuhunga (sun, Giver of all things, the creator) are names which express this vague knowledge. Honour was paid to the creator through the intercession of other powerful mediums such as ancestor spirits, “Mundwa” (spirits of famous beings). Sacrifices, rituals were offered or dedicated to these to seek their intercession or gain their pleasure. Besides these beings there was a clear belief in the existence of evil power. Charms for instance were supposed to cause illness; so did the activities of night dancers, "witches".

Practices geared to meeting these supernatural circumstances can be grouped into 3 classes:

(A) The Discovery of Divine Will

In order to perform any activity it was always necessary to know the latitude, the will of the powers above. A man going on a journey, building a house, preparing to sow, wishing to marry his son or daughter or undertaking a project such as a raid or faced with a situation like an illness, consulted the divine will. Divine will was interpreted by the “Mufumu” a ritual expert, magician or a medicine man. He used charms or herbs: sometimes a person endowed with supernatural powers of vision and prophecy called “Oshang” was consulted, but such people were rare and the “Batumu” were the usual dispensers of divine will. The skill was usually hereditary. Each “Mufumu” possessed a “shabo” literally a bag, containing collections of surerive herbs and other charms used in the work.

The person wishing to know the divine will took a small fee to the mufumu. The mufumu used a device to know the will of the powers, the fate of the project or the chances of the patient overcoming the disease. The many devices included pieces of wood “Kimonde” seeds of pumpkin, the boiled leaves of certain plants, certain insects “Eontendo” or the bowels of a chicken. Once the consultant had heard the detailed story of the customer, he manipulated the device and then gave an answer, and might also prescribe medicine. More often than not, he advised the customer to offer a sacrifice to appease a particular spirit or to comply with a certain requirement kitherto unfulfilled.

(B) Rituals of Atonement

The whole range of rituals both for atonement, supplication or initiation into the religious life of the community was called “Kubandwa”. However a number of distinctions can be made thus: “kubandwa” was the offering of a sacrifice in supplication or appeasement. “Kusuguru” was offering a sacrifice fulfilling a promise or expressing gratitude for a favour granted. It also meant a sacrifice to ancestral spirits asking for their protection. Both these rituals centred around the killing of the sacrificial animal “enjeru” usually a sheep or cow and offering beer near a sacred tree “Murindzi” literally custodian. The meat would be burnt by the head of the family who also prayed for the group or individual. These present partook of the meat.
(C) Kubandwa or Initiation

The more elaborate ceremony of “Kubandwa” proper was the initiation of a person into the “pantheon” of the community. The ceremony was comparable to the Christian ritual of baptism in a number of ways. A person not yet initiated was regarded as a minor and could not take part in community affairs. Nevertheless, the ceremony, like marriage, was very expensive since it involved much feasting. It was possible for some one to grow old without performing the ritual.

What the “pantheon” consisted of was not clear. The beings in this collection included:

The vague supreme being called Kazoba, Rugasha or Nyamuhanga. Then there were “Mandwa”, the spirits of famous personalities. Bacewzi for instance, Mugasha, Muhura, Muhima were among the mandwa worshipped. Nyabungi for instance was thought to have been the spirit of a famous woman. The ancestors often fell into the above category and were worshipped as “mandwa”. This explains the existence of family “mandwa”. There were also “mumizzi”, spirits of people other than one’s relatives. Initiation was not a clear exercise but rather an attempt to get into communication with whatever power there was.

The Ceremony

There were area variations but in the main, the ceremony was conducted thus:— only initiates took part and they had an “initiation jargon”. The person being initiated was “nyahwevire the baby. The top of the hill was “Katungafungu”. The “kiko” tree near which the offerings were made was called “muranzi” the custodian.

On the day preceding the appointed day, the initiated relatives or “Mandwa” began to arrive. On the day itself the neighbors gathered in full force. Only the initiates could attend and they were crowned under pain of death never to disclose what took place.

The “baby” was given an instructor of the same sex called “Kyatura”. The ceremonies either lasted one night or a night and day. In the evening when all the initiates had gathered, they trooped to the top of a hill “katungutumu” near a “kiko” tree — the “muranzi”, and those performed the ritual which consisted of three parts:

1. The “baby” was stripped naked, was poked fun at, laughed at and threatened with all manner of bodily harm including slaughter. It was given impossible tasks to perform such as uprooting the “muranzi” tree with teeth, or removing a piece of grass from a small hole with teeth. The baby was accused of impossible crimes of theft and moral depravity. All this was too much for the baby and it wept.

2. The second part consisted of swallowing of the “covenant” “ebinga”. This was a small stone which “kyatura” ordered the baby to swallow and was conjured under pain of death never to say it was a stone but a “covenant” which must never be disclosed.

3. The third part consisted of singing “kushondera”, cheering, and praying for the baby. It pretended to be dead and the gathering led by “kyatura” prayed to the pantheon to bring the baby to life. When the “baby” stirred, they cheered and trooped back home to continue drinking eating and dancing. If a day ceremony was held, it followed the procedure of the previous night and ended at home feasting.

The ceremony of initiation was a ritual of unlimited importance for the community in many ways:

(a) As a religious ceremony it cemented belief in the mighty forces above. In this way the work of reconciling life’s needs to the supernatural powers became easier. They sought help and guidance for those things they could not do themselves. Even if these were not given immediately, at least psychologically the mind was relieved. This is the reason Karl Marx called religion, “The opium of the people.”

Kubandwa was a vehicle of social cohesion and intercourse. The coming together of people of the same lineage helped to keep together the social fabric of society. It was not only the relatives who turned up but even the neighbors. These gatherings helped to keep the different lineages on good terms.

The ceremony marked the coming of age of the initiate, who was hence to become a responsible and mature citizen of the community. The core of the ceremony was the swallowing of the “covenant” or the big secret. This was an injunction to the mature citizens to keep secrets in the interests of the family and the community. It inculcated the need for complete trustworthiness among people.

(iii) Resolution of Conflicts:

(a) Political & Social Mechanisms

If social mechanisms and religious rituals had the function of regulating and cementing good relations in society there existed institutions for settling conflicts when these occurred.

Differences occurred over the whole range of society, in the family, between families, clans, and between Bairu and Bishima as well as between states. Quarrels in the family among the children themselves or with their parents or between husband and wife were settled within the family or lineage by the elders. In the case between children or parents and children, the offending children would be fined beer or beer and a goat. A case of married couple was settled by elders at the home of the wife’s parents.

An interlineage conflict was more difficult to settle. It might be handled by a committee of elders from both sides but more often than not it was
referred to the political authority. Such might be a serious case involving theft or physical violence. The area ruler or the chief ruler would judge the case and fine the offending party. Murder usually incurred capital punishment inflicted by the clansmen of the deceased at the instruction of the ruler.

After murder, it was sometimes possible to avoid vengeance by having a ritual of reconciliation called "Kukarali". A white sheep "Enjera" was killed and people of the two lineages touched its hair and parboiled the meat. Some compensation would be paid to the bereaved party in animals such as cattle, goats or sheep, or a girl would be given. In most cases, this ceremony acted as a mere truce so that when the bereaved party had a chance it avenged itself thus perpetuating the feud.

There was also blood brotherhood. The ceremony occurred between males of different clans or lineages. An incision was made on the stomach of the intending brothers and blood put on a seed (usually coffee berry or another) which was swallowed by the other person. Friends pledged themselves to help each other at all times and never on pain of death, to deny each other anything, especially food. It was believed that if a friend denied the other food, the former would die instantly. Blood brotherhood was a very effective method of keeping good relations among groups because they were regarded as kinship bonds.

(b) Failure to resolve Conflicts-Warfare.

If a quarrel broke out between states the usual means of settling it was by fighting. This took the form of a raid - a limited and quick action into an area, or a full scale battle, or if it lasted longer it became a war.

In traditional warfare, weapons were conventional enough. The spear was for stabbing; the bow and arrow for shooting, and the shield for protection. While the spear man could hold his own shield, the bowman needed a second person to hold the shield and move it in such a way as to protect himself and the bowman while at the same time moving it to permit a good aim at the enemy.

Although there were no standing armies to the same extent as today, each man of importance maintained a bodyguard which formed the nucleus of an army which would be hurriedly mobilised for a war or raid. In time of emergency all able-bodied males were liable for military call up. The members of the bodyguard stayed at the ruler's court where they practised shooting and spear throwing. War had many risks but promised rewards in the form of booty. The highest quality in a warrior or leader was the capacity to charge the enemy and kill as many as possible. Such a brave man earned the praise of his fellow warrior and rewards from the ruler.

Religion played an important role in war. Before an encounter, medicine men consulted the gods. If all was well, medicines were dispensed to fortify the warriors against the enemy's spears and ensure victory. If the verdict was negative the action might be postponed to avoid disaster.

The choice of an area was based on a well calculated assessment of the enemy's strength - in terms of the men likely to be put into the field. Spies dispatched before the event brought the information from either collaborators who betrayed their states or from enemy spies.

 RELATIONS BETWEEN BAIRO AND BAHIMA

The functions of the political system.

Bairo and Bahima, though inhabiting the same geographical area and speaking the same language, were nevertheless different in physical appearance and in occupation. The Bahima wore tall and slender (the men) but stout and fat (the women) usually slim and slender (the men) but stout and fat. The Bairo as a whole were shorter, much stouter, flat nosed, their lips were thicker and their hair was either smooth or curled.

Their occupations were generally separate, but there were some channels of contact. In the first place some Bairo lived at the homes of Bahima and helped in the performance of domestic chores. Daily the Bairo women brought food products, milk, bananas etc. in exchange for dairy products like butter, milk, meat and sometimes hides.

But the most frequent meeting points were the pot of beer and the court, i.e. the house of the Bahima chiefs, because they controlled the political system. The administration of the different areas of Rujumbura if one can call it that name, was managed by the relatives of the principal Mushambro ruler or Mukanra. The administrative personnel, though appointed, were strictly hereditary. Children succeeded fathers and held power during good behavior. It was only when they rebelled that force might be used to drive them out.

The work of the area chiefs was to maintain order, judge cases and in time of emergency raise troops. The area in turn was to provide the ruler with the means of livelihood. In practice the function of the administrative structure was to provide the ruling class with the means of enjoying a high standard of living without-participating in the manual labour of economic production. This was achieved by means of subordinate devices, economic, social and military.

Land in theory belonged to the Mukanra who allowed people to use it as tenants in return for goods and services. The goods and services were collected by the subordinate area chiefs. This system of land tenure gave rise to a system called "Kutulja"; a were not adequately rendered by the English "Tribute" but which has its general coercive overtones. There were two general categories:

(i) It referred to the compulsory payments of a conquered ruler to the conqueror.
(ii) The goods from subject to ruler, demanded of right.

Agriculturalists provided a portion of their produce in millet and beer to the ruler. On each settlement area an elder called “Mukungu” was in charge of collecting and delivering the goods to the ruler. When services were required, able-bodied men were levied to do the work.

The non Bashambo pastoralists did not pay “Mutojo” though on numerous occasions such as the marriage of the ruler’s child or relative cattle donations were required. Though force was always not used in collecting dues, it was always known to exist and default presupposed severe sanctions, eviction and confiscation.

Alongside the “kutoja” and sometimes superimposed on it was the system of “buhake”, a kind of clientage system but never as elaborate as that of Rwanda. In the Rwanda system, each cultivator had a Tusi leader as protector and the protector another, up to the top where there was the MWAMI (king). The local sysm was similar. People living in an area entered into a relationship with the ruler to cultivate or pasture undisturbed and in return provided goods such as food, beer, milk and services.

Better relationships on the part of the subordinates were cultivated by means of a practice called “kutabara”. The client took gifts of food especially beer. He had the object of courting the ruler’s good will as well as trying to seek a favour more especially a cow, bull or a goat. Gifts flowed until the favour was granted, and continued after. Normally the “cow given” “empo” demanded a return at some future date. This was usually the case among Bahima themselves and less with Bairu who were often given sterile cows or bullocks.

During a war or raiding party all the able-bodied people took up arms. The Bahima who were fewer always contributed a small fraction of the warriors. Yet they always took proportionately larger share of the booty as well as the credit for success.

Bairu and Bahima met daily at various places such as the home of the Mukama or at that of another ruler, or the home of a “Mwiru” for beer or during a wedding or in a raid or war. Their relations were governed by a code of socially accepted patterns. These were the patterns of superiority and inferiority in a two tier system. The two tier system resembled what in other areas is called a caste society, that is “one, composed of several graded groups each of which is endogamous and practicing a hereditary occupation, membership of which can be obtained only by birth”.

Bahima or Bairu membership was strictly conferred by birth. Though marriage between the two groups was not forbidden it was not usually favoured. A Mwiru who had some cattle found the “bride gift” very high. A Muhima had no wish to marry a Mwiru who could not be acquainted with cattle culture. A few Bairu married among Bahima but they identified with the latter group. It was rare for a Muhima to be so impoverished as to become a Mwiru. When he lost his cattle, group interest usually forced his fellow Bahima to give him cattle. In this way the occupational patterns persisted.

The differences between the two groups were accentuated by the fact that certain physical features referred to above were characteristic of each group. These physical differences came to be associated with qualities of beauty, hence among the Bairu a handsome man or beautiful woman was a Muhima or Muhimakazi (female). It therefore came to be accepted that to be a Mwiru was to be ugly. The Mwiru was always “eyata kyoimwiru” (foolish Mwiru). “Muntu” (person) meant only Muhima.

A few illustrations will show how the superiority-inferiority attitudes operated.

(a) In the realm of economic exchange the venue was the Muhima’s place and never the Mwiru’s. Even here the economic balance favoured the latter, since his goods were more sought after.

(b) The Bairu worked for Bahima for cattle products, and never the other way round.

(c) The Bahima exercised political control and secured goods and services from Bairu in form of “kutoja” and “Kutabara”. The traffic was one way only. If any favour was given it was in form of bulls or sterile cattle. A Mwiru was not worthy of a productive cow.

The demand of goods and services was occasionally stretched to ridiculous proportions. When an inferior had prepared beer or had a healthy goat or an attractive wife, an excuse was found to visit the owner. Beer was forcibly consumed and the animal slaughtered after which one of the visitors might retire to bed with the man’s wife. Occasionally some Bahima who wished to eat, carried a ruler’s child and demanded for his minor, services rendered to the elders. In theory such privileges belonged to the Bashambo but in practice they were also enjoyed by non-Bashambo Bahima and also by the Bairu favourites in attendance.

The Origins of Inequality and its Implications

The origins of the system of social inequality as well as the political imbalance must have had their roots in economics, and cattle caused it. The sense of inequality was something that developed gradually from social contacts. It was promoted by the distribution of goods highly prized in society. The distribution differences were themselves the result of an earlier acquaintance with cattle by one group. The prestige that goes with property easily spread to the physical features which were then held to be proof of superior qualities of anatomy. With the use of hindsight the theory and practice of inequality one sees as a clever manipulation of a ruling class to perpetuate their hold on political power.
A pertinent question is how the Bairu reacted to the situation. Of course, the Bairu were not equally hit by this oppression: those who lived far from the cattle areas on one hand and those who won the favour of the rulers in the other did not experience it. For the rest, reactions were varied. In practice people were free to change masters if their present ones wronged them and many did leave to join the service of other lords, or even migrated. But leaving one’s area meant sacrificing one’s relatives and familiar environment to endure the difficulties of starting a new home under unfamiliar conditions.

Sheer inertia on one hand, and fear of the unknown produced the spirit of submission which became characteristic of the political system.

FOOTNOTES

1. This essay is part of Kigezi History Project, generously sponsored and financed by The National Trust. Material included is based on the research work done for the Nairobi University College History Project. The original text appears in Ngono.

It also includes the results of the field work 1966-69 financed by the British Institute of History and Archaeology in East Africa. Finally it has been included material collected April-May 1970 under the sponsorship of The National Trust. The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance of the Saza Chief Rujumbura Mr. Kangye, his Chiefs, the many informants for the patience and help given in every stage of the research.

2. Ngoro is a book produced by the former Nairobi University College’s History Department, published by the East African Publishing House 1969. It consists of eight essays by then undergraduate students including that of the author on Rujumbura.

3. This scheme is based on that of Katate and Kamunguru appearing in the Abagabo, 1940. East African Literature Bureau 1967. I have modified the headings using Baxigaba where they use Bagabo, and Baitira for Bahinda. These are larger groups in Rujumbura.


7. The proverb in vernacular says: “Ome ebye, nuwe ayetwa Mukamaitu”.


10. I am grateful for the analytical tools used in the essay to Jacques Maquet: The Promise of Inequality, Oxford Press 1961.

11. “Nyugano” is not “dowry” being produced by one side. It is strictly not a price but a gift or a kind of compensation.

12. See A. Munyuza, op. cit.


15. See Das Kapitel and Communist Manifesto.


17. Idem.

18. See J. Maquet op. cit.

Part Two: Formation of States and Inter-Clen Competition.

We now turn our attention to political history in each region of Kigeli except Butumbira (which was briefly considered in chapter two). Appropriately, we begin with the largest pre-colonial state in Kigeli, Rujumbura, whose history is outlined by Mr. Baitiwaabo. The conquest of Rujumbura by the Beene Kirezi branch of the Butumbira was probably accomplished by about 1860, when previous pastoral rulers were either subordinated or expelled. From then onwards Rujumbura grew from its core in the south of the present country, incorporating or exacting tribute from neighboring states. By the end of the century Rujumbura was able to survive substantial invasions from both Nkore and Rwanda, and managed to secure a colonial status which was distinct from the colonial kingdom of Ankole, which absorbed most of the other Apporo successors states. Mr. Baitiwaabo next turns his attention to the history of one of Rujumbura’s tiny neighbors, the kingdom of Kuvumbu, which was probably characteristic of many of these small polities, and which was ultimately absorbed into Rujumbura.

Of these neighboring states, the kingdom of Kayonza was probably the most important, having considerable resources of iron ore, technology, and a larger population than the other states in the neighborhood. These resources made Kayonza the object of unwelcome attention from Rujumbura and from Kinyarwanda-speaking chiefs in Butumbira, who frequently intervened in succession disputes. Mr. Rwankwenda, who wrote the chapter, is the son of the last hereditary ruler, was himself a colonial chief, and (see Appendix) continues to hold influence in the region. He is anxious to demonstrate the age and continuity of his dynasty, and it seems likely that some exaggeration may have crept in. Though the kings may well have existed, it seems probable that there was a change of dynasty with the ascension of Rutauruka, the great-grandfather of the author. In the mid-nineteenth century when a number of groups migrated northwards to escape the expanding kingdom of Rwanda. Secondly, it should be noted that there is no means of confirming the description of the rituals of kingship, though it is likely that the description is fairly accurate, and derived from eyewitnesses.

In chapter seven, Mr. Rwabihihi has used oral sources (documented in the Makerere History Department) to assemble a biography of Katuregwe, the only Mukiga to achieve anything like a monarchical degree of political power. His career was interrupted by the arrival of the British, and it is difficult therefore to assess either his motives or the degree to which he had attained them. Rwabihihi is inclined to interpret Katuregwe’s career in terms of centralizing political power on the model of other Inshorter states, and emphasizes the conflict between Katuregwe and colonial authorities.

In chapter eight, Mr. Karwebena has assembled in chronological order some of the more dramatic episodes of Kigeli pre-colonial history, an approach which tends to give an unduly lurid impression of the history of the people, but which is otherwise accurate. This chapter confirms the impres-
CHAPTER FOUR.

Bashambo Rule in Rujumbura.
by S. R. Balirababo.

PRE-BASHAMBO TIMES

To date little is known about Rujumbura's early history. The oral sources which do not go far show the Baishikatwa and Banyabuguro as the earliest ruling groups, which had possibly established power in a manner similar to that discussed in the fore going pages. It is said unanimously that they found some agricultural groups such as the Bakire of Marha and Bakonde of Busozao living in the place. A reconstruction of the early history might run thus:

(i) Food gatherers once living in the place might have retreated southwest in the wake of the advancing pastoralists from the east.

(ii) Agricultural groups small in numbers moved gradually into the area followed by pastoralist groups. Other agriculturalists also came in and gradually population grew. Gradually the pastoralists established their rule in the area. One source suggested that the ancestors of the Baishikatwa were a people called Bvicee Muhondoowga. It is known that Kitami the Mwiskatwa Queen who was ruling Mpororo at the end of the 14th century, was the daughter of one Nyshwara, a Mwiskatwa of Bvicee Muhondoowga section, and then Rujumbura. If these two pieces of evidence are true, conclusion can be made that the Bvicee Muhondoowga and the Bishikatwa belonged to the same clan. When one section assumed power further east, the remaining section retained control in Rujumbura.

Information regarding their organization and political system is scarce. What can be learned suggests that they had a principal chief who led them in time of war and settled their disputes. The Baishikatwa were spread over the grazing lands of south central Rujumbura on whose fringe lived the agriculturalists. To the east lived the Banyabuguro whose social and political organization were similar to those of Baishikatwa. The immediate origins of these pastoralists was most likely the east.

According to local sources, not yet corroborated by any other part of Mpororo, the Baishikatwa had married Kamurara’s daughter, Bitunya. That she was a historical figure is suggested by the wealth of traditions about her, the existence of a water well bearing her name, and the popular saying that “Rujumbura was Bitunya’s land”. Before her father’s death she asked and was given that area as her patrimony. On arrival she first lived at Mumu, and the descendents of one of the Bateke who accompanied her still live in the area. These are the Bajumura (Bazigaba of Mumu, and Bukonde). The absence of many traditions on the Mpororo kings and the activities would suggest that the latter’s hold in this part was nominal. This is suggested by the fact that when Kahaya’s descendents came to claim what they believed to be their patrimony, they were met with stern resistance. The Baishikatwa had entrenched themselves and were not prepared to lose their independence.

BASHAMBO ORIGINS

The problem of the ultimate origins of the Bashambo is one beyond the scope of this work. It belongs to a wider work covering Mpororo and perhaps the whole of south west Uganda. The Bashambo belonged to one large family from which all the ruling clans of Mpororo were descended. They in turn formed part of a larger family of pastoralists who ruled the areas between Lake Albert, Victoria, Tanganyika and Kivu.

Before entering Rujumbura towards the end of the 18th century their ancestors had ruled the kingdom of Mpororo for about a century. The two known rulers were Kamurara and Kahaya Rutindangyezi. The kingdom is thought to have covered most of Rujumbura, modern Kagera, parts of modern Kwambura, parts of Bungo country end parts of northern Rwanda. Rujumbura was given to one of the sons, Kirendi, as his share before his father’s death.

The actual cause of Mpororo’s disintegration are still in dispute. The immediate causes seem to have been the disappearance of drum ‘Mwuro’ without which none of Kahaya’s son could be accepted as king. Related to this was Kahaya’s personality. He seemed to have been hot tempered and erratic. He was fond of travelling especially to the higher areas near Lake Bunyonyi and yet expected his sons to keep him supplied with whatever he needed. When this became impossible, he cursed the sons as insubordinate and disposed of the drum Mwuro. There seem to have been underlying causes connected with the difficulties of controlling widely scattered areas in the absence of good communications and an effective administrative structure.

Bashambo came to Rujumbura to assume their patrimony. Uncorroborated sources suggest that Kahaya in his lifetime with his son had even fought rebels there. It is however, unknown whether Kirendi ever visited the area after his father’s death. The place connected with his name lies to the east of the area. It is called Rwakirendi (literally the place of Kirendi). The one known to have led the Bashambo migration was Kirendi’s son Rwakirendi, who founded his settlement at Nyankayo near Nyakinenghe.

Rwakirendi, like other pastoralists on the move, came with his herds of cattle, his wives, children, dependants and their movable property. Such movements was slow, spreading over many weeks. A number of factors influenced their choice. Their route must have been across the ford at Minera into the wide pasture of south Rujumbura. There were hot springs at Minera and Rubatu, a few hours walk. Mineral water possesses certain medicinal
properties and is believed to make cattle thrive and multiply. Security must have been a foremost consideration. The place of the settlement was high up on a mountainous ridge commanding a good view of the country so that enemies from both the north and south could be seen from far. The choice of this site implies that the needs of security were paramount, the more suitable areas in the north and east being occupied by the numerous Baishikatwa and Banyobusano. Last but not least, a relative, Butunya had lived in the area.

What were the attitude of the other groups in the neighbourhood? There was little or no hostility at first. The Bairu groups took the opportunity to open contacts, which have lasted to the present involving the Basango of Nyakinengo and Bagamba of Buganda. Recent contact developed slowly and rivalry occurred as the Bashambo and their cattle increased.

Dawn of Group Conflicts

Conflicts did develop between Bashambo and Baishikatwa and later with Banyobusano. The causes were the usual ones between pastoralists namely cattle, and pastures. The mineral water areas are believed to have provided the biggest bone of contention. But beneath this was the more fundamental case of power politics, namely who should control the areas. The “Casus belli” was found in the activities of a Mushamba Nyakasiri (literally wrong doer) who disturbed the Baishikatwa as they watered their cattle. He sealed their water. His followers were attacked and some killed. He, however, managed to escape to sound the alarm for war.

As the two groups had been secretly preparing for war, the opening of hostilities surprised no one. The differences had for some time been shown in clashes at watering places or in pastures when the herders exchanged heated words and occasionally blows. The war was most irregular. There were at first no organised battles except small encounters, but each encounter deepened the feud as one or the other group lost a member. In the course of these intermittent forays the Baishikatwa kraals were burned at Kasese, Busamuka, Kigunga, Kasese, Katwe, and Kamuli. Women and men were captured as the men were driven off. Kanyamuhhebe, Rwebiroro’s eldest son, led the Bashambo, and Mugashe the Baishikatwa. The Bairu fought on both sides.

What started as mere group quarrels ended in defeat for Baishikatwa with far-reaching political and social consequences. Most Baishikatwa rather than face submission left the area and dispersed into the neighbouring strips of Ikara, Butumbi, Nkore and far-off Toro. A few survivors submitted. Bashambo now expanded to the areas formerly held by their rivals. It was this phase of population movement that brought Nyinamanyonyi, one of Rwebiroro’s sons, to Kagunga, north of the original settlement. This site is marked by the oak tree of Kagunga which later became a celebrated ancestor shrine. In the political realm, the Bashambo now controlled both the Baishikatwa and their former Bahima allies as well as the Bairu groups all around. This in effect was the beginning of their rule in Rajumburu.

Bashambo in Control: The Rise of Muhozi

Each of Rwebiroro’s many sons — Kyanyamuhhebe, Nyinamanyonyi, Mburu, Mwijako, Nyarukuru — settled in a particular area. The eldest, Kyanyamuhhebe remained in Nyakinengo while the others spread out. Nyinamanyonyi northwards, Mburu due east, in the respective areas, each head of the group became the ruler of the area receiving the “mitoljo” from all groups. Naturally they quarrelled among themselves and with other groups. It is clear that there was a power-vacuum with none of the group able to exercise supreme control. This state of political instability was not peculiar to Rajumburu but was a common feature in all the areas formerly inhabited by the kingdoms of Mpororo and Kigoma. The small but aggressive neighbour to the south, was quick to grasp the opportunities and regularly sent raiding parties. To offset the disadvantages of raids and to gain favours at court the individual Bashambo sent Mitolo to Rwanda. One of those who went on such an errand and never returned was Ruberege, Nyinamanyonyi’s eldest son, who had married Kavurungu, the Bananyi chief, who was left pregnant. Her father in law married her when the son failed to return. The issue was Muhozi who has consequently been mistakenly called Nyinamanyonyi’s son.

It is said when Ruberege heard of the birth, he sent word that the boy be called Muhozi, literally the avenger who would be the family’s champion against rivals. The boy was nurtured in a warlike spirit, more because of inter lineage rivalry than the supposed origin of the name. He consequently began the fighting career at an early age. Nyinamanyonyi’s other sons were Kigoro, Rwakungu, Rukunzi, and Kabazi. They shared a similar upbringing.

While still a boy, Muhozi collected a band of followers he called “Entemambwa”, literally those who fight at close quarters. The idea of a personal body guard was not new as any important man had a body of followers. The leisurely life at the home of rich pastoralists allowed plenty of time for exercise at such games as spear throwing and arrow shooting.

Another trait in Muhozi’s character inclined him to a warlike disposition. That was a passionate cattle complex. In general all Bahima love cattle but some develop such passionate excesses as raids and other means of increasing their stock. Muhozi wished to possess any beautiful cow wherever it might be. He used persuasion or force to acquire it. He went to such great lengths disguising himself as a shepherd and travelling long distances to seek information, after which he set the Entemambwa on war path.

Muhozi became the most distinguished among the Bashambo rulers of Rajumburu and his achievements were considerable. He was an accomplished warrior and organizer, a passionate lover of cattle who brought successes and cattle to his countrymen. He earned the title of “Rwitmuhanga”, conqueror of nations. A magnanimous ruler, he gave wealth to his subjects. That after all was the ideal quality in a ruler. The country
however lost many people, during his many campaigns; and for that reason be also earned the nickname of 'Muhura' i.e. he who deprives.

Such was the background of the man who led his lineage, the Kagunga group of Bashambo, to ultimate supremacy in the area. The attainment of supremacy was one of the themes which marked the political history of the area in the 18th century. The earliest was that of political instability when a number of groups inhabited the same area but none could control the others. The second theme was that of group conflict such as those between Baishikatwa and Bashambo and later with Banyabasana. The third theme was that of internal power struggle between the different Bashambo groups out of which emerged the Kagunga who arrogated to themselves the title of Beene Kiremi. Division within the same family was the product of polygamy. Children of the same mother used to consider themselves as a unit, and rivalries developed between these units, sometimes proving fatal. Three distinct Bashambo groups developed:

(i) Beene Kanyamubehe were the descendants of Kanyamubehe. They occupied southern areas and even flowed to the adjacent areas of Kayungwe and far-off Kambuga. They were wealthy in cattle and great in numbers. Muki, Kicuzi, and Rwigabiro were some of the prominent leaders.

(ii) Beene Nyimanyonyi arrogated the name of Beene Kiremi. Muhuzi became the leader.

(iii) Beene Muozzi were descendants of Muozzi son of Muletore brother of Nyimanyonyi. They lived due east of Nyukinoro.

As the above three groups occupied different areas, differences soon arose, which developed into feuds until they burst open. The first two groups to clash were Beene Kanyamubehe and Beene Kiremi. Cattle pastures and personal bonds entered into it. The latter was despaired by the former. They had fewer cattle and numbers. The disappearance of Ruhenge was a further cause of opprobrium.

Clashes as usual began at wells and in pastures. A feud brought the final clash. One member of Beene Kiremi called Kiremba was killed by the Beene Kanyamubehe while trying to help himself to their cattle. A reconciliation ceremony was performed and compensation paid in cattle, but the feud persisted. The bereaved then killed a boy from the other section; and fighting broke out.5

Muhuzi suffered serious defeats at the outset from Kacuzi and then from the elder brother Mukindo. In both encounters he lost a number of his Entembani. A reversal of fortune came during two serious encounters at Rwenyembeka, (later renamed, Rwanza, fighting place) where the Kagunga group broke into the ranks of their opponents, forcing them to flee. They made a stand at Kishanda a few miles off but there the rout was finished and the leader Mukindo killed. His followers lost morale and fled. The fugitives crossed river Birmanza and fled into Kayungwe and Kambuga, followed by Muhuzi who defeated them there.

Kambuga lies south of the river separating Rujumbura from the modern county of Kinkizi. It was a good grazing area which attracted Muhuzi. From here he made contacts with neighbouring states with a view to securing tribute. North, south and west of Kambuga lay a number of kingdoms such as Kinkizi, Kayonza, Kikombe and Kivumbi near Lake Edward. They were ruled by kings who claimed origin from Rwanda and had drums and other items of regalia typical of the interlacustrine area, but the majority owed their power to their ability to control rain.

Muhuzi was the first Rujumbura ruler to interest himself in the affairs of Butumbi. It was an area rich in goats and cattle, yet politically weak. He attempted with little success to control and exact tribute from the richest of them — Kayonza. With the rest he was successful. There were two motives for this. One was the desire for body. The other was that he was dragged into the politics of the place by one of the two princes contesting the throne of that country. One of those Rutareka, sought his help to capture power from Rutirarka, Mureru. Mureru was tricked into visiting Muhuzi’s court where he was arrested and detained. He managed to escape while the guards were drunk, but dared not return to Kayonza. Instead he took refuge in Butumbira for a time. Rutareka was maintained on the throne by Muhuzi’s forces but later died in battle fighting against pro-Mureru forces led by his brother Ruturnge.

The Strategy of Expansion

Programmes of expansion usually develop out of circumstances rather than from a blueprint. In Muhuzi’s case, expansion grew out of an attempt to overcome opponents, but finding opportunities of wealth and power he set out to exploit them to the full. In the words of an informant, he sought cattle to increase his herds, and independent rulers to subdue.6

He relied on the Entembani who formed the core of an army made up of all able-bodied men hurriedly mobilized. His many expeditions cost the country many people. The name of the most remembered warriors were:

Kirinda Kyya Mukaniziga Munkwera Shamba.
Rwanamurwa rwa Kanungu Rulobera.
Rutucuganya.
Kaseta Ruhangirye.
Rwanantuweke.
Rutugya.
Kashajwa (Rwibare). O
Kiwubononyonyi rwa Kambiringa.
Kwiyubononyonyi rwa Kananga.

These warriors came from all social backgrounds being both Balur and Baluba. Kirinda was Muhuzi’s maternal uncle while Kashajwa (Rwibare) son of Utukwane was a Mwitirwa (Mukura) courtier from Kambuga.

Camerality or the skilful manipulation of patronage was responsible for attracting people to his fighting group. Both from his own herds as well
as those captured in other areas, cattle presents, were made to deserving people. To some people the motive was security. It was safe to be where others were, because absence meant cowardice or insubordination. In any given encounter, it was always possible for the Rujumbura ruler to put into the field more men than his opponents.

It was and still is believed widely that an important factor contributing to his successes in war and raids was his mother, Kaharagi's magic. She raised the art to the level of a profession. Stories of her exploits are still extant. Before an expedition left, she would plant millet in the morning and harvest it in the evening. It would be ground into flour and baked on top of the roof; without the thatch catching fire. Milk and beer would be placed in the path of the returning cattle, which passed learning the correct in-fact. Each of the warriors tasted the millet, milk and beer. The main idea behind such magic rituals was to excite the mind, and prepare it to react favourably to the coming event. After testing the magical formula, the warriors believed it made them impregnable. Once success was attained it strengthened belief in the power of magic. The application of magic was not one-sided. Once the invading side had been fortified it was necessary to weaken the victims. One way was by causing a cow or a person. While excitement was still high a surprise attack would come at them unaware. The success over Beene Kenyanamuhebeo was credited to Kaharagi's magic.

By means of these devices, Muhoozi built himself a sizeable territory. He was properly speaking the first ruler of Rujumbura, his predecessors having only ruled parts. His dominion fell into three parts.

(i) Rujumbura where his rule was based on heredity, though force had been used to assert the claim.

(ii) Areas like Kambuga, Kuvumbu, Kihili, Kikombe, and Kinkizi which paid tribute and were regarded as conquered territory though not occupied (except Kambuga).

(iii) Areas like Kayonza and Buganza (Congo) over which some influence was exercised but which were not controlled. Raids were usually sent to assert the claim.

One of Muhoozi's successes for which he was only indirectly responsible was the elimination of the Banyakuse from Eastern Rujumbura. After the Baishekatwa defeat, Bashamba and Banyakuse remained the two big groups numerically. Conflict appeared to be but a matter of time, and was postponed by Muhoozi's engagements in the south. Before the impending conflict occurred, Beenekikondwa joined the scene as unexpected allies.

Beenekikondwa are Bashamba clan descended from Kihondwa, one of Kahaya's sons. They lived in Bwishakatwa, the Mororo heartland, on the other side of Banyakuse. The plains, otherwise a cattle paradise, experienced severe droughts regularly. During one such dry season, Beene Kihondwa wished to pasture their herds in the Banyakuse area, but the latter objected. Beenekikondwa forced their way through and fighting broke out.

The fight could not have been foreseen and was a surprise onslaught as in a raid. The Banyakuse led by Rubuzibwa were routed. Kaitiri the Beene Kihondwa leader did not wish to risk conflict with Beene Kirenzi, and withdrew. Muhoozi sent his forces to intercept the fleeing Banyakuse and capture their cattle.

It was believed at the time that the 'rain kings' of Kinkizi had been employed to prolong the drought and provide the occasion for the clash. Muhoozi, in any case held an axe to grind. The Banyakuse had just helped their cousin Murera, the fugitive king of Kayonza to escape from his country. More important than Muhoozi's alleged involvement, was the fact that Banyakuse were dispersed to the neighbouring states. Many fled to Kayonza and Nkor. Those who remained submitted to Muhoozi who now gained control of Rujumbura.

Muhoozi's campaigns overshadowed his other achievements which were considerable. As he grew older, he lessened his campaigns and settled down. This brought an era of peace to his dominions. This was ascribed to an ailment coming from an injury inflicted by a poisoned arrow during an expedition. The popular belief in Rujumbura is that king Rutipulwa Murera employed a Musev to shoot him. This is now denied on good authority by the Kayonza sources which have named a Kikombe man as being responsible. The arrow was removed but the injury is believed to have caused the pneumonic disease from which he died.

Muhoozi was the first Mukama of Rujumbura and his reign marks the establishment of the Bashamba system which as has been shown, was based on the politics of inequality. The different areas were ruled by his relatives. Husokise, an uncle ruled the north western areas of Rushaza, Rubanda and was 'governor' of Kuvumbu. Uncle Kiyito, Rwakigwe, Kayonza and Kayoza ruled the central, eastern and southern area respectively. Mbusi controlled the area east of Nyakinengwa but was forced out because he tried to carve out a small state of his own. Muhoozi attacked and defeated his followers, forcing him to flee eastwards. He was killed by a Rwanda raiding party on his way to Rwanda.

Apart from Banyakuse raids, a period of peace prevailed. Little is known about Muhoozi's family life. He had many wives. Those remembered were Nyabuhoro of the Baitira clan who died after childbirth. She was the mother of Mfekoro. The other was Olemubandi mother of Ntimbi, who married Njuro V of Nkor. His other daughters were Kibutunga and Bagumbara. The other sons were Bushala, Rutwasa, Bugembe and Kayoza.

Two events in foreign relations occurred during Muhoozi's last days. One was the marriage of his daughter Ntimbi to the king of Nkor, Njuro V. The other was the advent of traders who brought guns, cloth and other trade goods. These two events were the beginning of themes which developed in the next reign.
Muhizi died at Nyakasheera, his main settlement, a fairly old man. He well travelled man, he left a legendary record on account of his exploits which left Rujumbura a power it had not been when he assumed control.

**MAKOBORE**

Muhizi's death can in many ways be taken as marking the end of old Rujumbura independent in its own way. The rule of his son was marked by many events such as the increasing inflow of foreigners and their commodities, the impacts of which were to undermine the social and political structure of the country. The last quarter of the 19th century was in many ways a "time of troubles".

Makobore was Muhizi's eldest son. He grew up under the vigilant care of his grandmother Karahagi, because his mother Nyabubire died after his birth. Like children brought up by grandparents, he seems to have been sheltered from all troubles and grew up untouched by worldly cares, albeit a good-natured person. He was still young when his father died but succeeded his father without opposition, being the eldest son. The uncle accepted the situation calmly but a decisive influence was undoubtedly Karahagi under whose wing he had grown. Power politics among the Bashambwa seem to have been sharper between rival lineages, but never within the family holding the top job.

The early period saw no changes in the system. The administration of the different areas was manned by relatives. The Entembani kept up their operations in the south-west where cattle, goats, and slaves, were captured. On the home front traders came and went bringing trade goods consisting of guns, cloth, copper wire, beads etc. ... The gun traders were strange people known all over western Uganda as Barugangwa. They were probably Swahili as their description rules out Arabs. They were followed by Beja and Buziba from the Lake states south of Ngoro. The commodity desired most was ivory but since it was not locally available the traders passed on to the areas near the Lake. They gave out a few commodities to get past and to secure food. Trade goods therefore took a few until measures were taken to increase the availability of ivory. Only then did trade goods increase.

Like sons of rich people, Makobore married quite early. His remembered wives include Mpekyeki, Nyabubiri, Bayankahemire and Bagizzi. Most children of rich men were not necessarily their physical children and so it was with Makobore, who was alleged to be sterile. Legally the children belonged to the husband of the wife and not the physical progenitor. His many sons included Rwasambeni, Njoka, Rurege, Kasiroko, Rwamashanje, Buzirwa, Kaikwire and Kangyecya.

**LIFE AND POLITICS IN THE 19TH CENTURY**

People in other lands called Rujumbura rulers Bakama, (singular Mukama) not Bagabe as they possessed no drums. Locally the chief ruler was called our lord, hence the title of "Mukama wa Kagunga" (Lord of Kagunga). His praise name was Ruhanya Bigyeere (steadfast) Rutayakwaha (one who can't be overwhelmed) Entare ya Kagunga (Lion of Kagunga).

The focal point of the country's activities was the Court. In the absence of a fixed capital with permanent residential and office quarters, the court was where the ruler happened to be living. Kagunga qualifies to be called the capital at this time because he stayed there longer than at other places. He occupied other sites, Kyabunga, Nyakihire and Nyamuki where Europeans first found him. A site was occupied for about four to six years, whereupon another one in the neighbourhood would be selected.

Makobore's court consisted of a large enclosure inside which was a number of houses clustered around the big house "Nyanyu", the ruler's living place, where he also held court. The smaller houses were occupied by his wives and members of his household and distinguished visitors. The people at court fell into several categories. First were the members of the Mukama's household. This consisted of wives, children, relatives, courtiers, servants and handmaids. The outsiders may be divided into visitors and courtiers. The visitors were the relatives of the ruler's household, friends or people outside the country on business. The courtiers who came from both Baire and Bahima groups may be divided into three classes, namely the Hambari, Batware and Bashangore.

Bambari were the Baire favourites who lived around Kagunga, Busehewe and Kyakula. They performed casual functions such as cooking for the many visitors, distributing beer; they built houses, made and mended fences, attended the ruler at all times, carrying him and going on his errands, fighting, arresting insubordinate subjects etc.

Some were self-made men who had risen to favour through hard work, and because they lived at court they almost severed links with the home areas. People like Nyaboonya and his brother Rwakabbe lived at court all their lives. Some courtiers became distinguished fighters and were even given guns e.g. Miranda, Rutebo and Muyuma. A special category of other favourites consisted of skilled individuals, medicine men like Katig, Beyegeya, Rukarama and his brother Karoro, smiths like Rwamucino and his son Twira, Rukondere and Rehezi. They provided products and services to the rulers and their subjects. Another group of favourites were clan heads who held authority in distant and inaccessible areas. Their work was to collect "mitojo" which they brought to the court regularly. They got rewards of meat, hides and occasionally live animals. Such men were Muvunya, Musingo of Nyakineko, Kataromoni and Karambo, Bayaba of Burango, Rukumbira of Mabang, Rucwatemana of Kachazi.

The Batware were Bahima favourites who took charge of the Mukama's cattle kraals. They were in positions of power and wealth. They were the de facto husbands of the wives attached to the kraals and received tribute due to the wives. If they did their work diligently they received more presents of cattle from the ruler. They started their life as youths at court.
The Bashongore, those raised above the others, were non-Bashambo favorites of long standing. Some had started their lives as young men who proved their worth and were given cattle to set up independently. The favorites included maternal uncle Otabonziwa of Kibunda, Ruhumunzi of Kashori, Mukabi of Buyanja, Rushiniza of Kagunga, Kyabushonde of Nyamitzi.

There was one main way of becoming a favorite. That was for a person to go to court and work his way up. A person could again favor in numerous ways — the way he talked, wrestled, threw a spear, looked after cattle or did any other work. Usually young boys went and lived at court. When they did well they gained favor and were given cattle and other favors. Becoming a favorite was one reason why people went to court. What were the other motives? The primary motive of coming to court was acquisitive, namely to acquire cattle, goats, meat, hides and slaves. The Mukama was easily the richest man in the country. He possessed many herds of cattle and received more from his subjects. If any subject distinguished himself, there were chances of acquiring material goods. The acquisitive motive was clearly seen in the case of Bamburi. By living within easy reach of the court they had access to foodstuffs which came in tribute — millet, meat, butter and beer at relatively little cost. They also secured goats and even cattle. In this way they were able to attain a higher standard of living than other people of their class.

One other motive was security. If an important man absented himself from court he was liable to be thought disloyal. People therefore went to court to profess loyalty. Since the court was a place of many opportunities for winning favor, there were also many ways of losing one's reputation. The presence of so many people meant that rumors mongering, and treachery were common. It was not uncommon for people to fall into against someone who was about to win and cause him to be ruined.

MIRANDA AND COURT POLITICS

The influence of the court and its limitless opportunities, are typified by the brilliant career of Miranda the Mwiru courtier who came to serve as Mwambura's chief servant, military commander, ambassador, plenipotentiary to foreign traders and white men, and as administrator under the colonial regime. He belonged to the class of leaders like Mbiguta, Kegwa et al., products of the troubled times of the late 19th century.

Miranda rose from the courtier class. His father was Kashua, whose name was changed to Ruwezi, a courtier of Muhoxi and a brave warrior. His lineage was that of Bakora (Belira) whose ancestors came from modern Congo. He grew up at court and won Mwambura's favor on account of his wisdom in council. His was a brilliant mind, quick to grasp the requirements of a situation and act decisively. Miranda was so decisive on the battle field and this made him indispensable. He was a member of Mwambura's bodyguard, the Enyakubito who attended him and fought on his behalf.

Life at Court permitted few changes in the basic routine. It revolved around the person of the ruler. Later in life Mwambura became a giant man. He stood up to six feet and weighed over twenty stone. In his youth he was more like a child. In his old age he walked along with the help of a spear. On long journeys he was carried in a specially designed litter supported by eight instead of the usual four men. Mwambura woke up about 9 a.m., drank some milk, and attended the "Fizhazi" (cattle resting before pasture) to see how the cattle fared. When the cattle dispersed, people from all walks of life came to pay homage. Some were visitors from far, others had grievances to appeal and some were there to seek favors. Mwambura sat on his huge stool surrounded by courtiers, giving decisions, granting favors and giving orders. Meanwhile beer was consumed in abundance and if some distinguished visitors were around, beasts were killed and meat consumed.

In the afternoons, Mwambura attended the watering of cattle, followed by the talk at the "Kikumiriro" (cows resting after watering). The gathering returned home to consume more beer and talk. This went on until bed time. Variations on the routine occurred when the ruler was on tour or indisposed.

As he had little liking for wars, he often sent one of his relatives to depolize for him. The area which bore the brunt of his attacks was Butumbi. Miranda knew the area well and was always the effective leader of expecations. The area was weak politically, none of the states being able to put many men in the field. The area was abounded by elephants, gaur, leopards, tigers, carpet snakes and domestic creatures. Another consideration was the fact that the people were so different. They spoke a different dialect and were not related to the Rujumbura people. The period sanctioned hostilities and enslaving other people so long as these were not one's own.

After ascertaining the availability of flocks, raiders consisting of courtiers and others left on an evening and made a surprise attack just before dawn. All things of value — domestic animals, skins and tools such as hoes spears, knives, and young men and women were carried off. If the victims learnt of the planned attack before hand they either hid themselves with their property or prepared to defend themselves. Occasionally the attackers lost many people. When men were introduced, they were used to scatter and frighten the defenders while the raiders carried off the loot. A song attributed to Miranda shows the extent of the raids.

Rumana was captured in Kanina;
Ngabo was taken in Katanda (Congo);
Broke the gourd of Nyabughi;
While capturing Kibibi,
My gun sounded in Bukonjo;
Where I had raised.

Though risky, these operations provided the ruler and his subjects a mean of increasing their wealth. The women and boys captured were used.
as domestic servants or sold off in exchange for goats or other commodities. Property would be shared out. Poor men wishing to marry, or impoverished families to better their lot, found a raid very rewarding. By means of these successful raids and through favours conferred on him, Miranda became rich and maintained a court second only to Makobore’s. All his three wives came from the Basyaba clan. He had many children including Nyamba, Bitese and Rwamumbe.

A factor which contributed to the increased tempo of the raids was the gun trade. Guns introduced during Mhakatla’s last days remained expensive because there were no commodities with which to exchange them. The commodity demanded by the traders was ivory. Makobore was able to overcome the scarcity of ivory by taking steps to control the ivory supply from the south and north-western states. It was either exacted from the rulers in tribute or Rujumbura hunters were sent to shoot the elephants. The need for ivory led to more frequent attacks in these areas. It is said that Makobore raided Kayonza no fewer than six times.

Gun-holding was a royal monopoly. The Muskambo bought the guns and gave them to his trusted courtiers and other subjects in his dominions. The pattern of distribution was entirely in the hands of the Bairu and geographically biased in favour of Kampura the area bordering on the tributary states, where the need was great. The inhabitants of these areas used them to raid and loot. The long list of gunholders included --

Migaramo son of Kihengure, Miranda son of Kashajja (Ruwakabira); Rutseba, Kyanamude, Buira, Bukumbi, and Mijumba.

Of these the first three became famous, the first and third as elephant hunters and the second as a warrior. They became powerful and wealthy. Guns brought power by their ability to kill. Though rarely used as weapons of offence locally, the possession of one was enough to secure compliance in a demand. Wealth was produced in two main ways: hunting or fighting. Hunters were allowed one tusk from every elephant killed, and the second went to the ruler. The tusks were exchanged for the trade goods which were then exchanged for those things society valued most. Consequently they accumulated cattle, sheep and goats and thus joined the ranks of the rich, possessing means of patronage and attracted favour-seekers as did the Bashambo rulers. One instance may be cited to show the power of the gun.

Kobutungo, a sister of Makobore, visited Migaramo one of the “gun princes” to ask for a piece of cloth. The latter for one reason or other was busy and sent word to that effect to the lady. She was so infuriated at the slight that on reporting the incident to Makobore, an expedition was sent to despoil the impertinent courtier of his seventy heads of cattle and to withdraw the gun. The incident was illustrative of the changing relationship. Migaramo felt sufficiently powerful and rich to assert himself, something hitherto unheard of.

Fighting with guns was another effective means of securing wealth as their use invariably brought victory. Their effectiveness lay in their noise and capacity to frighten. About 1892, following the decimation of cattle by the rinderpest, Miranda who led a raiding party in Butiama country captured the cattle after shooting a volley to disperse the stiff resistance posed by the defenders. After such success, the gunholder secured the greater share of the loot. Miranda and his Bakora relatives were the main beneficiaries of the new order. They acquired wealth and some even married Bashambo wives.

During the last quarter of 19th century, a small section of the Bairu were able to join the ranks of the ruling classes because of the new power of the guns. The other factor lay in the personality of the ruler Makobore. Partly through his liberal disposition, and partly through the alleged sexual perversion, he gave cattle, or tolerated Bairu to have some. The effect of these tendencies was revolutionary. To the coming of the Europeans the court remained the fount of all riches and honours as well as the resort of all who sought redress. The court during Makobore’s time was trying to minimize the disparities brought about by the politics of inequality.

The friction of those who went to court was of course always small. The majority of the people stayed in the country-side. Life was difficult. Some people were so poor that they did not have the tools to work the land even so did not have food through the year. Food shortages were prevalent owing to occasional drought but also to inadequate cultivation. There were not many trees and since the house materials were not strong, wild animals especially hyenas molested people. Curative knowledge was not very high and occasional outbreaks of epidemics such as plague, yaws or some other dangerous diseases took a heavy toll. But life was not always so dismal. Times of hard work often brought spells of much happiness to the people. Apart from inter-lineage feuds, wars were rare in Rujumbura and social institutions minimized conflicts.

**ADMINISTRATION**

The administration of Rujumbura at the end of the century was what it had been during most of the century. At the head was the Muskambo. He had no drum or any other symbol of power. He ruled by hereditary right. The claim, as put by most informants, was the spear, namely the ability to exercise force. Makobore, as those who met him agree, was a man of the finest character. He was kind, liberal and just. He helped all in need and punished wrong doers and his favourites came from all groups. Asked how Makobore the presently soft-hearted man kept control, an informant replied that he was strict and knew how to rule. He did those things which please subjects, avoiding those which alienate them. He never killed or exorted but gave in abundance.

Each administrative unit, never rigidly demarcated, was presided over by a relative, looking after the area within the vicinity of his home. Rwakikangwa, and later his son Rukari, looked after much of the eastern area. Rugembe, brother to Makobore, lived at Kilimba north of Kagunga. Rwakimba lived at Kanhoko and took charge of the area nearby. Rwakishenga
looked after the lower southwest. His brother Kosiye ruled Karangaro to the north-western areas. Some areas in the north and north-east were generally left to themselves, and there were no resident Bashambo. Clan leaders reported directly to the Mukama. Such areas were parts of Keshoni, Buhurugo, and Kyarunya.

As the administrative duties were light, these area chiefs mainly led a life of luxury. They maintained smaller courts, like that of Kagunga, drinking all day long. Occasionally they took portions of "Mifofo" to Kagunga. Some of the courtiers at these courts provided the raw materials for the making of the colonial chiefs used under British administration.

A number of these Bashambo rulers were notorious for their cruelty. The list included Kinyina and Rwekizira but the worst offender was Rwekishenga. They were brutal in their use of force, often beating or sparring people in a fit of rage. Some were, however, quite kind and liberal. Rugazi and Rukenbe fell into this category.

The system was regimented, allowing no promotion, a son held his father's position during good behavior. The only function of the system was the provision of the ruling classes with goods and services to lead a higher standard of living than the majority of the population.

**RUJUMBURA AND ITS NEIGHBOURS**

Rujumbura's history is incomplete unless its relations with its neighbours are taken into account. As its borders are open, mobility has been the chief characteristic of its population patterns. Migration has been a continuous process even to the present time.

Relations with the neighboring countries consisted of a maze of interactions. Beneath it, however, one can discern some consistent themes which can be termed the area's foreign policy:

1. **Population movements**
2. **Contacts**
   - (i) Social
   - (ii) Political
   - (iii) Military

Migrations in and out of the area must have gone on for as long as people lived in the area. The population patterns show that Rujumbura's people came from neighbouring areas.

By the same process Rujumbura groups live in Kajura, Simeena, Kambuzi, Igara, and Nyarushanje. Contacts between the areas were effected through visits to relatives, marriages and blood brotherhood. Through these contacts, relations between countries remained friendly.

One method of social contact was through trade. Although each community satisfied its own needs in food and dress, there were certain goods ever in high demand because they were not locally produced or never in adequate supply. Iron was required for the numerous tools needed for domestic, agricultural tools and for weapons. Although smiths abounded, the scarcity of iron ore deposits made the demand for iron very high. Supplies were secured from Katwe and Kagunga, passing through Kinkizi. There, iron or iron tools were exchanged for food products especially dairy ones and hides. Hostility was reduced by blood relationships, and in this way contacts were effected.

A trade commodity covering a wide area of south-west Uganda was salt. The only deposits were those at Katwe in Buganda. Salt substitutes were processed from the ashes of a certain bush growing in the valleys, but its use was not widespread. Everywhere, the demand was satisfied by Katwe salt. The supplies of Nkure and eastern Mpiloro passed through Igara, but Rujumbura got its salt via the kingdom of Kungu.

Salt trade was the mainstay of the Kungu economy. The Kungu people paddled salt in canoes from Katwe to the Lake shore, where it was exchanged for food. People from Rujumbura and Busumbi brought food especially millet part of which was given as fee for passage and the rest exchanged for salt. The journey to Kungu was hazardous, passing as it did through areas full of wild animals, snakes and unknown people. Bands of twenty or fifty gathered together for the journey which took them several weeks. They carried their own food and that for trade. Set for traders lost their lives or salt at the hands of unscrupulous bandleaders, but most arrived safely. Young men preparing to marry often had to accompany their relatives to secure goods for the bride gift. Part of the salt was put aside for consumption and the rest to be brought back to the land for trade. Goods from Rwanda, iron ore and tools from Kagunga, skins and dairy products were some of the things procured. These contacts were not one sided but greater initiative seems to have been from Rujumbura. The overall results were the establishment of understanding and the reduction of hostility.

**WARFARE**

Riots and wars were important ways in which contacts were made with other people. They were effective indicators of the trends in the changing power balance and foreign policy. In the estimation of Rujumbura, the areas in the southeast were not to be attacked. These were the Mpororo states of Bira and the Banyamulenge, with one exception Rujumbura invasions came from there and most of the Banyamulenge, the Rukiga, and the Baganda came by that route. The areas to the north-east (Orushimi, Igara) and to the north and west were weaker and the victims of persistent raids in the late 19th century. To make a war needed a thorough knowledge of the geography and people of an area. Spies assumed as vedders, or collaborators resident in an area, supplied the information. When the operation was finished, young boys, women and girls were captured. These contacts contributed to the patterns of foreign relations.
Probably at the beginning of the 19th century a new factor entered the politics of the lower Lake area. This was the emergence of Rwanda as a power. Invasions never reached far out until the latter half of the century when Rwabugiri embarked on large-scale war. Earlier, raiding parties had been sent for booty. They were never attacked but rather all movable property was hidden. The cruelty of the Banyarwanda warriors is still proverbial. Had Rwabugiri not died the balance of power over south-west Uganda would have been anyone’s guess. His death and the advent of the European powers altered the trend of affairs.

One other way by which states cemented relations was that of marriages between the ruling clans. Rujumbura had such links with its neighbours. One was Ntare V of Nkore’s marriage to Ntumiri daughter of Muhozi. Rwengabo king of Kayonza had married Karwasha, daughter of Nyaboga of the Banyabasane of Rujumbura. Towards the end of the century Kinywanya, Makobore’s relative married a daughter of Beene Mafundo, the Bashambura rulers of Iagara.

THE TROUBLES: WAR, DISEASES AND WHITE MEN

The first decade of Makobore’s reign was an era of violent except for raids into the West and otherwise the peace of Muhozi persisted. The later period was marked by a chain of events which the total effect of which was to undermine and transform the structure of society. The three most remembered events were the war with Nkore, the animal and human diseases and the coming of the Europeans:

The War With Nkore

“The war of the thousande” as it is popularly called is the best remembered precolonial event. The site of the main battle was called “Kagogo” after the thousands of people who fought there. The fighting resulted in unprecedented bitterness as practically every family lost a relative. Those who survived suffered bodily or material losses. The encounter was the first external threat in which all the people of Rujumbura particpated. The cause of the war was Ntare V’s desire to conquer Rujumbura. In Nkore, it was held to be the desire for cattle following the ravages of the rinderpest. Locally it was believed to have been the result of a quarrel between the Prince Bagwende and Nkore’s wife Ntumiri. The cause of the war was summed up by Makobore when told of the imminent invasion, “I prefer to pay tribute to Rwanda than to Nkore” he said. 17

For two centuries there had been little or no political contacts. As a result of internal forces and the introduction of guns, expansionism and raiding resulted. During his reign c.1830-70 Mutambaka attacked all the neighboring states and even reached Toro. Rujumbura was not attacked but it is said that he demanded tribute, which Muhozi did not pay. Muhozi’s daughter then married Mutambaka’s son.

The “Casus belli” of the 1890s was said to be Ntare’s desire to replenish his cattle. The cattle motive was interwoven with the expansionist one and the result was a series of operations whose pattern sets out the underlying reasons very clearly. The attacks were directed at Nkore’s neighbours starting with the weaker, in two parallel lines. The first consisted of Migiro and Rujumbura (stronger), and the second the Mpororo states of Nshenyi, Rafuha, Butaya and then Rwanda (stronger). A new feature of the wars was that the weaker states were occupied and the local rulers replaced. Migiro and Nshenyi suffered this fate.

What caused the spark remains problematic. 18 The outcome was that a mixed force of Baganza, Banyankore and groups from the tributary states of Iagara and Kajara, about three thousand, invaded Rujumbura probably in 1890. The leader of the army was Ntare’s brother Igumira assisted by his brother Rukwira. They had some guns but the majority fought with spears, bows and arrows. The “Emilwe” (regiments) which fought there were those of: Batunga — leader Kabumbe and the Babagami — of Igumira. The forces came by way of Sheema through the northeast. A three-pronged attack was planned with a central body under Igumira, assisted by a right wing composed of Iagara people, and a left wing of Kajara men. The trunk was to march through the heart of the country while the wings cut off the fugitives. The operation was however forestalled.

Rujumbura’s army was smaller, numbering about two thirds of the invaders. They were less prepared and most people had taken cattle, women and children to safety. Their guns were fewer and their marksmen less experienced. Makobore led the army, assisted by several uncles and brothers. Miranda was, however, the effective leader. All able bodied people had hurriedly been called up.

The two armies occupied opposite hills and the encounter took place in the valley. First small groups engaged in hand to hand conflict but later the whole side joined. The short spears of the defenders were an advantage in hand to hand conflict, where guns and longer spears were less effective. For a whole day fighting went on and slaughter mounted. Finding it increasingly difficult to withstand the ‘Migogo’ pressure, the defenders called for a retreat under cover of rain. They made for Kambuga where knowledge of local geography was an advantage. The pursuers made little progress as they took time to fend for themselves and take body. The cattle had been taken to the other side of Lake Edward and were never captured. The survivors returned home by way of Iagara taking cattle and goats captured in the chase.

Casualties were high on both sides including Rukwira and Makobore’s brother Rukwira. The wounded and disabled were also many. Eye-witness accounts have it that Banyankore bodies filled three valleys. The accounts may be exaggerated, but they emphasize the fact that the toll was unprecedented.

According to the Nkore sources the primary objective of the expedition was achieved, many cattle, goats and slaves being captured, though they were killed by the rinderpest. In Rujumbura the invasion was a rude shock.
to the status quo. Banyarwanda would have won if they had pressed. Preoccupations increased. The ever-increasing toll of rinderpest, human diseases, and Banyarwanda invasions followed. Ntare's death precluded further action and the conquest of Rujumbura was temporarily postponed.

Era of Diseases

People had scarcely returned from hiding and crops hardly sown when a series of difficulties set in. Starvation raged because crops had been slashed, houses had been burnt and the memory of the dead was too recent. A number of diseases attacked and killed both animals and people. Rinderpest, smallpox and leucosis were an unholy trinity that hit East Africa in the 1890s. Rinderpest came hard on Banyarwanda heels and its origins have been traced to the Horn of Africa, spreading through present Kenya and Tanzania. Great suffering hit the Bahima and many migrated to areas not yet hit. Makobore moved to Kambuga which had not been infected.

Smallpox, leprosy and blood flukes took toll without number. As the disease was unknown, there were no remedies and so people died. Some families were wiped out and single survivors were common. Animals and birds of prey feasted continuously. As if this was not enough an army of locusts ate up all green vegetation.

The outcome of these disasters was utter misery and severe depopulation. The work of reconstruction moved very slowly. Busali, Makobore's brother, was killed while helping himself to another's cow. From Kambuga to Rujumbura dispatched raiding expeditions. Rukwaisa led one to Kirakabe while Miranzo went to the Bahima areas. The captured cattle increased and were responsible for the numerous herds seen in Rujumbura at the beginning of this century.

The Coming of the Europeans

The existence of people who had a colour different was known long before they came. A number of talented people with power to see the future had already foretold their coming. One prophet was Njukiari, a Musiita living north-west of Lake Bunyonyi, and another was Kiboga mother of Ntare V. These prophecies slowly reached Rujumbura. More warnings came from the Bahima traders who used to warn of more powerful people with powerful weapons. The possible existence of people “like skins like new-born babies” was generally ignored.

According to Ngoloza, two Germans Emin Pasha and Dr. Stimson visited Makobore in 1891. The source of this is doubtful as neither Emin Pasha nor the local sources corroborate it. Emin Pasha said: “As Rujumbura is far off my route, I have abandoned the idea of going there.” The first European to visit the area was called Kekaramujenye who passed through on his way to the Birunga Mountains. He was probably R.R. Boney or Lt. Mundy, who accompanied the former on an expedition to the Birungas in 1900 and returned to Mbarara by way of the Rift Valley. Writing to the Commissioner at Entebbe, in a despatch dated October 26, 1900, Reccey the Acting Collector of Ankole writes:

“I have the honour to report having left Mbarara on the 6th instant to descend to Rujumbura to inquire into the alleged murder of five men and robbery of various articles, in a caravan belonging to one Mariwuga Bundala as reported to you by Herr Von Berlinge at Bukoba...”

I took Lieutenant C. C. R. Mundy with me as his services would be required also half a company of Sudanese and thirteen hundred Wankole and Wagonda... On arriving at Niamizi (Nyamizi) Makobore chief of Rujumbura paid me a visit in a very friendly manner. As far as it was possible to ascertain the caravan in question had been interfered with in north Buhiika. After causing careful inquiries to be made regarding the Buhiika and a promise of the assistance of two hundred men from Niamizi (the whole of Makobore's army) joined me however decided to proceed to punish the Bahima.”

The man whose caravan was allegedly attacked was, deducing from the name, a Swahili trader living in German territory. He was attacked on his way from Bukumbi. According to the international agreements of the time, peaceful trade was open to all nationalities. The area where the incident occurred was probably Nyakasenyi. Lt. Mundy was the Commander of the British forces in Ankole.

Makobore had by this time left Kambuga and was living at Nyamizi after briefly settling at Kasheke and Nyakibare. His warriors volunteered not out of any desire to help the Europeans but in the words of a participant “in order to get booty”. The group was led by Makobore's brother, Rugembo.

The Acting Collector was unable to find either the guns or ivory of M. Bundala or any proof of the attack. He nevertheless arbitrarily captured sheep and goats to the tune of 3600 rupees claimed as the value of the merchandise. One interesting detail was that he made “Makobore's brother LUJIMBI chief of north Buhika under Makobore... provided he proved himself capable.” He added that “he appears to be the right kind of man.”

No further information exists as to whether Rugembo ever tried to carry out the work entrusted to him.

The Europeans were next heard of in Kambuga, where Belgians were penetrating eastwards from the Congo. A reign of terror was carried on, people of influence were forced to provide food and drink. They were arrested if they refused or shot at if they showed the least signs of resistance. Other crimes included rape. Those who could, fled into forests but the unfortunate had to meet the terms of ruthless strangers. The Belgians
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“To quote from your despatch you state...

“Ankole can soon be formed into a compact whole...”

“I cannot help thinking that you are not going the right way about accomplishing this end. It must be apparent to you that it is practically impossible for you to administer the whole of Ankole, and to bring it into a state of peace and prosperity, with the small means and assistance at your disposal. I may inform you at once, that there is nothing in H/M Special Commissioner’s Estimates for next year that indicates a policy of expansion, on the contrary, it points to one of contraction.

“You will therefore have to "cut your cost according to your cloth" and as you are already aware that an Anglo-German Delimitation Commission will, within this year, settle definitely the question of actual frontiers, you should leave the people of Rujumbura... as much alone as possible and endeavour to establish your authority by sound and just rule only as far as you can actually reach.”

After this injunction the moves of incorporation were abandoned but never the interest. A new policy developed of keeping contact. This was to convince Makobore that he should accept British rule, deal directly with the Ankole Collector while not being subject of the Ankole king. This was shown when Makobore visited Mbarara in 1904. He went with Lieutenant Beherem of the Anglo-German Commission. The actual understanding between the two men cannot be ascertained. Locally, however, it was taken for granted that the Mukama had been taken prisoner. Feverish activity followed as people were stopped from cultivating, and cattle were collected for ransom. The ransom was never paid because those taking it met him returning. The monthly report for January 1904 received the following information:

“Liet Beherem of the Anglo-German Boundary Commission arrived at Mbarara on 20th (January) bringing with him Makobori chief of Rujumbura whom he had persuaded to visit Mbarara.

Every effort is being made to cause Makobori to feel that he has a friend in the administration which will support him in time of need or trouble with his people and he was clearly given to understand in Baraza that he is to be in no way placed under the authority of Kabya which he greatly fears but will deal directly with the government through the Collector.”

“I am inclined,” the report concluded “to think that he is genuinely disposed to be friendly...”

After his visit to Mbarara, Makobore chose his son Kajwari to be his representative and keep contact with the Europeans. The son, however, died a few years later from a disease contracted there.

While trying to maintain good relations with Makobore, the British officials on the spot had an eye on Bakiga land. The indefatigable Racey had as early as February 1901 addressed a memorandum to the commissioner to the effect that those areas should be secured for the British. The extract reads:

“I have the honour to make the suggestion as in relation to the statement that an Anglo-German Boundary Commission will shortly state that a large portion of the country in the vicinity of that place known as Bukinika be secured for the British Crown for it is well populated with a hardy race, rich in food and has some good pasture land. It may be that there are vast deposits of mineral wealth.”

The details of the negotiations between the British, Belgians and Germans are yet unknown, but the outcome was the fixing of the international boundary line by which Rujumbura the Bakiga lands and a portion inhabited by Kinyarwanda-speaking people fell into the British sphere. Makobore is said to have asked to join his area with the southern ones that formed the district of Kigezi. It is unknown who took the initiative. It has even been alleged that Makobore wished to become king of the new district.

More important than these speculations was the fact that a new district was formed from the three parts and Makobore travelled to the Bunyoro Mountains for the inauguration of the district on October 25, 1912, which took place on a hill called Kigezi which gave its name to the district. The inauguration thus ended a decade of uncertainty as to the aims and desires of the white man.

The period of the coming and going of the Europeans was one of uncertainty and suffering. Both the rulers and the common people were affected. The rulers were forced to provide food, drink, labour for drawing water, fetching firewood and most demanding of all transporting luggage. The difficulties of the time, as well as the cruelties stem from the absence of a common language. Demands were communicated in an unfamiliar tongue and responses positive or negative depended on what each side guessed. If those in positions of influence were hit most for not responding favourably it was because they considered the demands “Ultra Virile”. That some of them emerged alive and with some authority is a credit to them. Miranda the diplomat, for instance, did not know Swahili but had a talent of communicating with strangers. He approached those of the followers who knew his language to communicate his message to the strangers.

FOOTNOTES

4. The popular song in vernacular runs: “Rujumbura rwa Butonya, Onwana wa Muruli.”
7. See Rwankwenda, in chapter six.
9. See Rwankwenda, in chapter six.
10. Written communication from M. M. Rwankwenda, August 1970.
13. Various versions are suggested. One that he sent a stick to be greeted instead of an arm and the other that he told her to come to his parlour where a lot of men were drinking.
15. The plant is called "Mubimbi(shi)."
16. They deprived men of their genitals to provide ornaments for their royal drum Karinga. Until 1980s men so treated were in existence.
18. It is suggested Makoobere sent Ntare V a task saying it was a present not tribute. Then Ntare felt abused. The other: version is that Ntambiri boasted that Nkore people could not capture Rujumbire cattle.
19. See Ngologoga op. cit. p. 35.
22. Idem.
   Hugembe died soon after and Racey was told to leave the areas alone.
23. See despach Feb. 1910 to Commissioner Mbarara & Entebbe Archives.
24. Racey sent a present worth 6 0.4 rupees but Makoobere turned saying it contained poison (dawa). He later apologized.
25. Despach from collector to Commissioner Feb. 15 1901 Mbarara & Entebbe Archives.
CHAPTER FIVE

THE KINGDOM OF KUVUMBU

by S. R. Baitwababo

One of the small states conquered by Muhizi was Kuvumbu which lay on the eastern side of Lake Edward. Parts of the area were forested but others form the extensive plain of the rift valley which is studded by shrubs. Until recently the area was unhealthy owing to the prevalence of sleeping sickness vectors.

The people carried on little agriculture, depending on the foodstuffs brought by people who exchanged them for salt. Salt trade was the mainstay of the economy. It was carried from Kafwe and transported in canoes across the lake by fishermen. Their food was supplemented with meat from wild animals and fish.

Kuvumbu kingdom possessed a drum ‘Katukura’ and all paraphernalia of a typical interlacustrine kingdom. The ruling clan was that of Baitira which originated at a place called Kahingo, Bukinda subcounty in the Bulenga country. The eponymous founders of the dynasty were two brothers who had followed an animal as far as the area, and found it good. They went home and returned with more people and property to settle the area. One of the founders became the leader and reinforced his prestige with the gift of rainmaking which brought the rulers much wealth. The earliest known ruler was Katairibira. The complete genealogy is as follows:

Katairibira, Marusya, Karara, Rubusta, Byabagambo and Ndahahwerize.

The state was divided into areas ruled by royal officials who collected the king’s dues in foodstuffs, meat, fish and salt. The majority of the people belong to those groups related to people of eastern Congo and called Banya-butumbi. Apart from the first two rulers and the last, succession of the others was marked by civil war. Karara won a civil war against his brother Kante-ngwa with the help of troops from Igara. Relations with that country had been established by Katairibira. In order to reinforce his legitimacy, Karara secured a drum from Igara called “Katukura” and provided it with a chain of rituals as well as an establishment. It was displayed during the making ceremony, and the succession of a new ruler.

Karara’s successor Rubusta fought a civil war against his brother Katirimo who unsuccessfully sought reinforcements from Banyaruguru to the north. He got none and gave up. It was during Rubusta’s reign that Muhizi invaded Kuvumbu and conquered the area, appointing his uncle Runikushwe as governor. Never resident, his only work was that of sending officials to demand annual tribute in carpets, skins of wild animals and salt.

Byabagambo, Rubata’s son and successor, fought a short civil war against his cousin Bijujo. His time was marked by the advent of long distance traders and Europeans. The former came through Rujumbura purposely to acquire ivory for which they gave cloth, beads, and other trade goods, part of which was sent to Rujumbura as tribute. Kakirumukyenyike (possibly R. R. Racey) was the first European visitor to the area (date 1800) on his way from the Muhumbro Mountains. He had many cattle, some of which stayed in the area. Belgians were the next visitors. They came from the south.

When British rule was established, the kingdom of Kuvumbu was not recognized. The area was incorporated into Rujumbura and was not even accorded the status of a subcounty. Instead it was administered as a parish of Ruhindu subcounty. It was at this time decided to burn the sleeping sickness infected area and people were moved ‘en masse’ to higher areas of Kihhi and Nyakogenza. When Kuvumbu was declared habitable again the population was repatriated. When the population increased in the 1990s a subcounty of Kuvumbu was erected and Ndahahwerize the claimant to the throne was appointed chief in 1923.

REFERENCE

I am grateful, for this information, to Thomas Katuruka, a descendant of the royal line, and to A. Rutagana, both of Rwambwa. The interview took place 20 January 1980.
CHAPTER SIX

The History of Kayonza: M. M. R. Rwanhoenda.

The History of the Ruling Dynasty.

The ruling clan in Kayonza was known as Barengya, and comprised sub-groups of Buhayirwa (the ruler’s family), Berehara, Bacele and Boshanza. Their progenitor was Karengya, one of a group of brothers who once ruled in Rwanda. One dry season the Mukana of the Bawanda decided to blame the Barengya, and refused to accept his people’s presents until someone assassinated Kimezamiyango. Kimezamiyango and his family duly killed, and the few who survived were Karengya, his two brothers Kaganzo and Kashaanza, their sister Nyumakuri, and their servant Kasigyi who was a tobacco carrier and a magician. They fled via Bugesera in Rwanda to Bulogho, and from there to Iremera which was inhabited by the Basaflua clan. They passed through the Kashashere forest and arrived at lake Kaisheere. At that point Kasigyi prophesied that they would have to throw Nyumakuri into the water before they would be able to cross. Accordingly they dressed her as if for a wedding and threw her in. The lake at once became very shallow, and the rest of the party crossed to the other side. Passing through Rungo they reached Rushambwa, where they found the Bungura clan, descendants of Nkuba from Irima. While they were hunting they reached Iangizo, a part of Kayonza, and realized that Kayonza was a good country with few forests. They fetched their possessions and their cow from Rushambwa and settled at Iangizo, where they lived with Busozwa who came from Rubunga.\(^1\)

The important people they found in Kayonza were Bungura, Basemanda from Irima, Banyaruhuri and Bujaji, both from Rwanda. These groups met together and selected Karengya to be their leader and to represent them to Kibaya Kanuru. Karengya therefore became king. When he went to Rukiga to inform Kibaya, the latter gave him four drums to enable him to rule and advised him how to use them. The first drum was Nyanakhoza, and the second its sister Nyamuhura, the third Karengya, and fourth Muhabura. Karengya, in turn, gave Karengye to his younger brother Kaganzo, who was to rule Buganza. Katimbo was to rule Mulamba, and Kaseta was to rule Mpuungu, while Viriru was to rule Buzeyungwa.\(^2\) Karengya established the boundaries and administration of Kayonza. Bukimbi, Kinahwa and Bweza, Buganza and Kaganzo, Kikombe of Ncyenge, were divided by him. Kayonza was separated from Kinkizi by the river Isha. The Bayundo clan were to look after the drums; Mushoro was to be the ruler’s burial site; Isingiro was to be the site of coronations; and palaces should be built at Ngisiri.\(^3\)

The royal dynasty is as follows: Karengya, the father of Nsabubakabisa, father of Nyakarasani I, father of Yeye, father of Nsabubakabisa, father of Kararima, father of Komunukuro, father of Byagabamgil I, father of Rwengabo, father of Rwimana Rutiauka, father of Nyakarasani II, father of Mucungisa (Byagabamgil II), father of Rwak Contains the present writer.\(^4\) The kings ruled over the following peoples in Kayonza: Batimbo from Nkorwa, Basingije from Nyamuse, Byebi (or Byeke), Bwahuru from Mubale, Banyariza from Mpororo, Banyarize from Mpororo, Banyamisazi from Mpororo, Buhunde from Bukwaya, and Bukwaya from Rwanda. The Buhunde came to Kayonza during Rwengabo’s reign. Their last king was Itumero, son of Hangye, son of Mule, son of Kabasa, son of Musaza. The Buhunde came to an end during the reign of Rwimara. We may look at the reigns of the kings.

Karengya. The first thing he did was to gather his subjects and tell them what Kabaya Kanuru had said. The people chose him to be their king and their judge. He chose well-known men as advisor, and to see that his subjects were contented; viz. Katimbo in Mwendero, Nothura in Mwendero, Kaseta in Mpungu and Rushambwa, Kiringa in Mwendero, and Viriru in Bugesera and the south. He then bought a bull for his calf, and the cattle multiplied. He taught his subjects to love one another, not to kill each other or slander other’s families, and above all to respect the kings and Mwendero, and when he died at Kage his body was buried in one of those tombs. He was succeeded by his son Nsabubakabisa, who was very well, and who initiated the practice of cleaning the palace compounds. When he died he was also buried at Mushoro. He was succeeded by his son Nyakarasani I, who also ruled well and for many years. He had many wives, and so his sons began fighting during his own life time. Nsabubani and Muyirizwa had the same mother, and two other princes were Kaseta and Kwibiron. Kaseta, knowing that a prince with one eye could not become king, plucked out the eye of Nsabubani. When their father discovered this he cursed Kaseta, and forced him to eat mud as proof that he was no longer one of the royal family. Muyirizwa became king, in fulfillment of a prophecy. Nsabubani’s art of rain-making was passed to Muyirizwa, but Nsabubani himself was greatly respected. Later it was decided that Kaseta had been careless rather than malicious, and he was given part of Mpungu to rule, and as a present.

Muyirizwa was enthroned at Nyakarakutumba (where his bark-tree is). He fathered Kararima, and is buried at Mushoro. Kararima’s succession (which happened while he was at Nsabubakabisa) was contested by his brothers Karutwa, Kwomukuro, and Bantwira who were all fuller brothers of each other. Kararima escaped by night, and won the support of king Kahiniso at Enduga in Rwanda. With weapons and soldiers from Kahiniso, he soon won the succession war. Being very brave, he became very rich though fighting. He died at an early age, was buried at Mushoro, and was succeeded by his oldest son.

Rwengabo came to the throne at Kaguna (now called Iruko). He was one of Kayonza’s best rulers. He befriended many different people. Ba-
him came from Mpororo to be ruled by him, on account of his generous reputation. He repulsed Bihobire who wanted to take Rugando and Kyu-
sharo away from Kayonza. Rwengabo's uncle, Rwbiriko, opposed him,
and went to a certain lake to find witchcraft which would kill him. When
Rwengabo got wind of this, he escaped to Ifumbira in Kinkizi, with his
family. When Rwbiriko heard of the escape, he told Kahaya that Rwengabo
should return to Kayonza. His grand-father gave him a part of Kayonza
called Ruhe, to rule there. He resigned well and became rich. He married
Kahwasa, daughter of Nyanzey of the Banyabusho clan. His sons were
Rwirima, Nyakubusa, Bukabula, Rutareke, Rugendo, and Muhina (who
was not physically his son). He died at Kagarera and was buried at Musoro.

Rwirima (Murera) Rutareke came to the throne when he was living
at Njyora. His sickle is still there. The succession was contested by
Rutareke. Rwirima escaped to Buganza, which was ruled by Maxima
of Kibunda. With that assistance he expelled Rutareke and regained power.
Rutareke angrily went to Muhoni in Rujumbura, who cleverly received him
well, and accepted that he was the rightful heir to Rwengabo. Rutareke
asked Muhoni for soldiers. While Rwirima was at Rutugundu in Kinkizi,
Muhoni asked to meet him. Rwirima heard this and went with his son-
in-law Kitaribwa (of the Baterra clan) to meet Muhoni. Muhoni put Ruta-
reke's case, and said he was going to arrest Rwirima. It is said that Ruta-
reke had bribed Muhoni. Rwirima and his son-in-law (Kangawumunda)
were arrested, and their followers severely beaten and their cattle
seized. He served Kanganwa (of the Bashambe clan) also stayed with him.
Kangawumunda advised Rwirima to escape. Their opportunity came when
the enemy (Muhoni's soldiers) were drunk and no-one was looking. Rwa-
rima then instructed Kanganwa to tell Rugando not to bring the rambon
cattle demanded by Muhoni, but to take all the property to Rwanda. Rwirima
himself went to Kebisoro, where he had Banyabusho soldiers. After a few
night there he went on to Kangoro (where he stayed at a public house), and
from there to Nyamitanga and to Rukuswamwe, where he went to Nyarure-
mba of Munangwa of Kahaya. That man gave him an escort to the house
of the Kimega, son of Bihanyira, son of Bwari. Kinena's son escorted him to
Ishasha, to meet Kinyinga son of Fundikira. When he ultimately reached
Kayonza, the people rejoiced.

He told his brother Rugendo and his son Nyakura to bring all their
possessions to him at Mutambwa, so that they could all go to Rwanda. All
the people who wished to accompany him were allowed to do so. At Mu-
tambwa, where he left his dependants and cattle, and taking only his brave men
proceeded via Ngiyanga to Bukimbiri of Rukura. After crossing lake
Munda they reached the territory ruled by Bihora son of Muhuru, who was
well known by the Mwami of Rwanda. They told him that they wanted to
go to Endugu but wished to leave their possessions with him. He allowed
them to do that, and made them welcome. They reached the palace of Mwa-
mi Nyarangwa who entrusted them to the care of Bihura, who built houses for
the men of Kagasa to accommodate them. They used to take precious gifts
Endugu. After a year they heard that Muhoni had imposed Rutareke on the
Kayonza throne, and Rugendo went back to confirm this. He summoned
Kayonza elders and asked them to choose between the two rivals: they all
preferred Rwirima, and prepared to fight against Rutareke. Rugendo ar-
rived his brother in the same sense.

Rugando was allowed by Rwirima to lead the fight. His uncle sent
him men and weapons, and after prolonged fighting Rutareke and his family
were killed at Rwenzo. Rwirima then prepared to go home, but was pre-
vented by Bihura, who insisted that he go to the Mwami to say farewell
a second time. Rwirima refused, and one night escaped with the old chil-
dren and servants and cattle. Bihura then killed all those who remained be-
hind, and in revenge Rwirima diverted his route so to kill the dependents
of Bihura. Then he went home via Bwisita, to his old palace at Nkisi.
He settled in peace and became very rich. He died young, exhausted by
his efforts for his country, and was buried at Musoro. His younger bro-
ther Rugando had already died. Nyakura, Rwirima's eldest son, suc-
ceeded to the throne.

Nyakura II was crowned at Kagarera (Iraro). First, he restored order
to the country. He saved many people and also saved many. From Nyaru-
tena he settled at Bwisita, and then at Kennyere in Muguga. It was en-
couraged by the Europeans. The following are his important battles. He fought
the people of Rukumbara, who rebelled against him. Rukumbara belonged
to Musahakiri and it was Bwatu of the Baringa clan. He also fought the
Birima of Kinkizi, to avenge the killing of his brother Kanyarwakpo who
of Nyarukabura. In this battle he killed the brothers Rukuru and Shumbo-
sha. The two groups had been very friendly before the war, and so became
intensely hostile thereafter, the Kinkizi people accusing those of Kayonza
of unprovoked aggression. Intermarriage therefore dwindled. Other vic-
timers of Nyakura include Nshuzha and Kakofo from Buganza which was
ruled by Bihobire, and many of Makonde's Bashesmbo. He also had to
quell a rebellion by the people of Rukumbara.

One Rukumbi refused to pay tribute in cattle, and on seven occasions
attacked Nyakura. On the eighth occasion Nyakura killed his sons and
fighting men, and negotiations were opened. Rukumbi proposed peace,
but Nyakura suspected him of plotting revenge, and instead suggested a
blood-brotherhood relationship. Nyakura's son Musinga, and Makonde's son
Kwambarambi (sic) became blood brothers, and peace was established.

On one occasion a Belgian captured Nyakura and held him to ransom.
On payment of a large number of cattle, Nyakura was released. The Bug-
aza, however, did not want him to return to mba Kayonza, as they hired
soldiers who shot and killed him. Musinga, who thereby succeeded his
father, took his revenge by killing large numbers of Banyiginya, including
the Mwami himself. The same Belgian returned to Kayonza to attack
Musinga, who took refuge with Makonde in Rujumbura. He entrusted his
cattle to Makonde, but when he asked for them to be returned, Makonde
refused, lest the Belgian ambush them. Both parties appealed to the
Magistrate of Kikwero, where Makonde was upheld. Musinga then approached
the Belgians, who helped him recover the cattle. Many died however,
and the Belgians pressed Makobore to compensate Mugo ina for their loss. Mugo ina, however, declined, arguing that their death was due to no fault of Makobore’s.

Some of those who were prominent in these battles were the following: Katenga, son of Mulewa, a Museta, left Kayanza and asked Makobore of Rujumba to help him fight against Nyakarasi the king of Kayanza. Ka ya myimbi begged leave of Nyakarasi II to return to Rujumbra, and he was permitted to go with 40 cattle. In Rujumbra he too asked Makobore for assistance to attack Kayanza. He was recognized while scouting, and killed. Makobore then sent Mnyangabo to kill Nyakarasi, for payment of 200 cattle. At Nyakarasi’s court he offered his services as a soldier. While Nyakarasi and his courtiers were sunning themselves, he threw a spear at Nyakarasi, missed him, and struck one of the courtiers. He was immediately put to death. Meanwhile Makobore had sent a mixed force of spearmen and musketeers. Nyakarasi’s army was led by Runawayamani, Rubega, Bunyiga, Rubanza, Misare and Mugginga’s youngest brother who killed the Bashambo of Mubungoro. Another leader was Rutugatama, son of Necondo, the head of the camp. Another was Rwekwaya. Kinga led Nyakarasi’s servants. Makobore was thoroughly defeated. Bashajja, the sons of Karama, and other Bahima lost their lives. There were so many corpses that they could not be buried. Hills were covered with teeth, the river Kambilwa ran red with blood, and crops could not be harvested because of the stink. The places where large numbers fell were Wusiga, Hube re home and Kabilwa. From Mubungoro Makobore fled to Nyamirimbi. When the Bamunza found him they wanted to kill him, but were restrained by Nyakarasi, who released him and advised him never to return to Kayanza. The advice was reiterated by an old man called Kirinda son of Mukahinda.480

Mootinga (Byesagamba II) also fought battles, especially against the Baganda who were responsible for his father’s death. He was also offered to suppress a rebellion by Katenga, son of Mulewa, a Museta, who led one of the Kayanza regiments. He was brave but also cruel. He went to Makobore and asked for a regiment to help them fight Mootinga. Makobore lent him 100 men with guns, who had come from Mpanzani beyond Karamagwe.481 Katenga fired several houses, but was forced to flee to Rujumbra, where he died.

On the other hand Mootinga cemented relations with Nyindo in Butumbira. His ancestors had taken gifts of ivory to Rawaera and Rwabugiri, and he continued to take such gifts to Nyindo. Both Nyakarasi and Mootinga married wives from Goli, which made relations easier to maintain. Nyakarasi had also been hostile to devotees of Nyabingi, notably Kachwek ooba and Butukiru who were Logan’s on his orders, and Mookunzi who was also beaten. Kajjapari, who assumed the property as a Musilwa, had his house burned eight times. Every village where Nyabingi was suspected was ravaged.

Mugginga became a blood brother of Nyindo, and of Kajjapari (a Musilwa from Busanza), and of Rugenzabawata (son of Hugumkanwe of

Busanza). He loved them for their hospitality, and the friendship developed from exchanges of cattle and aid in times of war. His close friends included Rwabukiri son of Makobore, Rwabukiri son of Mafunda (of the Igara ruling family), Miranda son of Rwabukiri (a Mulewa from Rujumbra), Rusengwa (a Mwanga Muhimba from Rujumbra), Butekemwa (a Mureri from Rujumbra), Russhuza from Nyakarasi, Semu Mutabazi (son of Mutawo Mwanga of Nkonde), and in Kinkizi Rukuna’s father and Tindikka. In Kayanza itself his personal friends included Bakelikubwa (a Mulari, Ngabo (a Muyonga), and Raha, son of Ryakhonde.

When the British came to Kigezi, Mootinga was confirmed in office, but made a gomborora chief subordinate to the ruler of Kinkizi. Both were to be advised by a Mabusha. When the First World War broke out, Mu ginga was suspected of aiding Nyindo. Both were captured and taken to exile in Masindi, where they were given a house with a kitchen and toilets. Though prisoners, they were treated like chiefs, continued to draw their salaries, and were also assisted by the Nakama of Bunyoro. They stayed there for ten years and bore children there. When peace had been re-established, they were allowed to return to their posts. Nyindo, however, died at Rutobo on his way back; and Mootinga (also known as Rulumbwobwa) was compelled to remain a gomborora chief, rather than being promoted to eza chief, as he had been led to expect.

There was a bad relationship between Mootinga and Sulimani the Agent. Sulimani posted Kagashga, a head-hunter and daring askari, to Kayanza. When Kagashga embezzled public funds and could not replace them, he burned himself alive in his house. Sulimani and other gomborora chiefs then accused Mootinga of burning Kagashga; but evidence was given by a boy whom Kagashga had sent out of the house before setting fire to it; and a key to the door was discovered amongst Kagashga’s ashes. The D.C. therefore dismissed the case against Mootinga. Then a Christian named Augustin joined Sulimani’s faction, and falsely reported that Mootinga worshipped Nyabingi. The D.C. came to Kayanza and found no evidence despite a thorough search. The Baganda continued to report against Mootinga, and again police were sent to investigate. They discovered some fetishes which children used to wear, including a tube containing a gourd full of blood. Mootinga was arrested immediately. The D.C. transferred him to Kabale where he could watch Mootinga himself. Nine months later he was dismissed and returned to his home. By that time Namuyire was the Sasa chief in succession to Sulimani, and he also disliked Mootinga and reported adversely against him. Eventually the D.C. sacked Mootinga. Kagera then invited him to settle in Rujumbra with his family and his property. Later the D.C. allowed Mootinga’s request to return home, where he spent the last five years of his life. By that time Baganda influence was at a low ebb. By that time also I was a Gomborora chief. After five years in that capacity I was transferred to the D.C.’s office to become familiar with administrative and judicial methods and procedures.482
1. P. Ngologoza, Kigesi and its Peope, p.9, regards the Barengye along the Babanda and Bakongwe, as sub-sections of the Bamwya. F. Gerard's chapter in the present volume accepts the view that these groups dominated Rwanda before being supplanted by Banyiginya. Gerard's account of the crossing of the lake is marginally different. His interpretation of it however is convincing.

2. Kahaya Kamurari, if this account is correct, must be Kahaya Rutindana-nyezi, on the Garamita. It is clear, however, that Gerard is not referring to the drum. Baitwabobo's work summarised in his chapter in the present volume would tend to place Kahaya in the early 18th century, a date which may be reasonably accepted.

3. The Rakimbi, among others, would protest at this interpretation.

4. Objections have been stated by some other contributors to this king-list. Ngologoza, op. cit., p. 17, provides the same list of kings in a slightly different order. This is not conclusive, however, since he relies upon the account of Mr. Rwankwenda.

5. If (see previous footnote) the king-list is erroneous, this is presumably the weakest point. Yeye has been omitted altogether, and of Muhayirwa's reign nothing appears to be known. Gerard's king-list is as follows: Nkasha, Kubaare, Rwirima, Rumururu, Yeye, Kubaare II, Byabagambiri, Rwirima II, Ruturuka, Nyakarasi, Munginga. In short, doubts crop up about three generations back from Munginga.

6. This passage is elusive, which is not surprising considering the straits in which Yeye must have been reduced during the period in question.

7. As this event is not recorded in the Rwanda traditions, and as it would imply a greater military power than we have reason to expect, the account is open to some skepticism.

8. This alternation with Makobore, however, is entirely consistent with Makobore's cattle-complex as described by Baitwabobo.

9. Given Rujumbura's claim to equal status with Nkore, it would seem unlikely that Makobore would have submitted to the arbitration of the Mwabe of Nkore in such a dispute.

10. Though Baitwabobo points out that Rujumbura did fail to suppress the independence of Yeye, the details of this passage sound somewhat inflated.

11. The identity of the ritual head of Mpanzani is not clear. By this period, however, there is no doubt that fire-arms were becoming available in this region, from the direction of Karagwe.

12. Strictly speaking Mr. Rwankwenda did not succeed to the hereditary chieftaincy. On the other hand he should be regarded (along with Karagwe in Rujumbura) as one of the 'new men' whose education is described by Rwandan, and who were increasingly employed by the British in preference to more 'traditional' authorities such as Muginga and Makobore.

The Rituals of Kingship.

Nyakahoza, the crown-drum, can be re-made only by a king bearing the same name as he who made the previous drum, no matter how dilapidated Nyakahoza becomes. It is made out of a log of the Mushaganga tree, and can only be constructed by the king's servants, the Businga. The drum-makers first select from their own clan a young virgin boy, who has just cut his second hair for the first time, and whose mother has lost no children. The boy is married to a young virgin girl who has just had her first menstrual cycle. Drum-making begins on the eighth day after their first intercourse.

The king's blacksmiths of the Banyakishie clan have by this time made a large and small axe (mutshiko). A white sheep is taken from the clan of the king's maternal uncle, taken to the Mushaganga tree, and slaughtered there by the Bayundo clan. Its blood is sprinkled on the tree to cleanse it (all sheep being regarded as 'white' or 'holy'). The boy selected to make the crown-drum is the first to cut the tree with an axe. A large log is cut from it to make Nyakahoza, and a small log for his wife Nyamururu. When all is ready, a message is sent to the king to send the white bull which he has received from his maternal uncle. This is slaughtered and its skin stretched with wooden pegs (enambo). This heavy labour goes on nightly for a fortnight of sleepless nights. None of the drum-makers goes home, nor does anyone have sexual intercourse, though their wives bring them food during the period. The wives do not sleep at night, nor commit adultery. The king meanwhile sends presents of good food to the drum-makers.

On the first day of Nyairuwe (March), immediately after new moon, the drum is shown to the king. On that day he has a great feast. The drum-makers bring the drums to the king and his senior wife, who are seated beneath their house, together with many socially dressed guests. The drum-makers come beating other drums made at the same time as Nyakahoza, and they dance and are cheered on by everyone except the king and his wife. The skin of sacrificed sheep is spread upon new chairs made of the ekiko tree, and Nyakahoza and its wife are placed on the chairs very gently, so that Nyakahoza's heart (called the 'baby drum') may remain silent. Then an old Muyundo stands up and brings the king to beat Nyakahoza, while other drums are being played. Near Nyakahoza the king finds a pot of honey beer ('enturwe') with a straw. He sucks the beer into the straw and spits it into the front of Nyakahoza. Then the drumming ceases. The king solemnly addresses Nyakahoza: 'Keep the country in peace as it was in the time of my ancestors, who produced us to give honour to you Rugaba Nyamuhanga, who gives you and me power to rule this country and its people in peace.'

The Businga give the king a small boy of their clan, as a sacrifice to Nyakahoza. The boy is sacrificed by the king's adviser, while the king says: 'This is the blood of Businga. Conquer every people who fight us; defeat
those who rebel against you." While other drums beat very loudly, the king walks round the drum. He then beats it with a stick of precious materials, given to the first king by Kahara. He beats Nyakahoza nine times, which is interpreted as meaning 'May we live in peace'. Then the axe made solely of iron is laid upon Nyakahoza. The king takes his seat, whereon the drumming stops, and men dance while women cheer them on. Nkoko's family of Bayundo cheer on the drum, and then people begin to give presents to Nyakahoza, first the king (who gives a cow and a white sheep that has lost none of its siblings), then the clan leaders, and then other people. Finally the drums and the gifts are taken to Nyakahoza's newly constructed house, where the drums are laid on a bed while the gifts are stored in the kraal. No fire is ever made in that house, nor is the house ever closed. No female may ever spend the night there, nor is drunkenness permitted. Only the king and his favourites may drink beer there. Nyakahoza is as respected as the king himself, and in all but name it is the head of the country, that which unites and blesses the country, and which kills rebels. After battle it is covered in the limbs of rebels. Presents of crops and cattle are brought annually. Rich men may present cattle in gratitude for the flourishing of their herds. When gifts of that clan—the Barenge marry, one cow from the dowry is brought as a gift.

If the king fell ill, people would say that he was happy; and if he died, they would say he was resting. On his death drums (except Nyakahoza and its wife) are turned upside down. His burial is different from that of his subjects: in case a Mukama was buried in the dung of his cattle, and rams and bulls slaughtered for meat to be eaten during the ceremonies; and a Mureku was buried in his own shamba. In the case of a king, his body was kept in his house, smeared, and carefully tended by his wives and trusted people. No-one would cry or mourn for his death. His body would be wrapped in the hide of one of the slaughtered bulls. In addition to the sheep-skins and bark cloths in which it was first covered. After eight days the corpse is buried. Old people carry it as far as the sitting room. The ceremony is taken over by the man in charge, the Mukaka. He marries a girl for this purpose, and has intercourse with her, witnessed by an old man to ensure that it takes place properly. The Mukaka is a member of the Baka Babakhi sub-clan, which shares certain observances with the king, namely they may not eat together, they may not touch each other's hands, and they may not enter king's court. Having had meat and intercourse, the Mukaka adorns himself with leaves and comes shouting that he is going to bury the king. He and his kinsmen-helpers place the corpse in a litter made of flexible plants called 'embozi', which also contains many bark skins, two hides, a sheep-skin, and a bull's hide, all to keep the corpse clean. His men's rams are killed and the drums beat at once. They carry the litter to the hill chosen for the burial. On the hill, houses have been built, and beds placed in them. The corpse is taken into one of the houses and placed on a bed. The Mukaka remains in the house alone with the corpse, and has an axe ('enshingho') shaped like L, with the handle at right angles to the blade. This axe is forged by the Bakimbi of Kishogoro. The Mukaka then opens the belly of the king: and at that point a young leopard emerges from the stomach. If the king is old, it may be a large leopard; if young, then a small one. It would escape into the bushes, where other leopards would be noisy awaiting. Everyone runs home, believing that these leopards are pursuing them. (Leopards used to be greatly respected, in the belief that they were really kings: and some people still believe this.) Some people are selected to spend another eight days with the corpse, while others are busy building new houses for the deceased king's family.

Meanwhile the Mukaka would return to his house, attack the girl to whom he was ritually married, and have intercourse with her publicly. He would then run with his people to a place known as 'the place of refuge'. This practice was known as 'kramagura', meaning 'to be blackened'. The widows of the king would bathe in the river 'kugwa orphan', or 'kukusama', and they would adorn their heads with strings of beads. Cows would be milked without building a fire in their mids. After eight days the whole company would bathe and shave their heads, and have the temporary huts for their homes. Cows would be washed, white-washed, and one selected as a present to the eldest daughter of the late king (kikasho). A regent was appointed for one year, after which a new king would be crowned and new drums made for him. On the coronation hill-Lissingoro were distributed things which all had to be new. A horn would be killed, and its butcherer would be given a cow. All day the new king was tried with spears, so that he was exhausted by night-fall. As they left the hill drums were beaten, but Nyakahoza was wrapped in carpets and carried home. On reaching home the king sat on the royal stool, and drums were beaten for nearly a whole month, while gifts and congratulations poured in.
CHAPTER SEVEN

Chief Katuregye: the Man and his times

by D. Z. Rwabihigyi.

Who was Katuregye and how did he come to be? There is no simple answer. Katuregye's ancestry is ambiguous. We learn that Chief Katuregye was born into the BAKONGWE clan of the BAKIGA tribe of present day Kigali District. His mother is CHANDUNGUUZe, that is to say the daughter of Ndungatse. Her other name was BARAIHEBUUZA. She was the daughter of Ndungatse of the BASHIGA clan of Rwanda. Ndungatse was the son of KIBIIZI the son of SENTEMBE the son of MUNAABA. She came to Rukiga looking for a husband. She was driven by famine. On arrival in Rukiga she was bought by NGOROYE, the son of MUSEKURU, a Mukongwe of the BAHORONDORWA lineage. This is the chief lineage of the Bakongo clan of the Bakiga. It is said that Ngoye did not appreciate her very much and therefore decided to give her to his brother RWAMUSHWA who is also known as NYARUYONGA. Rwamushwa was pleased and willingly took her as his wife. Rwamushwa was the son of Musekurwa, the son of Rutwa II, the son of Kyobibire, son of Biko, son of Rutwa I, the son of Mukondoro. With the help of Katuregye, son of Karentse, who is deeply known as the son of Kanyiga, yet other observers think that he was the son of Katuregye, son of Karentse, who probably in the 16th or 17th century came from Burengwe in present-day Rwanda. BURENGWE is a small place bordering the Republic of Rwanda. (This may partly explain why the language of the Bakiga is similar to that of the Banyambo of Karagwe and also of the Bahaya of Bukoba. Here is a project for future research).

The Bakongo elders believe that Kakongwe came with his other brothers but did not reach Rukiga proper. Some settled in Bulahara and Mubizi near the Rwanda border and produced the present clan of the Batadorwa of Mubizi. Kakongwe was a hunter and his dogs came to Ngoro and settled at NYAKATARE in Bushura, in Bubale near Lake Bunyonyi. Kakongwe came with his two sons-Mubirwa and Sharabya. These in turn produced sons and daughters, and multiplied. The elders continued that at the time of their arrival the Bugura, Basiga, Banyak and Bazimwe had just arrived from Rwanda and had settled on the western side of Lake Bunyonyi in Kibarage. Mubirwa produced Barunga, Rutwa and Baraziguruka and many unknown daughters. Sharabya produced other sons, the descendants of whom are the Berendi, Buzuma, Basimikira and the Bazama lineages of the Bakongo clan. The Bazama were produced by a woman who had been bought by Sharabya and that is why they are called Bazama. This lineage now appears to be the largest of the Bakongo lineages.

As the people multiplied, their land at Nyakatara dwindled and they therefore decided on a military campaign to conquer lands for their offspring. Full-scale attacks were launched against the Basiga, Banyak, Banzuma and the Bungura clans. The Bakongo did not find it difficult to defeat these clans and confine their land on the western side of the lake. The Basiga moved to Kibarage and others crossed the lake to Bubange and the Bungura moved from Karurora and Rwezayi and went to Kibarage. They also crossed the Kiba Mubizi ya Muhelo. The Banyambo concentrated in Kitula Kye Kintu, Kinku, and the Banyak gathered around Kirega ya Nyabondo, a few miles from Kashasha. The elders tell us that at the same time the Banyak, Banyambo, Banyak and other Banyambo clans were also arriving from Rwanda and her western borders. Why this northward movement or exodus of people from Rwanda is not clear. Each Riga clan has its own explanation. Whether we should link this influx of people from Rwanda with the expansionist and unsettled reigns of Murari Mibwambwe I Ssekagera Musekura and his son Yuki Gashina. I do not know. Certainly there is a need to trace the causes of this northward movement.

As I have already stated, Ngoro, the son of Musekurwa bought Chandungutse the mother of Katuregye, and Rwamushwa took her for his wife. Rwamushwa then produced MAGYENGE his eldest son, followed by Buhemuka, followed by Buhemuka and Nkwimi. All three of them were daughters, after that Rwamushwa was made impotent by his father's newly acquired Nyabingi. He stayed in the Endone all the time, as he had by then become the chief Mugirwa of this Nyabingi. But Chandungutse was still a young woman of attractive appearance and she was able to attract some courtiers. One of these courtiers who was her lover is a man by the name of RWEBISHAKA, the son of NCHEBE, of the Buhemuka lineage of the Bakongo clan. It is this man who, in fact, fathered Katuregye followed by a brother by the name of KIRETSHA and two young sisters by the names of NYANGOMA and TABURYERA'A. Katuregye was not the natural son of Rwamushwa, a Mukongwe by clan and a Mukongwe by tribe. Whether this illegitimacy affected his psychologically is not known. The evidence before us is that Katuregye believed himself to be the son of Rwamushwa. This is understandable as in Bubiga custom it is not good to be known as son or daughter of illegitimate parents.

Katuregye was born in the village of KASHASHA at a hill called NYAKAKABUNGO just at the edge of the Ethuka Forest, about 3 miles from the present Uganda-Rwanda border. Kashasha then was in the centre of the Bakongo clan's territory which extended far into present Rwanda. The northern boundary of Rwanda Kingdom was not clearly demarcated and it shifted to and fro depending on the strength of the Kings of Rwanda. At one time Rwanda included the whole of Butumbira and the whole Ngoro area of the Bakiga people including the whole area west of Lake Bunyonyi, incorporating the whole of Bakongo territory. In fact King Kigeri IV Rwubugiri, one of the most fascinating and toughest warriors of Rwanda, had succeeded in occupying the whole of the present southern Kigali district up to Mpororo in the north east. However, the occupation was short-lived and because of trouble on his southern border with Burundi,
and the determined effort of the Bakiga, he was forced to give up this Bakiga area altogether, although he absorbed for good the four Bakiga counties which form the present district of Byumba in Rwanda. At the time of Katureka's birth, possibly around the year 1870, the northern boundary of Rwanda was the Orugai (great swamp) at Runaba near Rusinga in the present commune of BUDARO in Rwanda. The ECHANTE kya BSAAZA the son of MAHIIRANE was the territory of Bakonge of the Babendorwa lineage, while the adjacent RUGBO was the territory of the Barewai lineage. It is MPABANZI the son of MUZAMUZA a Murenzi who moved there first, and that is why Rutojo is popularly known as the territory of Mpabanzi.

I estimate that Katureka was born around 1870, because it is believed that when the very first Europeans arrived he was about 25 years old. These first Europeans arrived in Rwanda at around the year 1892 when Dr. Beaman arrived in the heart of Burundi by following the Ruvubu river. At the time of Katureka's birth King Rwabugiri was already on the throne, although his impact on the Bakiga was almost nil as he was still busy extending his Kingdom to the south and south-east. King Mubara II Rwagara (his predecessor) was never very powerful and his territory therefore remained small, especially to the north.

Katureka was born in an extremely wealthy family. Rwamushwa his legal father was one of the most outstanding Nyabingi priests in the area. His Nyabingi was (and still is) known as NYINABAHO and was the most outstanding cult throughout this forest area. It was feared by all including the BATWA themselves. Worshipers from near and far used to travel to Kasha HO to offer their gifts to Rwamushwa the chief Nyabingi priest. Not only was Rwamushwa the chief priest of this Nyabingi, but his son Magwengwe and Katureka's mother Chandingwile all shared in this great priestly power. Katureka grew up at his father's court in the company of Batwa Worshipers. He used to play and even eat with them. More significant; he was taught by these Batwa friends, the art of hunting and using the spear and arrows. No one took his hunting lessons very seriously because he was a small weakling whom everybody despised. His small size never impressed anybody but as he grew up his shooting ability and his fearlessness became increasingly felt by all observers. He used to accompany the old men in expeditions and there he displayed the heart of a lion. His elder brothers Magwengwe and Bahemuka were never as great fighters or as brave as the young Katureka. It is believed that Nyabingi turned Magwengwe into a coward, as it did not want him to become a warrior but rather a chief Mugirwa (priest) of NYINABAHO the Nyabingi.

Let us start with the story of Nyabingi which his parents worshipped, as it is the most outstanding contributory factor towards Katureka's greatness, Katureka's grandfather MUSEKURA is the beginning of it all. While he was at home at Kasha Ho Musukura heard a mysterious voice calling him to listen to a strange story. This voice told him that he and his son NGOROYE were requested by the IMANA-NYAGASANI (the creator of all things) to pack up and go to RUKHRU in the country of the BANYA-BUTUMBI called MUMPIMBI ZA MUGANZA YA RUBUSHBUWAMAHANA next to CHANGWE CHA MBIRIRI. There they would meet the IMANA who would change their lives forever. Musukura and his small son Ngorye did as they were instructed. Those who went were many but only Kabuba the father of MUGIRO and RWAMWEZA are remembered. Ruseba and others like Rumusha the son of Ruhamire feared the journey and they were left behind.

It is a tough journey through forests teeming with wild animals. There were also wild people all the way, and they narrowly escaped death. They were however lucky and arrived safely. They made bloodbrotherhood with many people there and they explained the purpose of their coming. It is said that they succeeded in speaking to this mysterious voice while they were there. The voice told them to return to their country and that the voice would never part from them. The voice promised to do great things for them and their clansmen left behind. As they were preparing to depart they were attacked by fierce Buhunde who speared Musukura to death while his son Ngorye miraculously escaped. After many days of hazardous traveling Ngorye and his friends arrived at Kasha Ho where he received a hero welcome. The tragic death of Musukura was mourned by his brother MAJUNGU and RUSAGIZA and many others.

That mysterious voice which led Musukura on his fateful journey exerted itself. It spoke powerfully to Rwamushwa the brother of Ngorye. It ordered that ENDAARO be built for it and that Rwamushwa was to be the chief priest (MUGIRWA) of this mysterious voice. It declared that it was the god of all things and that it had come to stay in this country which had hitherto known no God. It claimed to have the power of giving life and taking it away. It had power over all natural things. It further ordered that all the people must worship it and threatened that those who did not would be punished severely. The BATWA (magazines) were the first to throw their support behind it, as it had come from their country in Buhunde. The voice was then given the big name of NYINABAHO or NYINOMUREMURE. Overnight it turned Rwamushwa into one of the most feared people in Rukiga. This Nyabingi would speak through him very often whenever it wanted to let its intentions and demands be known to the people. This is one version of the origins of Nyabingi in Rukiga.

It is however believed that there are very many Nyabingi spirits, some more powerful than others. The second most powerful Nyabingi spirit to come, slightly later, is that of RUTAGIRAKIJUNGA which is the Nyabingi of the sons and grandsons of RUHARA son of RUBUKI of EKYANTA ky Bwana be Muhirane. All the elders stated that, while Katureka was still very young, a mysterious woman, possibly from the country of Buhima, arrived in Rukiga. She was accompanied by hundreds of worshippers and she said that she was looking for a husband who was chosen by God. She ordered that she be taken to KYANTE where she wanted a temporary court. She was accompanied by her very beautiful daughter called KANZANIRA (sometimes called RUTANI KIYUBUKICO), but the elders are not all agreed to this. Some say that Kyubukico was the sister of Rutagirkijuniga.
and that she was the real mother of Kanzanira. Here again is a subject for further research.

However it is believed that Kanzanira was the most beautiful woman this country had ever known. Rutagirikuzina was nick-named Rutatangi-rwanumahanda - Nyamurubatwa - shaguru. It is said that she was ‘byebumbe’ who could appear and disappear and could cause anything to happen. By trying to hide the Boigiga feared to approach her for fear of death or other misfortunes which could easily arise from being associated with such a personality. She was loved and worshipped by many Banyarwanda but not all by the Bakiga. After some time her fame grew wide and high, spreading like fire until King Rwabugiri Kigeri IV of Rwanda came to learn about it. He ordered his representatives in Butumbira to investigate.

It was then that BAYIBAVI, the son of BUUKI bwa Muhababwa, a Mututsi ruler of Butumbira, marched to Kyante to finish all this threat to the King of Rwanda. He captured Rutagirikuzina whom he beheaded, and sent her head to NYANZA for the King to see. However, to everybody’s surprise her head began to speak, demanding to know why Bayibavi the son of Buuki had killed her. The head ordered that ENDAARO be built for her spirit and that she would be worshipped by all people. The main ENDAARO was immediately built in Kyante where Kanzanira the daughter of Rutagirikuzina was staying. BAYIBAVI, one of the wealthiest and most powerful of the local Bahaesi of Kyante had decided to marry the charming and beautiful young Kanzanira. With her marriage Rubuzi produced Rubuzi who begat MAFENE who produced Nyabahorezi, all of whom became chief priests of this Nyabingi spirit. M. J. Bensell tells us how Mafene met his tragic death at the hands of European Imperialists. He says "During 1912, a chief-priest of Nyabingi named Mafene and known as the king of Murawa was captured and killed by a German Officer, Major Godwins, in German territory (Rwanda). He was known to have resisted at Kyante-Rutajika". Up to this day these two Nyabingi cults are the most powerful, but one thing is clear—these two Nyabingi cults are not opposed but rather they are complementary and this is demonstrated by the very close friendship between the families of Katuregye's sons with that of the sons of Rubuzi. In fact Katuregye's two sisters were married to Rubuzi's family, Rubara himself married Basimiki and with her they produced Misumwe and Kuvango. Tabunyeke (another sister of Katuregye was married by Mafene and they produced Rubuziabanga). There is a lot more to be learnt about these two Nyabingi cults.

So Rwamushwa, who is also called Nyaruyonga, was the first real chief priest of Nyabingi (Nyinsimuhe) while Rutare was the first real chief priest of BIHEERO the Nyabingi which originates from Rutagirikuzina. Towards his end Rwamushwa was made impotent by this Nyabingi, which also told him that he was going to die at a disease called ERISACA (an smallpox) but that his son Magyenge and his wife Barehehebuza would take over the priestly duties. To the young Katuregye Nyabingi spoke saying that he would become a warrior and that he would never be defeated. (for the spirit of Nyabingi would guide him in his military campaigns.) Katuregye's young brother Kiribatwa was promised the power of the arrow and he too became one of the greatest Bakongwe warriors, challenged only by Katuregye, his older brother.

Katuregye's bravery was demonstrated when the Bakongwe went to war with the neighboring Bainika. The cause of this encounter between these two clans was simple. An elephant moved out of the Echuya forest in search of food. It passed through Kashaana and went as far as Kifaruguci, the country of the Bainika. The Bainika killed it, and the Bakongwe claimed it was theirs, but the Bainika would not have it over. This incident presented to Katuregye and his Baswa friends the opportunity of pouring their wrath on the Bainika. The campaign was short but bloody and it left many Bainika clansmen dead while it turned Katuregye into a hero overnight. His outstanding performance in this fight made his name known all over Bakiga territory. It is said that none of his arrows missed their target. His bravery started even among the most famous Baswa fighters, Kibwera, the son of Ngerube, and Sembenda the son of Ndedi. The stage was set for Katuregye's military career.

KATUREGYE'S MILITARY CAMPAIGNS.

Just as the Bakongwe-Bainika fighting broke out a serious famine also visited this area and aggravated the situation. While at first the motives for fighting were merely limited to the acquisition of food, women and pride in following the campaigns, there were other immediate causes. For example the Bainika made a big mistake by stealing Katuregye's cow called NYABWANGU. This act of aggression forced Katuregye to declare war. He called upon his most famous Baswa warriors Sembenda, Mubiy gloves, Kasaabwa, Basbewa, Kareraabasa, Mayenge (who was nicknamed ECHIYANGA RYENZIRAWOBA for his valour and outstanding performance in battle) and hundreds of others. He then called on his Bakongwe clansmen among whom were Nziyavana, Karawana, Kimugari, Rboona, Karyankoko, Nyahabi, Runyata, and Rutubiza the most famous of them all. Katuregye's aim was to teach the Bainika a lesson that they would never forget.

This campaign was rather short but bloody. Katuregye's onslaught was so powerful that the Bainika were left in utter ruin. This campaign saw the death of leading Bainika personalities like Birindo the son of Tamukunzi, and Bihiranzo the son of Biziiga. They also killed Rubara the son of Mubuko and Mabongo the son of Mashinda. Bihiranzo (mentioned above) was so famous among the Bainika that he had been nicknamed Hngaza rya Biziiga. He was shot dead by Bihurwe the son of Karisa the son of Ruhebu, one of the most outstanding Bakongwe personalities of those days. Katuregye's forces forced many Bainika to leave Bainika where they then stay today. Among those who migrated to Bukinda are included Bariaga the son of Nyagwanga, Tababao, Bihiranzo, Rutahwe and Nyabwana. They left their motherland Mariba and Mutungu which the Bakongwe took over, and Katuregye decided to build two of his numerous palaces in these places. From that time onwards the whole of the Bainika territory was incorporated into the widening political dominion.
of Katouve. His military career began with the famous name of RUCHUMITANA AKASIMBA KA MUSIGI.

This was the mere beginning. He and his military men now decided to strike against the Bayundo and the Bakesi around Kilagata and Bumbu, the hill overlooking the famous Bukongwe territory of Mwerwa gwa Beewha. Katouve had nothing to fear in these battles as Nyabangi always indicated to him before-hand how the military operations had to be conducted. Some of his Batwa warriors had just arrived from Bukumbira on the slopes of Mount Mububura to take part in plundering. They were led by their most famous chief KIKOHU who had built his imposing home at KIRINGA. Kikoha was so powerful that he became known as the King of pygmies. The stage was set for a total war against the defenceless Bakiga. The Bakesi were simply too weak to resist and some of their famous men who were killed include Bizabi the son of Naheesi, and Mirembo the son of Nyabubihanzire, who was spared to death by the famous KISERUYE (who was nicknamed NYAMURAARA YA BUKANGA). Bukongwe warriors also killed Bandama the son of Mububazi, Rugabo the son of Banyarwanda ba Birantana, and Muchina the son of Nyabatwa. Muchina was killed by NDUURU and BIFUBYEKA two of the outstanding Bukongwe heroes. However, some of these men may have been killed earlier in campaigns, possibly before the coming of Katouve.

The battle against the Bayundo were not pitched battles, as the Bayundo never put up any meaningful resistance. As a result of these wars the Bakesi were forced to cross the lake and leave Mwerwa and Kilagata kya Karungu in Bukongwe hands. The Bayundo hid themselves in the numerous small islands in Lake Bunyonyi where they live to the present day.

By this time Katouve's power was towering and his territory expanding. He grew a long beard to symbolise his power and wealth. As he emerged from his successful campaigns against the Bakesi and the Bayundo he immediately launched some of his greatest military operations against the Bukongwe clan at the northern end of his territory. The Bukongwe were rich and militarily useless. Here was obvious booty which he decided to take without delay. Katouve called upon his Komrade-in-arms Rutaribwa who had already assumed his rank name of EKYTEZIRIKA KYA MUGYEGERA RUGOCOORA, a name he had earned by his outstanding operations against the Banyarwanda of Murerenga near Lake Chabab, as well as the area west of Kyankwe and Bukono up to Lake Mweru. Katouve also called upon his Batwa warriors like Rubundo, Semunda, Katareba, Kiroha, and Kanywanda who had just arrived from Mt. Muhubura in Bukumbira, and with all these military giants Katouve then planned his military strategy. It is said that these operations were some of the bloodiest that Katouve fought. His famous bow called RUGOTE was used and he brought a good number of servants whose duty was to carry loads of arrows for his use. The engagements were fought in the Bukongwe area near Bukumbira, and all these military giants fought with their great wealth. Some of these engagements were fought in Kisawani Kya Mubuzi Yamuheto and at Rwebabundunde where many famous men lost their lives. It is in these wars that MURUSYA the son of Ruhamire, a Bu-
kongwe warrior, distinguished himself. Kiibo the son of Nyarugwanga, one of the most famous Bungura leaders lost his life, and his death is still vividly remembered by many with indignation. Although it is true that the Bungura put up some resistance, they lost many lives and all of them were forced to cross the lake and flee to the areas around Kabale and beyond, giving up their territory to the Bukongwe and Batsi. Among those who crossed the lake are KYIROGOZA, RUSIBAZA and MPAMIZA. Happily those Bungura were resettled in their lands by the British colonialists in 1921.

After the campaign against the Bungura it looked as if Katouve was aiming at creating a vast empire in the hills of Rukiga. He was obviously succeeding where the kings of Rwanda had failed. King Kigeli II Nyamuheshera tried to win over the Bungura but he failed. Kigeli III Ndabarahasa, one of the greatest Rwanda warrior Kings, tried to conquer Bungura but he too failed, though he conquered a part of Nderwa Vihuri Gahindiro conquered some parts of Nderwa as did Kigeli IV Rwabugiri, but none really ruled Rukiga for a long time. At last there had arrived on the scene a new NAPOLEON whose determination was to dominate the Bakiga once and for all. Together with his famous Batwa warriors, and assisted by the famine which was tearing the country into pieces, it looked as if Katouve was about to create a new independent Kingdom. With such thirst for wealth and fame Katouve could not rest before all Rukiga had accepted his sovereignty. It was partly for this reason that he decided to cross the southern tail of the lake and conquer all the vast territory between the Bakongwe, Bairehwa, Banyakwa, Bumahwa, Bafye, Babangaba, Babirwa, Bwyagi, Babirwe, Babangabwa, Bwamia, Bumahwa, and Bumathia and other Bakiga clans of south Kigezi. In these campaigns his military tactics must be admired. His attacks were usually concentrated in the early hours of the morning, but sometimes in the afternoons, taking his adversaries by surprise. The names of those people who lost their lives are not recorded. It is believed that the toll was disastrous. It is however said that the Bungura and Bukongwe fighters had earlier visited the same area and had killed Binwuga, Mwenhemwa, and Babigenda the son of Bigegwa a Mubungoro of Bigasa in Rukiga. These campaigns were so well fought that almost every Mutu warrior came back with a praise name depicting his valour and ferocity. This Semacwana was nicknamed Rubugwaza nde Ndebihika. Rubungo earned that of Enduhura Abazi, whilst Majegye become Ebyanwa Kyanisabwabo, and Katovere became Kugusabwabo rya Mubamivura.

With the end of the South-Western campaign Katouve embarked on yet another military operation, perhaps one of his most ambitious. This time he turned on the Basigi of KABAYA and the Basigura of IREEMA. It is said that the Basigi of Kabaya had killed Busisi the son of Mugyege the elder brother of Katouve. Because of this crime Katurege decided to teach them a lesson. He crossed Kacan()]. He crossed Kacan] and was already desolate and entered into Kabaya itself. Immediately his Basigi ally was put into action and completely destroyed the area, grabbing anything they could lay their hands on, especially cattle, honey, food and women. The Basigi who were defeated had to flee to Nyaruhangwe which is 47 miles
from Kabale on Rukungiri Road in Rukiga county. As if this were not enough, the campaign was extended into Iremeera, the territory of the Banyamulenge. During this campaign, Katuregeye’s eyes were attracted by a young woman by the name of Nyinamurera and consequently he took her and married her. They produced Kamamanga, one of Katuregeye’s living sons. It is said that she was one of the most beautiful women Katuregeye had met in his campaigns.

At the end of this campaign, Katuregeye’s territory had become extremely large and his power had equally grown, over shadowing that of the chiefs of Buh Unsure. It appeared as if the Buganda people who had never been ruled by a single power for long were on the brink of getting one in the person of Katuregeye.

This famine appeared to be the worst that has ever been suffered by the Buganda people. It is known as MSURORONGO or ORUSHANGU. It was caused by a severe drought called RWARAMBA and it struck this area by chance. It was the same one that Katuregeye was at the height of his power, and it tended to inflate his ambition and determination to fight in order to survive without suffering. People died in thousands. Families attacked families and women deserted their husbands and sold themselves to whoever could give them food. Some people experimented by eating soil soaked in water, others tried all types of grain, but worst of all many people practiced cannibalism. Women did not spare their children, and husbands did not hesitate to kill their wives and use them for food. As the food became scarcer many Buganda families migrated and took refuge in central Rwanda, in parts like Buganza, and beyond in Gisaka. Others were in Mpanga and yet others moved into the present Nyamirambo District. Despite Katuregeye’s campaigns assumed the air of battles for food and plenty. This partly explains the fact that Katuregeye never set up strong administrative organisations in many areas which he conquered. As long as he got cattle, women, and food he never cared to shoulder the burden of permanent administration. Certainly Katuregeye capitalized on this famine. He never experienced hunger, and he never moved from his residence at Kasaasha.

The consequences of this famine were severe for the Buganda. Some families were forever disrupted. A good number who went to Buganza and Jomba never returned. In addition, the famine gave military-minded people like Katuregeye a chance to do their destructive work on Buganda society. It presented the Buganda with a state of anarchy which was the ideal atmosphere for their military offensives, and indeed they gained very much from this famine. The famine reduced some clans to a mere handful of survivors, like the southernmost Kiga clans which were affected most, and this factor of clan size has been a great one in the shaping of colonial and post-colonial history of Kigezi. There is certainly a sound case for more research into this famine.

THE COMING OF EUROPEANS, AND KATUREGEYE’S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE RULERS OF RWANDA.

The arrival of the first Europeans almost coincided with the end of Muhorongo. This must have been around 1895 or slightly earlier. The first white men to set foot in this region were Germans who were mainly interested in Rwanda. The very first European to set foot into Katuregeye’s territory was nicknamed MUSIGU YA RUREMA and is said to have been accompanied by many others. He built forts and carried on southwards never to return. The appearance of white men on the scene was intriguing. Their white appearance and their way of dressing were mysterious. Some people concluded that they were super-natural beings who had come to visit the earth and go back to their country. To Katuregeye their appearance posed a threat to his freedom of action. The Germans made his fears more real by attacking and shooting to death many innocent civilians. Their fire power seemed to be superior to his spears and arrows. It is therefore not surprising that Katuregeye did everything possible to make sure that his country did not fall into their hands. Stories had spread from Rwanda that the Banzungu had already penetrated the Kingdom and that they were bent on making friendship with the invincible Kigeri IV Rwabugiri. In 1891 Dr. Baumann arrived in Burundi. Two years later Count Von Gotzen crossed Rwanda from east to west and met Mwami Kigezi IV Rwabugiri at Kageyo on the Congo-Nile ridge, in the Kinama-Kigeto area, and reached Lake Kivu whence he made his way to the Congo River. The expeditions of Baumann and Von Trotha, Lengend, Von Belbe and Richard Kadri covered the whole of the King- dom by the close of the 19th century. It is possible that these men were the first men to set foot into Katuregeye’s territory. They found Rwabugiri busy ravaging the principalities west of Lake Kivu after having successfully carried out a military expedition against King NTARE V of ANKOLO. Rwabugiri died in 1895 in the Kigezi area, and his son Rutshina took over the vast empire of Mwami IV Rutshina. Then in 1896 he was killed in a coup d’etat instigated by Kabare son of Rwakaginga who was a royal prince of the Buganda clan which had already produced nine kings for Rwanda and was determined to produce yet another. Kabare was the brother of Rwabugiri’s wife called Nyiraruyi V. Kanjogera, who was the mother of Musinga, one of Rwabugiri’s sons whom they wanted to put on the throne. Musinga and his Buganda supporters got some tacit support from the Germans and as a result Mwami Rutshina was killed and Musinga came to the throne with the dynastic name of Yuki V. Because of this German support Musinga in 1897 accepted German Sovereignty, and Rwanda became a dependent territory until 1940.

What was chief Katuregeye’s relationship with the kingdom or Rwanda? During Katuregeye’s military campaigns Kigezi territory had been divided
Katurege's never declared himself an opponent of Rwanda. He recognised the powers of Nyindo and even paid tribute to the Mwami through Muryusa and Muryusa his fellow-clansman. However, Katurege never feared Musinga as he had feared Rwabugiri. Musanga was not particularly powerful and he was never a warrior. He came to the throne through manoeuvre and war. He never mobilised the support of the entire population of Rwanda, especially those on the periphery. This explains why Katurege, supported by the Batwa warriors, attacked certain areas of Musinga's territory with impunity. He attacked Mushakamba, a son of Bwagye in Butumbira, and succeeded in taking away his cow called MAGANA. He even went beyond and attacked the Bizigaba living the shores of Lake Balero in present-day Rwanda. He fought Muhumwe Nga Rwagasano, near the current Nkya, destroying all the kings' living there, and returned with the name of Mushukumana Aka misiika.

In short, Katurege's power was not sanctioned by Rwanda. It was however recognised by Mutwale Nyindo who gave him respect and freedom of action so long as he did not oppose the Mwami openly. Whether Katurege was content with this undefined role is not clear. The truth remains that he was never on bad terms with the kingdom of Rwanda, neither was he on good terms. His neutral position gave him exactly what he wanted, namely freedom of action in conquering the Bakiga.

**KATUREGE'S LATER MILITARY ENGAGEMENTS.**

As Katurege entered the 20th Century, his warlike inclinations tended to worsen. His fierceness and bravery deepened. He was a real lion among his people. His Nyasingi at Kibugadi continued pushing him further into more complicated military engagements. Up to the arrival of British imperialism, Katurege was fighting against the Basigyi, Buhima, and other Bakiga south of Kabale. In a lightning move he crossed the lake and overran the unprepared Basigyi of Kagera, who put up some tough resistance for a time, but then gave in. Katurege's Batwa allies were too strong for the Basigyi, who were led by some outstanding personalities like Mugerere and Bituura the sons of Muhanga, Mihengo ya Nkoko of Mubakala, and Rwakara and Rukara the son of Rubyama. The names of these killed on both sides are not available. However, one Musigyi warrior is remembered, Bukoko the son of Rubyama. Most of the survivors had to take refuge in Butobere and beyond Kyanamira, Bukinda and Mpuro na Kanyware. The present Bakungwe-Basigyi antagonism was thus born in blood. After the defeat of the Basigyi, Katurege moved on Kabale and Kikungure ka Abalimbo, and the Batwa overran the Bwagye and the Bahurwa clans, both of whom were routed in very few skirmishes. It is said that the warriors captured many boos including women, food and cattle. Katurege's name had become feared right from Bugyezi in the south to Mpuro in the north-east and from Rutoro in the west to Butobere and beyond in the east. By this time he had already assumed his formidable title of MURIMA, demonstrating his unsurpassed military power. Everywhere men and women, young and old were all whispering about him as the great one, Karuru ka Nyaruyonga.
Perhaps of all his campaigns none was as thorough, total and destructive afterwards to enjoy the fruits of Pax Britannica. Hundreds of cows and cattle. We must examine this battle in detail.

The date is likely to have been between 1605 and 1610. Members of the Kivu Mission of 1810 who passed through Rubanda found that this war had already been fought. The motives for the encounter with the Bahimba are not clear. The Bahimba had hitherto been on good terms with the Bakongwe, and the two clans were so distant that they had no cause for quarrels. Katuregwe’s aim may therefore have been a screen of strength, and perhaps he was not even sure to have more men, and he always had this in his campaigns. It was believed by the Bakongwe that the Bahimba were very rich, especially in cattle and goats. So when Katuregwe called on the Batwa and Bakongwe to attack Rubanda the news was received with great joy. Some people must have imagined how rich they were soon going to be. As usual his leading Batwa fighters were with him. These included Semandwa, Kibwa, Rubondo, Bawe, the son of Nyivakwiri from Bugyere in Buganda, Katuregwe, Mungung, Mubandu, Kukuru, Rutuzi, Mbugyihire, Ngurube, Rwahita, Mubiro, Ntabaruta, Nunguzi, Nsengo, Gicahumuka, Ntengu, Mwami, Majigi, and Mambo. Of the Bakongwe I can only mention Karyankana, Kigwana, Kinugiri, Rwabona, and Rutuliruba the greatest military personality under Katuregwe. He had of late acquired the praise name of Kigwana. He was accompanied by a good number of people to carry his arrows and food. The Bahimba had been warned and this unpreparedness for war added very heavily to their weakness. The great Rubanda valley was reached towards morning and fighting commenced before dawn. Obviously the Bakongwe/Batwa warriors had every advantage and it is no wonder that they emerged victorious. Although the Bahimba were surprised they were however able to put up tough resistance which lasted for some days. They were never short of brave men and heroes. Their occasional fighting against the Basigag and Basakuruk had sharpened their valour to heights almost equivalent to the Bakongwe fighters. Thus these Bahimba had leader as Mr. Ngoloziga shows in his ‘Kigwe N’Akwatura N’Aryo’. They had Rayuka, the son of Mungumya ya Kigwana ya Rakuruku, reckoned by many observers as one of the greatest military personalities the Bahimba ever produced. They also had Bikaatut the son of Barare, who played a very significant role in defending his clanmen.

The Bakongwe left Rubanda desolate. It is remembered by those who escaped that those who survived the attack were lucky indeed, as even small children were massacred. It appeared as if it was a war of extermination against a clan which had hitherto been friendly to Katuregwe’s people. The names of those who perished are not clear. It is believed that the Bahimba named Rusubiri, one of the Bakongwe, but then the Bakongwe killed Birinyindo one of the leading Bahimba. The Bahimba also wounded Bawe, and Mungumya two of the leading Batwa. Those who survived escaped towards Kishangwa and Nyakisheni only returning afterwards to enjoy the fruits of Pax Britannica. Hundreds of cows and goats were carried back to Kishangwa as a sign of victory. Food, honey, beer and women were all captured and taken home as booty. With this end of the campaign Katuregwe stood at the highest point of his power. Literally he was the ruler of the whole Rukiga, having defeated all the Batwa clans which really mattered. Although he had not by then declared himself the king of Rukiga there is no doubt that he was the outstanding military personality, with his power supported by Nyabingi, which was the title always given to Kenya by Kagera, in the British imperialists not arrived.

KATUREGWE’S RELATIONSHIP WITH BRITISH IMPERIALISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

It is not known in which year Katuregwe came into contact with the British Imperialists. However, from the information available it can be inferred that his war was around the year 1890, the year when Captain N. Coote, Captain De Courcy Ireland, and Captains Bulle arrived in the present district of Kigwana, the place where he was born and raised. The British Imperialists were followed by many other European missionaries, among them the Reverend J. Le Tohic, who came to Nyamitanga Mission in Mbarara, in 1910. Kitagana was followed by a Protestant Mission in 1912 and his name was Zakaari. Bubide who in 1913 settled at Kibira near Buganda, while Kitagana settled at Nyamitanga to the south of Kagera. It is obvious from these events that Katuregwe stood in relation to Christianity. He was the son of a Nyabingi chief priest and priestess. His mother, who was still alive, was feared by all because of the power she had acquired through her Nyabingi. Katuregwe therefore viewed the coming of Christianity with extreme seriousness and hostility. Yawana Sebali, who was raised by a Christian family, preached a religion of the European imperialists, with the obvious result that Katuregwe identified Christianity with European tricks aimed at the political domination and enslavement of ruling classes. As had already happened to Rwamoni, Yudo V-Munyiga of Rwanda in 1887. In the circumstances the coming of Europeans from the East was to be opposed strongly, as it was a direct threat to his independence. Indeed this was the most serious threat to Katuregwe in that these Europeans with their Christian evangelist friends were opposing all that Chief Katuregwe believed in and stood for. Thus he believed in freedom to fight against anybody. The imperialists were considered to be among the greatest enemies and were for peace, order and co-operation of all people. The British were opposed to Nyabingi and all it stood for, but Katuregwe’s power and prestige depended on the support his father’s Nyabingi had given him. The Europeans were opposed to polygamy, but Katuregwe was perhaps the greatest polygamist in the territory. Lastly Katuregwe’s territory stood between the Germans in Rwanda, the British in the east, and the Belgians in the vicinity of Mount Muhabura to the west. It was therefore proper for Katuregwe to conclude, as he did, that
his spending territory was bound to be eaten by these groups of Europeans. For all these reasons and more Katuregeye became involved in a new, challenging situation. The diplomats who negotiated the Uganda-Rwanda-Congo treaty completely ignored the fact that half of Katuregeye's territory was handed over to the Germans, leaving the other half to the British. The whole of Mariba, Kyante, Musama and Rutjo were given to Rwanda and only Kashasha and Kishanje with the rest of south Kigeli were given to the British. Some people believe that the half of Katuregeye's territories which was incorporated into Rwanda was in fact given to Katuregeye, Katuregeye's oldest brother, whose home was in Kyante. However we now know that this was not the case. The imperialists, to be sure, never at any time took cognisance of this fact in deciding the boundary, and in fact the boundary from Rwetende in the south-east to Kyante in the south-west excluded hundreds of square kilometres of Bakiga territorial lands that were handed over to Rwanda, affecting a permanent division of a tribe. However, as to compensate the Bakiga for their lost territory, the Europeans robbed the whole of Buhumba Province from Rwanda and incorporated it into the new Kigeli District. It is easy to see the consequences of this boundary. It was unacceptable to both Katuregeye and Mwami Yuhi V Musiinga, for having cut across their territories. For Katuregeye this was serious as more than half of his Bakongwe clansmen and his Batwa allies were included in Rwanda. As for Buhumba it was under the overall leadership of Mutwakile NYINDO the son of the deceased Mwami Kigeli IV Rwabugiri. Nyindo, although under British rule, still paid allegiance to his former chief Funa IV Musinga, who was estranged by the resistance of Muvumwa (Muhumwa), a widow of Rwabugiri who was working her way from Rwetende westwards towards Kabale where she claimed she was going to organise her supporters for a final push against Mwami Yuhi V Musiinga of Rwanda. She wanted her son Bulegye to take over the throne of Rwanda and she was busy recruiting Bakiga to join her armies. The story of Muvumwa has been told by other writers in detail and it is not of interest, going into it here. She succeeded in mobilising Bakiga to her cause. Chief Katuregeye however never supported her. He suspected her intentions as he suspected other intruders in his territory. Although his presence on the periphery of Katuregeye's territory did not directly affect him very much, it seriously complicated a situation which was already confused and enabled him to do anything he liked with impunity. He revived his campaigns against the Busigi and other clans around the lake. This renewed offensive from Kashasha could not be tolerated by British imperialists who were determined to pacify the whole area, which they were in the process of calling KIGEZI.

THE IKUMBA CONFERENCE OF 1912.

The British had already sent Captain R. E. Critchley Salmond as the Acting Political Officer of this new rugged area. On 20/10/1912 he called a meeting of all the Baganda chiefs and the influential indigenous leaders and outstanding personalities, to allocate responsibility for governing the country in peace, order and clan reconciliation. The meeting is described by Seballija in a later chapter. One of the first things discussed was the cessation of hostilities between different clans and peoples. Katuregeye was taken back by this suggestion as it afforded him more than anybody else. His fame and position depended on violence, and it is understandable that he left the meeting unconvinced of the need for peace and order. Second the meeting discussed the administrative divisions of the country and the chiefs to be appointed. The aim of the British was to create as many local chiefs as possible. These chiefs would be under the overall supervision of the Baganda chiefs. Europeans would issue directives to the Baganda who would pass them on to the local chiefs who would enforce the directives. The meeting did not find it difficult to appoint chiefs for the non-Baganda like Rujumba and Bufumbira.

The main task of the meeting was to decide the administrative structure of Rukiga which had been under the domination of Katuregeye. One would have thought that he would have been confirmed as the ruler, as a full county chief. This was not the case. The territory was too large to be given to one local chief to administer, for fear that the different clans would not accept the leadership of Katuregeye, who was their deadly enemy. The Acting Political Officer therefore was forced to limit Katuregeye's power by reducing his territory of more than seventy square miles to a mere sub-county of about fifty square kilometres. His new territory was confined to an area west of Lake Bunyonyi in the present sub-counties of Butungi, Rubaya and Muko. Katuregeye also made junior to Nyindo of Buhumba, by declaring Buhumba as one of the divisions of Buhumba. Captain Nyindo was not interested in exercising the bravery and war-like inclinations of Katuregeye and his ignorance of the administrative knowledge that was called for, placed him under the direct, close supervision of Stefano Musoke, an outstanding Mogyanda Administrator who had come with Yovana Seballija in 1908. Whilst this supervision was logical and proper from the point of view of the British imperialists, to Katuregeye it amounted to gross abuse. His territory had been reduced to a tiny symbol of Kishanje and he was to be supervised as if he were a prisoner. How could anybody expect this man of unlimited ambition to accept the new order?

Captain Salmond tried in vain to make Rwagara, a Musigir leader of Kagarama, a full county chief for the whole of Rukiga east of Lake Bunyonyi. This proposal was not acceptable to the Baganda leaders of different clans nor even of the same clan, but obviously the idea was another affront to Katuregeye who, everybody agreed, was the outstanding Mukiga personality, and yet a mere sub-county chief.

Most of those who attended left with satisfaction, perhaps with the exception of Nyindo and his sub-county chief, Katuregeye. Nyindo was displeased because he had been made to recognise the British rulers while rejecting his former master, the Mwami of Rwanda. As for Katuregeye the new chief had in effect rejected all that he stood for and he had been turned into an insignificant ruler. It is not surprising that he immediately consulted his Batwa advisors who decided on an all-out offensive against the British imperialists and their Baganda agents in an attempt to re-establish his dominating presence throughout his former territories.
KAUTUREGEY'S REBELLION AGAINST BRITISH IMPERIALISM

We have seen how the coming of the British and Christianity adversely affected Katagwe. What follows below is the story of Katagwe's rebellion against the new forces of colonialism and foreign domination.

By the end of 1912 the power of Nyiragahamuzi had been completely crushed by the British. It should be remembered that Muhumuza's power was based on the Nyabingi cult which was anathema to the British, who ousted rebellion and challenge with it. It is no wonder that the British reached the conclusion that the only way of overcoming armed rebellion among the peoples of Kigori was to eradicate the Nyabingi priests and their followers. They therefore crossed the lake and entered Chief Katagwe's territory near Lake Bunyonyi. There was no other chief than CHANDINGE, or BARAHEBUZA, chief Katagwe's mother. She was at Kashaasha where a big palace had been built for her. Of late many more Nyabingi spirits had sprung up in this whole forest area. Among these were the famous Nyinogasand that was centred on the shores of Lake Bunyonyi at Buhungu, and led by a Mukengwe leader called Bitaluka. In the centre was a huge palace in Katagwe's territory on a Nyabingi-eradication campaign. The first person to be traced was the son of Barba, a Munguma, on the shores of Lake Bunyonyi. Bitaluka, the son of Mahinga at Kagarama, Buntumuba, the son of Nkaiku of Butunda, Bukima the son Ndagweyera of Kisme in Karuinja, Rubaya, and others were all outstanding Nyabingi priests and were all in for trouble from the British Imperialists. In Rwanda the Germans had mounted a similar campaign which cleared Chief MAHIREU, the son of Rukara, wala Rubiizi. Matete was shot by a German officer, Major Godwin, in 1912. However his Nyabingi has survived and has been in the hands of his son Ngabirezi who died only recently. Another outstanding personality to die at the hands of the Germans was Basesa, the son of Nyirentwarere, a Muteza and ally of Katagwe. He was caught by the Germans in an ambush in May 1912 and was tried, convicted and executed on the spot. The list of those who were taken into captivity is long and includes Nyabinga, and his son Bulegeya, and many other outstanding Bajiga personalities. What is important here, however, is that chief Katagwe's mother herself was captured and taken prisoner to Mbarara. She is said to have died on her way back from detention. Her frightening capture is told in "Kigezi Operations 1914-1917" in Uganda Journal edited by H. T. Thomas.

With all these humiliations against his mother and himself Katagwe could not but take the offensive. His relationship with Stefano Musoke deteriorated sharply. Katagwe became unco-operative and he gave an order to all his subjects around the lake to sink all the canoes so that the Europeans could not cross the lake. The situation was made more complex by the outbreak of the First World War, involving the Germans, the British and the Belgians. The British thought that the Germans were going to take over Kigezi District altogether, as was gauged from the behavior of the German resident in Rwanda, Captain Wittgen. He stirred up a revolt among the people to Bufumbira and Butungi. Nyindo and his subordinates Katagwe and Birihira the son of Mipimwe, all rebelled against the British and pledged their support to the Mwami of Rwanda. This rebellion amounted to support for German supremacy in this part of Africa. Kigori which had for about two years enjoyed a spell of peace was now in complete turmoil once more. In his "Kigezi operations 1914-1917" Thomas describes vividly how this conflict between the British and the local chiefs was conducted.

The conflict in Bufumbira is omitted. It was more protracted, and involved such outstanding local military personalities as Nyindo, chief Biruhira, Mubumirwe, Hugumango, and most important of all the famous MUTSENGI BINUMBIRI, who had just arrived from Butungi and fixed his might behind Nyindo in an attempt to defeat the British Imperialists. The tragic consequences of that revolt are too well known. Mutswave Nyindo was captured in May 1916 together with chief Biruhira, and they were taken into exile where they met their death some years later. On the other hand Nkidebehe escaped and reappeared in the 1917 Nyakakhanyi uprising. As for Katagwe he was beyond reach, hidden in the Echuya forest where he was safely guarded by his faithful Batwa allies.

THE FALL OF CHIEF KATUREGEY AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Chief Katagwe, encouraged by the heroic resistance of Nyindo, decided to make a last desperate attempt at challenging the Europeans whom he had come to know as militarily superior. It is said that his Nyabingi advised him not to make any more incursions in British territory as his chances were far from good. But Katagwe could not afford to remain hidden in the Echuya forest for long and he decided to renew his campaigns. To everybody's surprise he decided to strike against the sons of Mahirane, his fellow clansmen, residing in Rutoje. He confiscated their property. This attack on Mahirane's sons could be said to be the most serious single military misadventure of his entire life. These sons of Mahirane called on the British who were in Bufumbira for the Nyindo rebellion, to come and capture Katagwe. He had by then abandoned his palace at Kashaasha and Mutumengu and had constructed a new and smaller hiding place in the centre of the Echuya forest where it was hoped he would never be reached. Even there he had not given up hope of one day reconquering his lost territories by his military might. He believed, like the Maji Maji fighters of 1905 in Tanganyika, that the bullets of the British and their supporters would turn into water. Indeed, strangely enough, this was believed by all his followers, especially the Batwa fighters.

When the British heard of his hiding place they immediately mobilised a mixed expedition of Europeans, Arab askaris, Baganda agents and Bajiga porters and askaris. As Katagwe and his supporters made merry and feasted in the centre of the forest their enemies were lying within a stone's throw. The British were fully armed with all sorts of weapons including a machine gun which had been the terror of Bufumbira for the past year.
What then followed was an unequal military engagement which put Katuregwe and his people at a big disadvantage. As the attacking army opened fire the Batwa tried to put up some resistance but the odds were very much against them. Katuregwe decided on a heroic end of his career and he called for his great Rugote bow, a bow which had been the cause of thousands of deaths for the last twenty years. Before he initiated heavy losses on his enemies chief Katuregwe was critically shot with a bullet fired by a Mukiga askari when history has identified as MWENZWA, a Musigi by clan. The bullet pierced his thigh and his Rugote was put out of action once and for all. His supporters hurriedly carried him deeper into the forest. The battle of Kashiha was over and had inflicted heavy losses on Katuregwe’s armies, thus ranking as the single military engagement which Katuregwe lost. It appeared as if his end was in sight. The bullet wound soon worsened and he had to be moved to a safer place where it was hoped he would recuperate. They moved him to Kyevu near the southern end of Lake Bunyonyi. Thousands of Bakongwe clansmen flocked to Kyevu to pay their last respects to their greatest son. All the local medicmen could not cure the bullet wound. He passed away in the early months of 1915 and was accorded a hero burial by his fellow clansmen and their faithful Batwa allies. None of his sons acquired his military personality, and consequently none of his descendants were in a position to continue championing his cause of a completely free territory in which the British imperialists had no place. His detractors were only too happy to see a man who had been a nuisance for more than two decades had at last been got rid of. It is not therefore surprising that the Busingiro did not honour any of his sons, like Rutobo, or Nsairra, or Kamananga, with even a sub-county chieftaincy but instead chose none other to take over the new administration. Katuregwe’s Nyabingi cult however was not destroyed. His brother Magyengwe, who was staying in Kyante, managed to escape the wrath of the Germans and continued to serve as the chief priest of Nyabingi until his death some years after, when it was taken over by his sons and nephews up to the present day.

THE OTHER SIDE OF CHIEF KATUREGWE

We have mainly concentrated on Katuregwe’s public life and paid no attention to his private and social life. We had better therefore examine it in order to make the history of this man complete.

Many elders who knew him well contend that he was a very lively man, with a sense of humour, and full of kindness. Some of the Baihima elders I saw like Matoyo and Majuna believe that Katuregwe, though he fought against them did not set up a reign of terror over them. He made a brotherhood with some of them and even built one of his numerous homes in the centre of their territory at Mutungu hill overlooking Mariga Nyabirundo. Some of the Baihima men went to him for food during the famine of Muvorong. He even married their daughters, like Bukuni the daughter of Bweyera, the son of Mgbunyama of Mutungu. He married Nyakinwara from his adversaries the Bahasa, and as we have already seen he married Nyakimwira a daughter of the Basumiri of Muku. His wives are estimated at about forty but only eleven names were available:

1. Beasha the mother of Daudi Rutobo, Katuregwe’s eldest son who is still alive. 
2. Nyabwensha 
3. Nyamihanda 
4. Nyangire 
5. Nyakimwira 
6. Buherero 
7. Bakumi 
8. Mongano 
9. Nyamurwa 
10. Nyamakate, the mother of Kamanaanga. She was one of the youngest and the most beautiful. Most of them he married just before his death, and therefore they had not as yet produced any children. It is not surprising therefore to note that he produced few children. The following are some of his known sons:

1. Daudi Rutobo 
2. Nsairra 
3. Buyongwe 
4. Muhenda who went to Kimalinga 
5. Mitweyambo, who went to Kimalinga 
7. Sulmani Kamanaanga 
8. Katuregwe had three brothers — Magyengwe the eldest, Bemukama the father of Burakari and Rutuma and Rwagura who are still living; and then Kiribata the young brother and the father of Muhendo, and Tabea, who is now Rukono. Kiribata was almost as brave as his brother Katuregwe. He too died when he was still very young before he had fully displayed his might.

Katuregwe had four sisters who all married into the family of Rubuizi, the son of Rubuizi, the famous Muhenda elder of Kyante. These are Basmikwa who was married to Rubuizi. She is the mother of Manyimwe and Karangwe. The others are Taburuyaro the mother of Ruvugumbo the son of Mafene. The other two are Nyakim and Ntwima. As we have seen, Rubuizi was the son of Rubuizi the man who married Kanzira the daughter of Rukigwama the very first Nyabingi in the Kingdom of Ruanda. It is therefore understandable that these girls were all married into a great Engiwa family. Mafene the son of Rubuizi was at one time so powerful that he became known as king of Nderwa, Mafene, like Katuregwe, never compromised with European Imperialism and as a result in 1912 he was captured by a German officer, Major Godwin who immediately executed him by firing squad. Mafene’s death did not in any way weaken his father’s Nyabingi’s influence as his son Nyabuburee took it over as the new Mafene (priest) until recently when he passed away, leaving it in the hands of his living sons.
Those who knew him well tell us that Katuregye had a middle-sized girth, and was rather tall with a very long and imposing beard which covered his chest. His eyes as red as burning fire and full of power, dignity, bravery and fierceness. He died when he was still young, in his forties and before he had realized his great dream of setting up a new kingdom. His was a tragic death, although one can contend that he died honourably, fighting, and no doubt his fame will live for ever.

CHIEF KATUREGYE IN RETROSPECT.

We should now tackle some thorny questions as, what was his aim in fighting for so long? How important is he in historical terms? Was he a megalomaniac who saw himself as being all important as the new leader of the Bakiga people or was he a great proto-nationalist, a great leader who died battling against the forces of imperial domination and enslavement of Africans?

There are no clearcut answers, and his fellow clansmen are not agreed on his greatness, let alone his fellow Bakiga tribesmen. One woman was of the opinion that Katuregye should be regarded as the worst enemy of peace and order. “How can such a man be called great since he was only interested in destroying everything and building nothing?” she said. However, she added, “He was certainly a great man in terms of fighting and that is all”. Another informer told me “he was a great man he killed many and to this day they still fear him and his property’. He was not at all great and if anything he was a criminal of the first order.” I know many Bakiga people in Kigezi and even beyond hold the same views. But then take the views of the elder who said, “There is no doubt that Murchia (Katuregye) was a brave man. He was as brave as a lion and he was always in the forefront of battle and he never lost any battle except the one which finished him. But even then it was because he was taken by surprise, without any proper preparation, that he lost. He had no fear of death as his Nyabinghi was always with him. Indeed he is the greatest man that has ever lived in the Bukiga territory”. This view is equally valid and it is supported by many friends and foes alike. Many Bakonge clansmen are of this view and it is not surprising that they always sing of him, especially when they are gathered around a pot of beer. He is popularly known as Karuzza, Ka Nyaruvonga Ruhumulira Akanza Ga Musisi. But not all of them are of this opinion. Katuregye was not friendly to all his clansmen either. Thus he was first a foe of Bwamili the son of Mahiriru, as we have seen. At one time his undisputed leadership was tested by NDUURU, the son of Kabede, one of the most formidable Bakonge medicine men in Ndogera. Ndururum’s power was almost as great as that of Katuregye except that he was not a military personality of Katuregye’s stature. In order to ensure his supremacy in this area chief Katuregye ordered the immediate death of Ndururu. This was done and the Ndururu family fell. Those who supported him did so either out of fear or because they were promised great things. Katuregye’s battles against his fellow tribesmen alienated him and his Bakonge clansmen, the results of which have been extremely serious. Up to this day a Mukongwe is an enemy of the Bakiga people, his fellow tribesmen. Because of this hostility very few people have let their daughter be married by the Bakonge men. This is especially the case with the Bahamba, Basakuru and the clans of South Ndogera county in Buhuya, Katumba, Kagerereyenyi and Rubaya sub-counties. The result has been that the Bakonge have always relied on neighbouring Rwanda clan for marriage. Many Bakiga clans refer to the Bakonge and their Batwa allies as BABISHA, meaning enemies. Indeed to mention that you are a Mukongwe can mean a risk to one’s life in many parts of Kigezi and even instant death in some other quarters. The same applies to the Batwa who are even more hated. This explains the present situation whereby a Mutwa may not cross the lake and visit Kabale without risking his life. This situation is changing but very slowly indeed. Complete reconciliation may take more years unless some concerted efforts are made by Bakiga leaders to learn how to forgive and forget the past. Perhaps the government should undertake research into this antagonism and put it right.

What were the aims of Katuregye after all? Was it to build an independent kingdom, or merely was he interested in enriching himself. These questions are not simple. It should be remembered that Katureg’s rule was based on Nyabingi. It is not clear what this Nyabingi wanted but certainly Katureg wanted power over others and this power is political. It may be that he wanted power in the administration but otherwise his aim was political. He was aware that a person could easily make himself king, as his fellow-clansmen had done in Kayonza, where Musinga reigned. Musinga’s ancestry unfortunately seems to be very confused. His son Rwankwenda gives us the following genealogy. He is Rwankwenda, the son of Musinga (Byabagami II) the son of Nyakairi II, the son of Twirima (Rutabuka), the son of Rwengabo, the son of Byabagami I, the son of Karambe, the son of Muharewira, the son of Yeye, the son of Nyakairi I, the son of Ndiruhubera, the son of Kairegwa. However, the Bakonge elders were unanimous in asserting that Rwankwenda is the son of Musinga, the son of Nyakairi, the son of Ruturuka, the son of Tabaro, the son of Kandwe, the son of Baraziguruka, the son of Rutuwa, the son of Muhondora, the son of Kakongwe, the son of Kairegwa. The elders believe that it is Ruturuka who moved from Mubende during the famine of 1979. When he reached Kayonza he easily dominated the local people and became their king. One then wonders why Rwankwenda and Paul Ngolongoza give a different genealogy. Should we believe that Ndiruhubera was a brother of Muhondora and Sharebwe (the well known sons of Kakongwe) or should we hold that Ndiruhubera was the brother of Kairegwa? Perhaps the latter is the case. This is another obvious area for further research so that a reconciliation may be effected between these two accounts. At any rate Katureg must have known of the Kayonza kingdom.

How then should we evaluate chief Katureg in light of his resistance against British-Ganda imperialism? The British imperialists regarded him as a negative personality as indeed they regarded all Nyabingi leaders.
They regarded him as a great threat to their survival in Kigezi and they therefore decided on an all out challenge to his power, as they had already done to kings Kabalega and Muwanga and indeed to all other African resisters against imperialism. Kateregye’s role in this respect should surely be hailed by all African nationalists who should therefore regard him and all those others who resisted the British rule in Kigezi and Uganda as great men who should be recorded as great proto-nationalists, comparable to the Mul meaning, the Mau Mau leaders. Chief Kateregye’s name deserves to be given to some of the most prominent roads, schools and hospitals in our great Republic. Kateregye was undoubtedly great. Should we deny him this title of greatness simply because he destroyed and massacred the homes of his fellow tribesmen? As we all know historical greatness does not usually take into account such views otherwise men like Napoleon Bonaparte and Bismarck would never have been called great. Great men in history invariably are great fighters whose actions and decisions did a lot to change the order of the world, whether for worse or for better. In this respect Chief Kateregye was great. It is unfortunate that he died before he had achieved his dream of establishing a new independent state which could have been a forward step for the historical and political development of his fellow Bakiga tribesmen. We know that many kingdoms and empires over the world were born out of conquest and those conquering leaders are considered great because of their heroic deeds. Chief Kateregye was conquering his own tribesmen. We should not forget that the Bakiga people were always a target for conquest by the surrounding kings of Rwanda, Mpororo and Karagwe. In the circumstances Kateregye’s conquest of Rukiga was the better alternative and the coming of the Europeans certainly did great harm to the Bakiga people by tipping the bad the political unity which Kateregye was trying to proclaim. We have already seen how Kateregye’s determined resistance against the British intruders was based on sound reasoning. His was a defensive battle against those who had so ignominiously exiled his mother, had robbed him of his empire, and at the Ikamba meeting of 1912 ignored greatness by making him a mere Gombolbo chief. Kateregye decided to fight because the basis of his power was being threatened. Nyabingi priests and priestesses were being rounded up and forced into exile. Certainly Kateregye’s fighting was justifiable in view of such abuse. He used pretending that he was of no good at all. His greatness speaks for itself and he must be remembered as one of the greatest men Kigezi has produced. His fellow Bakongwe clansmen and indeed his Batwa allies all regard him as the greatest warrior Rukiga has produced. They contend that Murima (Kateregye) the son of Nyarugoza, Karuza ka Nyarugunya, Ruchumitana Akasimba ka Musi, Batware ya Abakongwe was a great man and that he shall be remembered for ever.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Some Incidents in Kigezi’s History.

by F. Kerwement, assisted by Karaza and Leo Nyirishobye.

Battles between Bahimba and Bajingwe. The Bahimba and Bajingwe have the same origin, both being descendants of a woman named Mugiri. Hostility originated in a quarrel the two groups had at a wedding feast. A Mugimbe, daughter of Mubega, son of Nyamuwunga was married to a man of the Bungura clan. The cows in the bridegroom’s bride-price had come from the Bajingwe, so when the Bungura were paying the bride-price they invited the Bajingwe to come with them. When most people were drunk, fighting broke out. The Bahimba attacked the Bajingwe and Bungura, and drove them out before the ceremony had come to an end. Some time later, some Bahimba took their cattle to graze in an area occupied by the Bajingwe, who were irritated and used the occasion as an opportunity for revenge. The Bajingwe began beating the Bahimba herdsmen, who raised the alarm and summoned their clansmen to assist them. In the resulting confrontation the Bajingwe outnumbered the Bahimba and forced them to retreat. Frequent fighting resulted, and the Bahimba migrated from Rurengere to Kibagungu, opposite Rutanga in the direction of Rubanda.

During these battles Ruyokwa distinguished himself. He was the son of Maganya, son of Nkunda, son of Rukamba, son of Kibimba, son of Njorge, son of Rwengera. His mother was Kijobe, daughter of Njorwa, son of Mubwa, a Mubwa by clan. Ruyokwa felt like grazing his cattle in Rurengere, the heart of Bajingwe territory at that time. When he consulted seers (including Nyakirima ka Mubora, a famous Muziga seer), they advised him not to go, as it was very dangerous. The daring Ruyokwa paid no heed to seers, and went to Rurengere to graze his cattle. The Bajingwe, infuriated, chased him out of their homes to kill him. Ruyokwa saw the danger and advised his step-brother Runyobire to take the cattle away fast as possible. Ruyokwa himself took cover behind a bush and ambushed the Bajingwe mob as they stormed past, killing very many of them. The survivors fled home to get reinforcements, including a Mubworo who had once been Ruyokwa’s father’s servant, but who was now ordered to kill Ruyokwa. When the Mubworo came face to face with Ruyokwa, he begged his pardon and said that he had not known that he was supposed to kill the son of his former master. Ruyokwa welcomed him as an ally, but as he advanced against the Bajingwe he was stabbed in the back and killed by the Mubworo.
This incident further inflamed hostilities. On one occasion a Mwongera went to hunt bush-bucks. The Bajingwe, hearing his noise, thought it was one of the frequent attacks of the Bahimba, so they attacked the hunter. The Bahimbas were sufficiently annoyed to come down in full force against the Bajingwe, drove them back, and even expelled them from Rubanda. In revenge, some Bajingwe fled to Kyencere in Rutungo, and others fled to Rwiganda in Nyakabinyezi. The Bahimbas looted the property of the departed Bajingwe. Curiously, despite these hostilities, the Bahimbas and Bajingwe continue to acknowledge their common descent from Mugiri: they do not inter-marry, because of this relationship; and they observe the common taboo of all BeMugiri, namely “enkaanda”.

Famines. Three major famines are remembered and talked about. They are called a) Kita naakaara, b) that which took place during Rwabugiri’s invasion of Nkorwa, and c) Rwanyo-Kizoba, or Nyirvenza, or Rioranda. Kita naakaara was the first in order, and derives its name from its severity.

After an attack by Rwabugiri (described below), Nkorwa was plunged into a period of famine, largely because people went into hiding and did not tend their crops, and also because there was an exceptionally dry season. Massive emigration resulted. Most of the inhabitants of Rukanna emigrated.

Those who stayed behind included the following: Rwabizibla, a Mugisi, son of Banya; Kaferuza, son of Rwabuyaga; Rwehengerererwa, son of Banyaracesa; and Nakwita, son of Banyaranesa, also a Mugisi. The emigration also occurred from Kiraara. Those who remained there included Eramutonyi, a Musigga; and Bwachiga, a Mugisi, son of Busiwa, grandfather of Paul Ikireke. In Kiraara those who remained included Nsungu, son of Busiwa, Musigga (Mubonye), son of Muterere; and Kavira, a Musigga (Mubonye), son of Busiwa.

The third famine—Mukarwayo, or Rwanyo-Kizoba, or Rioranda—followed the Batwa invasion of Nkorwa (described below), because agriculture was neglected as people fled to save their lives and their cattle. The problem was compounded by a third year of dry season. So severe was the famine that blankets and cowhides were carried on people’s heads. Some Bajiga emigrated to Kayanza, which was then ruled by Rwakalisa. After the famine some returned to their original homes, but some remained in Kayanza. The name Mushonomyo, a line or chain of objects was given to the famine because of the lines of corpses of those who died on the paths looking for food, and because of the lines of people still alive, walking along the paths in search of food. Some people conferred the name RWanyo-Kizoba because of the long spell of sunshine “cezeba” means sunshine) which continued for three years. Others again gave the name Rwanganda (from “okuranda” to crop) because the famine spread like a bush-fire to most of Nkorwa and even to Ankole and Rwanda. It is believed, incidentally, that the Bajiga originally ate peas, sorghum, yams, beans, and other vegetables, and that potatoes were introduced later from Rwanda. The first imported crop was called Kandere meaning “let me see” in Kinyarwanda, and Kandekei in Rukiga. Potatoes were first grown by Banidora, Kangeni, and Byanyima, all sons of Rwandese a Muyume of Runyamwe sub-clan.

Rwabugiri, son of Rwagvohera, was a Mwami of Rwanda (who died in about 1495). He engaged with Nkorwa, and discovered that it was ruled by a man named Mugemo, who had great status because he was feared as a magician and had a massive following. Rwabugiri decided to invade Nkorwa, capture Mugembe, and bring the region under his own control. Setting out, he passed via Tseero, a place occupied by Besakuru, and came to Isezero and eventually to Nyarubogo where Mugembe lived. To disguise his intentions he told Mugembe that he was a poor servant named Ruzafo a name implying that he had suffered from malnutrition—seeking a matter. The equally cunning Mugembe suspected mischief and told Rwabugiri that his name was Muvamunywa, meaning that he was stubborn. Sensing Mugembe’s cunning and bravery, Rwabugiri gave up and retired homewards, on his way he burned down Tseero. From there he travelled to a place called Omu Mipambi.

Some days later Rwabugiri launched a surprise attack on Mugembe, who was unprepared and fled naked. Rwabugiri killed his wife and looted his property. The campaign continued for a year, and culminated in an invasion of the entire area known as Nyarubogo. Using this as a base, Rwabugiri and his men ravaged the region around Lake Bahumbe. Some Bakiga survivors fled with their property onto the islands while Rwabugiri satiated with the cattle he had looted, went on to Kihangwagwe, intending to pass through Ruwemo amongst the Banyarwanda, and thence through Nyarubogo and Nderanga on his way back to Rwanda.

At Nyarubogo, however, Rwabugiri was attacked by Mutana son of Rwakiruru, a Kishamba Muhmwa, who told him that he had missed a great many cattle on the Island and in Busongora. With this news and in Busongora he attacked the Bakiga and satiated with cattle. Therefore, despite the relief of the Bakiga was short-lived and they were suddenly confronted by Rwabugiri’s troops. They were determined not to lose their cattle, so they set up a fight for their property. A fierce battle ensued. Bigashwa Orahuseke, father of Rugandia, was killed; so was Mugurwa son of Bwamwe, a Musigga. Rwabugiri’s men managed to capture some cattle, including a few belonging to Ntalugwara, son of Katabarwa, from Butembe. He is the grandson of Titebwa and Nshungurwe of Nkombe and is now living near Kibungo. The Bakiga killed Kamazi, the father-in-law of Rwabugiri. This loss so annoyed Rwabugiri that he turned his anger against Mutana and had him hanged by his soldiers. Thereafter he returned to Rwanda, never to return. Nkorwa was never again invaded by the kings of Rwanda, and Rwabugiri himself died shortly afterwards.

The Batwa (or pygmies) first lived in Kishangwa, where they were ruled by Katuruwe (whose career is considered in Mr. Rwakakwee). Rwakakwe, who promised to show them where they could find cattle. On their way they passed through Eshango, in order to avoid water, which they dreaded. When they arrived in Kigazi they were led by Rwamukwhe, a Mukungwe (and therefore of Kigazi’s clan) who lived near Mugabi. He promised to show them homes where many cattle were owned. They reached Rwamukwhe and invaded Illumbi, the home of Bigamwe (nicknamed Rutagoma). Bigamwe was the father of Muyume and Rwangaste. The Batwa killed

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Bukcore. (Further information of Katuregye may be found in Mr. Rwabihig's chapter; further information on the expansion of the Batwa may be read in P. Maleko. The struggle for Dominance in Butumbira, Uganda Journal 1970, vol 34, part 1.)

The Death of Ntokibirri has already been described (in Y. Sekatija's chapter, and in P. Ngolegwa, Kigezi and the People, and in F. S. Bazi, The incident at Nyakishenyi, 1917, Uganda Journal 1963, vol 32, part 1.) This section simply adds to, and modifies, the established account of the incident. Ntokibirri was a Muhunde from Nhaare, who was responsible for organizing the incident at Nyakishenyi in 1917. Refraining from Nyakishenyi, he came through Bukimbi to Ikumba, and his first stop was at the house of Bikaantu, son of Bereza, son of Kataboziibwa, son of Nyanziro, a Muwinsa of the Babogbo sub-clan. In order to protect himself Ntokibirri selected as his brother of Bikaantu. Ntokibirri's aim was to settle with the Bikaantu so as to develop the influence of the people of different clans, hoping to win their support and then to attack Kabale administrative head-quarters.

One night he took some soldiers and his friend Bubungi, a Musagala, and went to visit the man of Kabagala, son of Kagera, son of Bwagara, son of Bubinge, and a Musaga of Babugbe sub-clan. Bwagara, was one of those who had been appointed chiefs by the Europeans in 1912, and had actually been appointed chief of Kabagala, which at that time included Bubinge and Bwagara as well. Bubungi and his friend introduced Ntokibirri to Bwagara, and Ntokibirri duly proposed brotherhood with this leading Bwagara. The chief-brotherhood ritual, Ntokibirri asked Bwagara to conduct, in which he was to attack Kabale and drive out the Europeans and restore independence. Bwagara, however, was alarmed by the bloody consequences of the abortive revolt at Nyakishenyi, and he was unwilling to give men to Ntokibirri to fight at Kabale. He offered the excuse that he did not have many fighting men, and he suggested that Ntokibirri first attack Ikumba, that if proved that Ntokibirri could easily defeat Europeans, then it would be easy to raise fresh fighting men for an attack to Kabale. Bwagara gave Ntokibirri a sheep for protection, and the latter set out for Ikumba.

At a place called Kusakoma, Ntokibirri's party stopped to rest, and to cook their sheep. While they did so, they were found by Bawemwa, son of Nyabawe, and by Mugorora son of Nkaka, son of Bireyaburema. Bawemwa's father Nyabawe was a man who was a chief of the area, and was committed to the new regime. Bawemwa and Mugorora were aware of Ntokibirri's intentions, and reported to Nyabawe at Murwa. Anticipating Nyabawe's attack, Ntokibirri's party fled to Bikaantu's home at Nyamahasa early the next morning. News of Ntokibirri's movements was brought to Nyabawe, and to the warriors of the gombele collector: the chief himself, Taabatla, was away conferring with the area chief, Sahaalaa, at Nyanjishanje. Nyabawe and the gombele chief's wife sent a message to Sebali, Nyabawe was immediately sent home to collect asari and irregular soldiers for an attack on Ntokibirri. However, Nyabawe was a person of Bikaantu, and did not want his friend to be killed in a mass attack. He therefore sent a secret message...
to Bikaaku, advising him to send away his family and his cattle, and to throw a feast for Ntokibiri's party.

During the feast, Ndyabwwe and his men appeared, and as Ntokibiri tried to break through the wall of the house he was shot and wounded by an askari named Bigirwenda. Three of Ntokibiri's men were killed outright. Ntoki (the familiar name of Ntokibiri) was seized and bound tightly with ropes while his followers scattered in fear. Ntoki was then tortured to make him reveal the names of his collaborators. In great pain, Ntoki began to mention the names of his blood-brothers and allies. Among those names was that of Bikaaku, but the latter insisted that the allegation was fabricated. Eventually the soldiers decided to kill Ntoki, so they dropped him and attacked him. The final blow was delivered by Bagazonza, younger brother of Kayumba, a Muhimba by clan. It was not the bullet which killed Ntoki (as has been asserted in other published accounts), but the assault of the soldiers thereafter. Those who were responsible for the killing feared to inform the District Commissioner, since they feared that he would kill them in turn. The true, detailed account was revealed by Rurenga, son of Kahindiro. Rurenga had been implicated by Ntokibiri, but was saved by his friend Ndyabwwe, who testified that Rurenga was loyal to the Europeans and to the new regime.

CHAPTER NINE

Traditional Religion.
By F. Gerand

The Idea of God

To analyze the idea of God, here is a testimony about an ancient cult which provides a clue about the understanding of the divinity. They were offering sacrificial, and after roasting the meat they would gather some of it, put it on leaves (kibo) and bring it to the hut dedicated to the mandwa. Then they would say: "Eat, be satisfied, give to the one who gives you, and recognize the one who refuses you. Come to me, your ears and eyes, and return to your dwelling, open my eyes so that I may step on a stone and break it." They would take away some meat, not offered to the mandwa, and divide it into three parts. A man would throw up one piece in the air saying: This is for the Creator who created me. Then he would take another piece and say: This is for the giver who gives me life. With the third piece of meat he would say: This is for sun who shows me the way. Sometimes they would take the three pieces of meat together saying: These are yours, they are for the Landlord (Nyamabora), Creator Sun, and Giver. Then after the meal they would say: Landlords eat them there, make me see, travel and return, take away from me all my enemies.

This text indicates that in the mind of some people there were some polytheistic remnants. God was addressed in the plural "Ba rnya obutaka" and several names were such as Nyamuhanga, Kazeoba, Rugaba. On the other hand, in proverbs and expressions God was understood as one and as the only Creator. He was often called Ruhanga, Rutaremwa, Nyamuhanga. The idea of God was focused on the divine transcendence only, but God's immanence was absent.

If God was not understood as immanent, it is because, in the past he might have been somewhat localized. Perhaps this was the original meaning of the name Kazeoba (like the sun). Such a nice image might have prevented more speculation. And this lack of immanence in the idea of God was the origin of misunderstanding. Since man was not dependent on God's immanence he was bound to be under "mandwa" dependence. God's transcendence alone could not account for the absolute and dependant character of man, because the notion of God's immanence was missing; the concept of "mandwa" was then a necessity of the mind. The absence of God's immanence and the confusing concept of mandwa brought about misunderstanding on secondary causes and on human free will; this was an obstacle to progress. Man was not understand so much as an independent free being but rather more as a dependent creature whose needs (health, wealth, fertility etc.) were subjected to the whimsical influence of mandwa (ears and
eyes) living in the neighbourhood of mankind. There was a lot of confusion as well about man's free will which could not be clearly understood as an absolute. In short man was not fully recognised in his prerogatives because God was not fully understood as God.

However to have a better understanding of the idea of God in the local traditions it should be seen within an comprehensive view of the universe but it is difficult to rediscover this system in its ancient expression.

Veneration of Ancestors’ Memory

The analysis of all the expressions of worship is a major work. We limited our inquiry to a few historical details.

Not all the nine Bacwezi were known in Kigezi but the main ones were quite familiar, such as Murindwa, Mugasha, Nuhura, but they were imports brought in by the Bahima, who strengthened their political power by spreading the cult of some of their famous ancestors. Before the arrival of the Bashambo the Bakiga had their own mandwa, moreover every clan which came into Ngorwa brought in its form of ancestor worship. Here are a few of them. Ruhumba, mandwa for hunters. He was a great hunter from the Bagace clan. His name, Ruhumba ntatu, means that even fruits become rotten where he passed. Here is his genealogy. Ruhumba rwa Mushwana gw Ba-bungirwe be Kyumuhangire kya Mbanwa (Bagate) Kasaura (see No. 27 Shambho Tradition) a Muhinya from the Bashambo living for a while in Nyanushanje, was a good-hearted fellow. The reason why he became “mandwa” is not yet known but Kasaura is known in Mpororo where his worship is found among the Bairu. Ryangombe, former king of Mpororo Rukiga. According to the legend he was a great hunter but an unlucky gambler. He was killed by a buffalo while hunting and died under a tree. He is worshipped as mandwa for hunters. But Ryangombe is not alone on the slopes of the Mahabura. All his relatives are there with him including his sons: Binoqo and Nyabirungu; his father Babinga; his wives Kajomba and Karyongo; his servants Muzana and Mkojo; his friends Rutwa Muhima and Muyonyo. In Kigezi the cult was mostly found on the Rwanda border but the names of Ryangombe’s relatives were known all over Kigezi.

In general the cult of mandwa is conducted in such a way that things used (ahma, drum, walking stick, steel, trees) together with songs, gestures, genealogies and offerings are meant to remind people about some features of the deceased person. It was a sort of memorial and in the case of Ryangombe and Kitami the cult was conducted a bit like a theatre play.

We are facing the widespread cult of two legitimate rulers (in possession of Murorwa) Ryangombe and Kitami. In both cases after their death the political power went to another clan. After Ryangombe’s death, Murorwa held by the Bakimbiri was found to be property of the Baishakibwana clan. After Kitami’s death the drum Murorwa went from the Baishakibwana to the Bashambo. Both rulers died of “accident.” Ryangombe was killed by a buffalo while hunting but the story goes on to tell us that all his relatives, except Nkorongo, committed suicide after his death. Kitami was killed by a carpenter bee but some people speak of a queen killed by her husband. After their death a cult started. These cults mixed up with “ghost stories” were meant to keep up the memory of unfortunate but lawful rulers. In a society without archives the dispossessed party had no other way but to spread the memory of the legitimate ruler through little secret societies. It was a sort of resistance movement using legendary details to foster the memory of the dead ruler so as to be able, one day, to restore legitimacy of power.

The cult of King Ryangombe was not widely spread in Mpororo, although his name is to be found in children’s folk songs. In Rukiga and Mpororo the Balihakatala were opposed to such a cult, as the cult became more popular in Rwanda than in Rukiga. On the other hand the memory of Ryangombe’s relatives was very well kept in Rukiga where we still find among the names of many “mandwa” names such as: Karyongo, Kajomba, Rutwa, Muyonyo, Mupanya, Mukima, Nyabirungu (also called Nyabirungu), all of them known as Ryangombe’s relatives. Moreover to find together in the cult spread by secret societies not only Ryangombe but also his wives and friends. This might indicate that all of them might have died in that unfortunate “hunting” party.

Kitami’s memory, with the help of the glorious name of Nyabingi, was not widely spread in Ngorwa, Ruhanda and Rukiga during the Bashambo period whereas it was well known in Rwanda where the Bashambo rulers could not oppose it. Moreover we find in Mpororo Kitami’s name linked up with obscene and ridiculous details. The idea might have been to spoil the growing fame of Queen Kitami whose memory was increasingly popular. Another point worth noticing is that all “Nyabuhambe” usurpers came with Nyabingi or in the name of Nyabingi.

They must have been coming with the idea of restoring legitimate authority, according to their own views (see Bata corporate, Bahunde, etc.) Perhaps this is the meaning of our Shambho tradition. Silent about Kaya and his sons but outspoken enough about the lawful possessor of Murorwa, a new Kitami coming from the Baishakibwana clan. This second Kitami was elected after a religious rite of consanation of “mandwa.” She was accepted as the lawful possessor of a new Murorwa. So our Shambho tradition indicates that some Bashambo might not have recognised Kaya’s legitimacy and they sided with the Baishakibwana in the worship of Kitami’s ghost. So the Bashambo themselves were deeply divided about Kaya’s legitimacy. There is no doubt, however, that such a political attitude about lawful rulers and about others labelled as “Nyabuhambe” were inspired by their religious idea concerning life after death. People were convinced that life in a peaceful world was due to the help of a powerful “mumwim” who would ensure a stability and continuity of views — it was the “mandwa” the mumwim concerned with public affairs.
So in the past the worship of manawa was not only a pious act towards former relatives but also, for some people, the only thing to do in order to prepare for the arrival of legitimate rule by fostering the spirit of revenge. As time went on the idea of revenge died out, and the memory of queen Kitami did not mean anything to new generations. So Nyanbingi Kitami became later on Nyanbingi wa Nyinairunnda (a place of worship near lake Bunyonyi) Nyanbingi wa Mukanigirira (a woman) Nyanbingi Bileko (for steel-by treachery). These deviations of the Nyanbingi cult came to Noorda and Rutika at about the time of the Baganda uprising many years later. Another example of this popular tendency to remember important people's memory is found nowadays with Muhumuza. She died in 1944 but her “naumiso” is the object of some veneration. She is working miracles in the imagination of people looking for an income.2

One might suppose that, in this part of Africa one of the reasons which might explain the rapid success of Christianity is perhaps the decadent stage of all traditional cults.

FOOTNOTES
1. Oral evidence of Birara, in Rutika.

Part Three: Alien Impact.

The alien impact in the early years of the twentieth century has already been fore-shadowed in earlier chapters, where it seemed that the people of Kigezi regarded European administrators, soldiers and missionaries as merely a continuation of a series of natural and human catastrophes. It is believed that the prophet Nyakairima had predicted mere substantial changes from the European impact, than from other intrusions; but it is hard to establish whether or not he was widely believed. In the twentieth century the alien impact has obviously been substantial, and the following five chapters help us to measure it.

In chapter ten, Mr. Ndebesa provides a summary of the traditions of the pre-colonial Bakhiga in Kiriki county. The chapter is placed in this part of the book, rather than earlier, because it implies the existence of a Golden Age which is very much part of the consciousness of contemporary Kigezi people. The manners, customs, and relationships which he describes are the ideal of a later generation. It is extremely unlikely that society can ever be as contented, as static, or regulated as the portrait would suggest. The pace of change in the twentieth century made it necessary for people to believe in a quiet period of tranquility in the past. This portrayal is the exact reverse if Mr. Karwemera’s chapter eight, in which dramatic events imply constant change and violence. Both Ndebesa and Karwemera are telling the truth, though the whole truth must be large enough to embrace both points of view.

Chapter eleven is an account by the first Muganda administrator to enter Kigezi on behalf of the British authorities the late Yowana Sebalija. His account is coloured by his prejudices, just as everyone else’s account tends to be personal. He was both a catechist and an administrator (just as his friend Kitagana was a chief before he became an evangelist); and he naturally believed in the capacity of the Baganda to administer non-Baganda peoples. His account of the Kumba conference, for example, is probably tailored to exaggerate the virtues of the administrators who took office thereafter. Nevertheless this is the best account we possess, of Kigezi in the early twentieth century. Sebalija understood Kigali society, politics and religion much better than the District Commissioners who were his superior officers, and his prejudices are not disguised.

If chapter eleven is a Ganda view of Kigezi, chapter twelve is a Kiga view of the Baganda. Mr. Bisaamungu, one of the first History graduates of Makerere, and later a member of parliament, brings to his research, an intimate knowledge of European history, and a profound respect for documentary sources of evidence. Using these skills he has composed an account of the early colonial impact which is profoundly sympathetic to the British administrators (who wrote the documents) and profoundly hostile to the Baganda subordinate officials (who were used as scape-goats by British administrators in the 1920’s). An assessment of the role of Baganda administrators in Kigezi, from 1912 until 1929, would have to take account of both points of view.

In chapter thirteen the editor has relied heavily upon administration reports to try to understand the point of view of the British administrators; and an attempt has been made to construct the racial ideology which influenced administrative opinions of the people they were attempting to govern. The officials, believing that the Balend and Baluma were immigrants, possibly non-Negro peoples, were willing to believe that they possessed greater talents than the agricultural peoples. It required a great deal of hard evidence to convince the officials that their pre-conceptions might be erroneous — if indeed they were ever fully persuaded. This belief, combined with the unfortunate first impression made by the Baliga, and their widespread involvement in Kayingi cult, long delayed the process of localising the personnel of the administration.

Finally, in chapter fourteen, the relationship between religion and politics is brought to the fore. Father Nicolet wrote this pious obituary of his colleague Yowana Kitagana, soon after the latter’s death in 1939. It is, of course, a pious and propagandist work, and no editorial attempt has been made to conceal the purpose of the chapter. Nonetheless it is extremely revealing and only of Kitagana’s determined and saintly character, but also of the period in which he lived. The conflict between Christianity and indigenous beliefs, and then between Catholicism and Protestantism, is clearly documented. It is also clear that Kitagana saw his Christian duty as including an obligation to preach acceptance of the colonial conquest. Sebalija’s chapter showed the reverse of the case; the African administrators believed that their official duties included the furtherance of Christianity. Therefore it is hardly surprising that indigenous peoples equated...
Christianity with colonialism; and that when they rejected one, they felt obliged to reject the other — or to accept both, if they accepted one.

In short, these chapters imply that the alien impact was both religious and political; administrative and economic; a total way of life. A first it was difficult for people to pick and choose amongst the new offerings, though later in the colonial period the situation changed somewhat.

Editor.

CHAPTER TEN

KINKIZI COUNTY

THE TRADITIONS OF THE EARLY PEOPLES

By S. B. Ndabera

In the olden days, those people who liked one another used to live together, usually on the same hill. Usually such people liked one another because they belonged to the same clan. The reason for living together was collective defence, offence and revenge. These people chose one person who was considered to be the bravest and wisest to be their leader and they respected him. His role was to settle disputes and to give advice in cases of defence and offence. This leader represented them when making demands or when complaining to the ruler of the area to which the clan belonged.

In choosing the site for the house, the person building chose a place near his neighbours and fellow clan — mates or friends. He made the foundation and then informed his friends, neighbours and clan-mates when he would start the building. In good spirit and with a communal sense, these people came to do the work. If it was not finished they came the following day and finished the work. The young men had to cut the timber mainly from trees called "enkuciyu," "emisinga," "enemahmbwa," "emirengo" and others famous for being straight. There was a room for the owner of the house and his wife, a room for his daughters, a room for boys, and another for goats.

Usually the owner of the house used to call his brothers, or at least his elder brother or his older sons to come and eat at his home. The owner of the house would go to one of his wife's houses and food would be brought to him there. Food was always in plenty so they cooked as much as possible and the food that was left was eaten the following morning. There was always a big calabash of porridge preserved for the master of the home in each wife's house. Only a recognized visitor would be served with this porridge, otherwise there was always a less carefully prepared porridge for every day visitors.

For eating, they used out plates hewed out of wood and raffia and for drinking they used calabashes and vessels made out of split calabashes.

It was expected that the children respected their parents. Children accepted orders without question. A child could not go away to visit without the permission of the parents nor would an unmarried child join men at a party of beer. Young men could only have a chance to drink when serving their fathers. This was when they could be allowed some sips and they also drank beer when there was a wedding.
The children also used to be given beer as a reward for drawing water and gathering firewood when their father brewed beer. When a son matured and married, he continued to obey his father and his wife behaved respectfully towards the husband's parents as if she was one of their children. She would draw water for them and dig for them, too. This would continue until the son got his share of property. This is when he depended on himself.

The parents ceremoniously opened their son's new home. His mother offered the three fire place stones as a demonstration that her daughter in law was now recognized as a wife to depend on her own. At this ceremony, the parents of the son's wife came or sent presents with their representatives. If this ceremony did not take place, the parents would not eat anything in their son's home. So, the son prepared a huge pot of beer which his father offered to the friends and neighbours as a token that his son was mature so that he should be allowed to join beer parties of old, mature people. This would be followed by dancing and tremendous excitement, especially from women.

But even after this ceremony, the son would go to cultivate for his father for some days. When he gathered firewood, he would use one half and give the other to his parents, and when he caught meat, he gave one half to his parents and ate the other half. In case of the first harvest, the wife got some food from the first harvest, cooked it and took it to her parents-in-law. This was a sign of respect. It was also believed, if they did this, they would get blessings from the parents-in-law, so that they would produce more in future.

The main food crops were: millet, sorghum, beans, peas, maize, sweet potatoes, bananas and yams. They made porridge from fermented millet and also from sorghum. Beer was made from sorghum and bananas. From sorghum they made beer called "amuramba" and from bananas they made a sweet juice called "oshande" which, if necessary, was made into beer called "twarva".

When it was a season for growing or sowing a particular crop, a son had to sow some crops for the parents before he sowed his own crops. Any son who defied this tradition faced a penalty of, say, giving his parents a goat and a pot of beer. But observance of this tradition by the son could possibly make the parents give him more wives as a sign of gratitude. The parents from the wife's side also gave their daughter and her husband presents when they understood that they observed this tradition.

When the son had the first born, he and his wife formally took the child to his parents (sumuruka amwana) and they gave the parents a present before they touched their grandson. The child was later taken to the parents of the wife and the same thing was done.

A young girl was expected to show obedience and respect to her parents, her elder brothers and sisters and other elderly people. She was also expected to do various activities: (a) to ensure general cleanliness in the home by sweeping the compound and washing various things; (b) to do some work in the garden; (c) to prepare food.

A girl was not allowed to leave her home and go to visit except when she had been given permission by her parents. She was also expected to conduct herself properly and to exhibit a high sense of morals. When, after marriage, a girl was found not a virgin, her husband sent either a fruit or a hoe-handle with a hole in it to her parents to signify that after all, their daughter was not a virgin. The significance of this was to reassure the girl and her parents for failing to look after their daughter. Such a girl never received the usual respect from her parents when she went back to greet them shortly after the marriage.

**MARRIAGE**

The parents of the boy would engage a person to investigate which girl was desirable. Suitability included beauty, manners, ability to cultivate, hospitality and the general quality of the girl's family. The person so engaged for this work of looking for a suitable girl was known by the title of "kirima" or "kikwala" or "kikwala-bungemba." This person was further charged with the duty of getting into contact with the girl's parents and forming them with his intentions. He would then tell them how many cattle the forming them of his intentions. He would then tell them how many cattle the形态 was reached. The father of the girl would then name a day on which the agreed number of cattle and goats (brideprice) would have to be brought. On the appointed day, the parents of the boy would duly deliver their bride-price to the girl's family. The bride-price was not fixed; it ranged from one cow to as many cows as five and several goats or even more than five cows in exceptional cases. In charging bride-price, consideration was given to the wealth of the boy's family.

The cows and goats would be brought on the appointed day and they would be displayed just outside the enclosure of the house of the girl. The relatives and parents of the girl would then determine whether these cows and goats were of good quality. Having satisfied themselves that the quality was good, they then admit the cows and goats into enclosure. This was accompanied by jubilation, dancing, singing and recital of poetry by the party of the groom; also the female relatives of the groom who happened to have been married to the relatives of the girl's (bride-to-be) family would join them in this celebration. These women would sing in very high-pitched voice, screaming and exclaming "Ahiiii!!" Thereafter, the bride-to-be would begin to cry, and this would mark the beginning of the real wedding ceremony. The parents of the girl would slaughter a goat (or goats) and prepare other types of food for the guests. Before eating, the party of the groom would first demand gifts (emilo) to distribute among the girls who came to sing and dance.
Emilco included a whole leg of the slaughtered goat, a gourd of porridge, millet meal and beer. Having seen the emilco, the party of the groom would then proceed to eat. They would spend the whole night feasting and praising their girl saying “be comfortable our daughter, we have given you to people who will never make you cultivate or carry fire wood or carry a pot of water.” Very early in the morning the girl would ask the bride “you no longer belong to us, you belong to another people; if your new home turns out to be suitable do stay in it and never discredit it.” These words were intended to be a last advice before the bride was handed over.

Very early at dawn there was a ceremony; in this ceremony, a hoe was brought and on it were tied certain articles called “omurume” and “omumuru.” This hoe was held by a boy or half-brother of the groom behind him would come the cows which had been paid as the dowry. The hoe-carrier would proceed to the house and to the bedroom of the bride’s mother. There he would find the brother of the bride kneeling beside the bed; the latter would receive the hoe and this would immediately be followed by dancing and singing by the hoe-carrier. The mother of the bride would then take away that hoe to keep it safely - the same hoe would at a much later stage be given to the bride to use.

After the ‘hoe-ceremony’ the parents would select a number of people to carry the bride and others to escort her to her husband’s home. The total number could range from 12 to 30 but among these there were two prominent women with special status. One of these women called Nyina-shenge is he was supposed to be carrying a baby and the other was escorting the bride. The second was a woman called Kaiminamani. Two small children - a boy and a girl - were also selected and their duty was to collect omutanga, eicho and omurume. The boy would carry a mat (which was at that time used as a blanket) for the bride and the girl would go carrying chibbo and omutamere (traditional plate and its cover), these were called ekidware. Nowadays they have substituted a box for the ekidware.

Before the bride’s departure from her home, it was a traditional to have her cleaned. She was taken to a private place (akin to a bathroom) where her nails would be trimmed, her hair shaved in traditional patterns and her body washed. After this, she would be returned to the bedroom and in the meantime her mother would present a special pot of beer to the groom’s party alone. This special offering was known as agemugire, meaning that the hour for giving away the bride is nigh.

Two small children - a boy and a girl - were selected and made to dress in specially made skins. These were then sent to a special place (usually a papyrus swamp) to pluck omurume, omutanga and eicho. These were handed over to the bride’s parents who would then sit on chairs in readiness to carry out the ceremony. The father and the mother would each get omurume, omutanga and eicho and would tie them in several knots, making them into long ropes. The bride’s brothers would then enter the bedroom where the bride was and would tie these ropes around her waist; they would then bring her and place her on the lap of her father first and then on that of her mother. The latter would untie the rope and take them to her own room and keep these ropes at the edge of her bed. The keeping of these ropes was called “okushimirira omwana” - a wish that the bride might produce children.

After the above ceremony, the bride’s brothers would accompany her to the entrance of the house but she would still be inside the house. A mat would be hung on the entrance, acting as a curtain. The bride’s father-in-law would then touch her head with omunyaga (a shrub) and thereafter he and his party would start dancing and singing. One of the bride’s brothers would carry the bride on his shoulders from the house up to the entrance of the house-enclosure, at this point the bride was requested to break a small stick. Thereafter another young man took over the duty of carrying the bride but the relieved brother would continue as an escort. These chosen for the purpose of carrying the bride would begin their duty and since they were many they would take turns.

Those carrying the bride would eventually decide to have a rest, when they felt very tired. They would place a mat on the ground for the bride to sit on. After resting, the journey would resume but the Nyinashenge would have to pluck grass exactly from the place where the bride had been sitting. The reason behind this ceremony was to safeguard the bride against charmers and magicians. Most of the collected grass was taken up to the husband’s home and brought and on it were tied certain articles “omurume” and “omumuru”, placed in the bedroom prepared for the bride and left there in waiting. Upon arrival at the groom’s home, a chair was placed in a bedroom and the groom together with his companions would urinate on that chair. After this ceremony, a pot of beer was presented to the bride’s escort—his pot of beer was called “omungu yoobwinamurire”. The next ceremony was the most difficult of all, the Nyinashenge would first undress the bride, leaving her completely naked. The bride’s brothers then would begin to lift the bride by force in the attempt to make her sit on the chair which was set aside for the urine. The bride would resist and would be assisted by Nyinashenge and one or two other women. In the course of the struggle, the groom would place his hands on the urine on the chair, waiting impatiently for the bride to be brought to the chair — the whole aim of the groom at this time is to touch the bride’s body. In case the groom was only a young, inexperienced boy, he was given somebody to stay by his side and encourage him. The bride was finally overcome and forced to sit on the groom’s hands which are all the time in the urine. This would be followed by dancing and singing by the victorious groom and his colleagues. The groom would then leave the room and go out still dancing and rejoicing; everybody else, except the bride’s aunt and the bride herself, would also leave the room. The aunt would start to re-dress the bride; she would enclose her in a skin and would tie the very strong rope around her waist. The aunt would fasten these ropes very tight because her intention was to make it difficult for the groom to reach the bride’s body at bedtime — it was the responsibility of the groom to struggle hard to untie all the ropes while it was also the duty of the bride to resist.
After the first union of the married couple, the groom's family choose two small children, a boy and a girl and would give each of them a gourd for collecting water — this gourd was called echemu. The two children were sent to collect water from a well, but were given strict instructions not to look behind while on their way to the well. The bridegroom and the bride would be in the meantime at the entrance of the bedroom with their legs stretched. The two children would then hand the gourd of water to the bride and then would hand over the echemu to her aunt. The aunt would pass the echemu to the bride and the latter would likewise splash water on the groom. In fact the bride would throw the whole echemu on the groom and if the latter was wise he would hit it so that it fell back on the bridge. Thus, the bride, the groom and the aunt would all be wet. After all, the bride was taken back to the bedroom and the groom would go cut. Next the party of the bride would go into the house of the groom's mother to make an official entrance for the bride. Armed with pangas, the party of the bride would cut an entrance to the bride's mother-in-law's house and this entrance, known as ejuru, was to be used by the bride while entering or leaving the house. After making the entrance, the bride was led to that ejuru and made to pass through it with the following words, "here is your ejuru which we have made for you."

The next ceremony was for the relatives of the groom to take out of the house the spears and walking sticks of the guests and to smear the heads of the spears with a little butter. Hereafter, the guests got hold of their spears and walking sticks and set out back to their houses. On the way they would go looking for themselves with butter. On their journey some men would go collecting firewood while women would go picking a little grass: all these were handed over to the bride's mother upon arrival. The bride's father would then bring beer and food to give to them, congratulating them for the work they had done and after eating and drinking each one of them would go home.

After the departure of the bride's party, the relatives of the groom would bring 'obure b'wobuenundu' (a special type of millet). The groom was given the grinding stone and he began to grind this millet. Similar instruments were given to the bride and she too began to do the same. The flour which was obtained was then made into a very thick porridge (mukome). The groom would serve the bride and vice-versa, but the bride would not empty her cup; she would leave some for the girls around. The next event is for the groom to join the bride in the bed. But before doing so, he will have to pay a fine (consisting of either jewellery or beads) to his parents in case he ever annoyed them. After paying the fine (if he is to pay any), he is then given permission by his parents to join the bride. The groom's sisters would then take the bride into the bedroom where she would be joined by the groom himself. The couple would start wrestling but the groom's intention all this time would be to unite the bride's loin cloth after which they would unite. After this ceremony, food would be brought but the bride would refuse to feed herself, implying that someone around should feed her. The husband would then give her a hee or another present as a supplication that she should start eating. The rest of the time, the new wife started making a basket known as nhayaramiro; this was started and completed the same day. After a period of days at her husband, she would return to her father's to do what was called 'okumarana amalusita' (literally, to complete butter). But in case father was very far away she would go to one of her father's clansmen in the neighborhood to do this ceremony. The ceremony of 'Okumarana amalusita' was as follows: the husband would carry the rope used for tying the wife's handkerchief (or skin) and he would go to the place where the ceremony is to take place (say) to the clanman of the wife. He would take this rope to the edge of the bed belonging to the master of the house and leave this rope there; the husband would, in addition, urinate in that bedroom. Thick porridge would then be made for the husband and his companions and after drinking they would go home. The wife was then declared a housewife but she was still confined in her home where she did domestic duties. She was at this juncture newari (literally one who is lactating). Some of the domestic duties assigned to her were cooking, sweeping and plucking grass. She would also smear herself with red mud so as to make her skin brown. Her mother-in-law would supply her with butter for the skin, and there was always a sister-in-law to stay by her side so as to familiarize her with her duties and family routines. In case she found herself without a sister-in-law, she would have to do it alone unaided.

This period of okumarama (honeyymoon) used to last about three to four months within which newly married wife was given great respect by members of her new family and she also treated them with as much respect and awe. She, for example, would never call her father's-in-law and mother-in-law by their proper names: this was a gesture of respect. The end of the okumarama period was marked with a ceremony, held at the wife's parents. The father of the wife would send a message to the effect that it was ripe for her daughter to end okumarama. The messengers who conveyed the message to the family of the husband would take with them things like beer and meat. After giving these things and after conveying the message, then the husband, the wife and relatives of the husband would begin their journey to the father's home to okumarama.

Okumarama was a very important event. The 'onwari' (that is, new wife) would first make herself clean and tidy in preparation to return to her home for okumarama. When leaving her husband's house, she would cover her face with a skin so that no one should see her face; she would be accompanied by her sister-in-law. When she came near to her father's house, she would begin to cry quietly and then the members of the family would all rush out to welcome her with great joy. She would enter her father's house, greet her father and mother and other relatives and thereafter she would uncover her face for everyone to see; she would start going out to see everybody around and greeting the people. The husband and his companions would also greet everybody. The whole company would start celebrating with beer-drinking and eating until the next morning.

The next day, the mother of the wife would smear her daughter with butter and would clean her skin so as to make her look extremely beautiful. The whole company would begin to get out of the house to escort the husband
and his wife on their return journey — they would start singing and rejoicing. Then the husband was tipped and so was one of his companions known as 'epegal', and the husband's father was tipped. Finally the wife was tipped with a goat or cow. This cow or goat was ceremoniously presented by the wife's father and the wife together with her husband. This cow or goat would have included beads, ornaments and jewelry. After all this business the wife, the husband and the whole company were escorted on their journey back.

Before the wife and husband began their journey back home, the wife's mother would fix the hoe in its handle and hand it over to her daughter saying, "go and start cultivating!"

In those days the people going to get married never used to know each other whatsoever until after marriage; the whole affair was handled by parents. Sometimes the girl would discover (when it was already too late) that her husband was a cripple or very old, and vice-versa. But such things were tolerated.

There was a tendency for the parents of a girl to be more concerned about what they would get in return for giving away their daughter than they were about the actual happiness of their daughter. This explains why boys were afraid of marrying women at a later stage of life if they came to discover that the one given to them by parents was not to their liking. But the housewives of the older days were very humble and obedient to their husbands and fathers-in-law. For example, she never would call her father-in-law by his proper name; she would always refer to him as 'Tasara' (father of my husband); she would refer to her mother-in-law as 'Murai' (mother of my husband); she would refer to her oldest sister-in-law as 'Muumu Wanger'. All these titles were meant to underline the respect she had.

Abnegation were a special group of people who played the role of messengers and receptionists just before the marriage took place. Their duty was to carry a message from the girl's parents to the boy's parents to the effect that the latter should come to arrange the marriage. Upon arrival at the boy's home, these messengers or receptionists were given a whole goat to kill, cook and eat unaided. They could, if they so wished, give some little meat to the family but if they did not want to, they were at liberty to eat the goat alone.

After payment of the dowry the bride-to-be would start staying indoors, making a basket known as kanyantawire which would, after marriage be used to store millet, which was given to the bride. Before millet was brought in this basket, the bride was not expected to do any job whatsoever. After millet was presented to her in kanyantawire, her father-in-law would then permit her to begin doing certain duties such as making fire, cooking, etc.

She would also grind some of the millet brought in kanyantawire, make a meal out of it and give her father-in-law and mother-in-law to eat.

After the marriage, it was believed that if the bride committed adultery should be incapable of child-bearing. So it was her duty to avoid adultery at this early stage. However, it was believed that committing adultery with one of the people who married on the chair would not have such adverse effects. When she gave birth to the child, she was not expected to commit adultery before the baby had grown teeth. So adultery was discouraged as much as possible and a faithful wife was always held in esteem.

The wife who gave birth to twins was treated with special rites. The people who helped in the process of labour were not allowed to go back to their homes until a witch doctor was called to the scene to give them protective medicine. People were not allowed to say directly that so and so has given birth to twins: they could only say that so and so has been "saved from two heads" and even this was not said in the open or in public places. But people could begin speaking about it after the father of the twins had been called upon to announce that "my wife has given birth to twins". Then he would proceed to call the witch doctor to come and treat those who had helped in the child birth itself. Before the arrival of the witch doctor, they were not supposed to move out or speak or eat and the gate of the enclosure was supposed to remain closed. The witch doctor would then arrive with his medicine which he would sprinkle all over the place; in and around the house and on all the domestic animals. He would then go into the bedroom where everybody would be seated including the mother of the twins; he would likewise sprinkle medicine in that bedroom and on all the occupants. He would carry out other functions and rituals to purify everybody. He would then give permission to everybody to eat and drink and life would return to normal. Message was then sent to the wife's father and he would duly send two of his sons to go and see the family and twins and to express good wishes.

Death and Burial Ceremonies

Whenever a person died, the members of his family would shave their hair as a sign of mourning and his neighbours would spend at least four days without cultivating as a gesture of sympathy. When the head of a household died and had been buried, the following rituals were carried out: a neighbouring woman who had lost a husband some time back would lead the eldest widow of the deceased man and they would both go behind the enclosure. They would fetch a splinter of an oak tree and then the widowed woman would urinate on that oak tree and would wear her skin up-side-down. The two women would then return to the house. They would make a bannier right in the middle of the compound, get hold of a he-goat, a pig and a sheep and slaughter it. Before slaughter they would tie their testicles and they would eventually roast them and eat them there and then. The meaning behind was that they were clean of any sins. After four days, the neighbours would resume their normal duties but the
relatives would spend some more days staying with the family of the deceased to comfort and help them.

**Traditional Dressing**

The dress for men was a skin; the rich man would wear two skins. However, the whole idea of dressing was not to conceal their sexual parts — as a matter of fact they never cared whether their sexual parts were exposed or not.

People of long ago were good cultivators; they would go to their gardens very early at about seven o'clock in the morning and would work until about six o'clock in the evening. They never used to eat hot or warm food but would reserve it until the following day so that it may cool down. Men used to wear beads and leg ornaments. Women used to wear ekisato, which was made out of three skins, carefully knitted together. There was always a tailor who was rewarded for joining the three skins into ekisato. The skins were joined with strings known as emirendondo or emiryen (from a slaughtered goat). The wife of a wealthy man would normally possess three ekisato (plural of ekisato) so that she might use one for daily work, the others for attending important occasions such as weddings or functions.

These bisimato and engo were smeared with butter and smoked with smoke from certain selected trees that gave good smelling smoke; these trees were called emigaju. Smearing and smoking skins and ekisato was an exclusive duty for women. So it was the duty of every woman to look after her husband's skin.

For sleeping: they would place a few poles on the floor of the house, and on their top they would spread grass and then a mat. The husband and wife would sleep on that same mat and cover themselves first with another mat and on top of it a skin (well smoked and clean).

Women would wear beads on their necks and ornaments on their arms and legs. The ekisato for unmarried girls consisted of two skins only but they would also cover their shoulders with one skin. They were also expected to keep their bisimato very well cared for and some daughters of wealthy men would own more than one ekisato. Girls were not expected to smoke their bisimato, smoking them with butter was usually enough. Small girls would wear just a skin.

In the olden days, a girl who did not care about her smartness and cleanliness would often end up by getting no husband, so was a girl who disobeyed her parents. A girl was expected to remain at home helping in domestic matters and if she wanted to visit another female friend she would ask her parents' permission. No girl would claim to have the right to make her own decisions.

**CHAPTER ELEVEN**

Memories of Rukiga and other places

by Yowana Ssebalija

While I was a catechist in Ankole the Omugabe appointed me Sababdu chief in Bunyaruguru, and in that capacity I organised roads and built bridges over rivers. The Saza chief was Kasiigone. The Omugabe informed me that the Governor would pass through the area, and instructed me to clear the roads and rest houses. Kasiigone appointed me to do these tasks. As I was working a European police officer whom the Baganda nicknamed Kiruhara came to supervise the work. We did it together. He did one house and I another. We built the Kibwamata and Ruturu rest houses by plaiting reeds in the best possible manner. While we were still there the Omugabe, his Prime Minister, and the Seze chiefs arrived to meet the Governor. They waited two days until he arrived. He said that he had come to determine the border of the country with that of the Belgians. He asked Kasiigone where he would go, but Kasiigone gave no answer. During the night Kasiigone ran and fled to Kazinga. The Governor instructed the Omugabe to find someone to look after the country, and the Omugabe selected me for the purpose. The gomolola chiefs who were there already were Abculila Mwamantika and Machacha.

I acted as county chief for a month and a half until Kabarimi was sent there. Shortly afterwards I went to Kanyanki, asked for leave, and returned to Buganda leaving Kibaya acting in my place as Sababdu. When I returned from leave I found that my post had been filled, and the Omugabe promised me another chieftainship. Without delay he appointed me deputy to Rubafuti Mutuwa in Mukunde county. Before I set off, I was selected as chief in Kajara, I went there with the Omugabe, the District Commissioner and other Europeans, the Prime Minister, Zacaria Kibeyere, Adamu M. Kidibye and Niwasa Rakungulu. In Kajara, Rwabangasa was entrusted to me, Rugarama to Kibeyere, and Majembe to Kidibye. After a short while we were given full chieftainships. Kibeyere became Mwamantika with headquarters at Lulingo, I became Sabaabdu with headquarters at Kanyana, Rakungulu became Sabaabu, and Kidibye became Sabaabu. Soon afterwards the D.C. came and found fault with the Saza chief Rukunya and Kamuhwaba, and he took them to Mbarara. The Omugabe and the D.C. appointed me acting Saza chief.

While I was acting as Saza chief, European surveyors came from Tororo and asked me to take them to Kahotoni hill in the land of the Bwika. I had never been there. I accompanied them to the Rukiga hills. From the river Mugara to the top of the hill was an hour's journey. We stayed at the top of the hill while people were down below. I tried to buy milk but it
was unobtainable, so I bought a milk goat from a Mahina Byambara, and thereby produced milk for the Europeans' tea. In that area many people were living in the valley with plenty of cattle, but they were fearful because the Germans plundered their cattle and goats whenever they came there. The people mistook us for Germans and hid their cattle and goats. Later on however I walked among them and found a man named Rwambaka who had a well established homestead. I spoke with him amiably, and presented to him black cotton cloth (kanikni) and beads and red copper rings. The rings and beads were considered very dignified apparel in that country.

Next morning Rwambaka called on me and brought vessels of milk which I gave to the servants to cook. Eventually we found that it had all gone bad, owing to the custom of adding fresh milk to the old, without clearing the vessels. I told him that if he was going to give us milk he would have to wash the vessels first, and bring the morning's milk, not the milk from the previous evening. I then gave him a piece of American cloth. He returned a few days later, bringing me more milk, which proved to be good. I took him and the milk to the Europeans, who told me that the man had become our friend, and also gave him a piece of American cloth. For the two months of our stay there he kept us supplied with milk. I sent for some European potatoes which I had planted in Kajara. Half of them I gave to my masters, and another part I gave to some Belgians, none of whom had anything to eat.

In the end the work was completed and we left. The Europeans went away and I returned to my post in Kajara. A few days later I received a letter from the Omugabe instructing me to go quickly to the boundary of Kajara and Mwambara at Kinyamugera, to meet Europeans. I went swiftly and found the Europeans staying with chief Semei Mudhalisimwe, the deputy Mukwenza of Mwambara county. When we arrived at Kagamba rest house (the site of the Kajara) Mr. N. Coote asked me to take him where I had taken the surveyors. I agreed. There were five Europeans. Mudhalisimwe bade farewell in order to go home, but the Europeans required him to go as well, as he had already visited the country.

Next morning we set off, and spent that night at Kafumbe. Then we entered Bukiga, and Mr. Coote told me to stay there to purchase food and forward it to them. They spent a short time there and then returned. The Belgians held two of our servants, one of them named Aimee who now lives in Luwango. Afterwards they released them. The officers went away, and I returned to Kajara.

On my return, Mr. Coote and the Prime Minister arrived. Mr. Coote told me that he wanted me to continue the work we had been engaged in with Mudhalisimwe. Leaving Kagamba we spent the night at Kafumbe, and the following morning Mr. Coote instructed me to stay there in order to supply them with food. I went on for a short distance and built a house at Nsumunjo near the rivulet Kyeezi or Kinyange. He left me with the means of purchasing food: 5 bolts of American sheeting, 4 bags of beads and 10 bags of copper rings. The people of Ankole sent me bags of millet, dried bananas and beans. 50 Barvackole porters carried to Kamba, and the people of Kamba carried it to Rwanda (sic. Butumbira) where our soldiers were stationed. At the end of each month I reported to Mr. Coote, who gave me a letter authorising the issue of money in Mbarara to pay for the food. Each month 4,000 rupees were dispatched for this payment. My people fetched it from Mbarara, guarding it carefully lest it be stolen. I then distributed the money without keeping any back. The Lord protected me from stealing, and no one ever accused me of misappropriation. The work lasted three years.

My people and I ate millet, dried bananas and peas. Peas were eaten instead of food. Whenever I received meat in the absence of millet and dried bananas, we ate meat mixed with peas. When I discovered that we would be spending some time in that place I asked my master's permission to cultivate potatoes, and he allowed me to do so. I sent for sweet potato leaves from Kajara, and planted them. This produced cucumbers, lettuce, potatoes and peas, and we had enough to feed ourselves, and also to feed our absentees. The potatoes, peas and lettuce were all produced in the same ground. We also grew some vegetables in the same garden, which we used to feed our servants. Moreover, we had vegetables from our own garden, which we used to feed our servants. Moreover, we had vegetables from our own garden, which we used to feed our servants.

The area of Chembe was placed under my jurisdiction, to try cases and to supervise. I spent fifteen days at Kamba and fifteen at Nyarumwe. I was instructed to try cases brought to me by Bukiga. There were many cases involving cheating. The court fee was one bob. To dispose of some of the goods collected, Mr. Coote instructed me to give them to well-disposed Bahiga. After a while I moved from my river site to establish headquarters at Nyarumwe. I built mud houses and continued to plant orange trees, lemon trees and pepper which flourished satisfactorily. The headquarters did not lack a church. It was my duty to travel everywhere, visiting Kukusa, Kibula, Kaymanza, Rujumura, Kasigane's area at Kasa and Kaasimbivu. I tried cases, and held meetings wherever I went.

At Nyarumwe I was told of a woman named Mukanganis, who was possessed by a wonderful Nyabingi (godess or evil spirit), and who lived in Kafumbe village. I found her, arrested her, and seized 20 cattle and some goats which I forwarded to my master. I informed him that she made people throw off their obedience to us. He imprisoned her for a year in Mbarara, and confiscated her property. The Bakiga said that I would not live, having arrested Nyabingi! A few days later I was informed of another woman, named Kariga, also possessed of Nyabingi. I found her at home performing incantations. When her men saw me they quickly recoiled to her, but I ran in and moved quickly and found her casting spells. Kikaro mat had been placed on the door leading to an inner room, and she was thrusting iron rods at people in the outer room, through holes in the wall. The people clapped their
hands and exclaimed “Kasiage”, meaning Long Live. I found her in the inner room, holding two rods. I gave her three strokes, and took her outside. When night fell she repeated her incantations in the room where I had placed her under guard, and she was whispering to the soldiers “My brothers, have you come to see me? I ordered her to keep quiet. Next morning I took her to Nyaruranga, where I kept her for a few days before sending her on to my master, who sent her to Prison in Mbabane. The country remained reasonably calm, with all the Bakiga fearing me and wondering who I was, and that I did not fear the risks of being killed by Nyabingi! They themselves were extremely fearful of Nyabingi, believing that it caused diseases among those who refused to accept its authority and gave presents to it. They called it Butali-ntiroga.

On 30th October, 1910, Mr. Coote’s tour ended, and he handed over to Mr. Gakes. Mr. Coote was indescribably kind, and I would see many people surrounding his house just for the opportunity to talk to him. During Mr. Gakes’ period of office no great harm occurred, and I continued my regular practice of visiting around the country-side.

During June 1911 he left, leaving Captain Reid in his place. A few days later Captain Reid sent me a letter informing me of a woman called Muhumuzu, possessed by Nyabingi, who had come from German territory and settled at Rutobo hill in our area. When I reached Rutobo hill I found many people who had come to see her, but she had fled and found refuge with Kithombo (a prominent chief on the Ankole-Rwanda border), Mabobo (the ruler of Ruwambara) and others. Subsequently she sought refuge in German territory, but was arrested and sent to Bukoba, and her property was confiscated. She was released after two years in prison.

Finding her absent, I reported to my master that she had fled. When she was released she returned for a few days at Rutobo, and went on to Bukinda. Soon she went to the home of Kitere at Mwati, on the other side of Rutobere hill. There she settled and sent message to the Bakiga, informing them that she was their master, and instructing them to come and see her. Banyarwanda and Batwa accompanied her, as well as some Bakiga who believed her claims. From there she went to a man called Mulebya at Mwati, and sent for Mutambuka of the Bawesi clan, who had 400 followers and lived on Bukola hill on the opposite side of lake Bunyonyi. Mutambuka refused to call her, and sent a message to Captain Reid in Rwanda (i.e. Bufumbira) asking him to come and help him fight the woman. The Captain instructed to go to Mutambuka and see the woman referred to.

I set off with a large army of Bakiga, and met Muhumuzu at Mulebya’s house. I pitched my tent, and just as it was being pitched Muhumuzu’s army came forward to fight! At that moment my master’s letter arrived instructing me not to fight. He pointed out that Muhumuzu might have been living in German territory, and ordered me to retire. Muhumuzu’s army advanced; “You chicken-eaters, how would you fight Muhumuzu?” I was much annoyed. I sent a message to my master asking permission to fight Muhumuzu, but received a second letter from him forbidding me...
where she remained for a few days before being sent to Kampala where she still lives. She had a son named Muhungu, who fled and was never heard from. She was a native of Rwanda, and is said to have been a wife of Mwami Kigeri. The Baganda call her Njabare. She came telling lies to the people, who believed her and followed her. That is why people of so many different tribes followed her, including Banyarwanda, Batoona, Bakiga and Bahororo. She taught anyone who refused to join her. She was also feared for her sorcery. After her arrest the country became calm, and there was no major rebellion. Other, less famous sorcerers were also at work. Any who were caught had to be punished severely.

Regrettably an askari was killed while carrying a letter from the border surveyors to Captain Reid. On his way he met some Bakiga drinking mulumba beer, joined them, became drunk and fell asleep, whereupon they killed him. The Europeans, when they enquired, were informed that he had been killed despite begging for mercy. One of the Europeans tried in vain to find the place where the askari had been killed. He accused and confiscated 200 goats. Captain Reid informed me of what had happened and instructed me to investigate. I found one Mukiga, named Buwozi, who said that he knew the area of the Buruhira, and that he had married his wife from that area. I asked him to tell the Buruhira to surrender the askari's rifle unless they wanted Ssebazibwa to come. He went and returned the next morning with the rifle. Then I set out for Bukoko hill, and climbed my tent at Mutambuka's home. I instructed Buwozi to go again and tell the people to surrender the accessories of the rifle. He went and returned with the local chief and fifty of his followers, as well as the accessories. I set a council of enquiry into the askari's death. The people told me that the askari had been killed, not by themselves, but by others, and that they had merely brought the accessories when requested to do so. I had fifteen rifles, some soldiers of the King's African Rifles, and many followers. While I was asking questions the witnesses stamped away. An askari opened fire and hit two men, while Sudi Mulangira opened one. I sent the rifles and the accessories to the surveyors, and reported personally to my master.

Shortly afterwards we received information of the rebellion of chief Muganga of Kayanza near the Belgian border. Captain Reid and I launched a military campaign. When Muganga learnt of our coming he fled and hid in the bush forests. That country is exceedingly rainy and is densely forested. Apes, gorillas, monkeys and pigs scarcely permit cultivation. People in that area smear ngasagasa (eastern oil) over themselves.

Thence we went to Ruhayana's area in Kinkizi, Ruhayana had reputation as a rain-maker, and in a dry season people would bring him a hoe, a cow, a goat and a small basket of millet, or some other present, and ask him to make rain for them. Even Muhimbili who sold the country sent presents to Ruhayana whenever it was particularly dry. The people did not understand about wet and dry seasons. When Ruhayana promised rain, it did not fall at once but only when its time had come anyway, but the people nevertheless believed that he was the owner of the rain. Up to the present some people continue to consult Ruhayana's sons when the weather becomes dry.

From there we toured Butumbi (Lwanga). The country is open and full of herds of buffalo and various kinds of buck (banu and nanggazi), and many lions. Captain Reid encountered a buffalo with a young calf. He killed the mother and we caught the calf. We used to feed it with milk. When it had grown a little we sent it to Entebbe. After travelling up to Kazanga we returned via Rujumula to Nyarumagenge, where I stayed while Captain Reid went on to Butumbi.

Captain Reid's tour of duty ended on 28th March 1917, and he was succeeded by Mr. Salomonson. After a short stay in Nyarumagenge he passed through the lower region of Butumbi to Kayanza, and thence followed the same route as Captain Reid and myself. On 26th April I also left Nyarumagenge to meet him. I found no rest house in Rujumula, and therefore built one at Banacho hill. When I had been there for a few days Yakobo Mulinza called to see me on his way to join the Major-Seminary. As soon as the rest house was finished, at 2 p.m. on 19th May Mr. Salomonson arrived, and arranged for a council meeting. There were plenty of oases and we worked until 9 p.m. Next morning we resumed at 9 a.m., and with a break for lunch we worked until 7 p.m. when we gave up. We spent the night of the 14th at Nyarumagenge. I remained there and Mr. Salomonson went on to Butumbi. As I had to tour Kumba and Kiganga, I instructed Yononzi Basajjalaba and Auguste Muhimbili to go and establish headquarters in Kiganga, which I had simply visited but which had no quarters at that time.

On 31st May I set off to tour Nyabakiko area, known as Rusheanyi, and stayed with Omuntika Byambara at Kakamba. The next night I stayed with a Muhimbili, Matondo. The following night I stayed at the home of Rwakakka in Kayanza, whose wife was a Nyabkiko lady. When he heard of my coming he stayed but arranged for his wife to go away. Many people gathered and complained to me that Rwakakka had misappropriated their cattle. He had a good explanation, pointing out that the cattle had been misappropriated by a German in punishment for rebellion. Rwakakka had not rebelled, but performed services for the German, who had therefore given some of the cattle to him. I considered that it was impossible to reopen a matter decided by the Europeans, and therefore no claim against Rwakakka was upheld.

The areas of Kumba and Kiganga are inhabited by Bahororo. Kayanza (in Rukiga, but not to be confused with the other place called Kayanza) contains two tribes, namely Bakiga and Bahororo. On 7th June I crossed the high hills and descended to the home of a Mukiga named Kindugali at Nkagabagabu. The following day I travelled on to Mpala, and stayed with a Bakiga. I spent two days there, and important Bakiga elders met me there. On 10th June I continued to Kiganga. When I spent the night I always met councillors, complainants and defendants, some of whom accompanied me to the next place where another party in the case might be
found. My main purpose was to dissuade people from rebelling, and to
persuade them to obey instructions. The elders I mentioned were from all
the clans. Each one believed he was risking his life in coming to see me,
and some even asked their relatives for property as compensation, to be
left to the children! This information is corroborated by Bakiga elders.

The Bakiga selected Butanyonyora as their leader, to represent them
to me. He used to demand presents from them, but when they refused
they would come straight to me. Rutawomborwa, Kasaku and Bwempa used
to give him presents. Those who came to represent their clanmen I appointed
full chiefs. That was the origin of the present chiefly system, as no man
ever ruled his fellow men in traditional Bukiga.

Captain Salmonson arrived in Kabale three days later and convened
a council. He announced that in future Kigezi would be divided into sza
and gombolea areas. He departed on the 13th, for Kumba. He mentioned
his preference for Kabale as a town site. The following day he reached
Kumba, and sent 6 soldiers to me, with instructions to attack the Bunagabo.
The leader of the Bunagabo — Rubungo — was heading a rebellion. That
night we planned and prepared for the journey, repaired and oiled our
rifles and checked the ammunition. I overlooked a cartridge in my rifle,
and accidentally fired a bullet, but no damage was caused!

Before dawn the following day we set out, and at dawn we came close
to them. We discovered that they had been alerted and had all fled to
Belgian territory nearby, taking their live-stock with them. This was the
site of Butare gombolea headquarters. I stayed there and at about 2 p.m.
I began to interview people. I gave beads to those who came, telling them
to inform their fellows to come here, as I bore them no ill-will. Accordingly
they went home one by one. I instructed them to tell Rubungo to come.
He was not to run away, as I was going to wait until he returned, and
would wait longer than he could hold out in the bush. As I was sitting
down, I was informed that he was coming, with his son Busi. We
gathered our property around us in case he had come to fight. Eventually
he came upon us, and I gladly received him well and encouraged him.
I gave him beads, and told him to stop his rebellion, as an old man like
him should not bring misery upon himself.

While I was there I built certain shabby buildings in which I lived.
I told Rubungo that my houses should not be destroyed unless he rebelled
again. I then went to Kabale and reported in detail to my master. There
now remained only one rebel, Rwamati, who was powerless to force a
battle, and could only refuse to come to see me and do his duty. His
rebellion was confined to his own home only.

On July 7th I left Kabale and stayed at Mpale, where I thought it worth-
a stone marks the old German and Belgian borders). The river Nzoia flows
into a very large river where papyrus grows, and which is called Sindi,
while to establish headquarters for administration in the small valley
between these hills — Kambo, Rujendwa, Kikuba, Kamugamba (where

on whose opposite bank is Nyakarambi. I spent two days there and left
impressed by the beauty of the place. I spent the night at Kitanga.

On July 9th I met there the following Bakiga elders: Rutawomborwa,
Kasaku, Bwempa and Banyonyoro. Many people came to see me, and I gave
them beads and copper rings. The following are the elders I found in
Mpale: — Rususa, Nusamatake, Kagevi, Bugwuya, Nyakamukula, Nyabahera,
Bakamgwa, Kibuye and Rusuka. In the Kitanga area the river Sindi forms a
lake, and has a waterfall called Ibanga.

On July 11th I spent the night at Kichuchwe in Mabone's home and
from there I took the road to Busera and Kabasa, and reached Nyaraszine.
When I had settled at Nyaraszine Bakiga came there to attend meetings
from Kitanga, Mpale, Kumba, B☑chungura, Kinkizi and Kamwezi.

On October 26th Captain Salmonson instructed me, Makoobore and
Bakiga elders to go to Butumbira, where a meeting was convened. At that
meeting Bakiga was divided into sza and gombolea administrative units.
Those present were Captain Salmonson, D. M. Combie, myself, Abdulla
Numele, Stephen Muhove, Donsani Basajabala, Rubumaka, Makoobore,
Nmbo, Rwagaga, Musakamba, Mirembe and Miero. Captain
Salmonson made the following announcements:

1. Nyinde to be chief of all Butumbira as far as lake Ngezi.
2. Not many chiefs are needed: Musakamba, Miero and Mirembe
   should take charge of their areas as before, subordinate to
   Nyinde.
3. Stefano Mwale should be in Katurege's area, also subordinate to
   Nyinde.
4. Abdulla Numele, as Agent, should educate Nyinde in his governmental
duties.
5. Rwagaga to become sza chief of the area including Kabale, Kumba
   and Butare.
6. A native of the region should be found to become sza chief of the
   area including Shokito, Rugarama and Nyakashenzi.
7. Donsani Basajabala to become gombolea chief of Bukinda.
8. Kinkizi to continue to be ruled by Rubumaka, with an Agent to
   assist him.
9. Numele to continue to be ruled by Mwamia, supervised by Rubumaka.
10. Makoobore to continue as chief of Ruumbura, assisted by an Agent.
11. Ssebulu to be in charge of the whole area including Kabale, Kumba,
   Butare, Shoko, Rugarama, Nyakashenzi, Kinkizi, Kinyanza, Ruumbura,
   and Ssebulu, and matters arising in these parts to be referred to him.
   At his Kabale headquarters he will appoint people to perform duties
   in Kabale. Whenever he is on tour, people in the area where he is
   touring should be selected to carry his baggage.
   Mr D. M. Combie has come to take over the post of D.C. Captain
   Salmonson then bade us farewell.

When it came to the turn of the Bakiga elders to reply, they did so
as follows:


Rwambulu noted that the Government had entrusted them with chiefly posts, but asked to be provided with Baganda to show them how to perform the duties. He asserted that the Bakiga were still far behind.

Captain Salmonson replied that it would be Ssebalijja’s duty to do whatever was necessary.

Tururgasa: insisted that he should not be under the authority of Rwagara who had killed Tururgasa’s father. He feared that he would be killed himself if he came under Rwagara’s jurisdiction. He asked that each man be allowed to rule his own clan, and to report direct to Ssebalijja.

Captain Salmonson replied that the Government would recognise only those chiefs already mentioned, and insisted that persecution was over.

Ndagabagwe: Did not like the prospect of being ruled by Rwagara, who belonged to a different clan which had never had authority over him. He asked that Rwagara should rule his own clan, and Ndababajwe his.

Captain Salmonson stated that no-one could object to the Government’s appointments, nor could more chiefs be appointed. There ended the meeting.

That was the first great council meeting held in Kigezi, and from then on we understood that the English had taken over the country. Though I had toured the whole area and decided cases, and made military expeditions, I had regarded all that as temporary, and we had said that we would later go away! After this meeting Yonasani went to his assigned area, and Francesco Kiwanuka was appointed Agent to Makobore. Matia Atamafwa was sent to Kintuzi.

Rwagara, considering the opposition of the Bakiga, refused to rule the area assigned to him, and restricted his rule to the area of his kinsmen, of the Bakungu and Basing clans. The rest of the area refused to me. I established headquarters at Kamba on Kizabugha hill, and appointed Augustino Mudimbuga as my deputy there. When we saw that Rwagner had failed as sza chief, we also abandoned the idea of finding a native to become sza chief of Shaka, Nyakasa and Nyakarenyi. I then established headquarters at Mpalu, and appointed Arsieni Wazukirimi.

On November 15th 1912 Mr. Combie transferred the fort from butumbas to Kumba. Until that time no Mikutu had tried to do any work for us, but from this time onwards they were obliged to work for ten days each. Our Banyankole porters were dismissed. It was difficult to select labourers for work - and indeed it was not so much selecting labourers as arresting them. Every man selected died, but those who were arrested did the work conscientiously, without having to be forced, bless the Lord.

When the fort was transferred to Kumba, Ndungutse found that he had nowhere to go, as the Germans were also seeking to arrest him. He surrend}-

On February 25th 1913 I established headquarters at Butubu, adding buildings to the houses I had built the previous June, and planting sweet potatoes. When I was satisfied with the place I left as my deputy there Yowano B. Sekiboro. I returned to Kabaale and Nyarusanje. Mr. Streicher visited Rwagner while I was in Nyarusanje. From there he travelled to Kumba, Bwakumbire, Kidwara, and returned across lake Rizezi to Kabaale. In Kabaale he found me. In that area was also a rebel named Rwantare. Mr. Streicher asked me to find a man to send to Rwantare, and I replied that Rwantare was intractable, and that it was therefore useless to send anyone. Nevertheless he insisted, and I found a man. The messenger found Rwantare and told him that Mr. Streicher wanted him. Immediately he stood up with his bowl of honey-beer and came. When I saw him I asked if he were Rwantare the rebel. He replied that he was indeed Rwantare but that he had not rebelled, and that he had never encountered any of my messengers. Other Bakiga confirmed that this was Rwantare. His toes-nails were overgrown and eared in clay, as he had been building a house in the papyrus reeds, where he spent the day hiding. His fingers-nails were also overgrown, but I took him to Mr. Streicher, who warned him never again to rebel against the Europeans, but to obey their orders. He then gave him 50 feet of American cloth and a letter to Mr. Combie so that it might be known that he was no rebel. When he appeared before Mr. Combie, no action was taken against him. He was told to obey the Government’s orders, and he returned home. The Lord is powerful! Those who trust Him are favoured by Him. He had carried out several expeditions against Rwantare, who had killed several people and their houses burned down. Here he was now, peacefully submitting. His wives and children and his property were free. He died in 1914, a very active and diligent man, the leader in the reserve area. He is ever remembered by the people of that area.

When the Bishop left Kabaale he spent the night at Mpalu, accompanied by the Reverend P. Lachier. From there he travelled to Mbarara via Butuba. He was pitied for having to travel on foot through immensely hilly country, but God protected him well and he completed the journey without any hitch.

During 1913 I established headquarters at Mpalu, and installed V. Ssemanda as my deputy there. Shortly afterwards I appointed M. Semayi as my deputy in Mpalu and transferred Ssemanda to Kikangwa. Much work was undertaken that year, including the construction of the fort, the establishment of headquarters and the building of roads. From Nyarasanje I established headquarters at Nyakirenyi, where I established myself and from where I toured the surrounding areas. All these headquarters had a church, in which my followers and I used to pray. The Bakiga considered anyone professing a religion to have a stupid heart and to have died completely! Of course there were people who had not begun to work were unapproachable and unreliable in religious matters.

In 1913 Mr. Combie was replaced by J. H. MacDougall for a short time during which work continued on the construction of Kumba fort. The arrival
of Mr. G. E. E. Sullivan relieved the burden of work. He endorsed Salmon-
son’s decision to build a town in Kabale. We carried new timber from Kabale,
cut fresh timber from Mutunga forest, and brought bamboo poles for roofing. We began the dormitory now situated on Makanga hill. The original was very high. Then we added an office on the site of my earlier council hall. Where the prison is now, was originally my house. The present council hall is where Augustine Muddenbuga’s house stood. I erected my headquarters at Butobere, during heavy rains which made water spring out of the ground in a remarkable manner. My headquarters at Butobere was made into a gombolola which was given to Stéfano Musoke, Nyakishenyi, Nyaruumeke and Etito became a separate gombolola under Abdulua Mwana-
ika. Kabale was also separated as a gombolola, and so was Mutunga, which was placed under Muddenbuga. The gombolola of Butobere, formerly occupied by S. Musoke, was given to Y. Egeere. Muddenbuga was dismissed soon afterwards, and his gombolola was given to U. Maganzu, who also served but a short term, after which the gombolola was acquired by Y. Patuka Jette.

When war broke out in 1914 Nyanzo rebelled. Sullivan launched a mili-
tary expedition against him. The Bakiga were also disturbed. I took my property into the town in order to look after Government property, and I slept in the office. Mr. V. R. Bali’s house on Butobere was set on fire by Bakiga. I particularly requested Sfeano Musoke at Butobere to guard our border with the Germans, and inform me as soon as he learned of their whereabouts. He had six rifles, Sullivan found Nyanzo and fought him. Nyanzo fought hard, but having only spears and no rifles he was defeated and fled to the Germans. Sullivan then returned to Kabale via Nyanruma-
je. At this time many soldiers came from Buganda and from the Congo. We made great efforts to collect and transport food for them, and we never failed. Between 1,000 and 1,500 loads were being carried each day. The route from the Congo became very dry from the great multitudes of Belgians trampling it.

Changes in chiefs had already been made. Basujjabalaba was transferred from Bukinda to be Agent in Rujumbura; S. Muyamba had been posted to Bukinda. Matia Atanana had been dismissed from Kindiki and his place taken by Suliman Mungamile an ex-Police Sergeant. We were perplexed by the war. Sullivan joined the army and went to Tebore, and he was succeeded by Mr. MacDougall. On November 6th 1915 I went with that officer and the interpreter - R. Kyegombe - to Kindiki and to Rujumbura to demarcate six gombololas in that country. The demarcation was as follows:

Kabuni gombolola was handed over to Makobore who was also county chief. Kubanga gombolola was handed over to Zakaria Balaka. Kasene gombolola was handed over to E. S. Karyegesa. Buyunga gombolola was handed over to Lwamhambali. Nekajeme gombolola was handed over to Miranda.

We discovered that Makobore had already demarcated gombololas, and had given some villages to his brothers (Lwamhambali, Kinyika and Lukanu) and to his sons (Lwamhambali and Karyegesa) and Karyegesa’s sons. These made the people submit, for no-one was allowed to rebel, but was arrested and his property confiscated. Peasants were not allowed to own guns, or if they owned them they could be slaughtered as the chiefs wished. If a peasant brewed beer, and if a matter visited him, the peasant was not allowed to run out of beer, but went and bought more lest he be imprisoned. The peasants were discouraged and had nowhere to lodge a complaint. Makobore was the king of his country, independent of Ankole and of Rwanda, and he had direct and personal relations with the Belgians. He also had the power of life and death over his subjects.

At this I returned to Bisika and built a hut. From there I improved the road from Shoke to Muyumba, and collected poll tax as a sasa chief and as gombolola chief. Since the failure of Rwagara, I had been both sasa and gombolola chief, trying two sets of court cases.

In 1916 we were visited by Sir David Chwa the Kabaka of Buganda, Sir Frederick Jackson the Governor, and Prince Weizombe, who were visiting units of the army. Mr. MacDougall and I met them at the foot of Rutobolo hill. They were greatly pleased with my work, and promised me a little honour. I was overjoyed that His Highness had visited us in our remote location. Shortly afterwards my father informed me that His Highness had granted me the title of Kaggo, a title conferred upon me personally, rather than attached to the post I held.

On 29th December, 1916 I asked for leave, after ten years of service without a break, and I was permitted to take four months. The D.C. filled my place as sasa chief, and Arseni Wuluzimbi acted on my behalf as gombolola chief. The Bakiga complained that I was going away and would not return, and that the Europeans would go away as well. I left my wife behind, to convince them that I would return.

On my return from leave I found that roads had been started for motor vehicles – one by Arseni Wuluzimbi from Kabale to the boundary of that gombolola, one by Musoke in his area (Tutare), and one by S. Muyamba from Bukinda to Rutobolo. The first motor car to use this excellent road was the one which brought the Governor in 1917. We repaired all the roads. One from Kumba was supervised by Y. Kawesa, and to Bunyonyi by Stéfano Kabi. We were kept very busy on the roads and collecting poll tax.

Bakiga started paying poll tax from 1915 onwards. In that year only a few people paid it, and in 1916 they still did not properly understand it. In 1917 they understood it rather better. They thought it a sham, and at first regarded it as repaying a debt; until they discovered that the debt was never completely cancelled, but was a permanent feature. In the area of Kabale, Kitango and Mpojo, I collected only 1,500 payments in 1915, 4,774 in 1916, 4,850 in 1917, and 4,950 in 1918. There were many more tax-payers in other areas.

On July 28th 1917 Basujjabalaba was discharged as Agent of Rujum-
ba, and Z. Barake was appointed as acting Agent in his place. It took a
long time to fill this post, but towards the end of the year it was given to Daniel Majere, a Mutere.

At this time a rebel appeared, named Nkikibiri, who used to come from the Congo and Rovanda, and travelled as far as Kumba and Kanoya and even further. The Kampala Police and the D.C. attacked him, and he retreated to Rutshuru in the Congo, but returned to the forests after the expedition had gone away. He came via Kayanza and Kinaba to Nyakinsheni where he asked the chiefs to fight against Abdul Mwanca the monkey chief. Many chiefs agreed to fight, but Kinyagali and Rwamihire refused. For three days they prepared for battle, men and women playing music in the hills and jumping about. Mwanca did not comprehend the danger, and attributed the activity to beer drinking and the collection of grass by the women and girls. August 12th 1917, at 7.30 a.m. I received a letter from him informing me that the enemy had besieged him and had left no one alive, and that the headquarters had been set on fire. He had taken refuge with Kinyagali at Kayanza, who together with Rwamihire had saved his life. I informed the D.C., who sent me 30 soldiers and Dr. Webb who had come from Mbarara to inspect Kabale hospital. They found me ready and we departed at 8.30 p.m. We then waited until the officers joined us at 11 a.m., and planned the expedition. We decided to wait until cover of darkness.

As we were approaching Mvuu hill we encountered a corpse, but pressed straight on to Kinyagali’s camp where we rested for the night. Next morning we went to what was left of Mwanca’s headquarters, which was then reduced to ashes, with corpses lying around the yard. The D.C. saw people on the hill-tops, refusing to come down, so he commanded us to shoot them. Therefore the Bakiga who were with us described the event as follows: “Stumps were up-rooted and spear-shafts redoubled.” They saw many people speared and much live-stock seized and taken away. After a few days the D.C. returned to Kabale and I stayed behind to discover the cause of the trouble. 10 rebellious chiefs were arrested and taken away.

The captives told me that Nkikibiri had induced them to rebel. He had gone with his lamb to the house of Lukemba, and had told them that he could conquer the Europeans, drive them out and save the people from labour. They believed him. When I had collected the information I departed. The place was called Izimira, and it was there that I arrested the woman Kizinga in 1912, who was possessed by Nyakibi. All of the obwabolas in Bakiga, Nyakibinya was least expected to cause trouble. I myself had administered it for many years, and its people were intelligent.

On my arrival at Kabale, the D.C. advised me that rebels had appeared at Rutare, in Karuzanga. On August 28th we set off, but found that the rebels had fled to Belgian territory, so we came home. Shortly afterwards the Provincial Commissioner — Mr. Browning — came to investigate the case of the 10 arrested chiefs. The case went against them. Senior Chiefs were sentenced to ten years in goal, and the other to five. Shortly after wards two other people — Baguma and Bagorogora — who had escaped to Rujumbura, were arrested, tried, and sentenced to death. They were executed on February 27th 1918. J.H.C. MacDougall was D.C. of Kigosi during this period. He offered a reward of 50 head of cattle to whomever arrested Nkikibiri or Rwamihire.

On 20th November 1917 I dug a fish-pond at Butere, and put in nsonzi fish. The nsonzi I obtained from Kamwezi, and I also obtained males from Kajura, two days’ journey away. When the P.C. came on tour I sent one fish to him. Later we arranged with the D.C. to transfer some to Lake Bunyonyi. We fenced off part lake Bunyonyi to prevent them from spreading and being caught at once by the Bakiga. Then we trapped some nsonzi and male and transferred them to the lake. After two years the nsonzi had spread throughout the lake, even as far as Mule, and had filled the river as well. The fish which are now at Chaka are descended from those transferred to Lake Bunyonyi. Previously the lake contained frogs, which the Bakiga ate, catching them in conical papyrus traps, boiling them and drying them in the sun, and eating them with millet. A small basket full of frogs made a very acceptable present during courting. Later I dug another pond at Nilelo, from which nsonzi were transferred to the rivers Sindhi (Rwakizibura) and Nzozi. Now lakes Kanyamah and Sinyanza are stocked by nsonzi.

During 1918 Nylede returned from German territory, surrounded himself, and was sent to Kampala. On 17 February 1918 Mr. MacDougall went on leave, and the A.D.C. Mr. E. E. Filleul acted in his place. On February 23rd Mr. G. V. Jerveise arrived as the new D.C. He found two murderers in prison under sentence of death — Baguma and Bagorogora — and he executed them on the 27th of February. Doctor Terry, Mr. Filleul and many people from Nyakinsheni were summoned to be present at the execution. When Mr. Jerveise arrived, I retained my siza post, and handed over the gobomba post including Kabale, Mpalu and Kitanga to Arisini Wabwamba.

In May 1918 a man named Baguma at Kumba waylaid a party of Bahororo resting for the night in the bush, whilst carrying salt to Rovanda. He killed one of them, and when the others fled he seized the salt. The Bahororo complained to the gobomba chief, who had many people arrested. They recognised Baguma, and salt was discovered at his house. He was sent to the D.C., who sentenced him to death and had him executed on May 13th.

On May 3rd Governor Coryndon arrived, via Toro, Bunyuruguru, Rujumbura, Kumba and Rovanda where he hunted elephant. He arrived at Kabale on July 3rd, and convened a meeting the following day which was attended by the P.C. the D.C., the A.D.C. and the siza and gobomba chiefs. He said that he appreciated the work we had done, advised us to make great efforts to have poll taxes paid early, and expressed pleasure that the Bakiga paid their taxes more promptly than in some other places. In view of five families in Buganda, he recommended that we grow as much food as possible and keep reserves of it. Though he deplored drunkenness...
had no objection to a little drinking. He was glad that people were no
longer killing each other, and hoped that people would also abandon the
Nyabingi cult. He brought K.A.R. recruiters in order to keep the K.A.R.
up to strength with new recruits. At that time he was visited by 4 Belgians
sent by the Governor of the Congo. The chiefs were introduced to him,
and the P.C. and D.C. observed that they had carried out their duties satisfac
torily. Finally he informed us that Nyindo and Muhuma would never
return to Kigali, even after five years. After the meeting he stayed for a
few days, returning to Entebbe by the new motor road on 7th July.

At that time we further subdivided the Kabale gomboila into two,
and also the Nyarugusu and Bukinda gomboillas. On September 4th Nyar
rugsu gomboila (which had been formed out of Nyarugusu) was given
away to Atamansi Mudde. On October 4th E. Kagubasa and Madisi Masenga
arrived in Kabale to take over the other two new gomboillas. Masenga
took over Kibhega (formed out of Kibale) on October 21st; Kagubasa took
over Muhuma which was formed out of Bukinda. At that time also there
was an epidemic of Yezi (kind of serious influenza) which killed many
people, and which caused the D.C.'s meeting to be delayed.

On January 21st, 1919 Mr. Jervoise left to marry, and announced that
he would be posted to Jinja as P.C. when he returned from leave. We were
very sorry that he was not staying longer. He had found the chieftains
very incomprehensible, and had regulated administration in such a way
that an official felt himself to be a chief rather than merely a headman.
On February 14th Mr. J. M. Philips arrived as D.C., finding Mr. Fikeni in
charge and the epidemic still raging.

On June 21st of that year the Nyakishenye trouble-makers returned,
namely Ntokibirri and Ruwombe, who appeared in Rubaga. That night
I received a letter from the gomboila chief Simon Zirabamuzza
which told me that Ntokibirri and Ruwombe had been seen at close quarters.
I informed the D.C. and the chiefs that I was undertaking a military expe
dition. The D.C. was away on tour in Bubumbira at the time. I set off
at 9 p.m., but by the time I arrived both rebels had been killed.

Ntokibirri had sent a message to Bikaku at Rubanga in Musie gomboila,
asking for a cow. Bikaku invited him to come and receive it. Ntoki
birri informed his friend Ruwombe and came. He told Bikaku, among
other things, that he wished to see Seballi, as he had fought against Eu
ropeans once before. Bikaku asked him to wait while he sent for the cow,
and meanwhile gave him a goat and some beer, so that Ntokibirri felt well
and somewhat at home. Ntokibirri sent a message to the chief, informing him of
Ntokibirri's arrival. Zirabamuzza in turn informed me, and I set out
with three rifles.

As we approached the house, a man stepped us, and warned us that
we would be unable to defeat Ntokibirri unless we trapped him. He had
seven followers, two rifles, bows, many quivers of arrows and some challasses.
He advised us that it would be suicidal to attack him. We disregarded this

warning, and went on to Kagimono's house where we met many people
who were uncertain of what to do. Bikaku found us there also and told us what
was going on. He suggested that we encamped ourselves in a near-by millet
field, but when we refused to do so he pointed out the house where
Ntokibirri was, and wondered if we would attack.

They pressed on and quickly reached the house. They called out "If
you do not want to die miserably come out and be arrested!" He refused
but, when they broke in, they killed Bikaku in his house, and he fell dead. When his followers
began to run for his help, they were all caught and killed. They then asked Ruwombe, telling
him to surrender, but he refused. He broke two rifles on a stone, and threw the ammunition into a
fire, where they exploded. Finding himself alone, he then tied a rope around a tree, and hanged himself.

When I arrived the bodies were brought to me. What an exceptionally
ugly little man Ntokibirri was! On his right hand there were only two fingers,
namely the thumb and forefinger. The top joints of all the fingers of his
left hand were all missing. He had a large scar on the right of his body, running down to the lower belly. He looked like someone who had been suffering
from cancer, or had been badly burned. Though he was small and
ugly he was also very brave and had great fame. A full company had
come from Mwanza to tackle him, and the Belgians had also sent an army
against him, though he had disappeared when they surrounded his forest
hide-out. On this occasion the feet which brought him to Rukiga betrayed
him. He was assassinated in the same manner as Kitengulu at Kabimba
in Budu.

Both bodies were carried on heads, and there were many people around.
Before we reached Kabale I met 30 policemen sent to me by the deputy
D.C., and they gave me great praise. I took the bodies to Kabale, and at
6 p.m. on that day the D.C. returned from his tour. Ntokibirri's left hand
was cut off, and two fingers, was cut from his arm and kept in prison. When it
was dry it was placed on the D.C.'s verandah. The corpse was buried
at Bugoni. Later Ntokibirri's skull was recovered by the Government, so
the corpse was exhumed and the head and the palm removed by the
authorities. Thereafter the country became calm and we relaxed our
tensions. There remained only one woman, Kagiriwa, who was not believed
to have any great power.

On October 2nd 1919 the D.C. convened a meeting. He had already
changed the title of chieftainship in Rukiga and Rujumba, scrapping the
titles of Mumyuka, Sasabu, Sasabugo, Sasabwalli, Musale and Mubala
(i.e. the Kitaganda titles). Now he abolished the chieftainships, and instructed
that the title "Agent" and "Sub-Agent" be used instead. The meeting was quarrlesome, and the irete D.C. dismissed the gombola chiefs, namely Muwonya of Nyakibale, Mudde of Nyaruguru, and Matia Musinguzi of Kigoma. He gave no reason for dismissing them. In their places he appointed B. Makale who was transferred from Ituri Province to Nyakabiga, Isaac B. Njuba who was transferred from Kigezi to Nyarugusu, Idris Kabula who was transferred from Kigezi to Ntoroko, Luke Kasingye who was transferred from Ruvuma to Kayonza (he had replaced the Mutoro), Daniel Mbiere who had returned to Toro as aza chief, Arseni Walusimbi who was transferred from Kigezi to Kigoma, Karubila who transferred from Mascul to Kiluguru, and Alibembe who was transferred to Mascul. During that month all the chiefs were packing and travelling. E. Musoke became Agent for Ruvuma, where I installed him. D. Mutebwa temporarily filled Musoke's vacant gombola. On October 9th Y. D. Njuba died, having been chief at Kibuka. We mourned the loss of our friend, a man of strong and religious character. D. Mutebwa took over that gombola, having been acting chief in Butundu. Germain Kikonyo was posted to Butundu gombola. E. Musoke had been there replacing Y. Bapere.

During 1920 the D.C. introduced Kiswahili, and instructed the chiefs to use that language in writing to Kabale. He brought Basahe to Kabale in order to have Kiswahili-speakng clerks. Later he brought 20 Basahe and posted them to the basa and gombola centres. Clerks who knew no Kiswahili were dismissed, and also those who knew a little but not enough. The work of the Basahe clerks was more advanced than our pioneer efforts, and the D.C. wanted them to combine clerical and chiefly functions. I was an old man, knowing conversational Kiswahili but unable to write it. Even though the Basahe knew Luganda, they were not permitted to speak it, on the D.C.'s orders. None of the Bakiga understood Kiswahili nor Luganda. They had already learned to speak Luganda, and those who were educated could write Luganda but not Kiswahili. The D.C. further announced, in his letter 620 of July 6th 1920, that anyone who could not write Kiswahili should write in Rukiga or Ruhororo. These decisions added to the burden of administration.

Also in 1920 rinderpest attacked Ruvuma, brought by cattle brought from Ankole without the authority of the veterinary officer. Rinderpest spread from the enclosures where the cattle had stopped on their way. Dr. L. A. Gould was on tour, returning from Kabale to Ankole. He discovered diseased cattle at Mugugira village in Kisobone, where 17 cattle had died. The gombola chief narrowly escaped imprisonment for concealing the disease. The veterinary officer quickly brought medicines and inoculated the cattle. In that place only a few were infected, and most of those died. 7,429 cattle were medicated in Ruvuma. The gombola of Nyarugusu and Rugege in Rukiga were slightly affected. K. Baraka, the chief at Nyakabiga, was dismissed and replaced by P. Muhivya. Muhivya died a short time before he was posted to Kisobone, Ntoroko gombola in Ruvuma, and a month later he was appointed Agent in Ruvuma. A. Walusimbi, his predecessor as Agent, was transferred to Kigoma.

Provincial Commissioner Cooper arrived in Kabale on 27th January 1920, making his first visit as P.C. He departed via Ruvuma on 29th April. He had succeeded the first P.C., Mr. Browning. On November 6th he and the D.C. convened a meeting at Rukura in Ruvuma. Makabola returned to Kabale for his last time and handed the office on to his son E. S. Karyegoza. He was offered the choice of remaining in Kabale in rank to the Rukura, having a good long time administered both. However he declined, and replied that he was too old to run the Rukura without an Agent, he was also too old to run the gombola. On the same occasion two other chiefs were dismissed. Makabola's eldest son, Rwakakurakura, was dismissed from Kayonza after five years' service. Daniel Mukasa was transferred from Kamba to take it over. E. Karukubula was also dismissed from Kayonza after five years' service: he was succeeded by Y. B. Muringi, who had been personal secretary to Karyegoza at Kaseo. Karukubula was a brave man. With his bow and poisoned arrows he had conquered Kisobone, and the people nicknamed him Muyanja. The government attributed his dismissal to his frequent sickness.

Karyegoza's former gombola was given to Muringi, another long-service man. He had been Makabola's prime minister, had been given a gombola in 1915, and had been dismissed from it in 1919. Now he was re-instated. The gombola which Makabola resigned was given to Y. B. Kataba, who had been Makabola's secretary. When this man left, the Bishop sent me another membe, Matia, whom he instructed to go to Rwanda. After a short time he returned to Buganda.

Yowama Kitagama arrived from Bunyaruguru, and we lived together. He travelled everywhere, but the Bakiga showed no interest in him. Yozuizi Lwanga came from Kijura. He had previously been teaching in Kagambo with his friends. They found me at Nyarugusu. Augusto Kapere came from Mbarara, and also found me in Nyarugusu. Bafeket Kivukami also came from Mbarara, to teach at Mpala. Kapere was transferred to Nyarugusu. Matayo Kayonza also came from Mbarara and taught at Nyarugusu. Antonio Munyasa was a Mvuga. Kitagama built a church on Rushorozi hill. All these catechists taught at the chiefs' courts. Later we obtained the following posts — Rushorozi in Kabale; in Nyarugusu gombola, Mpti, Kabini, Kitagama, Rwandolme, and Bukinda; in Kamba gombola, Nyagakuru, Butere, and Rutosi. These posts had been surveyed by the Reverend Fr. P. le Toh. Others were added after the Fathers arrived at Rushorozi. Reverend Fr. Laane arrived in 1923, as already mentioned. Yowama Kitagama, together with the catechists, is the father of the first Bakiga to profess Christianity. I am his godfather!

There was nowhere for a catechist to live in Ruvuma, although Fr. P. le Toh had demarcated the following sites — Rutuna in Kagunga, Nyakabiga and Kibola in Nkigeme, Rwambo in Banyama, and Nyakabiga in Kigumba. When Walusimbi was transferred to Ruvuma, the priest sent Augustine Kapere to advance a house before he was posted to Kigoma. He carried on the teaching. When Walusimbi was transferred from the Agentship, the catechist had to leave, and the new Agent would not permit him to continue to live in the Agent's enclosure.
and as there were no labourers, food or materials for him to build his own church. When Waelimbi was transferred, many professing Christians lapsed to other religious beliefs.

Everyone in Kigezi professed the religion of their chief. This practice still occurs today. Some people also profess a religion in the hope of being given a chiefly post. In the past this was practised by one section. The D.C. eventually decided to equalise the number of chiefly posts held by Catholics and Protestants.

CHAPTER TWELVE

BAGANDA AGENCY 1911-1924.

By F. N. Bismaynya

The period of Baganda Agency lasted from about 1911 to 1919 and it may be divided into four parts for the sake of convenience. These are 1911-1914, a period marked by organizing the country into administrative units, for example, counties and gomborons, and the selection of Kabale as the capital. The second period is covered by the World War of 1914-1918 and includes the few years after the war to 1921. The third period spans the years which witnessed the World Slump, the coming of missionaries, the laying of the foundation of education and Westernization and the spread of Christianity. The fourth is the period when Baganda Agents, willingly or unwillingly, relinquished their jealously guarded citadels of power, their County Chiefstipships, to the natives, who, paradoxically, had served their periods of tuition and apprenticeship within the palaces and courts of these same Baganda Agents. These two decades saw a growing warfare among the states against foreign rule, a war which usually found its way into the annual budget of Nyabingi. It is a period when Baganda Agents not only imposed their traditional political institutions upon the country, but also when their will became law, and their customs, much to the distaste of the natives, were forced to be imitated by them. It is a period when to offend the feelings of an Agent was to anger and provoke vindictiveness and fury of the whole administration against oneself and one's dependants. The only mediator between the suffering natives and the torturing Agents were the Agents themselves, and misinterpretation by these Baganda Agents was enough to blind the administering officers and consequently to allow a fault or a mistake to go unpunished. Taxes were also levied in kind, and the assessment was left to the discretion and whims of an Agent. What was collected fairly, namely, tax-labour, was spent on the laying out and construction of a network of roads, a prerequisite of good administration, as every part of Kigezi was made accessible. The pagan way of life and the rule of anarchy unwillingly began to give way to a better mode of life. It is a period which witnessed the helpless resistance of Nyabingi against new forces, and her final annihilation. There was an appalling lack of an articulate native to voice the grievances or appreciation of the local inhabitant; a period of much frustration to the native, and yet a period of hope: of hope in that a number of people were taken in hand by Baganda Agents and gradually trained in the new art of government, and schools were founded.

In 1913 the District Commissioner reported, inter alia, "On assuming charge of the District the native administration was found to be in an embryonic state: the agents appeared to be exercising too much liberty; and the natives were not taking sufficient part in the administration of their native country." The quotation is self-explanatory: it states a fact. This was a period marked by unchecked extortion, and during the course of that very year, the District Commissioner had to dismiss one Mwanga Agent whom the report describes as a "persistent extortioner." The second stop the District Commissioner had to take that year was to limit and restrict the indefinite powers of all Agents. The fact of the matter is that the District Commissioner did this on his own initiative; the native could not have dared to assert himself against his overlords. This was the beginning of a long line of steps to curb the greed of the agents, a line which culminated in the final decision at the end of the period in question, to dispense with Baganda Agents. During that year constructional work on the buildings for the transfer of the Headquarters from Kasese to Kabale continued. The transfer was completed in 1914. Rukiga was divided into Gomborons for administrative convenience.

The chief problems of these two or three years were not few. First and foremost was the question of whether there were any potential leaders who could be trained to take an active part in the administration of the country. Even if these were available, there was the yet more puzzling question as to whether who should instruct them in the rudiments of the three R's. A few Kanyankole evangelists had tried to bring Christianity during these years, but their work before the war was insufficient, and at the break of the war they ran away. Could the Agents, the only people who could read and write in the country, undertake the tutorship disinterestedly? Fortunately for them these questions did not arise. The District Commissioner's report for the year 1915 is convincingly outspoken and it points to the gravity of the situation. In all countries the required potential leaders were sadly lacking, both in quality and quantity. "I wish it to be clearly understood that with the exception of the Batutsis in Rwanda (Bumumbira), there are no persons in the district of sufficient intelligence to act as chiefs, in the sense of the word as used among uncivilized tribes elsewhere; hence anything in the way of native administration is difficult both to start and to carry out." That this officer was very much concerned with this question is revealed in his stating, in the same report, that he was awaiting sanction from his superiors to train "natives to manage their own affairs, which is at the moment an impossibility." Though history has proved his pessimism wrong, yet we cannot discount the fact that during those years, he saw no native forthcoming. As far as Central Kigezi was concerned his fears were justified, for Dr. Stanley Smith, writing eight years later, said, "They are a wild lawless tribe of magnificent physique, though as a race not strikingly intelligent. One of the best of their Christians said that there was no love among the Bakiga." The problem in Central Kigezi was both delicate and intricate, for even if any potential intelligence was available, the bitter inter-clan rivalry and hatred would have barred the way to any possible solution. In any case, we must swallow the bitter truth that any early hopes for potential intelligent leaders yielded no fruit, and the British Officers had to choose between Baganda Agents and poor, unintelligent unenterprising material. The choice fell on the former."
In Bukumbira the position was far from good. Although Nyindo was a possibility for training, he had only been created the paramount chief, and his position was little recognized by his subjects. For his own part, he had not yet felt the “proper sense of his position and responsibilities.” The Batutsi were still under the influence of Musanga, the King of Ruanda, and there was little love between him and Bahutu. Such a situation would have required the forceful combining powers of a patriarch, but none was available, and so during the period in question the administration had to place a strong agent of his own selection in the region to settle the incessant cattle disputes. When war broke out in 1914, the proximity of Bukumbira to both the German and Belgian borders left her open to constant disturbances, fears and troubles. The Batutsi who were more loyal to Musanga than to the British Administration threw in their lot with him, and persuaded the Bahutu to do the same. During the early years of the war, Bukumbira became the hotbed of anti-British risings, manufactured by Batutsi, and at times taking the form of a witchcraft movement. Events which took place are the subject of the next chapter, and so let us now survey conditions elsewhere before the war.

Let us turn to the North, where we shall find little better than elsewhere. Makobore had been told from the outset that he could “manage” that district. Captain Reed of the Kivu Mission had, as early as 1911, described Makobore as “the most shifty and unreliable chief in Kigezi”, and this assessment of him continued to hold good during the years in question. In spite of a warning that he could be deported for his unchecked obstructionism, he took no heed, and the “District” was the most out of hand. Naturally, Makobore resented what he regarded as the parasitic interference of a foreign Munganda Agent in his Kingdom. Moreover, he could not stomach the constant dictated “rule” of a foreigner, and so friction arose. “Makobore is constantly drunk, handicaps the agent in every way, and is a mere curb on the advancement and progress of the district.” In addition to which he and his Bahimba oppose the government on every possible occasion. The peasants in this district appear to be greatly oppressed by the Bahimba”, so someone wrote in 1913. Whatever the argument, Makobore saw no reason why another man should give laws and orders in his traditional kingdom, and the Bahimba, following his lead, chose to shun the old customary laws and rules rather than heed the words of a foreign usurper. In any case, one fails to understand how two rulers with two different codes of law; one Christian and humanitarian and the other customary and pagan, could have lived in and ruled the same domain side by side. Inherently, the seeds of friction were there, as old bottles could not contain the new wine. Up to the beginning of the war, this friction went on. The behaviour of the Agents themselves, we must allow, was not conducive to a harmonious, mutual living side by side. Evidence for this may be found in the dismissal of one, Falatwa, for “misconduct”, in 1914. Had there been enough officers to contact the natives at the lowest level, and had there not been the language handicap, much of the rancour and ill-feeling which characterized this period could have been avoided.

In Kikuli, the Agent’s responsibility at this time, inter alia, was to keep peace among the various chiefs, and to induce them to exercise more control over their people. Obviously the rival native rulers had not agreed amongst themselves to present a combined front against the invader, and so the invader became the ruler and formulator of policy and law. The country was thinly populated, and the northern parts of Kivu and Bukunda were more of a home to the tsetse fly than to the human species. As elsewhere, so in this sparsely populated area, no one strong hereditary chief was available, and so Kigezi as a whole came under submission to Baganda Agency within a couple of years before the World hostilities of 1914-1918. So ended the age-long independence of divided Kigezi.

The second problem facing early administrators in Kigezi was poverty. Credit that must be accorded to the British Administrators is that right from the beginning they tried as much as possible to introduce and experiment with cash crops. Early on, Agents were encouraged to plant a few coffee trees in Bukinda and Nyarushanze. By 1914-1915, a “small coffee plot at Nyarushanze — good example to the native. Hill rice, wheat and beans were all tried before the war. The success of black coffee, even today, is owed to that short and yet experimental period before the war. The experiments, whether successful or otherwise, carried out by the British Administration immediately after accepting responsibility for Kigezi, show that the grim problem was approached realistically in an endeavour to try and start Kigezi on a sound economy. A big debt is owed to that spirit of goodwill and love. The fact that the very first officials of the British Administration set all their hearts and minds on the problem of poverty and the lack of any economic crop in Kigezi shows the British could not be held up for their own colorizing ambitions. English vegetables were found to “grow well” as early as 1913, so the few economic crops we have now date back to the administration in embryo.

The other main problem, tricky and intriguing, was dual in nature, and I will try and combine its two aspects. Both drunkenness and Nyangiri troubles seem to have sprouted from the same evil spirit, and their annual recurrence seem to have coincided with the harvest of sorghum (mugashu). As early as 1913, someone reported, Bakiga were thickly populated, of a very fine physique, and agriculturists. Their principal crops are peas and milima (sorghum). While by no means many, the peas are very dense, and of a quaranolme nature that is accentuated by a propensity to excessive beer-drinking. This is corroborated by another one, by a different person in a different position in 1921. Speaking of the Bakiga as a hardworking people, and praising their physique, this writer concluded on an anti-climatic note thus: “But otherwise drunkenness, witchcraft and the greatest heathenism are the chains that bind these people in Satan’s thraldom.” Later on in his correspondence, this same writer deplored the fears attendant on spirit work which he said were maiming the mental and physical potentialities of the Bakiga. The only redeeming feature regarding this problem is that the natives of Kigezi do not have the bad reputation of having murdered a Gordon, a Huntington, or any other person of European origin. Although brawls consequent upon drunkenness
usually resulted in homicide among the Bakiga themselves, they never took an anti-foreign trend during the period in question. The concern of the administrators was prompted by their desire to induce the Bakiga by persuasion or threats to respect the blood of their fellow Bakiga. Moreover, the officers had to take all precautions to guard against — who knew? — possible uprisings. Furthermore, it was a belief that this could be dissolved by letting the sub-race, secretly, wipe out its culture. The origin of Nyabingi could be traced to Karagwe as early as the seventeenth century, and to Rwanda as early as the eighteenth. Its reappearance in Kigali, in all its influence, was the result of a strong support of the royal clique. Dying in 1804, Nyabingi left the throne to his infant Buregyeya. A regency, headed by his eldest brother, was installed, only to be replaced quickly by a faction which supported a rival candidate. Muhimba, fleeing with his son and the bodyguard, camped at Butero. Munuhimba sought to regain her position in Rwanda, and invaded her brain not a little hastily to invent the means. Possessing great ability, powers of leadership and organization, she devised means to win some kind of awe-inspiring authority among Bakiga. This she simplified in three words, namely, the Revival of Nyabingi Cult. She soon made herself a Mogirwa, the high priestess of Nyabingi, and not a few Bugirwa (priestesses) surrounded her. With another stroke, she proclaimed herself to be the personification of Nyabingi.

The previous incarnations of Nyabingi, who “replaced” Emila, would have visited her in April 1891, were forms of spirits whom Rwibungu had intended to appease by sending to Ngorwa.

The die was cast, and history made; henceforth all Nyabingi worshippers rallied round her to form a politico-religious sect, a necessary force for the support of the government in power in Rwanda, and Munuhimba did the trick in time. In any case, it was not a fair question to Munuhimba. When in 1892 a group of missions on the road for Butoro, visited her, she was not only accused of witchcraft, but also of being the instigator of the unrest. However, Munuhimba was arraigned in Kigali and sentenced to death. In 1900 she decided to visit Kigali, and during the attempt she was arrested and sentenced to two years. She escaped the death and attempted a raid to regain her throne. Troubled, she received a signal that she was wanted in Kigali. In 1901, she was arrested and sent to Ngorwa, and she attempted to escape at Butoro. In 1901, sentencing as the Queen of Ngorwa, and a liberator; she set the country ablaze. Later, raising, burning, she ravaged Ngorwa, and many hundreds of people found refuge at Butoro, the then Headquarters of Kigali. Munuhimba camped at Imani, and the chief officer, Sebilli, left her alone. On 30th September, 1911, however, a crackdown could not be avoided. Munuhimba was arrested, shot, and not fatally, and transported to Kigali, where she died in 1913. Forty of her warriors lay slain, but her son was never seen, and her widow, Nyabingi, escaped, in an escape which meant a resurgence of trouble from time to time. Probably Burahageya died before the war. In 1912 all Burahageya were rounded up and deported, and during the campaign, Mafere, the self-styled King of Ngorwa, was captured and killed by German officers in German Territory. About a year later, in 1913, Nyabingi was captured as he journeyed to Kigali. Details of what happened to him afterwards are unknown, but after his capture there were rumors of indiscriminate raids during the early years of the war, waged by Ndbchimbubum (two-fingered man), but hatched by a woman called Bchira Birengwa (Woman of the Country). We may break off this account here, with the raid of 1913, when two thousand natives, captured by a Sacred Actor, attacked an Anglo-German post at Chato, but was routed.

To the early Administration, with its understaffing difficulties, both “Nyabingi” and its fanatical activities must have caught the attention of much attention which was badly needed for putting the country in order and in readiness for modern administration. This preparatory work was done by a treaty of 1913 between the administration of the territories in August 1914. This being our turn to the next period, and we may well close this one on the following sad note. "Considerable progress was taking place in the various districts, but all administrative work received a severe check on the outbreak of war in August, so the District Commissioner reported early in 1916. We may wonder what psychological effect this had on the native. Could not he legimatically ask or wonder, "so fighting is not confined to the natives of Kigali only?"

II

THE WAR 1914-1918

The machines of war were set in motion. Sooner or later, in all the great states of Europe, in their colonies in Africa and Asia, and in the American Republics, on land and sea, and under the seas; in the air, in industry, in finance, in the subtle and powerful sphere of modern propagandists, in every way that human ingenuity could devise, men and women, soldiers and civilians; white, black, brown and yellow races, bent their efforts to conquering, defending and destroying on amighty unprescribed scale. If Europe was awakened by surprise to take arms against Germany, she understood the underlying causes were even more serious. At the dawn of each new year, these premonitions were even more pressing. At the dawn of each new year, the year-antipathies of the end of hostilities were entertained, but in vain, until almost the end of 1918. What with the near
communications and delicate relations with the natives in the colonies. Officers in the Colonial outposts must have suffered a great strain binding on nervous breakdown.

As for Kigezi, German East Africa bordered on Kamwezi. The defence of Bugumbira needed the co-operation of the Belgians in order to be effective. This border was the chief cause of worry throughout the war. At the beginning of the war, the Administrative Officer, Mr. J. E. Sullivan, thought to give more thought and time to the defence of the border, consequently had to give more thought and time to the defence of the border, consequently had to give more thought and time to the defence of the border, consequently had to give more thought and time to the defence of the border, consequently had to give more thought and time to the defence of the border, consequently had to give more thought and time to the defence of the border. As a result, the material of Supply Officer fell on the District Commissioner, which meant he could give little attention to the administration of the District. Nor, it will be born in mind, had the District Commissioner any well-equipped, well-trained force to concentrate on the Anglo-Belgian-German border. We can assume that the administrative and military sides of Kigezi were at stake. Thanks to the good sense of the natives, the rest of Kigezi gave no grounds for alarm, and at the beginning of 1915 the District Commissioner was in the proud position of being able to report, “The Bakiga have given very little trouble this year and are being well disposed of in all the affairs by recalling to mind the very firm hand with which Baganda Agents had from the outset treated the Bakiga. Moreover, the natives had from the beginning realized the supremacy of European weapons, and the use of these against themselves tried never to invite. The little of what the District Commissioner could lay hands on in the way of building up a military force, he concentrated on the border, till the end of October 1914, when a Belgian troop arrived to reinforce the so-called Defence Army.

The proximity of Bugumbira to the German and Belgian borders respectively, left her open to constant disturbances. Firstly, the Baantal of Bugumbira sympathized with Maua, and finally decided to side with him against the British. In doing so, they tactfully and diplomatically joined themselves with the British and the Belgians. In the end, 12,000 men were under arms; and 10,000 men were under arms, owing to the unfriendly attitude of the Bemba. The Rutobo — Kabalale road was opened, and Tax-collectors, war duty paid by 10,000 men the first time it was introduced in 1914. Kigezi managed to stand alone for the first few months of the War against military incursions from the German border. But the internal situation was far from relaxed. Kigezi was never visited by any Officer during the first two years of the War, though some of her Chiefs visited Kabale. The Agents were left to their own devices, and the natives remained loyal and quiet. In Bugumbira there was no headway. “Kakonure continued to be an effective check on the progress of his country, and no real improvement can be expected until he is removed” — so the District Commissioner stated in his report of 1915. Only in Bugumbira was the situation tolerable. The dangerous situation was not without its own dangers. While the British were administrating the country, the natives were thrown into confusion. “The District has received a severe check owing to the War, and to the fact that it has been wholly occupied by Belgians. It is not surprising that the natives have begun to wonder to whom the country now belong”, so the report for 1915 summarized this confusion. Secondly, the witch movement intensified with this confusion, with the result that the country was in a “State of turmoil throughout the year” (1915). The movement took on anti-European colour under Musambwa, Mutale and Maseko who remained loyal to Britain. Their cattle and other property were at the mercy of Bigambo, Nyando and Katurege, the pro-German warlords. Many loyalists suffered immense losses of cattle, which the British Government tried, as much as was practicable, to offset by compensations.
One of the few minor introductions, of a positive nature, during the early years of the War was the linking of Kabale and Mbarara with a telegraphic line. Messages which had previously taken two to four days to exchange, in all went well could now be exchanged within a matter of minutes. But the natives of both Ankole and Kigezi did not take long to discover that the wire would be put to better use than just having loose from pole to pole — that is, the manufacture of articles; and soon they embarked on intermittent raids on it, thus causing a great problem for the Administration. Hill Camps were instituted along the line to safeguard the wire.

The third year of the War saw a little relief for those within Kigezi, for the zone of hostilities had shifted further south. Moreover, the Belgian troops left the District. The District Commissioner's report for that year punctuated a great sigh of relief. "The departure of Belgian troops from the District has removed a source of frequent embarrassment." But all did not become a bed of roses at once.

In south-west Mbarara, near Butare, Kanyarubanda tried to cause trouble, but was arrested by the Belgians, who handed him over to the British Administration for "safe custody" in Kabale. In Butambala Ndecheimbi remained a source of trouble, though a force of only ten policemen managed to confine his activities to the Congo. A punitive expedition under Lt. Col. Riddick early in 1916 failed to arrest him, and he escaped for good, but a heavy blow was dealt on his confederates on this side of the border.

In May 1918 Nyirndo surrendered himself and was deported. His right-hand men, Birikirwa, Mitobe and Semara also surrendered. Their confederate, Katurega, died of wounds received in a fight with British loyalists, and thus ended the activities of pro-German traitors on British soil.

During this and, indeed, the previous two years, it will be remembered that claims of War had been pressed over every other consideration. The Assistant District Commissioner was the only official of the Administration who managed to tour Kigezi, and that he did only once, when he accompanied the Provincial Commissioner. Of Rujumbura the report is to the effect that he was not present in his district either.

Agents who, by force of war circumstances were left in positions of high unchecked power, did much to alienate the goodwill of the native subordinate auxiliaries. Much of the ill feeling which coloured the twenties must have been sown during this period, when all matters of civil administration were the concern of Baganda Agents.

During these cloudy years, it may be noted, however, that not all good work was sacrificed to war demands. For example, a good number of roads were constructed. The Soko road was widened, and a diversion from Rubabo to Kabale, almost following the present Mihanga-Kabale road, was built. A good many small roads were constructed to link Kabale with her village-towns. All these were made by tax-labour. Moreover, the Agents continued to meet together at Kabale for the holding of courts. This was the origin of the Kigezi District Court, comprising county chiefs and the more important sub-county chiefs.

Social Change During the War 1914 - 1918

This was a period when Native customs, ways of living and tribal organization saw a steady disintegration. Firstly, although the natives placed almost a dormant part in the war, a good many of them were engaged in transportation of both troops and their baggage from camp to camp or from one place of activity to another. Secondly, the taxation, which was introduced about the time of the declaration of war, necessitated some young-blooded taxpayers leaving their homes and living away in camps where the position of the head of clan or family was taken by the gang leaders — commonly known as “Nyampara” — who were foremen with degenerate influence. Rubians, Baganda, Batwa and others were the leaders to whom the temporarily detribalized native looked for a standard of behaviour which was in most cases lacking. Whatever other blame we may attribute to the coming of westernisation into Kigezi, this one must be added, that the early agents of westernisation were themselves half-bred tools who little understood what they were doing. The heritage of labour camps of those days are words like “Kamwakye”, “Tambafu” (You are a fool) and others, a language indicative of degenerate moral standards. It ought to be placed on record, however, that the struggle in Kigezi with the Germans and their proteges was brought to an immediate end through the native labour which provided a mobile, reliable means of transport to the troops. Never once did the native porters shirk responsibility or become truant. They carried their burdens without a murmur between one assigned camp and another, and went home with the agreed transport fee which enabled not a few natives to earn money for their Poll Tax. This was well paid during all the years the War lasted.

The process of tribal disintegration was further aggravated during these years by the almost annual occurrence of famine towards the end of the War and immediately after. Occasionally, epidemic incursions of smallpox also upset tranquillity; but with the unquestioned loyalty of most of the natives, the administration emerged safely from the throes of war.
We now come to the year 1917. Keith Feiling summarizes the situation briefly: "Immense and tragic events filled the year 1917. In March revolution began to annihilate the force of Russia. In April the French offensive under their new leader, Neville, was beaten back, with fearful losses. That month the loss of shipping by submarines rose to 90,000 tons, and a bare six-weeks' food supply was assured, a rate of destruction which, unless remedied, would by the autumn either starve us (Britain) out, or paralyse our armies."

FOOTNOTES.

1. Quotations, unless otherwise stated, are derived from the District Commissioners' reports for the relevant period. Kabale District Archives.
3. See Rwabugiri's account, in chapter seven.
4. The 1918 D.C.'s report pointed out that "Offences committed by Belgian troops against British natives are not punishable by British courts, but have to be referred to the Belgian authorities."

CHAPTER THIRTEEN


by D. Denoon.

Throughout most of Uganda, British Colonial rule at first involved the employment of African agents, usually Christians and Muslims from Buganda. (1) Buganda was no exception to this general state of affairs. The question which is considered in this chapter, is why the Bakiga were allowed to occupy so many of the official posts first held and then vacated by the Baganda, when the British decided to localise as many administrative staff as convenient and safe. For most of the period from the arrival of British officials in 1904 until the conclusion of the localisation process, it seemed unlikely that the Bakiga would come to occupy their later commanding position, whereas it seemed very likely that Batindi from Bubumba and Bashambo Bahima from Rujumbura would be promoted to most of the important and rewarding official posts.

In 1908 a rational and unprejudiced observer could not have expected the Bakiga to amount to much in terms of power. Politically and militarily they were in extreme disarray. The leader of the British mission to Lake Kivu in 1909 reported that the area he passed through was "uninhabited." (2) Major Jack, surveying the Uganda-Congo-Rwanda border in 1910, found "few signs of human habitation. Occasionally, on the edge of a swamp, you would see a village or a few huts, and in some valleys there were traces of former cultivation, but now everything was deserted and dead." He attributed the state of affairs to famine and mildew, and found signs that people were returning to the area. (3) In 1911 the official population estimate for the whole district was only 100,000 people. (4) That figure was almost certainly too low, since even in 1913 the British were describing the region as densely populated. Doubtless the travellers passed through untypical areas, and certainly the Bakiga were keeping out of sight and out of the way of potential danger. Nevertheless the descriptions are striking.

The Bakiga had recently suffered a succession of natural and human disasters, which they were ill-equipped to withstand. From the south Mwami Kigendi IV Rwabugiri was pushing the borders of Rwanda south and west, and influence northwards among the Bakiga. Many came under the formal control of Rwanda, and are now to be found inhabiting two north-central districts of the Rwanda republic; many others further north were obliged to pay sporadic and irregular homage. (5) Bubumba was also brought under the formal control of Rwanda, having previously enjoyed an almost independent condition. Rwabugiri's son Nyindo was installed as ruler of this province, which was probably more loyal to the Mwami than some
provinces closer to the capital. Such intense pressure from Rwanda was unprecedented so far north, but the Bakiga enjoyed a respite when Rwahugir jumped in 1935 and a bitter succession war broke out which distracted Rwanda's attention from further raiding and expansion.

A more immediate and devastating threat was posed by the Batwa, who were powerful in the borderland between Bakiga and Rwanda, and especially in the forests and rough country west of Lake Bunyonyi. From these strongholds they were well placed to raid throughout Bakiga and beyond. In formal war, against the armies of Rwanda, the Bakiga could sometimes defend themselves effectively; but against the mobile Batwa guerrillas, armed with bows and arrows, defence was exceptionally difficult. Early in the twentieth century the Batwa were led by a renegade Bakiga — Katunyywe — who became effective ruler of all areas west of Lake Bunyonyi. It is not surprising therefore that Major Jack found the Bakiga of the south-west "truculent and aggressive" whereas the Bakiga as a whole struck him as "being mild-mannered, indolent people". The Bakiga were confronted by superior military power to the South and south-west, and to the west they were hemmed in by the Impenetrable forest, which meant danger rather than refuge. When these "mild-mannered, indolent people had to move, they could only move north or east from their dangerous locality.

North of the Impenetrable forest lay two small principalities, Kavunza and Kinkizi, where many Bakiga did migrate. But these and slopes down to Lake Edward, becoming increasingly fever-stricken and inhospitable, so that movement in that direction offered no salvation. A popular option for migrants was Rulumbwa, one of the strongest of the Bashembo successors states to the eighteenth century kingdom of Mpororo. At the turn of the century, Rulumbwa was ruled by Makobere, an unusually powerful and astute prince. The southern areas of the territory which he claimed were ideally suited to agriculture and the breeding of goats, rather than cattle-keeping, and to that region many Bakiga moved. With the emergence of the British, Makobere apparently sent a brother to rule the Bakiga in that area; but their move did not develop into a permanent arrangement. Makobere's main efforts at this early stage of contact with the British, was to prevent his principality from being absorbed into the expanding kingdom-district of Ankole.

In addition to human hazards, the Bakiga had recently been exposed to natural disasters. The rinderpest epidemic damaged an economy which valued cattle highly, even though cattle did not form a staple. Shortly after the rinderpest there was an unusually severe drought, causing a considerable famine. The famine was socially disruptive; so that in some areas corpses remained unburied, and there was a consequent plague of man-eating animals. The cumulative effect of these disasters was to encourage a migration of many Bakiga to the North. One collector of oral evidence attributes the migration to the intensification of raiding by the Batwa and Banyarwanda, around the turn of the century; another provides an earlier date. A third, the most convincing, argues that there were two phases — first a steady flow of migrants from Northern Rwanda to Southern Kigezi; particularly intense during the second half of the nineteenth century; and a second general movement at about the turn of the century, from Southern Kigezi in the direction of Rujumbura. In this fluid situation, the preliminary incursions of Germans and British passed without much comment at the time, except that Bakiga remember their first, disastrous, encounter with fire-arms used by the Germans. Before going any further, it would be useful to establish who and what the Bakiga were. In common with the segmentary societies of Eastern Uganda (and many others) their social and political traditions make sense of the British and B放过 the habit of classifying all Africans into tribes. The term Bakiga could roughly be translated as Highlanders, and carried many of the association of that usage as applied to Scottish Highlanders. This term applied to the inhabitants of a certain kind of country, and implied a geographical unity rather than a political arrangement. It is probably significant that the word used by the Bakiga to express the idea of a tribe are more commonly referred to as "chiefs or lineage groups." The largest term of reference commonly used by the Bakiga applied to a group of clans which shared a common ancestor and a taboo-tension; there were about eight of these groupings, each of which had any political expression. Even the clan seldom had any political expression, since different lineages of each were to be found scattered throughout, and beyond, Bakiga country. In certain circumstances the members of a lineage would describe themselves to outsiders by use of the clan name; but for the most common term of reference (and that which was the most important political unit) was the localised lineage group itself, the "omurolgwe, of varying genealogical depth but seldom more than half a dozen generations deep.

It would be fair to describe the Bakiga in 1900 as extravagantly decentralised, politically, and their political behaviour determined by the degree of inter-marriage between neighbouring groups rather than by any supra-lineage institution. Not surprisingly, the Kiku experiments thought their Bakiga country not to be a tribe, when they were actually a clan, and a decentralised one at that.

Muhanganza and Nyanangi.

The circumstances in which the first important clash between British and Bakiga took place are worth some attention. The catalog of remarkable Tutsi woman, Muhanganza, a widow of Muyimbi Rwahugir, who had been mortified to observe her son (Bilege) defeated in the succession struggle. She set up a rival court in Kajura for Bilege, but was captured by the Germans in 1909 and detained for two years at Bukoba. She did not give up easily, and on her escape returned to Kajura near Bukoba where she set up court with the intention of rallying support for a second attempt to place Bilege on the Rwandan throne. In this venture the enjoy-
ed a certain degree of support from within Rwanda: some Tutsi clans favoured Bilege. The Bakiga may have regarded Muhumuza not merely as a fractious Tutsi, but also as a promising pretext for casting off the influence of Rwanda altogether. (16) Her appeal was, however, more substantial. For one thing, she promised to raise cattle from under the ground if only she could discover a certain royal drum which would produce this effect. Next to that claim was the fact that she was seen as a follower of the nyabingi cult which lent a great deal of authority to her statements.

4) These were the carrots: there was also a formidable stick in the form of an army of Batwa who were turned loose on Bakiga who felt disinclined to cooperate. By these means she attracted widespread support among the Bakiga: many abakara led their followers into her camp in much the same way as a Scottish chieflain might have led his troops in support of a claimant to the throne, without necessarily handing over control of his particular followers. Although some individuals did join Muhumuza's forces, the organization was primarily inter-clan rather than supra-clan, and the episode does not constitute an exception to Baxter's rule that "except for the Nyabingi priests, who were temporary phenomena, there were no persons with supra-lineage authority, and the Nyabingi priests only seem to have had more than ephemeral success when they organised their followers in terms of the clan structure." (18) The long-term limitations of such political organization did not have time to reveal themselves, since the insurgents were suppressed by the British before they could attempt either a permanent settlement in Rukiga or a permanent occupation of fever low. Among others, has commented on the way in which factions in virtually every pre-colonial society abandoned their traditional allegiance and aligned themselves with the British, at the first sign of determined British pressure. (9) In the s-cephalous societies it was particularly obvious, and in many cases throughout Uganda local factions took the initiative in embroiling the colonial authorities in local power struggles. The fact that some Bakiga appealed to the British was almost inevitable and hardly worth commenting on, except that the peculiar nature of the internal power struggle in Rukiga had considerable effects on later British attitudes.

Three abakara are known to have appealed to the British, after having refused to accept Muhumuza's pretensions - there may well have been others. Of these three, two were authorities in segments of the Basingi clan, and the other, (a Malibee) was a practitioner of the emandura cult.

6) The distinction which scholars tend to draw between nyabingi and emandura is largely an arbitrary one: neither was a single cult with a uniform doctrine, nevertheless ever had a single organisation, and each merged into the other in terms of practice: (11) (15) (20) nevertheless the refusal of an emandura priest to participate may be of some general significance. At any rate, those three abakara, having been ousted by the Batwa, decided to appeal to the British forces in the vicinity. The British, uniquely aware that Muhumuza was camped in territory which the map showed to be red, supported the three and launched a dawn attack on the camp. Muhumuza was unaware either that she was on British territory or that she had incurred the enmity of the British troops. The camp was therefore unprepared for defence, and the attack was entirely successful. Muhumuza was captured and exiled to Kampala where she died in 1945 unless, as legend has it, she returns to rule Rwanda and Uganda. The troops were either killed by cannon and rifle fire, or else dispersed in a rout. (8) At one blow the British destroyed the only possible basis for resistance, and established their authority throughout the district. The problem at once presented itself of devising a means of administering these un-promising British subjects.

Until 1891 the British were innocent of any interest in the Bakiga. Buganda was still the core and the main focus of interest. In the protectorate, a circumstance which largely influenced British interest (or disinterest) in the hinterland. The administration at Mbarara confined its attention almost entirely to the old Hima states which formed the district-tongue of Ankol. British presence West of Ankol was intended to secure a favourable resolution of the boundary controversy between British and Belgium, for which purpose the abortive Kivu expedition was launched in 1903. The 1890 boundary agreement, with its quiet stipulation that Mount Mumbugo must be British wherever it happened to be, was open to varying interpretations, one of which was that almost all of modern Kigezi was part of the Congo. The pre-emptive Kivu expedition was intended, therefore, negatively to keep the Belgians out, and positively to gain an East African Samba for tired Entebbe administrators. (3) A consequence was that British interest was focussed on the border rather than the people within it, and that the British presence in Mumbugo comprised the border garrison at a place contemptuously known as Kigezi (which gave its name to the district thereafter). Of Bakiga, they knew little and cared less: the fact that they became the majority in the 'left-over' district of Kigezi, was fortuitous. One other consequence of the expedition in west noticing, namely the introduction of Buganda to aid the British in administration. As the leader of the Kivu expedition, Coole, wrote in 1910: 'I consider the system of employing Buganda agents will prove the only method of administering the district. The Bakiga are all split up into clans, recognize the authority of no chiefs, and my successor will find in Yowana Ssebaliki an excellent, most trustworthy and reliable man to put in as head agent of the district.' (17)

The Muhumuza affair not only brought the initial contact, but also determined attitudes. First, nyabingi was perceived to be a dangerous and sinister cult. Since it was involved in the attempt to overthrow the Mwami of Rwanda, it was assumed to be inherently hostile to the Tutsi, and therefore hostile to the existing order. By an extension of this argument it was thought that nyabingi, being a subversive creed, must be illegal to colonial rule. Secondly, it was assumed that nyabingi was a unitary creed, since Muhumuza was thought in some way to be Nyabingi: it followed that the nyabingi cult must be the same thing wherever it was found and whoever was practicing it, and that it was the prime force tending to unite the Bakiga in resistance against rule. In all these respects it came to be assumed that emandura was a very different, more conservative and more respectable cult. Thus, in the bureaucratic manner of colonial pioneers, the British officials divided the Bakiga into two categories: the tiny, respectable, settled minority; and the vast, mistrusted, anti-British (and anti-Tutsi) majority. On
these assumptions (a whole complex interpretation of Bakiga politics and society) sprang fully armed from the minds of the first British officers, and the more time passed and experience accumulated, the more Ouagui's positions were found to be supported by the interpretation— as the annual and quarterly reports, from 1912 to about 1920, illustrate. It is not of special importance to this argument, whether the assumptions are correct or otherwise; but before the argument is taken any further, it may be worth noticing that these official assumptions are mistaken in several respects. For one thing, Muhumusa was not a typical product of the Bakiga political tradition, but a man who had been assimilated as an alien, and as a protagonist of an alien cause. More important, the impression that nyabingi was a centralized spiritual or political organization, is fallacious. Although Batutsi tended to prefer
yabingi, and their enemies to prefer mbezi, this was not universally the case, and it is difficult to see why the latter maintained a doctrine of anti-Tutsi politics. Major Jack went so far as to describe Muyingi as the ordinary religion of the Batutsi, and distinguished this from the ideology which he assumed inspired Muhumusa (3). In any case, the leadership in Muhumusa's campaign was exclusively Batutsi, and the imposition of some strata on an interpretation of Muyingi as being both anti-Tutsi and Muhumusa's political instrument. It is not possible to accept the official view that nyabingi was the sole and sufficient index of whether a man was favourably disposed to Batutsi influence and British control, or whether he rejected both. It would seem that by asking only whether a man had a supported Muhumusa and nyabingi, the British officials were asking a loaded question and receiving a distorted answer. The officials were not, however, dispassionate observers of human society, but individuals who were to understand everything at once. The interpretation outlined above had the merit of being comprehensive and simple, and was for these reasons unchallenged. It followed, then, that Bakiga were poor, craven superstitious creatures, undeserving of an influential pro-British faction.

The Establishment of a Colonial Hierarchy.

In North-East Kigezi, the existing administration of Rujumbura was recognized and integrated into the larger administrative system; the Mugabe, Miskebo, had been recognized by the British administration in Mbarara for some years (7) and now gained the title of sisaza chief and the support of a muganda advisor, Poomalako Kivumbu. Although his subordinates were not formally recognized until 1915, they remained in office.

In North-West Kigezi the two major powers (both pitifully weak) were amalgamated and absorbed into the administration by subordinating one to the other and both to Kabale. The ruler of Kikuli, Rubahyana, became sisaza chief of Kikuli, with the support of another muganda agent, Mathew Atenza. The ruler of Kivumbu, Mugungu (otherwise known as Bwabagambya II) became muganda chief of Kivumbu subordinate to Rubahyana.

In South-West Kigezi, the old Muganda territory of Butumbira became a county retaining its role as Nyindo, half-brother of the Muganda of Kiganga, was named subject having subjected his administration to the supervision of another muganda agent, Abdulrahman. In this case, the unusual step was taken of recognizing some subordinate administrators at once, as gomborora chiefs, in the process of which some old subordinate officials vanished from the historian's view. Oddly enough, at least two of the gomborora chiefs recognized in Butumbira were not Batutsi, but were titular officials, tended to assume that Batutsi rule had been transferred. As in Kikuli, an independent political unit—Katurege's domain which acknowledged no superior—was translated into a gomborora subordinate to Nyindo. In this case, however, the anomaly was recognized, and a muganda agent was appointed to the court of Katurege, a left-handed compliment normally reserved for county chiefs.

In the recognizably centralized areas, then, a colonial hierarchy was created by the deceptively simple means of translating titles into muganda and appointing Baganda agents to explain the system to the new British civil servants. But the creation of such a hierarchy in Bukiga was more complicated, and encountered severe pitfalls. Even here, it was the intention of the British to introduce 'Kiganda' administration staffed by Baganda. Whether or not this intention was practicable is open to doubt, but in any case the system was not even attempted, and the immediate cause of the abandonment of the policy was the astute intervention of the leading agent in the district, Yomwana Ssebalija. According to the only available accounts, the most important of a series of barazas in which chiefshipships were allocated, occurred in 1912.

Captain Charles Salomon, instructed Ssebalija to summon a meeting which the most influential local authorities were to attend. This placed Ssebalija in an interesting and delicate position. A Catholic from Musasa, he had served in the Ankole administration, from which he had been detained to serve as commissariat officer in the xivu expedition, keeping open the supply lines between Mbarara and the Congo border. From 1908 until 1911, he had ordinarily been Britain's only contact with the Baganda, and had acquired influence but extensive political authority. By 1912 he was performing duties normally associated with an Assistant D.C. The meeting he was instructed to convene would have been attended by the leading Baganda authorities; was, however, Salomon's local knowledge was negligible, and he was in Muhumusa's campaign, but unable to say precisely who were the leading Baganda authorities. Was Ssebalija not taken advantage of his local knowledge, he would have been more than human. The four Baganda who attended the meeting (other Bagika also attended, but their names have been forgotten as they played an important part in proceedings) were Rwabukunzi, Rwagana, Twyabashaija and Rwabwabwa. Rwabukunzi befriended Ssebalija soon after the latter's arrival in Bukiga country, and they may even have become blood-brothers. Rwagana, one of the three who appealed to the British against Muhumusa, recalls that Ssebalija warned him that
the chieftancy would be financially unrewarding, socially undesirable, and politically dangerous (19): Turyabuhutuka and Ndyabawwe are unknown, except that they were obstinate respectively of Basigai and Bahumba lineages, which means that the Basigai had three out of four representatives. It may be simply coincidence, or the incomplete nature of information, but there is no available record of Basigai resistance against the British until 1928.

The proceedings of the meeting confirm Rwagara's argument that Ssebalijja prided the Bakiga representatives. First, Salmonson announced his decision regarding the proposed allocation of power: he dealt with Rujumbura and Bufumbire as well, but these appointees have already been noted; regarding the Bakiga, he proposed to divide them into two semi-counties, one to be administered by Rwagara and the other a Makiga, who had not yet been chosen: they would be responsible to the British through Ssebalijja as chief Agent. The subsequent trend of discussion is startling and will support only one interpretation. Rwagura rose to request that Baganda be appointed as Advisers, in view of the incapacity of the Bakiga to govern by themselves (it had not been suggested by Salmonson that any other course be adopted, and Rwagura may simply have got the wrong cue). Then Turyabuhutuka protested that Rwagura was a most unsuitable chief, and suggested instead that the existing system be retained, whereby an Omukasa wielded authority only over his own lineage group; he added that Ssebalijja could remain to supervise the administration conducted in these traditional terms. The Acting Political Officer protested feebly that his decision was final and that old custom should be forgotten, but Turyabuhutuka's argument was endorsed not only by Ndyabawwe, but also Rwagura himself, who denied any desire or intention to rule over a group of people large than his own lineage. Salmonson's proposal and therefore to be scrapped, the two proposed counties were amalgamated into one, with Ssebalijja as suza chief as well as chief Agent in Kigazi, and Baganda subordinate chiefs were also appointed, including Ssebalijja's son, Alison Walusimbi and another Mudumba, Augustino Mudumba. The Bakiga representatives went home no doubt congratulating themselves on their narrow escape from power.

Superficially, the changes looked more like reform than revolution, but they were based upon the crude political Darwinism of British officials, who believed that "progress" involved the creation of large, centralised, tribal communities instead of a large number of autonomous groups. In Rujumbura the prince could not enforce his new status as suza chief, though the constitutional separation of Rujumbura from the rest of Kigezi delayed the limitation of his power and initiative. His subordinates, now expected to behave like good Baganda gomborwa chiefs, must have felt the strain at once. In Kintshi it happened that a ruler became a gomborwa chief, which was a severe change in status: the divinity which sometimes hedges kings cannot be said to hedge grade two officials. In Bufumbire, the change was more severe by the ruler than by his subordinates. Nyirondi's delegation from virtually independent authority to a prestige but supervised post in the upper reaches of the colonial hierarchy, is by no means parallel to the recognition of his subordinates as gomborwa chiefs.

For one thing, these subordinate chiefs were not all Batutsi, and did not, therefore, have much traditional claim to authority; fewer gomborwa chiefs in Bufumbire were of the prevailing aristocracy, than was the case in Rujumbura, and this may explain the fact that the gomborwa chiefs in Bufumbire proved their loyalty to the British connection under the stress of the First World War. Further, the imposition of constraint over their immediate superior may even have given them a greater sense of personal security. Kagezi, as a somewhat independent authority, does not fit into this category of chief. It is of some interest to note that the later public image of the Batutsi as pro-British and capable, largely depended on the actions of individuals who were assumed to be, but were actually not, Batutsi.

In Buganda, the gulf between general theory and actual practice was most obvious. Salmonson's 1912 proposals indicate that he intended to fragment the Bakiga from their segmented organisation into a centralised tribe: Ssebalijja's intervention had the effect of bringing to Salmonson's attention the fact that political life among the Bakiga was likely to make the proposal unworkable. Whereas a society with a suprann-lineage hierarchy of authority might perhaps be expected to comprehend the nature of the changes proposed, and might be expected to adapt themselves to new rules and attitudes, in a segmented society it would be necessary both to create the posts and to instruct their incumbents, in a centralised society the problem looked deceptively simple: in a segmented society it did not even look simple; policy was also influenced by the fact that he could not have observed, between 'establisnment' and 'referring' religions. (20) While officials had no objection to Mokobora and Nyirondi, whose temporal power was buttressed by religious belief, they drew the line at recognising nyabinghi priests, even though they were thought to assist and encourage political centralisation. One dubious assumption: that there were subversive and reformist - confused another dubious assumption: that Nyabinghi was a force in favour of centralisation.

One further aspect of the administrative machine must be observed, notably the fact that it was unworkable. The reasons for this are many. When a society is to be reconstituted, the belief is that social change happens at once; the expectation of change is not the same as the belief in it, for it is to be expected to take place. In Buganda, the belief in Nyabinghi was not of much importance in Kigezi, the second has been observed and delineated by Dr. Twaddle in his study of Kukungulu, (12) but the third has not. I think, been sufficiently observed. In forming the Kigezi administration, the British 'recognised' only three ranks of chieftainship, the head, the suza chief and the gomborwa chief. In part of what became
Rujumbura country, the tiny state of Kukumbi was too small even to become a gomborora country, and its ruler, Rubuda, could not therefore fit into the hierarchy set out in Chapter II. (8) Baginda in Kandy was fortunate to become a gomborora chief, since there was no lower grade in official existence and he might otherwise, like Rubuda, have vanished from view (and power) altogether. Even when appropriate equivalent posts did exist in the terminology of the hierarchy, the mere translation of titles by itself achieved nothing. In Baginda it was hard enough for chiefs to conduct themselves in a manner which the British thought appropriate: how much more so in other areas! Makobore for example, had to choose between, or attempt to reconcile, the two roles of hereditary prince and British civil servant, in his capacity as hereditary saza chief. Not surprisingly, the more time passed, the more Baganda advisers and advice were required, not only by Makobore but also in Kikindi and Rutumula. The very criteria of appointment tended to make it difficult for the candidate to become an efficient British civil servant.

The second reason was that the administrative animal created in 1913 had no official legs, and must therefore hover above the ground. The administration in Baganda depended on an administrative infrastructure of miruka chiefs. In Kigali, the blueprint at first made no legal or budgetary provision for any authority of lower rank than gomborora chief — and in Bukiga there were only five of these. It was physically impossible for the gomborora chief, unaided and alien, to collect taxes, forced labour, court fines and criminals from all the people in his charge, or to pass on to them whatever information the district commissioner regarded as snout news. Each gomborora chief sought to maintain his own sub-county, and the result was administration which was literally corrupt. Many chiefs (including Sabalali) imported friends and relations to act as miruka chiefs, or gathered about them a crowd of armed men to reinforce their control. Alternatively, or as well, among the Bakiga there already existed the abaca of the lineage groups, who could often be pressed into service as subordinate chiefs. By the first world war, the latter had become common practice, following the prohibition of the employment of Baganda in lower posts than gomborora chiefs. (5) However, whether the chiefs were local or imported, the absence of budgetary provision for them meant a widespread recourse to illegal exactions. The minor chiefs, for instance, collected taxes: in the absence of rupees, except in the possession of chiefs and agents, the chiefs could determine the exchange rate of goats, cattle and other possessions, and consequence could overcharge the peasants and retain a considerable ‘take-off.’ Until tax receipts became common, there was no effective check on the chiefs’ powers to pass on to smaller sums than they collected. Similarly, forced labour equivalents, court fines and court fines, all provided funds from which a percentage could easily be taken. (5) Since the Bakiga were already accustomed to making presents to their own abakura, it was the payments to Baganda which riled them most, and which made the Baganda seem responsible for all the corruption and embezzlement. The accusation, widespread then and common even now, that the Baganda were corrupt, is true but misleading: in the circumstances the chiefs could only control the local situation and function as an administration on the basis of massive and almost universal embezzlement, on the part of the lower-level chiefs. During the tax-year 1913-1914, total revenue amounted to less than Rs. 2,000, of which more than half came from political fines, about a third from tax, with only 1% from court fines — figures quoted in descending order of plausibility. (21)

The attitude of the Protectorate government towards the employment of Baganda agents, advisers or chiefs in areas outside Baganda was somewhat ambivalent. (12) From 1911 onwards, as Dr. Twaddle has shown, it was official policy to replace the Baganda as much, and as fast as possible. The fact that Baganda retained high office in Kigali until 1930 is a remarkable demonstration of the degree of latitude allowed to individual District Commissioners, but it is not yet clear why the D.C.’s in Kigali used their latitude in this direction. Generally it would be true to say that the British officials in each district became increasingly paternalistic in their attitudes to ‘their’ local people. As this trend appeared, so the pretensions of D.C. paternalism became increasingly incompatible with the survival of Baganda as agents. However, it was not until after the first world war that D.C.’s in Kigali felt confident enough to dispense with Baganda: before and during the war, they simply toyed with the idea and looked forward to the time when replacement could be attempted. The first proper D.C. arrived in 1913, the semi-articulate, opinionated and infinitely quotable Sullivan. He observed that the agents were exercising too much ‘liberty’, and the local people too little. As short-term remedies, he decided to circumscribe and define the powers of chiefs, and to diminish one particularly flagrant extorter. As a long-term remedy, however, he believed that the Baganda could be dispensed with. When he cast around for suitable successors, however, he gave clear evidence of being influenced by the crude political evolution which was well-nigh universal among the officials. “I wish it to be clearly understood” he insisted, “that with the exception of the Butusi...there are no persons in the District of sufficient intelligence to act as chiefs in the sense of the word as used among uncivilized (sic) tribes elsewhere: hence anything in the nature of native (i.e. non-Baganda) administration is difficult both to start and to carry out.” He proposed, nevertheless, to make maximum use of local talent. (22) This was one of the few pieces of British policy which directly benefited the Bakiga more than other groups, since the effects of the policy varied as between the countries of Kigali. The Bahorora in Rujumbura stood to gain nothing, since they already occupied the local administrative posts, subject only to an Adviser: as a matter of fact their later demise was fore-shadowed in an attack made by Sullivan on the Bahorora in general and Makobore in particular, who were accused of being unreliable instruments of British authority. Curiously, not only did Sullivan threaten Makobore with deportation, but also took the opportunity to cast aspersions on the traditional legitimacy, which would suggest that the concepts of legitimacy and accountability were mixed in an official mind. The policy had no important effect in Kikindi either, where the chiefs proved amenable to British control, but incapable of wielding much power to British rule in the country. In Rujumbura, as in Rujumbura, the chiefs stood to gain nothing. again
Sullivan fore-shadowed future trends. In describing the Bunyarwanda, he admitted that the Batutsi were intellectually superior to the Bahutu, but argued that while the Bahutu were “great agriculturalists; the Batutsi are of no economic value, their chief asset seems to be a remarkable attainments in the arts of high-jumping.” Assuming wrongly — that the Butumbira chiefs were all Batutsi, Sullivan had no intention of replacing them, but neither would he contemplate an extension of rule by high-jumpers elsewhere in the country. Perhaps the most striking aspect of his thinking is the value he attached to agriculture. Cultivation was conceived to be an activity which either conferred virtu on, or required virtu of, the practitioner. He described the Bakiga, for example, as “thickly populated race of very fine agriculturists.” Perhaps it was the virtuosity of cultivation which led him to believe that the intellectual gap between cultivators and pastoralists might be overcome by intense administrative education. It was at this point that he prohibited the employment of Baganda below the levels of swala and gomborora chiefs and introduced a system whereby Bakiga were appointed to posts from which they might observe Kiga administration at close quarters. This reform would be hoped prove “an excellent means of training the natives eventually to manage their own affairs, which is at present quite an impossibility.”

Localization.

The First World War affected the Bakiga and the minorities, regarding expectations of power, in two distinct ways. First the minorities. As soon as war broke out, Nyindo followed the advice of his half-brother the Mwami, acceding the fact that the Germans were going to win, and threw in his lot with them. (7) Although several non-Batutsi gomborora chiefs remained loyal to the British, and although the revolt was not anti-colonial nor anti-white, so many of Nyindo’s subjects joined him that the actual effect of the revolt was to discredit most of the elite. Many of the Bakiga who were eligible for chieftaincies, were discredited. After the war, it was found necessary to import a cousin of the Mwami’s, from Rwanda, to fill the post vacated by Nyindo. (22) Kateregge also rebelled, though his revolt seems to be an assertion of pre-colonial independence. (5) In the North-East, Makobore was suspected of sedition and soon after the war he was replaced by his son. In Kinkiizi, the ex-king gomborora chief Muginga, was suspected of joining the Germans, and was deposed and deported for five years, before resigning his post. (23) In other words nothing happened in the North to alter the opinion expressed in every report by every D.C., that the chiefs were either incompetent or disloyal or both.

The Bakiga require more attention. Until 1917 they remained astonishingly quiescent, and even the events of 1917 involved very few. Kateregge’s revolt was demonstrably atypical, since his position was beyond the pale of Bakiga tradition. The continued presence of Baganda rulers, the necessity of providing large numbers of porters, and the perpetuation of the whole ‘corrupt system’, did not move them to rebellion even when opportunity presented itself. No doubt the memory of Mulhumuzza was recent and vivid, but this would appear an insufficient explanation; lack of
On the question of who should succeed, Phillips had no doubts whatever — they must be Batutsi from Butumbira. In 1920 he was called upon to recommend measures required to prevent a recurrence of events like the Nyakibingi incident, and his proposals, as refuted by the Provincial Commissioner, are worth quoting extensively. They were: (25)


2. The levelling up of administration on both sides of the international frontiers.

3. Abolition from pressure of tax or labour in frontier areas.

4. Increased tolerance of the Ruanda Imandwa (anti-Nyabingi institution).

5. Employment of Batutsi the hereditary rulers wherever possible.

Nos: 1 and 2 are a matter of time and Nos: 3, 4 and 5 have been laid down and placed on record as general policy.

As practical and concrete safeguards I would further recommend that next year from August 1st until the end of December the usual period of arrest and disturbance, 20 extra police be sent .... It is not surprising that when Nyabingi seemed the most important obstacle to British control, Phillips should propose what amounted to a local alliance between the apparent forces of order. The new policy manifested itself immediately, and in three directions. Nyindo's vacancy needed to be filled. The man whose administrative experience had been in Rwanda itself, and who was not known personally to the British authorities: but his background was not considered particularly offending by the British authorities: but his background was not considered particularly offending by the British authorities; and the fact that he was a Tutsi meant (in Phillips' conviction) that he was hostile to Nyabingi (28). Secondly, Phillips resolved to start a school in Kabale, specifically for the sons of Batutsi chiefs, who were invited to take up a free place for one son of each chief; and in deference to the chiefs' expressed view that Christianity was too high a price to pay for education the school was non-sectarian. (29) Thirdly, in proposing to divide Kigezi into spheres of religious influence, Phillips revealed the extent of his predilection for Batutsi as rulers. The Catholics were to be offered the Banyarwanda and Bakiga: the Catholics were already strong among the Banyarwanda, while Protestant influence was thought (wrongly, as it happened in Kigezi) (30) associated more closely with Baganda. "The Bakiga (who were under the Ruanda kingdom) dislike Baganda, but like and are accustomed to Banyarwanda." (27) In short, the old view which linked disorder, hostility to the Batutsi, and anti-colonialism, was not only an article of faith, but also a guide to action (though the religious spheres idea came to nothing.)

All of which begs the question — if Phillips was so powerful and so Tutshifique, how did he fail to bring about Batutsi administration? It would be gratifying to explain that it was the very success of the Batutsi and
Bahima, in presenting themselves as rulers by right of conquest and long residence, and that this success lead directly to their being classified as "aliens" for taxation purposes from 1923 onwards. But the explanation is, unfortunately, less poetically just and more complex. For convenience, the Bahoro of Bugumbara may be dealt with first, as logical contenders for the Baganda places. At the end of 1920, Makobore was replaced by his son Karegyesa, who swiftly established himself as the model ssaza chief. Faced with the dilemma of being a British civil servant or as traditional and hereditary ruler, he opted firmly for the first: he was described as young, energetic and having "broken away from the retrograde habits of his father". (31) He even went so far as to insist on the Bahima cultivating potatoes. (5) Nevertheless his acceptability as a chief was largely an index of the degree to which he dissociated himself from the Bahima as a whole. Every annual report commented adversely on the Bahoro and especially on the Bahima, but that of 1922 is most specific in its criticism: "The Bahoro generally are an unsatisfactory tribe of poor physique and little promise of improvement. The attitude of the Bahima element towards Kalegessa caused the suggestion first to be made of raising their poll tax to Shs. 10/- in 1923..." (32) The rise of Karegyesa to power and favour, then, is misleading, since the other important post in Rujumba proved consistently hard to fill, and the incumbents proved consistently unsatisfactory to the Kabale administration, presumably because the gulf between traditions and colonial behaviour for chiefs proved very hard to bridge. In Kinkizi the problem was even more acute, and some chiefs were recruited from Rujumbas.

The first Mukiga gomborora chief in Mukiga country was appointed seeking success of the administration in suppressing the manifestations of nyabgingi among the Bikiga. Spirit hubs and the wearing of charms vanished from view: the administration in practice tried to suppress all traditional religious practices, whether nyabingi or emanenwe or anything else, so what the officials took to be signs of extinguishing nyabingi were actually signs of all traditional religion going underground. (33) Combined with this viral change is the fact that after Nyakishenyi there were no more risings until 1928, and no further signs of nyabingi as political force at all, though various cases of witch-craft did come to the attention of officials, who tended to describe such cases as 'moderate' and 'non-political'. As the power of nyabingi appeared clearly to be on the wane, so the anti-nyabingi alliance declined in importance and ceased to determine internal policy in quite the same way as before. The consequences is that the Butoobu declined in political value, to a point comparable with that of the Bahima, and were classified accordingly in 1923 for tax-remittances. And in the decision the Tuusi version of Kigezi history no doubt provided a rationale for discrimination against them.

The second circumstance is similar in that which operated against the Bahima, that the apparently easy transition from traditional to colonial chiefy behaviour proved hard to pass. Until 1924 at earliest: Nirimbilla required the presence of a Mubangwa advisor in order to carry out administration in the new approved manner. Of the gomborora chiefs, the 1920 figures illustrate that, apart from Musamba and Miserero who were relics of the 1912 settlement and who were non-Butoobu at any rate, it was necessary to employ chiefs in their middle twenties, which indicates the difficulty of finding a continuous supply of mature and reliable men in the country.

Whereas the Bikiga proved able to produce precisely the sort of man required. By the early twenties the latest as a result of the organisation of an infrastructure of power within each gomborora, first by individual chiefs and then as a matter of policy, a corps of chiefs came into being throughout Kigezi, from whom gomborora and ssaza chiefs could be drawn by promotion. The figures for 1920 are revealing: there were a total of 133 bikuga chiefs, of which 46 were in Bukiga, 23 in Rujumbra, 26 in Kinkizi and 39 in Butoobu. (34) Almost all the 46 bikuga in Bukiga must have been Bikiga, and some in Butoobu gomborora of Butoobu, and some in southern Kinkizi were probably Bikiga as well. Once the principle of using local men for local administration was put into practice (without apparently being discussed, approved or considered important by the District Commissioners) God and the future were on the side of the majority group. On one condition, of course: that they proved themselves capable agents of British administration.

The first Mukiga gomborora chief in Butoobu country was appointed as early as 1921, one Joseph Kinalwali: the date is remarkably early, within five years of Nyakishenyi and at a time when the Kabale administration was still nervous about religious risings. (35) There is no other mention of Kinalwali in Bukiga accounts of the period, and Butoobu date their local home rule to the years 1926-30. However, it is interesting that as early as 1922 there were Christian Bikiga available for administrative posts, trained and selected by Butoobu chiefs, converted and given elementary education by Butoobu chiefs and catechists for most part. (35) (30) The group of Bikiga which rose to gomborora and ssaza chieftaincies in 1928-30 is more interesting. In 1929, a batch of nine gomborora posts was bestowed, two in Rujumbra and seven in Bukiga. The Butoobu appointed were Paulo Ngoloza, Sulemani Ruhijava, Paul Kabwenza, P. Bwirindo, P. Muhindo, Asumen Kanywayana and Tawa Bwire. All were either Christian or Muslim, and since all had some experience as lower chiefs or assistants of Butoobu agents in some form or another, it is reasonable to assume that the Butoobu had some hand in selecting them. (5) Ngoloza, in fact, had first made contact with the Butoobu as a domestic servant. (11) Towards the end of 1929, three Butoobu were appointed ssaza chiefs' in succession to Butoobu: Thomas Rwamushana and Mubombe became ssaza chiefs in Bukiga which was divided into two ssazas, Rukiga and Ndzorwa, respectively. Two Paul Kanywayana become ssaza chief of Kinkizi. (5) Their origins were similar to those of the gomborora chiefs — they had been gomborora chiefs themselves, before the main batch was appointed in 1929. Mubombe and Kanywayana had distinguished themselves in British eyes by assisting in the 'pacification' and subsequent administration of the Nyakishenyi. Mubombe had been an askari, and Kanywayana a local onukuru. (5) Generally speaking, it was the Bikiga gomborora and ssaza chiefs, unlike their Bahoro and Banyarwanda
counterparts, had no prior claim, through family or class, to chieftaincy, and this may well be the sole and sufficient explanation for their ability to give satisfaction to the British. It may well be the sufficient explanation of the rise of the Baganda: sooner or later Baganda were bound to be given authority in some form, and when such occasion arose they were better equipped to take the opportunity than were members of societies where there was a long-standing tradition of chieftainship to divide the loyalty and personality of the chiefs as civil servants.

The Baganda are a classic case of possessing no positions of wide power and prestige traditionally, and therefore being uninhibited in pursuit of the new positions. Baxter comments on the competitiveness of the Baganda for these posts, and on the consequence that the successful candidates tended to be magnetic personalities, the real cream of Baganda talent... (15) That last statement requires some modification, since other positions of power and prestige did become available, in the Catholic and Protestant churches, and to a lesser extent in Islam. It is generally believed though statistical support is not available, that those who entered the Churches were often of 'better' families than those who entered local government. This may well be the case, but whether or not it is true, the Baganda generally took great pride vicariously in the initial ambition of taking over the posts enjoyed by Buganda authorities. Therefore the Baganda were hanging on the colonial (or Western religious) doors, demanding admission. This seems much more insignificant than the ephemeral increases brought about first by Muhumza and later (in 1928) by Muzirires, Kabeja, (5) Again, increasing the scale of political organisation, by accepting the increased scale imposed by the colonial authorities, is parallel to, and probably related to, the increasing sense of tribal identity which was so significantly lacking in pre-colonial times: it would be impossible to give dates for this process, or even to explain it without a mass of evidence.

Ironically, the man who presided over the 'Home Rule for Baganda' period was Phillips, who was re-appointed to Kigezi as District Commissioner. Understandably, he did not mention that he had previously agitated for 'Home Rule for Batutsi', and he has become an important figure in Baganda natiohgraphy, as the man responsible for chasing the Buganda from Kigezi. (11) (19) Instead, he chose to encourage the hostility of the Baganda against the Baganda, at the secret meetings with the chief of nine, and the ten other chiefs before they were publicly appointed, he warned them that if they did not rule in accordance with Phillips' precepts, he would recall the Baganda to rule instead. (15) This use of the Baganda as bogey-men is not only dishonest and typical of the official preoccupation with tribe as opposed to any other reference group — it was also exceptionally effective, and it has become an article of Baganda faith, that all the excesses, abuses and humiliations associated with early colonial rule are attributable to the Baganda, and that it was because the agents were from Buganda that they behaved in the way they did (or rather that they behaved in the way they are now thought to have done). In short, one of the major reasons for Kigezi being a 'success story' from the British colonial point of view, is that Baganda were found (for the necessary hard work of the early years, and were — between 1928 and 1930) ritually excorced.

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CHAPTER FOURTEEN

The Religious Impact of Yohana Kitagana.

By J. Nicolet.

What follows is an extract from a manuscript written by Father Nicolet, W. F., who wrote substantial, detailed accounts of many pre-colonial events in Kigezi and Ankole. A summary of Kitagana’s early career has been extrapolated from Nicolet’s document, which is then presented verbatim for the concluding stages of Kitagana’s career.

Yohana Kitagana was born before 1869, on Busi island in Lake Victoria, and therefore in Mawokota saza of Buganda kingdom. He belonged to the Mmamba (i.e., lungfish) clan, and his family probably originated in the Sseko islands. As a youth he was known as Nekabake. He was tall, slender, dignified and imposing. He was also intelligent, resourceful and iron-willed. For some years after the introduction of Christianity to Buganda in 1878 he resisted its appeal, being in any case the husband of five wives and a concubine. Eventually in 1886, having put aside his female dependants, he was baptised a Catholic at Kazo. He settled at Mitata-Mambo, became a chief, and emerged as a considerable personality. During Holy Week 1901 he told Father R. F. Lane that he wished to become like the apostles. He abandoned his chiefly career, and proceeded with Father Streicher to Holma in Bunyoro. From there he went to live among the Chope, to spread the Gospel. At the end of 1901 he was enrolled in the first class of catechists at the Rubaga Mother-Mission. After the year’s course he went to Mbarara, and from there to Bunyaruguru in western Ankole. His work there was hindered by the activity of Buganda administrators who rapidly became unpopular; and it was only in 1904 that conversion began.

Father Nicolet’s account now continues:

To the south-west of Ankole extends a vast region known partly under the name of Mpororo and partly Kigezi. This region is very hilly, healthy and densely populated with a very primitive people. Until 1910, it had remained a neutral zone where there were Germans, English and Belgians. In 1910, the delimitation of the frontiers placed this region within the Protectorate of Uganda. It was included in the Apostolic Vicariate of Mgr. Streicher.

From that time the question of the evangelization of this difficult region arose. The Mission at Bunyaruguru had just been founded and begun to receive its first resident missionaries. This allowed Mgr. Streicher to withdraw Yohana from Bunyaruguru, where he had done so much good,
and to send him to begin again his favourite task of pioneering for Christ in new terrain.

Yohana did not need to be asked twice.

As soon as he received the news he began by settling in Mpororo at Kagamba, near Kajaran. Following a recent revolt which had brought burning and blood to the area, the Administration had put Mpororo into the hands of foreign chiefs. One of them, Yohana Sebalija, was an eminent man from all points of view, a convinced and active catholic. Thanks to him, the first steps of evangelization had already been taken. It was with this chief — an intimate friend of his — that Yohana initially resided. He took in hand the local work so well launched by Yohana Sebalija, contacted the population, visited the villages and came to know the whole countryside. He realized that the work of the Church was going to come up against Protestant influence, especially political, which would offer serious difficulties. The Mbarara Fathers came there less frequently than "they would have liked. Until a better arrangement could be made, a network of small houses, mainly with resident catechists, was established. Yohana put life into this budding Christianity and directed it.

Hardly had the work of Christ begun to consolidate its first efforts in Mpororo than it became imperative to introduce it further to the south, into an uneasy region, known since under the name of Kigezi.

Kigezi is a conglomeration of four small countries, geographically, ethnically and politically distinct, which the necessities of Administration had joined together into a single district. At the time hardly any Europeans had penetrated there. The area was very rugged, with a population which was hard-working but very independent and of violent ways. The Uganda Government had just given the great catholic chief, Yohana Sebalija, the responsibility of beginning work there, with a view to bringing upon this primitive country a minimum of organization, until something better could be done.

From the end of 1911, first Mr. Streicher, then Father Le Toleic and Latifour made very difficult journeys through the mountains to explore and make contacts. But the work had to go deeper. Once again, Yohana Kitagana was the man of Providence. He took his long, famous, apostolic stick, his bundle, and accompanied by a young boy, Yohana began his tours through "Rukiga". Good Sebalija was certainly ready to help. However, our catechist, not wishing to seem dependent on a man of the civil Administration, made himself visit personally the principal families in the area. He was so worthy, so fundamentally good, so much a man of God in all things, that he was very soon attached strong and deep sympathies. He was known by the name of "Onuleju", that is to say "The Bearded One" (because of the beard he wore).

There, as elsewhere, the mainstay of his action was first and foremost prayer. His long rosary rarely left his hand. Next, charity, as seen in his goodness, his generosity, his interest in the poor and the sick, his love of work, his complete impartiality, his total lack of arrogance towards primitive people. He knew that nothing is more incompatible with apostleship than scorn and disdain, whereas understanding, self-adaptation, compassion for the weak ... make a stranger into a friend and further his apostolic work. Natives, even if primitive, are always hospitable to a visitor in whom they recognize a friend. They are generous in their offer of food and provisions. In this way Yohana was made welcome in many parts. Everywhere and always, directly or indirectly, he managed to leave a few grains of "Good seed".

At this time, everyone in Kigezi was bewitched by the influence of one great lady, a rebel against all authority which was not her own, a remarkably intelligent witch-doctoress, cunning, manifesting, and with tremendous prestige. The country was restless and revolted. Kadiany, her name was Nyira-Gahumuzwa and she claimed to be possessed by a very fearsome spirit called Nyabingi.

It did not take Nyira-Gahumuzwa long to realize that those who adopted the Christian religion were being enemies to her own influence, and therefore to be eliminated. For Yohana she was a sort of "blue noir", and those who prayed with him were no less for her and her followers.

In spite of everything, the work of our catechist and his few collaborators made great strides. After a few years, befowers and catechumens could be counted in thousands. Chapel schools, still humble grass constructions, grew in number in many villages. As the followers of religion became more zealous, so Nyabingi’s followers were heard more often, too. Yohana was the inspiration, the father and guide of this young, but very lively Christianity.

Although they were 150 km away, the missionaries from Mbarara, the nearest mission, came to visit Kigezi from time to time. They administered the sacraments, gave appropriate instructions and offered the advice they thought opportune. But the ordinary everyday apostolic work was directed by Yohana. The necessity of founding a missionary post there became clear. However, the 1914 War delayed this project until 1923.

During these long, difficult years, the work met a host of obstacles. Protestants settled in the area, with considerable material means. Their action brought to Kitagana numerous and sometimes very delicate problems. He had to see the work of the Church faced with such formidable adversary. A simple native, he found himself in conflict with the Protestant Mission which was well-equipped and secure in official protection, directed by a group of eminent Europeans, rich in all human resources. Kitagana had none of these resources; but he was convinced that the Church alone was in possession of the Truth and of divine Grace; that by prayer and work, and a profound spiritual life, triumph would nevertheless come. And indeed, with the combined action of the two Yohanas — Kitagana, the
great catechist, and Sebilija, the catholic chief — they managed to hold their own: in quantity and quality, the Catholics had the upper hand.

At last in 1923, at the end of November, three missionaries (Father J. Larne and J. Nicolet, and Brother Theophile) arrived to found a mission at Kabale. Yohana Kitagana was delighted: his great wish had been realised! The fathers found there a fine Christianity flourishing, with nearly a thousand people baptized and a few thousand catechumens.

Although he was well over sixty, Yohana did not feel he could rest on his laurels. His ambition was to push even further the great work to which he had dedicated his life. He wanted to lay at least one more foundation.

Some 80 km. to the west of Kabale, there was an area called Butumbira, which was densely populated, dependent of Rwanda, by virtue of its race and language. In order to reach it, one had to cross the large, beautiful Lake Bunyonyi, then travel through a huge Bwindi forest and follow a track which climbed to almost 3,000 metres, to the summit of Bihanga. Butumbira had a bad reputation. A country with splendid panoramas but very harsh, and the people of ill-repute.

From the point of view of Christianity, nothing had been attempted there. Yohana Kitagana, accompanied by another excellent catechist, wanted to make such a venture for love of Christ and for the souls of men...

Early in 1924, a small caravan took Kitagana and his companion, Auguste Kapere, towards Butumbira. After two trying days through mountains and valleys, they arrived at a place called Kidwe, on the shores of Lake Mutanda. They stayed with the inhabitants for a few days, to have time to find their bearings. Then they had to build themselves a hut of mud, and erect a temporary chapel of reeds.

Obtaining and bringing on foot all the necessary materials, then the building, took our pioneers only a matter of two or three weeks. Already the "Prayer Drum" had resounded, calling to catechism. The beginning was laborious: indifferents surroundings, people un并不会 to innovations, slow in making decisions and not very persevering. But the kindness of our catechists, the numerous visits which they made among the natives to become acquainted with them — and the help of the grace of God — soon brought them a small nucleus of "praying ones", composed mainly of children. As they had to sustain themselves, those in need, and the orphans who would soon arrive, they devoted several hours a day to cultivation. Our catechists knew how to wield a hoe; they were experts in good agricultural methods; their plantations of bananas, sweet potatoes, maize, beans, etc. convinced the inhabitants that the new-comers were far from lazy, and that they had decided to stay in the area.

Their life of prayer and work was a fine example for these poor people "born tired". They had never seen such important men as these strangers, seizing a spade and digging with such tenacity, and with such wonderful results!

Yohana took care not to forget that material charity is one of the surest and most direct ways of reaching the soul. At Kidwe, as at Bunyagurwa and at Kabale, he treated sickness and especially wounds free of charge. Then, while his companion took care of the day-to-day work of their new evangelical station, Kitagana toured the numerous and beautiful villages of the region, to ascertain which centres looked most promising for further posts as the means became available...

Several times Father Nicolet came from Kabale to visit his children at Kidwe, and to become better acquainted with this interesting country. His frequent tours in the company of Yohana led him to doubt that Kidwe was the ideal place for the future Mission... Once again Yohana was the wisest and most enlightened advisor of the missionary. Finally, Mutulere Hill was chosen. The ecclesiastical authorities and those of the Protectorate approved the choice. Mutulere replaced Kidwe as the central catechetical establishment, until the end of 1929. Fathers Nicolet, E. Klop and Brother Simon came to establish a permanent post which was to become the splendid Mission there today.

Meanwhile there was small group of good catechists. Yohana helped them to settle into well-equipped centres, then he left them under the immediate control of his faithful collaborator, A. Kapere. He himself had to return to Kabale, where the Father Superior had need of his services. However, each term when Father Nicolet made his regular visit to Butumbira-Mutulere, Yohana was invariably his loyal and valuable travelling companion.

From 1930, old age — he was almost an octogenarian — obliged our hero to be more sedentary. His deeply religious life intensified even more. While remaining the advisor and right arm of the missionaries, the friend and father of all, he lived like a monk.

A few notes made by one of his best collaborators, the native catechist, Raffael Kabukure:

"When I, Raffael Kabukure, arrived at Kabere, in 1915, and found Yohana there, I saw that he was truly a man of God. His words were not vain words. They were precious to all those who heard them. With his manner of teaching never a day passed without our hearing words which gave strength to our hearts. His lips only uttered the words of a father.

His manner of working was admirable. This man who was already old, used a hoe better than anyone. He did not know what rest was. Then he was always walking through the famous mountains of Rukiga. There was not a valley nor a hill which he had not crossed. Of his actions the most beautiful was prayer. He often spent the whole night reading and meditating the Gospel. Then, as the clock struck, he extinguished his lamp.
and made his way to the chapel, where he prayed until daybreak. One would have thought that Providence had exempted him from sleep...and when he taught the Faith, one would have thought he held the whole of religion in his head.

He took very little food. Not more than two bananas. No sugar, even if there happened to be a very good one. Sometimes he went as many as ten days without touching any “biscuits” (a kind of boiled native drink). His clothing consisted of an animal skin. He only put on his white gown on Sundays. He was not interested in fine clothes. What did concern him was finding the means for helping the orphans who he collected from all parts...To the sick his charity was boundless. He prayed for them and sought to find them some cure. There were not yet any hospitals or dispensaries in this part of the country. And God visibly blessed his cures. Accompanying him on his tours, I have often witnessed this fact:

One day when we were in Kigutu village we found a patient with a severe attack of dysentery. He was lying down. As soon as he saw Yohana the poor man cried out. “Oh! Master, there you are! Thank you for coming to see me! But I am dying! Only give me a cure which will save me.”

Yohana urges him to have trust in God, and to accept his will, whatever it may be...Then he turns to me, and says, “Let us go out and find a medicine.” He picks a few leaves from a bush called “omuroza”, crushes them between two stones, and brings the medicine to the patient. “Rub your hands with this.” Yohana tells him. “Have trust in God, and you will be cured.” The sick man rubs the medicine in his hands. As for me, I was thinking: “What use will that be?” For, convinced of the inefficacy of this “omuroza” in such a matter, I was inwardly scorning this...We return home. The next day this man arrives: he has come to thank Yohana for curing him! And Yohana congratulates him, as is the native custom, then tells him it is God who must thank, not him...Myself, I was full of admiration for the way God hears the prayers of his servant, Yohana. Expressing my surprise, he replied, in all simplicity, “My child, everything is possible to him who has faith.”

A Father from the Mission asked Yohana if he would buy two other skins for him. The latter hurried to find them. However, judging the price exorbitant, he leaves them. He takes his rosary and prays... The next morning, two superb otters, which have left the neighbouring swamp during the night, are there, astray in Yohana’s banana grove. He sees them and calls to us. We found him in the middle of caressing his rosary. “Come help, children.” We soon killed the two huge otters. We realized that the Good Lord had sent them. And that, Father, is one of the things which I, Rufaeli Kabukuru saw with own eyes in the life of our Yohana Kitaganana.

The religious influence of Yohana was enormous. In all things he saw the interest of God and men’s souls. But this worthy pioneer of Religion did not ignore the material needs of the people and country which he even...
PART FOUR: Adaptation — from Rejection to Acquiescence.

When colonial administrators and missionaries first arrived, in the early years of the twentieth century, their pretensions were not taken seriously. By 1938, at the latest, all important groups in Kigezi had accepted the inevitability — if not the desirability — of the alien impact. It is extremely difficult, however, to try to provide a date for the change. Individuals and groups welcomed the British as soon as they arrived, regarding them merely as potential allies in purely local struggles. At what point these groups accepted the British as rulers is difficult to say. Conversely, some groups acknowledged the British terms, with a view to influencing colonial rule from within. In short, it is inevitably difficult to give dates for the moods of public opinion.

Nevertheless some important trends are reasonably clear. Mr. Kakiza, in chapter fifteen, has analysed the change in the nature of government in Rujumbura. Makobore, the hereditary ruler when the British arrived, attempted simultaneously to limit the degree of power exercised by the British, and yet to influence them against the ambitions of the Nyoro dynasty, which hoped to incorporate Rujumbura into an expanded colonial kingdom of Ankole. As the power of the British steadily increased in his community, Makobore found his position impossible. His people expected him to rule in the traditional manner; the British expected him to rule as a subordinate chief; he himself sensibly retreated from the conflict, and permitted the Moganda to adopt the title of councilors. E.S. Kanyonyi, however, threw himself into role of colonial chief, and began energetically to 'improve' the people according to British criteria. Schools and churches were encouraged, agriculture and pastoralism were regulated by colonial knowledge and interests. Kanyonyi himself probably had reservations about Christianity and 'improvement', but he realized the direction in which he and his people would have to move.

In part three it was suggested that the alien impact was religious as much as administrative. In chapter sixteen, therefore, Mr. Muyamiremba examines the impact of Christianity in Bufumbira, and the reaction of local people to the religious innovations. One of the important points made in this chapter is that Christianity nourished best, when associated with Rwanda (in view of the historic links between Bufumbira and Rwanda), and when literacy and technical education were offered in addition to straightforward evangelisation.

Chapter seventeen, by Mr. Mitake, briefly notes changes in the nature of power and politics in colonial Bufumbira. As in Rujumbura, so in Bufumbira, the colonial demands upon traditional rulers were revolutionary. Nyindo was therefore obliged to play a doubtful role, being simultaneously the representative of his people against colonial impositions, and the representative of the colonial administration transmitting instructions downwards. He, like Makobore (and like Mugungo II in Kayonza, as described in 1907) found the strain intolerable. So did his successor Ntirimbirina, who was caught in the same ambiguity. Only in the 1930's, when Mr. James Gicaba

owa assumed office, was the dilemma resolved. One of the first educated chiefs in the country, Gicaba ruled as harshly as Karegeya, regarding himself purely as a colonial official, and not as a traditional ruler. During this period also, the destiny of Bufumbira within the colony of Uganda was emphasized by the development of labour migration outwards to Kigezi and to western Ankole. Nevertheless, as late as the 1950's, the chiefs insisted upon an isolationist point of view, discouraging national political parties whenever they made their presence felt.

In chapter eighteen, Mr. Bananuka-Rukara tackles the ambitious project of tracing the changing attitudes of the Baganda from the first arrival of the British, until 1930. He finds that, at first, there was absolutely no enthusiasm for the British as rulers, or for the missionaries either; except insofar as British would let themselves be used to settle local political feuds. The abrupt and complete dispersal of Muhumura's army, however, illustrated the inequality between British fire-arms and local spears; and hostility had to be expressed with great caution. By emphasizing the isolated acts of violent resistance, however, he makes it clear that the colonial takeover was not a popular episode. He then proceeds to examine the role of the Nyabingi cult in mobilizing and organizing resistance. Since colonial rule and Christianity were seen as two sides of the same coin, it is not surprising that Nyabingi and anti-colonialism were also intimately connected with each other. Nevertheless resistance was ultimately suppressed, and new strategies had to be developed. Bananuka-Rukara briefly suggests that the collaboration of individual Baganda was a conscious attempt to inflate the colonial hierarchy with a view to demolishing it. If this was the intention, however, it was mistaken and soon forgotten. Working within the colonial structure, the local chiefs were assimilated into the ideas and purposes of the colonial rulers, becoming even more reliable and effective than their Baganda predecessors. Indeed the D.C.'s tended to appeal to local patriotism against the Baganda, in order to consolidate the alliance between local chiefs and the colonial administration.

Chapter nineteen is Mr. Rwanduzya's lively and important autobiographical account. First, as an askari, then as a pupil in the first school in Kigezi, and then in the first generation of local chiefs, he was one of the first Kigezi people to enter into the colonial structure. His generation has exercised a disproportionate influence in Kigezi's history, and the influences upon his mind are important to group.

Politics throughout this era remained severely local in focus, even as late as the 1940's and perhaps 1950's, when an awareness of the existence of Uganda was growing fast. Mr. Rwankwenda's career was very similar to that of Karegeya, but on the smaller stage of Kayonza, rather than the large stage of Rujumbura. His father was the last hereditary ruler, and was ultimately deposed by the British, when he proved unable to resolve the dilemma which faced all hereditary chiefs in early colonial times. Rwankwenda himself, like Rwanduzya, became a colonial bureaucratic chief. Nevertheless the focus of politics remained very small. Two letters, generously provided by Mr. Rwankwenda, have been added as appendices to the book. As late as 1942, Mugungo hoped to be re-established, and to
resumé his traditional powers, under British supervision. In the letter he
usefully summarises his previous career. Secondly, as late as 1931 there
was some local sentiment in favour of Rwankwenda as chief, precisely be-
cause of his birth and ancestry. It would seem, therefore, that the trans-
formation of politics during the colonial period was less than complete, and
that colonial rule often involved manipulation of local political forces by
British officials, rather than the re-construction of society in the colonial
image. Nevertheless the change must have felt very great, and we can do
no better than quote the poignant song recorded by Mr. Baitwababo in Ru-
jumbura:

Let us bemoan this our kingdom,
For it is no more.
Ruyambo and Nyanzabo are playgrounds;
Rukungiri is a drilling field for soldiers.

Editor.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

RUBUMBURA UNDER DAUDI MAKOBORE AND HIS SON

by
S. R. KAKIZA

The period of Makobore's rule.

1. Pre-colonial rule:

Makobore was the eldest son of Muhizi. His mother, Nyabuhoro, was of
the Baitira clan. He was born at a place called rwanyakasuru near Kagunga.
His other brothers (by other wives of Muhizi) were Rukwira, Rugembe,
Busiisa and Kacimu. His sister Nimbiiri was married to Mure V. the
Omugabe of Ancolie. Makobore stood six feet tall, and possessed a gigantic
size that rendered him immobile. He had to be carried about in a litter
whenever he wanted to move to any of the places in his area. He was
carried partly because it was a necessity and partly because it was the
accepted fashion of the rulers of that time.

However, Makobore had had a more mobile and vigorous youth. He had
distinguished himself in such manly qualities as fighting and wrestling.
According to the informants who worked and stayed with him, Makobore was
highly reputed as a born leader who possessed rare qualities in human
relationships. All spoke of his noble character, his impartiality and generos-
ity. He was also noted for bravery and able leadership. Unlike the Bahima
and some Bashambwe who were very autocratic in their rule, Makobore was
genuinely committed to the fatherly care of his people no matter whether
they were Bairu, ordinary Bahima or his own kinmen. That impartial
attitude, love of justice and fair play greatly enhanced his popularity and
respect among all the sections of the community.

Makobore had many wives — Mpaikuyi, Nyabuyi, Byenakasumupi
and Bagaza. Some of his sons were Rwabakari, Karegreya, Buregye,
Kabarbe and Rwamahumwa. Makobore lived at Kagunga, the seat of his
father, grandfather and great-grand father. All the people, the Bashambwe,
the Bahima and the Bairu, had to go to Kagunga to pay their homage.
They took with them gifts of food, beer and cows. The court of Makobore
was always surrounded by all sorts of people including the Bambongor
(the eminent Bahima), the Bambiri (the eminent favourite Bairu) and the
Batware (the ordinary Bahima who were appointed to take charge of
Makobore's cattle). All his subjects called him such names as “Oumakama
wa Kagunga” which meant “the lord of Kagunga?” “Ruhanya Bigere”
meaning “one who was always steady and firm”; “Entare ya Kagunga”
which meant “the life of Kagunga”; they also praised him as “Rabagaba”
which meant “one who cannot be cowed”. These were not mere empty praises
and flatteries. They were genuine pet names which reflected some of his
genuine qualities.
Makobore's political system and organization

Rujumbura did not adopt a consistent and systematic political system until the rule of Makobore. The traditional accounts are agreed that the Makobore-Muhodzi period of rule is remembered and emphasised because it was during this time that effective administration took shape.

From the clan traditions of the people of Kujara and Rwamara, A. Munyunzangafo found the Bahima and Bairu communities living in a similar relationship as those in Rujumbura in the pre-Bashambo era. The Bahima had a large measure of segmentary system in their political organization. He writes:

Among the Bahima just as among the Bairu, the lineage head arbitrated in any dispute which rose within the lineage. With the arrival of the Bashambo who were used to a centralized system, a new political system was evolved and it started operating in Muhodzi’s time. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the Bahororo were a centralized chiefdom whose social and political structures were very much different from the neighbouring Bekiga on the South-West, but very much like those of the Banyakole to the east. This may account for Makobore’s fears about Rujumbura being incorporated into Ankole at the re-drawing of boundaries. He would have been submerged into the larger but similar system whereas if he stayed in Kigezi, he hoped to maintain some autonomy.

The administration of Rujumbura was organized in a hierarchical basis. At the top was Makobore to whom everybody owed allegiance, and he worked as the overall supervisor and ruler. Below him, he had a sort of Katsikiriro working as a Prime Minister in all day-to-day duties. This was a man called Miranda who had emerged from the Bairu and had started as a Mwambiri. Miranda gained favour because he had distinguished himself as Makobore’s military commander. He also had conducted trade relations and diplomatic negotiations between Rujumbura and Nyakabibwiriri in Rukiga, Kayonza and Kikazi. When foreigners came to Rujumbura, it was Miranda who conducted the affairs of the chiefdom. His military prowess and diplomatic shrewdness had gained him exceptional fame in and outside Rujumbura. Under Miranda's office, there were Makobore's relatives who administered certain areas of the country. These had some form of semiautonomous status, but they were ultimately answerable to Makobore at Kagunga. The areas administered by Makobore’s relatives were:

Bayanja was administered by Rukuri (Makobore’s uncle)
Kiwenda was administered by Kinyana
Kambiga was administered by Rweemisiro (Makobore’s cousin)
Korongo was administered by Kole (Makobore’s uncle)
Kaketa was administered by Rwakizza
Lower Nyakagye was Rwakibwiri
Upper Nyakagye was Rugembe

Below the Bashambo sub-lineage heads, there was the category of the Bashambo. These were Bahima favourites of Makobore. They functioned as Makobore’s Privy Councillors and his most trusted inner Cabinet and confidants. They escorted him on his tours and formed the core of his judicial court whenever it went in session. The Bambiri were at the base of the political administrative hierarchy. These were Makobore’s Bairu favourites who were renowned for some particular talent or achievement, military prowess, rain-making, wealth, craft-making or religious function. Once they had become favourites they were treated in a special manner at the court of Makobore at Kagunga. Their function was to act as Makobore’s informers and also as advisors. Occasionally some of them could be made administrative assistants.

Traditionally the Bambiri attended Makobore’s Court and performed certain ceremonials functions. They could supervise the collection of food and beer, which were taken to Kagunga, and they could be expected to take directives from Kagunga and communicate them to their members and ordinary folk. The Bambiri had quite a number of roles. The Batware who looked after Makobore’s cattle, were not a political group with a political function, but they played a secret role of spying on the Bashambo sub-lineage heads and on the Bashambo. Makobore’s system of government had made horizontal and vertical loadings. There were no restrictions on a person rising up the political ladder. Makobore encouraged competition, and if anyone did not get political reward, one at least competed for receiving some material good from Makobore so that one could be recognized as ‘somebody’ in the society. In most cases this reward had to be a cow.

In his capacity as the overall ruler, Makobore also expected to provide protection against internal and external aggression. He was the fountain of wisdom and justice since he could command life or death. He presided over all the important court meetings at Kagunga and outside it, when he was on tour especially. The cases that were mostly referred to his court included murder, rape and arson. Makobore punished these crimes by passing a death sentence or by imposing a crushing fine. His success in this particular aspect largely depended on class discrimination.

Makobore’s pre-colonial rule was characterized by three major events: the war with Nkore, the devastating epidemic diseases, and the advent of the Europeans. The war with Nkore has already been described. After the war with Nkore, Makobore went to Kambiga to allow himself a rest. Once the cat is away, the mice will play. At home, his brothers and cousins who were administering certain areas caused a lot of restlessness among the people. They maltreated the people and committed many brutal acts against both the Bairu and the Bahima. These happenings were reported to Makobore who lost no time in going back to Rujumbura to restore order.

The Bahororo enjoyed a brief period of calm and steady recuperation from the war, but that brief calm was disturbed by the outbreak of milder epidemic which plunged Rujumbura into gloom and despair. Following
this there erupted smallpox which swept away hundreds of people. Rinderpest swept away all the cattle. It was Makobore alone who had six head of cattle left. The natural disaster to follow was famine which added fuel to the fire. Many people continued to die while efforts were being made to relieve the situation. Relief food and other materials were got from the less affected areas of Kambiga and Butumbi, and in parts of Nyakirey in Rukiga where Makobore’s men raised food and cattle. At time went on, things began to improve. Some food was grown and some cattle, goats and sheep were obtained from relatives and friends outside Rujumbura. By the time Europeans came, Rujumbura had regained some stability.

The coming of the Europeans:

It is claimed that the first Europeans to go to Rujumbura were the two Germans, Emim Pasha and Dr. Stuhlman who visited Makobore et Nyamizi around 1891. No one knows the object of their mission, but S. R. Baitwabobo has postulated that they might have been seeking a treaty with Makobore, which they got. The Germans were followed by Belgians and killing people. From E. S. Karegyesa’s record books, the following who are reported to have passed through Rujumbura plundering, looting information was recorded:

The Belgians came to Rujumbura and built a camp at a place called Buharambo in Kagunga. They killed the royal princes and the ordinary people. They captured people’s cattle and confiscated their property. From Buharambo they shifted and camped at a place called Nyoikyey in Kambiga and stayed there for two years.

According to these record books, the Belgians were followed by the Germans who came from the direction of Rventofo. They are reported not to have done any harm, but they claimed Rujumbura as being in their sphere of influence.

Between 1900 and 1905 the British, too, operating from Mbarara made futile attempts to colonize Rujumbura on behalf of Kahaya II, the Omugabe of Ankole, and Nuwa Mbaguta, his Katikiro. Kahaya and Mbaguta were still convinced that Rujumbura should be part of Ankole, and Nuwa Mbaguta, his Katikiro. Kahaya and Mbaguta were still convinced that Rujumbura should be part of Ankole, and Nuwa Mbaguta, his Katikiro.

Makobore continued to be harassed by the Europeans, especially the Belgians who, in 1910, made several incursions in Rujumbura. He, however, avoided them by constant hiding in the forests until he became so fed up with it that he decided to send Miranda, his Katikiro, to go and sue for peace on his behalf. The Belgian threat was removed when, by the 1911 Anglo-Belgian Agreement, Rujumbura was delimited as part of the British sphere of influence.

1. Makobore and the British.

The activities of the first Europeans in Rujumbura had left Makobore completely distrustful of their intentions. In his talks with the Belgians, the Germans and the British respectively, Makobore had been subjected to various indignities in his efforts to resist their desire to impose their rule on him. Many of his subjects had been killed including his brother Rugumbe, his cousin Rwakare and another cousin called Rwakishenga who had proved intrepids about their authority and rights. Makobore, too, resisted the British Colonial administration throughout the ten years of his rule under them — from 1910 to 1926. He was always seized and branded an “idle man” “unprogressive” by the British officials at Kabale.

The first Headquarters of the British officials in Kigazi were built in Buhumbora, the extreme south-west county on the Uganda-Rwanda border. In 1912, Kigazi District was set up and Makobore, who had made prior contact with the British in Buhumbora, had decided to opt for inclusion in Kigazi instead of Ankole. On the 28th October, 1912, Makobore was invited together with other eminent chiefs of Kigazi to attend a meeting for the allocation of the new chieftainships, and was confirmed the Sazi chief of Rujumbura. He was also to take charge of a small principality of Kubumbu which had been ruled over by Rubuli.
He was given a Mугanda agent called Parnowski Kivinywa. It was considered that the work of the agents was vital if the initial problems of adaptation were to be overcome. The Buganda agents were literate and familiar with the type of administration the British wanted to adopt. This was the ‘Buganda Model’ of administration, which the British officials wanted Baganda agents to demonstrate and transplant in Kigezi as well as in other districts of Uganda. The British officials wanted the Baganda agents to act as intermediaries between the local chiefs and themselves.

Captain Coote writing in 1910, remarked:

"I consider the system of employing Baganda agents will prove the only method of administering the district. The Baganda are split up into clans and recognize the authority of no chiefs, and my successor will find in Yohana Schaliya an excellent, most trustworthy and reliable man to put in as head agent of the district."²

Putting the matter of excellence and trustworthiness aside, Rujumbura was not in such political disarray as the Baganda: yet it is no surprise that the British insisted on the appointment of an agent in Rujumbura, who merely served to undermine the authority of Makobore and foment the troubles and conflicts that were to ensue later. In many ways the agent proved a mere tool and puppet of the British officials, who worked hard to please them and enhance his prestige at the expense of Makobore. Parnowski, as he was commonly known, turned out to be the effective ruler and his Makobore could not tolerate. The two often clashed in their duties as the roles were not clearly defined. Makobore only found that much of his traditional authority was being undermined. Suspicious mounted and recriminations were a normal occurrence.⁶

In many ways Makobore worked at a disadvantage because his new duties were in the first place too demanding on his physical ability and secondly, they were unpopular. The chief was variously expected to enforce colonial law, recruit labour, to collect taxes and to maintain law and order. In such duties, the chief found himself less the defender and spokesman of his people and more of an agent of the colonial administration vis-à-vis his people. The consequence of resistance to such incursions upon traditional rights and tranquility of the people was the displacement of those chiefs who opposed by more Baganda chiefs.⁷

In 1913, the D.C. of Kigezi again passed a resolution, to facilitate administration, that the counties be divided into gombokoras (sub-counties), and Rujumbura was re-divided and new allocations of new gombokora chiefs made. The new arrangement was as follows:

Kagunga was left in the charge of Makobore assisted by Katura Nyakageme was given to Miranda Buyanja was given to Rukari (a Mushambo) Kashehe was given to Kiregeka (Makobore's son) Kitanda was given to Ryabembo (Makobore's son) Kibumbu was given to Ntabuhwerize (Rubasana's son) Rubinda was given to Kinyama (a Mushambo) Kebison was given to Karukubiro (a Manyankore)⁸

Although the British aimed at preserving much of the traditional authority, the demand made up by it by colonial administration put a great strain on it. As a result the traditional authority began to crumble.

Now that Makobore could not discharge his duties at his leisure as before and could not show a readiness to receive the new orders and implement them effectively, he found his powers and authority greatly undermined. The agile Baganda not only reaped all the privileges that used to fall to Makobore, but took charge of the administration. Makobore and his chiefs began to feel the pinch of foreign rule and serious clashes became so common that Rujumbura was always considered an impediment to the progress of the whole district. The District Commissioner, Mr. Sullivan, directed most of his attack against the Bahima chiefs and their leader, Makobore, whom he accused of unrelatability and neglect of duty. To Makobore he not only threatened deportation but also took to casting aspersions on his traditional authority and legitimacy. This suggests that to Sullivan legitimacy and suitability would mean the same thing if the ruler supported the British interests, and two different concepts if the ruler opposed them.

Such was Makobore's position, and the succeeding District Commissioners made it their determination to see that he was removed. A lot of bad reports were compiled in his file, and the 1912-13 annual reports stated the following about him:

For some unaccountable reasons this chief was told that he could "manage" this district, this was owing to his genealogy that was thought by some person to be of semi-royal origin. This part of the country is the most cut off from the rest of the district, and Makobore who was stated by Capt. Reid to be the most filthy and unreliable chief in Kigezi (a statement in which I absolutely concur) has been warned that he will be captured unless he shows a change for the better.¹⁸

As most of these reports used to be submitted by the Buganda agents, Makobore became virulent against the agents until two of them were dismissed on various charges. But still the District Commissioners remained convinced that this chief would only improve with Makobore's removal. The Buganda chiefs were already unpopular and alternative local chiefs who showed any aptitude for administration were not yet available. The D.C. insisted that Makobore should resign because not only was he now "as useless as ever", but he was "constantly drunk, handdepping the agent in every way, and a most curb in the progress of the district."¹⁹ Makobore completely lost favour with the Kabale administrator although he still commanded the undivided loyalty and support of his people.
The D.C. introduced a new policy of recruiting chiefs. The new lot of local chiefs had to be recruited on the basis of merit, experience and hard work. The D.C. also introduced salaries to stimulate competition and increase efficiency. This also would check on corruption which was rife among the local chiefs and the Buganda chiefs alike. The exigencies of World War I, however, dragged the plans on, and for a time things drifted along in the same way as before. After the war, the authorities at Kabale decided to persuade Makobore to retire and they managed to pension him off early in 1926. One big appeasement was that the British officials asked Makobore to name his successor, and Karegyesa had all the while been working as a kambarere chief and he had been watched closely. Thus ended the career of a man who had contributed much in the way of welding Rujumbura together and organising it along a centralized system of administration. His failure to cope with the colonial administration demonstrated the inherent contradictions of the British administration whether it was direct or indirect in method. Makobore died in 1941 still held in veneration by his people for his benevolence and nobility of character.

EDWARD SULIMANI KAREGYESA

He was born about 1888 and died in 1955. His mother was Nyabubiri and she was one of Makobore’s many wives. Karegyesa grew up at his father’s royal palace with other children but it is said that he developed a stern attitude to life, a quality that marked him unique from the other sons of Makobore. He possessed a strong personality which revealed itself in his early ability to lead and dominate other. Cows were his greatest object of love, and he liked to work instead of sitting idly away his time.

A man of strong physique, Karegyesa stood up to six feet nine inches. He had a deep black complexion, a lean nose, large ears and bulging brown eyes. He had an extraordinarily commanding deep voice. He was a fierce-looking man who commanded awe and respect. His contemporaries portrayed him as a man who was harsh and difficult to deal with at times, especially in his early youth. In his late youth, he started changing into a man of admirable character. He started as a baraka chief and then became a kambarere chief. Generally, he ruled with an iron hand when he was still in these lower ranks. On one occasion, when he was a kambarere chief, he ordered that a certain man called Rwemusa be tied up in his own mat so that Karegyesa might use him as a seat while he drank his beer. The victim had refused to buy beer for Karegyesa and his men because previously he had been asked by Karegyesa to brew some beer for them, which the man did. But the beer was drunk and got finished by them. The Buhima and Bairu informants stressed Karegyesa’s harsh rule and cruel practices like the heavy fines and severe caning.

However, his work as a kambarere chief had been excellent and he had been so successful that he gained the admiration of the British officials at Kabale. The District Commissioner, Mr. Philip, had rightly appointed him among all the chiefs so that even if he had not been Makobore’s son, he would have been appointed a Saza chief. Philip held him in confidence and believed that Karegyesa was the man that would undo the evils of his father’s time. The blatant bias against Makobore is evidenced by the eulogistic reports Philips showered on Karegyesa for no better reason than the fact that Karegyesa was their collaborator while Makobore had been a resister throughout. Karegyesa was always hailed and praised to the skies for his progressive policies and dynamic energy. For example, Philips described Karegyesa in one of the reports as “one of the most vigorous young man, keenly interested in the maintenance of law and order, and in keeping an honest and good government.”

Karegyesa, indeed, did enthrall over his new status and did his best to confirm the British colonial administration in a manner that surprised the British officials at Kabale. He immediately addressed himself to the problems left by his father. These problems were mainly the lack of effective control over the chiefs and the lack of a sense of duty. Rujumbura needed a man who could cultivate responsiveness and the ability to change in the people. There was still too much conservatism and indifference to life. Karegyesa attempted all that by first fighting against drunkenness which was the cause of laziness among the chiefs and the people. Karegyesa fought and reduced it to a minimum. He imposed fines on any chiefs who neglected their duties, looked shabby, or went late on duty. Punctuality was one of his very strong points. Any chief who showed unwillingness to work and co-operate with the authorities was dismissed and replaced immediately. The old chiefs who were not ready to change and adopt new ways were usually dismissed and replaced by the young emerging chiefs who were more vigorous. Because people knew his standards, there was competition for chiefship, and this meant a willingness to change basic attitudes.

Karegyesa himself did this by setting a good example to them. He went to Kabale on a brief tour in administration, where he took pains to learn Swahili and to read and write. He accepted baptism and monogamy, at least for official purposes. He forthwith sent away his wives and remained with the one that he married in church. He decided to forego all his likings and enjoyments that he realized would conflict with public duties. If he wanted to fall back to drinking habits and to worshipping of Nshara, his temporal as well as spiritual god, he did it at night. It was no surprise that Karegyesa became such a disciplined official that the District Commissioner described him as a man who had “broken from the retrograde habits of his father.” Compared to his father, he was not as benevolent and paternalistic but he realised, unlike his father, that traditional authority, unmediated by the colonial authority was useless. So, he quickly established himself as a model Saza chief behaving more as a British civil servant than as a legitimate traditional ruler.

Karegyesa and the modernisation of Rujumbura

Karegyesa marked and ushered in the new era by transferring the headquaters from Kagunga, the seat of traditionalism, to Rukumi, a new centre which became open to everybody. Freed from the grandeur of courtly life, Karegyesa set his mind to working for the progress and
modernization of the country by attempting to carry out all the colonial policies as they were dictated to him. His powers now derived from the higher authority and he had to find ways of legitimizing it. Soon, Rukungi became the hub of vigorous activity for all sections and classes of people—the poor and rich, the privileged and the unprivileged, the Bahima and the non-Bahima alike. It was from Rukungi that Karegyesa exerted himself to mobilize resources for the development of his country. He made every effort to promote agriculture by encouraging everyone to respond to the new challenges of the time. He set himself the task of harmonizing the divergent interests of his people. He had to deal with the problem of the Bahima who were deeply rooted in traditionalism and conservatism. They also entertained preconceived ideas about themselves, regarding themselves as the 'untouchables' and the superior beings who were meant to be served by the Bairu. Karegyesa went immediately into correcting this attitude by forcing the Bahima to do everything the Bairu were doing.27

Karegyesa spared no effort to curb and frustrate the Bahima's pretensions and to reduce many of their prejudices. For instance, he forced them to grow sweet potatoes and other food crops, something that was one of their rigid taboos. He also forced them to join in the hunting expeditions against pigs and monkeys which were destroying people's food crops and, therefore, causing famine and unrest among the people. Together with his formidable and miracle chiefs, he fought against the Bahima's indulgence and indifference to participation in Government activities, and by the end of his rule, most of the Bahima were grateful and praising Karegyesa for his dedicated responsibility to them.28

To the Bairu, Karegyesa also broke through many of their habits such as their feeling of inferiority, their reluctance to improve their lot, and some unclean habits. To ensure against future famine, he introduced the system of every householder storing two sacks of millet one at his house and the other at the government's granary store. He forced the reclamation of swamps, the growing of black wattle trees and enset leaf trees for building purposes. He also initiated the idea that every person should keep his own land well demarcated from his neighbors. This obviated future land disputes because no one would claim his neighbor's piece of land. It also encouraged individual farmers to plan their projects unhindered, especially when the chiefs and the agricultural and veterinary officials began to popularize the new methods of livestock breeding and agriculture.

Karegyesa and his team of chiefs devoted themselves to implementing colonial policies. They were mostly organizing the Lwala laborers who made a net-work of roads, built bridges, built houses, chiefs' houses and the Karegyentes' rest camps. They had also to help in raising the standards of living. Karegyesa himself was always at the forefront of these campaigns. My informants were all agreed that the men were particularly against bad living and that any chief who did not supervise sanitary measures in his area was liable to the heavy fines. The people were building good houses first, beginning with the round houses and later the four-sided houses. These houses had to be properly maintained by constant amending of the doors and white washing the walls. The compounds also had to be maintained clean. All this aimed at reducing the incidence of jiggers and mosquito-infested compounds. During these days malaria fever and tick fever were very common; also there was a prevalence of dysentery, and therefore strong measures were taken. Karegyesa saw to it that everybody used a pit-latrine which had to be maintained clean. At this time we introduced spring-wells and properly looked after water-wells. This checked the spread of typhoid.29

By 1929 Karegyesa had gone far with the modernization of Rujumbura. His achievements were comparatively greater than any other sasa chief in Kigezi. This was reflected in the collection of taxes. Karegyesa and his chiefs' administrative efficiency had so much increased that Rujumbura county came first in tax collection every year as the Kigezi Annual Reports showed. When the District Commissioner visited Rujumbura in the 1930s, he had the following report to make about Karegyesa:

In Rujumbura, the quality of energy, fairness and honesty of the county chief and the advice are so far ahead of any other chief that, were these two tactlessly handled, or discouraged in their work, the whole country might 'feel back into the beast'.

Karegyesa and his chiefs were praised by the D.C. for their excellent handling of rinderpest which broke out in the sub-counties of Nyakagama and Ruhinda in the 1930s and for building cattle-sheds and for general progress in social and economic development. The new enterprise included pockets of trade centers which was being started at Rukungi. Coffee and tobacco had also been started as cash crops; one dispensary was built at Rukungi and two Elementary Schools, run by the two church missions, the Protestants and Roman Catholics at Kinyasano and Nyakibale respectively. The D.C. observed on his tour that:

The county of Rujumbura is, strangely enough, the most advanced; chiefly owing to the present county chief, of the Horero ruling family, who has changed into a real chief as we understand it.30

The 1930s could be rightly referred to as years of transition in Rujumbura. If modernization is concerned with the phenomenon of change, Rujumbura was undergoing that change in between these years. There was a visible and marked transformation from the traditional society to a semi-modern one. During this period there were changes in social, political, economic and demographic aspects. Socially, there was more social inter-dependence and peaceful co-existence among different groups than before. The Bahima-Bakon relations improved because they were all equally protected by the law which offered them social justice. There was increase in social mobility at the horizontal and vertical levels, and as Rujumbura became more and more exposed to the outside world, people improved their social status and outlook.31

With the introduction of cash crops, poll tax, Christianity and education, there was increased migrant labour to Ankole, Masaka, Kampala and Toro.
Butyoro in order to work for money. Although this had its social problems, it did widen men's outlook on life. When such men came back, they came with new ideas, and the money they brought back was used in many ways to improve their lot. New styles of dress, new methods of agriculture and building of houses were all indices of transformation. More of these changes were reinforced by the return of ex-soldiers since the world wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45. These had a great impact on many African societies, and Rujumbura was no exception. The ex-servicemen came back with a lot of money which they used to start various businesses. Such men started shops and built modern houses. They set standards which others tried to measure up to. Economic prosperity was seen in the way people started changing their way of dressing and adopting new fashions.

Christianity and education were also great agents of modernization and still are big modernizing agents. But at that time people who went to church and embraced the Christian religion showed a marked change from those who remained 'pagan', and those who formed the first elite. Education was the most genuine modernizing agent that gave benefits and it was on this that Kageyesa concentrated most. In the political field, Kageyesa lifted up the standard of civil administration. It was during these years that Baganda agents and chiefs left Rujumbura and other parts of Kigezi and Uganda at large. This was partly due to their failure and partly to the colonial government's policy to replace them by local chiefs. The Baganda chiefs had, in many respects, been harsh in their rule and corrupt in their practices. The local people complained and agitated for their ejection, which the district commissioner, Mr. Phillips also whole-heartedly supported. In Rujumbura, Kageyesa made every effort to replace the Baganda chiefs. He recruited new men who had acquired some education either in the church or in the schools. The chiefs were better organised in the execution of their duties. Because of greater differentiation of roles, the degree of performance and achievement greatly increased.

Kageyesa and the establishment of Christianity.

Kageyesa, though for many years he remained a nominal Christian, saw the necessity for receiving Christianity. He was actively involved in helping the church men to get sites and land, and he encouraged people to go to church. The first man to deal with was a Munyankole called Yowei Nyaruhungu who was the first man to introduce Christianity in Rujumbura. This man who is now around the age of 85 came to Rujumbura in 1919. He was accompanying a certain Rev. Lame from Mberera. Both men wanted to see Makobore if he could allow them to start Christian work there. Makobore was very much against Christianity and he sent them packing. Nyaruhungu came back in 1912 and settled at Kukungiri where he quietly started teaching some people. Later, he went to Makobore to ask him if he could help him to get catechumens, but Makobore was still unwilling. Meanwhile Kageyesa was there, deeply engaged in the worship of Ndasho, a spirit cult, which all the Bahima looked upon as their god. The Baium were worshippers of Nyabingi and Mugaala.

Karegeya and his co-religionists believed that if a person went to church, he would lose his "human essence" and that he would eventually look like "a madman, and like one that did not possess a heart or mind within himself." In spite of this attitude, Nyaruhungu got converts among whom was a man called Karegeya. The work began to attract people and the first people to get baptised did so in 1915. Those who went to church and were baptized began to show change from the others, and this increased people's desire to join. Karegeya took note of this and although he did not embrace it, he no longer regarded Christianity as "a dehumanizing practice" as many people still thought. From the 1920s, Christianity became a popular belief and by then Karegeya was already a zaizi chief. By virtue of his office, he was expected to be a Christian and to become baptized. This he did, but only for official purposes; for he remained a regular nocturnal worshipper of Ndasho. Although he did this, he encouraged other chiefs to become Christians, and to help the church men to stamp out these spirit mediums.

Despite the fact that beliefs die hard, Christianity gained momentum and began to dig deeply into the traditional beliefs and to reduce such 'evil' practices as drunkenness, smoking, theft and fornication. Karegeya saw Christianity as something that could facilitate modernization. Karegeya, therefore, went ahead with giving it encouragement. When he became a real Christian, he explained to his friends why he distrusted Christian God. In his books, he has recorded the following piece of information:

I, Karegeya, when still a young man, once ate some baked blood which was spilt from a cow that had been served by a bull previously. I scratched and scratched my skin until it became red, and I lost the nails of my toes. I got cured after a man called Kasimbe had given me some herbal medicine.

Karegeya's Christianity had grown firm roots and he believed in the Christian God because he was aware that it was not the other god that had cured him but the herbal medicine.

Karegeya and the Bokore Movement.

This was a movement which broke out in 1933/4. It was a sectional group of the Protestants, which claimed the power of vision of God revealed through the Holy Spirit. The African people spoke of being born again. They were confessing publicly things that were very scandalous. Many people, including Karegeya, opposed this, but the Bokore kept it up. The leaders of this movement were Daniki Kurukuru and Ismael Nyabosha. The movement had some headstrong young men notorious amongst whom was a young school master called Eric Bigara. Thrice he constantly went to Karegeya's home to preach repentance, Karegeya, on several occasions, sent him away, but the man insisted on exposing many of Karegeya's private sins. Karegeya became so hot that he started a terrible persecution against the Bokore. He beat them and imprisoned them, but the more he did, the more they increased in their activities.
As for Bugari, he decided to banish him from Rujumbura, and he did it on the advice of the District Commissioner. Many of the chiefs that were Barokore lost their positions because of insisting on leaving duty to go and preach. The Barokore gave Karegyesa a hard time, and he gave them a hard time too. The movement proved instructable and Karegyesa had to give up, eventually becoming a Murokore himself.

Karegyesa and the development of Education

The work was started by the churches at both parishes, Kinyasane and Nyakibare for the Protestants and the Catholics respectively. In 1928 Kinyasane Elementary School was started by Ernest Nyabagabo. It had two classes and less than twenty boys. In 1928 Nyakibare was also started. It was an African Christian group which started it as an Elementary School with two classes. But this one was taken over by the White Fathers who started developing faster than Kinyasane. In both cases, the initial problems would have overwhelm them but Karegyesa again was alert to help them through. Karegyesa's contribution in this particular field was of the greatest significance. He went into the villages and captured children and took them to school. He helped by his chiefs, clerks and askaris. It was compulsory for every parent to send at least one child to school. Fines and imprisonment again were the weapons he used against the offenders.

He called meetings at which he explained the need for education. He urged parents and children to take it very seriously. He appointed committees which collected money to pay for poor children and poor orphans; the rest of the money was used to keep the buildings in repair and to render any services that were lacking. The two schools under his patronage developed from the two classes to four classes. The schools got government grants which speeded up development. In 1932 a girls' school was started at Kinyasane by Miss Mombi Nymenazangi, the sister of Ernest Nyabagabo. The girls' education received help from two white missionaries, Miss C. Hornby and Miss L. Clarke. In collaboration with various bodies, both private and public, officials and non-officials, Karegyesa devoted his entire life to see that education was given the first consideration. He appealed to all his subjects to give the teachers and the higher authorities maximum support in raising the standard of Education in Rujumbura. He became not only the patron of this big enterprise, but became the greatest benefactor of many children of the Bairu and the Bahima. His home always appeared like another big school of his own children and many others captured from the villages. The whole place hosted with young life, and all the eminent contemporary personalities still look back with splendid memories of the 'palace' life.

Karegyesa, outside Rujumbura:

Outside Rujumbura, Karegyesa was highly popular and accorded full respect for his enlightened views, cooperation and tremendous work. One of his great admirers is Mr. P. Ngorogoro, the Mwita Secretary General of Kigezi. The picture he paints of him is incredible. At personal and public level, he said he knew Karegyesa to be a lovable and highly respectable gentleman, a great leader and a very wise man. At the district level, Karegyesa contributed greatly. He was a great believer in the unity of Kigezi and for that reason, he was one of the forefront fighters against all divisive elements in Kigezi, mainly the so-called tribalism and religious animosities. In early 1930s, Karegyesa became the first proponent of the idea that Kigezi should have a President, not that he saw himself as the probable candidate but because he believed that unity was the only strength that would make Kigezi a viable political entity. He therefore refused strongly the detractors and the team that if one of their number was made a President, the other tribe, Buganda or Buganda or Bahima, would feel jealous. He also initiated a proposal that the people of Kigezi should be allowed to possess maito land.

These proposals were proposed in the Kigezi first council of five men chiefs. This council was commonly known as 'Wilyang'. After these proposals had been discussed, they were approved and submitted to the D.C. who submitted them to the Provincial Commissioner, Western Province. The P.C. replied as follows:

The request for maito land in Kigezi is impossible because Kigezi is very small; there will be over-population and no living space.

regarding the question of the President, the P.C. pointed out:

The notion of a President is also impossible for the three tribes in Kigezi; Buganda, Bahima and Bahima; if the presidency was given to a man of one tribe, would not the rest complain?

Ngorogoro in his book, and in personal interview with him, explained that it was Karegyesa, as their spokesman, who refuted that by saying categorically that the people of Kigezi would be prepared to accept any of the tribes. Positive achievement was made in 1946. Karegyesa got his first Secretary General. Another aspect whereby Karegyesa's insight transcended parochial interests was the 1946 Buganda re-settlement scheme which he gave a tremendous push. As a result of over-population, especially in the counties of Nsola and Kikita, the Secretary-General and a team of others tried to find a solution to the over-crowded Buganda population. The team of these chiefs surveyed all vacant areas in Rujumbura and Karegyesa helped them to find places in Bujunga, Nyakagye, Buhu and Bunyanyi, where the Buganda were re-settled.

Among the first chief's titles in Kigezi that measured up to Karegyesa's calibre were Mukomba, Kalivena, Rukidi, Bwanna and Ngorogoro. But all of them came to eminence in the early 1930's, ten years after Karegyesa. By the time they started working with him on equal footing, Karegyesa was much their senior and more experienced in the colonial administration. Karegyesa's statemanship was not beneficial to Rujumbura alone, but to Kigezi and Uganda at large.
From this sketchy study of the history of Rujumbura, one can observe the evolution of the political institutions which culminated in a stable and integrated political entity of Rujumbura. At the time when the Europeans came Rujumbura had a viable government machinery which maintained law and order, administered justice, organised and delegated authority in the legitimate traditional manner. With the introduction of the British colonial administration, despite the fact that there was little structural change, there were many contradictions and incompatibilities that emanated from the colonial situation itself. As a result, traditional values were destroyed. On the other hand, the degree of a changing society, the introduction of cash economy, the improvement of communication and the re-establishment of law and order created ideal conditions for self-improvement in social, political and economic aspects.

FOOTNOTES:

1. Oral Interviews Ruj. H.T. No. 2, Kosire, 174.70
2. E. Kamuhangire and A. Manyawangabo, A History of South-West Ankole until 1940, p. 9, Makerere History Papers.
4. Ruj. H.T. No 4, S. Kyahwere, 3.4.70
5. S. R. Baitwababo, in Ngu ono, E.A.P.H., 1969, p.17, and in chapter four of this volume.
6. E. S. Karegyesa, op. cit. Vol. II.
9. E. S. Karegyesa op. cit. Vol. II.
11. E. S. Karegyesa, op. cit. Vol. II.
14. E. S. Karegyesa, op. cit. Vol. II.
15. D. J. Denoon, in this volume, chapter thirteen.
17. Ruj. H. T. No. 5, E. Kakondo, 7.4.76; Also see Ruj. H. T. No. 5, S. Bweyakye, 16.4.76.
18. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Ruj. H.T. No. 6, Y. Bigairwe, 13.4.70. Also see Ruj. H.T. 5, op. cit.
22. Ibid. and Ruj.H.T. No. 7, B. Orikolofere, 18.4.70.
27. E. S. Karegyesa op. cit. Vol. II.
30. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
34. E. S. Karegyesa, op. cit. Vol. II.
35. Ruj.H.T. No. 12, T. Kakiza, 1.5.70.
36. Ruj. H.T. No. 13, Y. Kajemba. 6.5.70.
37. Ruj. H.T. No. 15, P. Ngoroza, 14.5.70.
38. P. Ngoroza, op. cit.
CHAPTER SIXTEEN

The Function of Religion in Butumbira's History

By Anthony Muyuczangabo

Before accounting for the functional role of religion in Butumbira's social, economic and political development, I propose to give a short survey of the history of different religions which have been present in Butumbira during the past fifty years.

Religion, "a belief in the existence of a supernatural ruling power, the creator and controller of the universe", has existed in Butumbira since the inception of that society. It is therefore impossible to account historically for the beginning of traditional religion. From time immemorial the Butumbira have believed in one supreme God, who is known by different names—Imana, Nyaburi and Ruluma. While it is difficult to translate these names, they refer respectively to God's attributes of creating, providing and loving. It is therefore not surprising that these attributes have been epitomized in the names of many Butumbira. Names such as Haburb’Imana, Irem’Imana and Marum’Imana are evidence of the Butumbira's appreciation of God's many attributes. These names mean (respectively) God makes marriages fertile, 'God rules the universe', 'God sustains all life', and 'It is God who creates'. All my informants agree on these points. Traditionally religion pervaded, and diffused into, all the various aspects of Butumbira society, social, political or even economic. However, the traditional religion was not merely a matter of abstract ideas born out of personal reflection and concealed in certain rituals. The Butumbira, besides worshiping the supreme being and creator, venerated also the "umanda" — the spirits of the dead, such as one's grandfather's spirit. These spirits had their king, known as Ryangombe.

Ryangombe, who is supposed to have lived during the reign of Ruganu, Mwami of Rwanda, is also supposed to have been a mighty hunter. He was skilled in some magic arts, and was somewhat independent of Ruganu. In fact some people believe that he was a stranger in Rwanda. On several occasions he encountered Ruganu, and each time he came out of the encounter a magical performance. Eventually they reached a compromise when Ruganu was going to attack Bushi.

The reason for Ryangombe's subsequent veneration arose when, one day, he organized a hunting against his mother's will. He went hunting buffalo. But when a buffalo charged him, it gored and tossed him into the air. He fell into a shrub called "umubo", or Hibiscus Abyssinica, and there he died. Because of this connection, all initiates in the Ryangombe cult are confirmed around that shrub. Ryangombe's mother, mourning her son, decreed that everyone in Rwanda should venerate Ryangombe, lest evil befall them. Ryangombe's followers then popularized the belief and the rites associated with it. According to the traditional religion, those who died without being initiated into the cult would go to eternal fire — "Nyiramabanwi" — in the Burunga mountains. Those who were initiated before they died, however, would go to those Burunga mountains which did not emit fire. They could easily approach Ryangombe's spirit, which was said to inhabit Muhuran mountain in the same range.

Before — and even after — the advent of Christianity in Butumbira, people adhered to their traditional beliefs. If we examine the family, as the nucleus of society, we may observe the functional role of religion in society as a whole. When, for instance, a man sought a bride, the relationship was established by the respective parents, who would consult a priest ("umuhimwa"), the custodian of the pertinent rites, to decide whether the proposed union was suitable. So important were these consultations, that if the priests advised against the union, the suitor's father would not proceed to a proposal, even if there were no other objection to the match. In some cases, when either the bride or the groom had not been initiated into the "umanda" rituals, initiation was required before the marriage took place. This was important both socially and politically, since marriage created not only a social relationship but also a political alliance between the two families involved, which could be invoked in times of trouble. "Kurbanwa ceremony was reserved to whoever the people concerned wanted wealth ("ubugyiro"), namely fertility ("uruburyo"), property ("umutungo"), peace or health." Any momentous decision had to receive the approval of the priests before being put into practice. "Even the person from whom crop seed had to be obtained had to be approved by the priest.

Traditional religion permeated Butumbira so thoroughly that, when Christianity (and particularly Catholicism) was preached, traditional religion became a Janus. It fostered as well as hindered conversion to Christianity. Some people regarded Christian rituals as merely a European version of their own 'Kurbanwa' ceremonies, and they saw no reason to abandon their own traditional rituals in order to embrace those of Europe. Those who were more liberal and adventurous allowed themselves to be baptized precisely because some of the rituals of the new religion resembled those of old. Curiosity was instrumental in the conversion of such people.

Most of my informants believe that Islam was the first exotic religion to reach Butumbira, and they appear to be correct. Throughout the lacustrine region many people were converted to a new religion when it was adopted by the local ruler; and so in Butumbira there were some converts as a result of the fact that the first British Agent ('Buduru Ranayozo'), or as he preferred to be known, Abdalla Namunye was a Muslim. "In Butumbira it was the Islamic religion which arrived first. Some people started to join the Islamic religion because the ruler of Butumbira at that time was a Muslim called Buduru Ranayozo in about 1916 (sic)." Abdalla Namunye was in fact appointed British agent in Butumbira in 1912, following the Anglo-German boundary demarcation of 1910.
Mutumbira Member of Parliament— the Hon. Buzanyamasa— is a product of the Protestant effort. It would also seem that, amongst Bafumbira intellectuals, Protestants are in a majority, having had access of Kigeli High School after their primary education, as well as to the other secondary schools in Uganda, and eventually to tertiary education.

Catholicism, too, has played an important role in the development of Bafumbira. One explanation for Catholicism's development role was that the Catholic priests were wealthy. According to one informant, Reverend Father Laine arrived in Bafumbira in 1919, accompanied by Yohanna Kitagana. They came from Rushororo seeking a site for a church, and eventually decided to build at Mutolere. “At first he liked Nsambe but to his disappointment he found that the Government had already given the site to the Protestants. Then the catechist showed him another site at Chike, but it was in a depression and so it was rejected. Afterwards he came to Mutolere and decided to build a church there.” It should be remembered that the ‘church’ was only a shelter where the converts could assemble to listen to lessons in the catechism.

According to James Kainameri, one of the early Catholic catechists, because of the language problem Father Laine asked for catechists from Rwanda, that is from Kabgany and Nyendo. After getting them, he took back Kitagana to Rushororo and sent Agusto Kapeere to be head catechist over those who had just come from Rwanda. It is interesting to note that, although the Bafumbira had been cut off from Rwanda by the Partition, Catholicism helped to perpetuate the relationship. Bafumbira did not regard Catholicism as being so foreign as Protestantism, since it was being preached by their own people from Rwanda. Despite the presence of catechists in Bafumbira, however, catechumens completed their instruction and received baptism at Rushororo. “It was only in 1929 that the catechumens completed their instruction at Mutolere. It was the same year that the priests started the Mutolere Parish.”

Before the establishment of Mutolere parish, and therefore before Mutolere had permanently resident priests, evangelisation was carried out by such men as the following: R. Mbaraga, Matayo Nyiringabo, M. Sebakure, M. Karugarama and E. Rukabirable, all of whom had come from Kabgany in Rwanda. The Busanza part of Bafumbira was entrusted to “good old” John Kainamira of Rugendi mission in the Congo, since part of Busanza area had been allocated to the Congo in the partition. Two other catechists, namely V. Majiga and D. Kabulo, from Nyendo mission in Rwanda, also helped in the proselytisation of Bafumbira prior to the establishment of a permanent parish. Catholicism had therefore already taken root when eventually in November 1929 Reverend Father Joseph Nicolet, Eugene “Kipf” and Reverend Brother Simon arrived in Bafumbira. The pioneer priests (according to Benedict Mucopoli who travelled in their party) left Rushororo on 5th November. Despite poor means of communication and the existence of wild animals roaming all over the area, they completed the journey in only one and a half days from Kabule to Mutolere. This is a distance of about 50 miles even by the most direct route. “We slept at Busandi in a rest camp.

Apart from a rather meagre retail trade conducted by the Arabs, there was no means of introducing islam or making it attractive to many Bafumbira, nor for it to influence the trend of events in the county. Despite the common assertion that Islam attracts Africans because of the flexibility of some of its tenets, especially with regard to polygamy, Islam seems actually to have been repulsed by the Bafumbira. In the first place Islam lacked effective evangelists—Abdillah Namuyane was in fact an administrator on behalf of the British, not an evangelist on behalf of Islam. Secondly, the Bafumbira dreaded the rite of circumcision, which they equated with castration. Circumcision was according to the customs of the Bafumbira and Bunyanya, a humiliation to be inflicted upon one’s dead enemies; and therefore circumcision offered no attraction to the people. Apart from some encouragement by the Arab Sherif brothers, Islam did not emerge to play a significant role in the social and political life of Bafumbira.

After Islam, the second exotic religion to be preached in Bafumbira was Protestantism of the Anglican variety. According to Sendegeye, “the religion of the readers came to Bafumbira in 1917. It was of the Protestant denomination. The first Protestant teacher was a Muhororo called Eliya Magosso. He arrived at Seseme in Chyashi sub-county. It was even then that the C.M.S.’s first church was built.” It is doubtful, however, whether the Bahororo by 1917 were in a position to send missionaries to other parts of the country, and the alternative account is more plausible, which states that the first evangelist was a Muganda, “The Protestants came following the Muslims. The Protestants arrived before the Catholics. They started teaching at Kisoro about 1918 before moving into Seseme. The Protestant teacher at that time was called Yoweri.” According to another informant, Protestantism arrived even before Islam. “The Protestants arrived here in Bafumbira in 1918 under the leadership of Zachaliya Babala.” To judge by his name, Zachaliya was also a Muganda, who may well have been in the British administrative service.

Whether they arrived before or after the Muslims, what is important to note is that their religion played a major role in the development of Bafumbira. The first school in Kigeli was a Protestant establishment built in Bafumbira. It was this school which was later transferred to Bugarama, the present site of Kigeli High School. The Protestants therefore may be said to have pioneered education in the district. The Protestants were not only interested in converting the Bafumbira to Protestantism, but also in imparting literacy.

Since the arrival of the Protestants in the second decade of this century, many schools have been built throughout Bafumbira. The oldest of these schools is probably Kisoro in Chahi sub-county. Next would be Seseme, which is also the head-quarters of the Protestant Dean of Bafumbira, the Reverend Gihango. There are other Protestant primary schools in the sub-counties of Nyururwa, Nyakabande, Busonde, Chahi and Rubuguri. Primary schools such as Gitaranga, Gitonza and Mahanga Protestants have tended to cater mainly to the interests of Protestants, but have nevertheless helped in the fight against illiteracy and ignorance. It is interesting that the first
and, the following day, we passed through Cuja, where there were lots of elephants, buffaloes and wild pigs. We rested at Bihungye for a short time and had some tea there. We then resumed our journey. We left Bihungye, descended Cyumanye, and arrived at Nyakabande at around 12 noon; we found a crowd of people waiting for us there. Thereafter we proceeded to Mutolere to start work. Auguste Kepere was the head catechist, and was assisted by Cornelio Rakuba and John Kainamura.

Unlike their Protestant counterparts, the Catholic priests did not start with schools. They were bent upon establishing a solid Catholic centre in the area and, as such, they were interested in training some followers in manual skills. Under the guidance of Brother Simon and with the aid of Mr. Beniwe Mucope, brick-kills were built and people were instructed in the manufacture of bricks. Soon some of the Christians were trained as skilled bricklayers. Others were taught to make tiles, while yet others learned carpentry. There was soon no further need to summon skilled workers from outside Bufumbira: the Bufumbira themselves built their own mission, by assisting the parish priest and his helpers.

Once there was a cadre of skilled workers, they tried to improve the conditions of their own houses. It is said that these skilled artisans received a wage of about six shillings a month, which was comparatively high and which enabled them to improve their own standard of living. In education, as well as in the economic field, religion played an important role. It would seem, however, that both the educational and economic development of Bufumbira were by-products of religious development. Several of Bufumbira's Catholic intellectuals — and these comprise a sizable number — appear to be ex-seminarists. The priests in Bufumbira seem to have encouraged some of their brightest pupils to join the seminary or to enter the teaching profession. Most of the bright boys did in fact attend training colleges, either because of poverty or they were encouraged to do so. Most have found no difficulty in attaining university education, after surmounting the economic barrier. It is interesting that, because many bright pupils became primary school teachers, they provided a very sound base for the compatriots at primary level. It is not clear whether Father Nicolas and Kiple had this in mind when they began work, but certainly their efforts had the effect of encouraging primary education. There are numerous Catholic primary schools in Bufumbira, and to judge by primary school leaving examination results, they appear to have quite high standards.

It is said that religion affected not only economic and educational development, but also the political life of the country. As a result of early contacts with the Baganda, as employees of the British administration, or as catechists, some Bufumbira learned to read Luganda newspapers such as Muvu. Later they could also read the monthly newspaper "Azandali" published at Nyamitanga mission during the 1920's. These sources made some Bufumbira aware of what was going on in the outside world, outside their immediate environment. The same effect was produced by access to "Biryumeke" from Rwanda. Because these newspapers were generally Catholic, they could easily be circulated through the net-work of Catholic parishes.

from catechists to parishioners. In short, religion played a diffuse and important role, even without referring to health, though it should be noted in passing, that most missionaries in Bufumbira acted not only as physicians, but also as health instructors.

Sources:
J. Kainamura of Matinga, a pioneer catechist from Rugali mission in Congo.
M. Nyiringabo, a pioneer catechist from Kabgari in Rwanda.
A. Burindi of Busanza.
C. Binyaranga of Kagera, one of the oldest Christians, a former pupil of the pioneer priests.
Z. Sonogeta, an early convert and Muruka chief.
B. Mukopi, a member of the travelling party of the pioneer priests. He is regarded by many Mutolere carpenters as their "grandfather."

FOOTNOTES
1. Oral evidence from A. Burindi and J. Kainamura. Cf Chapter by Mr. Rwanduwa.
2. According to Father A. Kagame, Inanji Karinga, Rukungiri was the eighteenth Muwami of Rwanda, living in the late sixteenth century. A more probable date, however, would be early seventeenth.
3. Cf Father Geraud in chapter one of this volume.
5. Oral evidence from A. Burindi
6. Ibel.
7. See Chapters by Sebaliwa and Dencon.
10. Described by Rwanduwa, in chapter two.
11. A further account is provided by Nicolet, in chapter fourteen.
CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

Butumbira in the Colonial Period.

By Philemon Maleke.

In 1912, when the British were establishing their administrative structure in Kigezi as a whole, they recognised Nyindo as chief of Busumbira. In 1915, when Nyindo rebelled and died, the arrangement collapsed, and the administration of Busumbira was left in the charge of Abubulla Namunye the Agent. The government thought it appropriate to appoint a Mbuyarwanda as county chief in succession to Nyindo; and 1922 they appointed Mr. George Peter Nyirimbirima, a son of Mwami Rwabugiri of Rwanda (who died in 1915), who had been brought up in Busumbira since the 1910s. After elementary education he had been baptised. The British expected him, as a prince, to administer in their interests, and entitled the post 'Intebe'.

During Nyirimbirima's period of office, two schools were set up. The first, built at Busa near Kisoro, was later known as Ssegwe. Its development was largely a result of the initiative of the D.C., Phillips, and it was established in 1922. Later in the 1920s Catholic school was built at Mutolere, largely as a result of initiatives by the White Fathers. In 1933 Nyirimbirima was dismissed from office, as he appeared to lean unduly towards the Mwami of Rwanda, to whom he had been sending tribute. He was therefore dismissed unceremoniously, on the grounds of doubtful dealing.

He was succeeded by James Gicamba, from 1923 to 1941, the first native Busumbira to occupy as responsible as chief. His rule is remembered as one of the most oppressive in the history of Busumbira. He used to cane people without provocation, and he devised his own fashion of speaking. During his term of office the road from Kabale via Kisoro to Rubuguri was opened, and a great movement of labourers began, from Busumbira, to Bukweju. He also encouraged the storing of food in case of famine, and especially such crops as finger millet, and peas. In 1941 he was dismissed when he refused to recruit Busumbira men for military service. He was forcibly taken to Toro Central Recruiting depot. After some months, however, he returned as a gombororo chief. His dismissal from the country chieftaincy was greeted with relief by most of the Busumbira.

He was succeeded as chief by Mr. Paulo Ruheribwa, from 1941 to 1966, one of the most progressive and enlightened chiefs of Busumbira. He had been gombororo chief of Bugure in Mbarara; prior to that, he had a very simple elementary education, and had been an ascari from 1929 until 1939 when he was appointed gombororo chief. He was very popular on account of his friendly manner. In many cases he compelled his people to send their children to school, and he was morally and materially responsible for
the building of many primary schools in the country, both Protestant and Catholic. Indeed his freedom from religious prejudice contributed to his general popularity. He also embarked on a policy of eradicating wild animals which ravaged crops, particularly wild pigs and hippopotamuses, which were almost extinguished by 1949. Much to the relief of the farmers. He was also a great friend of Mwami Mutum III of Rwanda. In the course of this friendship, he permitted Byanyima to come and get food in Bufumbira during the famine of 1932. That in turn precipitated a terrible famine in Bufumbira, known as Rubungwa. When a period of active politics was initiated in the 1930's, Mr. Rukeribuga was cool towards politicians, since he was not committed to independence, nor to African majority rule. This was probably because he had grown accustomed to colonial rule over a long period; and at any rate he used to criticise the politicians for disrupting the balance. Nevertheless in 1939 Mr. John Lwamafu was elected member of parliament to represent Kigezi. When he was appointed a Minister in the Uganda Government, another election was required, and Mr. A. Bugumwine (UPC) was elected to fill the vacancy. During this period, politics was firmly based upon religious divisions. From 1939 onwards, a Catholic was presumed to belong to the Democratic Party, and a Protestant to the Uganda People's Congress. Mr. Rukeribuga died in 1961, before self-government was reached. During his reign almost every Bufumbira felt that he was under the paternal care of a magnanimous chief.

Economic and Social Development.

Almost all Bufumbira depended upon subsistence agriculture, and cultivated millet, peas, beans and sweet potatoes. In Bukimiri there were a few cereals, whose cultivation was inhibited by the absence of a market and the poverty of communications. Shifting agriculture was normal, until the 1940's; so long as land was available. From the 1920's onwards measures were applied to combat soil erosion; grass burning was controlled, contour cultivation and hedging were strictly enforced by the colonial officials. As a result, production increased, and especially sweet potatoes. A cash economy was restrained by lack of transport facilities and of trained personnel. Despite these difficulties, colonial officers persuaded some Bufumbira to grow arrowroot, for which the cool climate was suitable. Some people grew wealthier as a result, but unfortunately insect pests have attacked this particular crop. Tobacco was also encouraged during the 1940's. In order to guard against famine, the colonial officials insisted that each family should keep a store of food, and deposit some at the gomborora headquarters. This measure was strictly implemented.

So long as communications depended upon local foot-paths, contact with other counties and countries was severely limited. To deal with this problem, a road was built from Kabale to Butururu (in the Congo) and to Ruhengeri (in Rwanda). By 1935 the Kabale-Ruhengeri road was complete as far as the Rwanda border, while the Belgians completed their section of the road, and the road was open to lorry transport in December of the same year.

When colonial taxes were introduced, they were at first paid in kind, but later the government insisted on payment in cash. To earn the money, most taxable men worked on the Kabale-Kisoro road. In the 1930's and early 1940's, however, there was a remarkable movement of Bufumbira to Buhweju county in Ankole, seeking employment. Labourers on leave acted as recruiters, impressing upon the Bufumbira that working conditions were ideal, and that a bonus was payable to people who worked hard. Many young men also went to work in the pynchon estate at Kibungu in Rubanda county. They did so in order to purchase cattle and goats, which were necessary for bride-price; and some people who worked there for several years became quite affluent.

The first school in Bufumbira was built in the early 1920's at Bunza, and later transferred to Sesame. It was a joint effort by the D.C. and the Church Missionary Society. Later in the 1920's a Catholic school was built at Mutolare. From then until independence missionaries played an important role in primary and secondary education. Government and missions had numerous motives. The career of Nkikazi suggested to the government that they should foster western education in order to fight against Nyabingi. The missionaries joined in as champions of anti-Nyabingi propaganda. After the first world war there were few British people available to work in each county, and it was found convenient to train Africans to be clerks, teachers, agricultural field assistants, medical, and health assistants. Teachers. This is to say that the British wanted to train agents for their own interests. The teachers taught in primary schools were Kiswahili, Agriculture, Health Education, Bible Knowledge, Reading and Writing. Boys who completed primary school successfully went on to either Kigezi High School in Kabale, or to St. Mary's Rusoroza, or to teacher training colleges. Initially the Bufumbira were reluctant to send their children to school, and indeed the government and C.M.S. collaborated to put pressure on parents to send children. However, in the 1940's many Bufumbira became interested when they saw that educated people enjoyed a special status, as teachers, clerks or clerks. By the early 1950's there were many primary schools in Bufumbira.

When the Second World War broke out in 1939, the county chief was Mr. James Gicangwa, and the D.C. of Kigezi was Mr. A. G. V. Jenkin. The gomborora chiefs at that time were Thomas Sebukwato, D. Nyamugyanza, Z. Rucuncha, K. Boya and E. Manyamashara. When the D.C. asked Mr. Gicangwa to recruit servicemen, he turned a deaf ear, and it was speculated that he did so because his subordinate chiefs disliked the idea of recruitment; some told him that he would be killed if he permitted recruitment. He was then ordered to accompany recruits to Toro, and was replaced by Mr. F. Rukeribuga on 1 March 1941. The first batch of recruits therefore left Kisoro only on 23 March 1941, on their way to Toro. An estimated 3,400 Bufumbira died in the War. On their return, they were educated, worked in responsible work, and some still do Mr. Sisaiti Kemugunza, for example, is gomborora chief of Chatfi; Mr. M. Kabekere in Community Development Officer in Toro; Mr. J. W. Kaguruzi is gomborora chief of Kibungu in Kibungu; Mr. D. Ruma is chief clerk in the judicial section of the
Kabale administration; and some others are health assistants. The service-men met, and exchanged views with, people from many parts of the world.

During the war the government encouraged people to grow as much food as possible; and many agricultural officers were sent to instruct people in various techniques for maximizing profit. Despite these efforts, in 1943 a serious famine occurred, named Rukungiri-umubashira, which lasted two years. It affected nearly everyone in Butumbira. The main cause was a famine in Rwanda, which induced Banyarwanda to come to Butumbira for food, bringing goats, sheep, cattle and even girls. Too much food was sold in these circumstances. By 1944 the food shortage was a serious problem, and people ate very badly. It came to the people's attention that there was plenty of food in the Congo. Unfortunately there was also epidemic of dysentery at Jomba, so that the Butumbira who went there for food contracted dysentery as well, which quickly spread over the whole country. As a result, thousands of Butumbira died.

1. For the allocation of chieftaincies see chapters by Ssebalijja and Denoon.

2. On education in Butumbira, see chapter sixteen by Munyuranganabo.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

Bakiga Resistance and Adaptation to British Rule.

by F. Bananuka - Rukara.

Bakiga reactions to the British assumption of power in their country must be explained against the historical background. By 1908, when the British arrived in Kabale, the Bakiga had recently experienced a series of disasters, including an invasion by Mwami Kigeli IV Rwabugiri, a series of raids by Batwa brigades, and a series of epidemics including yellow-fever, smallpox, jiggers and scabies. Locusts and droughts added to the list of troubles. These events have been described in other chapters, but here we should briefly note their consequences. Internal warfare was intensified by the scarcity of food, which also provoked many people to flee to neighboring countries such as western Ankole. The decline of animal and human population, and intensified political divisions, combined to prevent the Bakiga from being able to offer united or massive resistance to determined British intrusion. The prophet Nyakairima had predicted the coming of "red strangers" and rumours had spread from Buganda, Moro and Rwanda. The first Europeans to enter the area were Germans, who came via Kisoro in the east, led by a Muhunde named Rukungiri, whose home was at Kayonza near Rutobo. The Germans behaved very harshly, killing people and looting their possessions, and even killing a man named Rugyengye who brought them gifts. The Germans were followed by Belgians who came to Nyakabushenyi from the North-West and who behaved equally badly. These episodes created amongst the Bakiga a strong sense of xenophobia.

Other chapters have traced the growth of British influence in the region, from the 1906 Kivu Mission, to the 1911 attack upon Muhimba, leading finally to the 1912 allocation of subordinate chieftaincies at the Ikumba Conference. The British were clearly interested in creating a local administration on the Buganda model; the local people were reluctant to become involved; and most important positions in the colonial hierarchy were filled by Buganda. Not until 1922 was the first Mukiga — Kalimwakani — appointed a gombolago chief. The immediate and obvious effects of the new administration were demands for free labour (especially when the First World War broke out in 1914), the collection of taxes (from 1918 onwards), and strong hostility towards the Nyabingi cult. Positively, the Buganda also introduced the cultivation of bananas and potatoes; but on the whole they were fiercely resisted. For one thing, Ssebalijja seems to have regarded the Bakiga in much the same way as a medieval lord regarded the serfs, and he even claimed — privately — to be the Kabaka of the Bakiga. Further, increasing numbers of Buganda came to be employed in the administration, and these were believed to be guilty of corrupt practices. It is claimed, for example,
that they conducted court while playing card games or dancing, so that their judgments were careless. Conversely, they were careful in giving judgement when they expected some personal financial advantage. To increase their emoluments, they tended to lump civil and criminal cases together, and to levy heavy fines on convicted parties. Part of this fine might go to the plaintiff, and part to the government, but the court might also go to the chief who judged the cases. The confusion created by the First World War, and the increased demands made upon the people generally at that time, facilitated the development of such corrupt practices. Many Bakiga remember those years as the era of Baganda rule—not as the first years of British Colonialism. For reasons suggested in another chapter, this state of affairs continued until the 1920s. With some justification, the Bakiga were unimpressed by the new regime.

The role of the Nyabingi cult during this period should not be overlooked. It had already lent itself to various political purposes in pre-colonial organisation, and more militant in political issues than either the Emanzus system of beliefs, or the worship of Emizima (ancestral spirits). When the British arrived in the region, they discovered Mulungu as the chief exponent of this cult. Mulungu, the daughter of Nkembe, was a widow of Mwami Kigeri IV Rwabugiri of Rwanda. She had hoped that her son—would succeed Rwabugiri in 1898. Instead, the succession passed first to Rutaringwa and then quickly to Musinga, who formed a useful alliance with the incoming Germans. Mulungu fled to the north, to mobilise support for her cause. After a abortive attempt, she was captured by the Germans, and escaped from custody and returned to the Kigezi-Katanga border. She appealed to the Bakiga, by harnessing upon their traditional hostility to Rwanda, by promising them wealth if they would help her recover a lost royal drum called Makinda, and by setting herself up as a personification of Nyabingi. She was supported by a number of Bakiga groups including the Rainka of Bukinda, the Balimbo and Muhungu of Kigali, the Buriu of Kyanamara, the Buhurwa of Mwezi, the Binyamire of Kamagongozi, the Banyagaba of Rwenga, the Batwa from beyond lake Bunyonyi, and some others. A number of other groups opposed her, including most of the Basigil, and some of the Bahembi. Musambu, the leader of Bshwine at Bukoma, had his house set on fire and his possessions looted by Mulungu’s supporters. Rwegwa, the leader of Basigil at Kagarama, was also threatened. Both men appealed for aid to Captain Reid, who eventually came to their assistance and destroyed Mulungu’s army at Kigunga. Mulungu was captured and taken to Kampala.

This first major encounter between British and Bakiga was extremely influential: of opinion, and it can be argued that it prevented the British from establishing a useful relationship with local collaborators. Those Bakiga who were involved with Mulungu were considered to be ineligible to serve the British as (loyal) subordinates. Conversely, it is sometimes suggested that the Basigil who opposed Mulungu thereby qualified to become British collaborators. The Itunza conference of 1912, however, demonstrated that the Basigil were not anxious to enter such a relationship, preferring instead their traditional organisation, and their existing independence. On the other hand, the British defeat of Mulungu demonstrated that the British possessed weapons far superior to those of any local group, and in consequence the Basigil resisted the British by means of passivity, rather than rebellions.

A number of Bakiga groups did oppose the British violently, especially minority groups along the present Kigezi-Rwanda border. The first of these was in 1912, by the Banyagaba of Buteira in the South. They resisted their loss of independence, the repression of Nyabingi, and the death of many of their kinsmen at the battle of Ilungo. Under the leadership of Rubungo they began their rebellion by intimidating those suspected of favouring the British, some of whom were killed. Captain Schonberg, in charge of the district, despatched Selebilija to the end of some soldiers, to suppress the rebels. Selebilija set off at night, hoping to catch the rebels by surprise, but information leaked out, and the Banyagaba remembered the force of British arms, and withdrew their live-stock to the German side of the border. The troops found the area deserted. For several days Selebilija waited, trying to persuade the rebels to return to their homes, but in vain. After threatening dire punishment for further rebellion, he returned to Captain Schonberg to report. Eventually the rebels returned to their homes, and Rubungo surrendered. For some years they resorted to passive hostility, refusing to provide free labour and portage, declining to pay taxes, and pulling down any camp which the British built in their area. This continued until after the First World War, when the British could deploy sufficient force to establish effective control.  

In 1913 a group of Bakiga from Nyakasiru and Xahendo attempted to burn down the house of a sub-county chief at Bukinda, by night. They were driven off by the sub-agent and other Baganda. In subsequent encounters, a number of lives were lost, including those of Benyigwa and Bbalungu, and some rebels, including Kaburuzi, were captured and sent to detention in Kampala. Discontent continued until it erupted in violence in 1914, near-by Kyogo. The British believed that the Kyogo rising was initiated by the Germans; but it seems that the people simply used the opportunity of the war to throw off British authority, on their own initiative. They began by withdrawing support and co-operation with colonial officials, and then moved to violence. They killed a number of government supporters, severed communications, and attacked the house of the sub-agent, where they were dispersed by fire-arms. The British in Kabale despatched a force under Lt. Waggstaff. The rebels barricaded the pass leading into Kyogo, and courageously defended the pass with spears, sticks and stones. The Baganda from Kabale attempted to come to the support of the rebels, but were cut off by a force under Sergeant Dunan, coming to reinforce Waggstaff. The rebels were unable to resist fire-arms, and retreated across the border into Rwanda. 11 It is significant that the British also suspected the Germans of having instigated rebellions by Chundangi and Kатурge, whereas recent research demonstrates that the Germans had no important role in those cases. 14

In 1915, the Bukora of Katara, and all the inhabitants of Nyakagagaba reacted strongly against the tax and labour systems, and the manner of
their collection. They lacked leadership, however, and soon surrendered. In August 1917 the inhabitants of Karujanga in Butare rose in rebellion. Their grievances were similar to those of Nyakasagabagaba, and they were particularly incensed at the arrogance of Baganda agents such as Stefano Musoke the sub-agent. The rebels included Bagyeri led by Karwemera, and Bardhira led by Bwayebezo. Musoke heard of an impending attack on his house, and sent soldiers to investigate, but these were killed by the rebels. Before they could launch an attack on Musoke's house, however, Musoke informed the acting D.C. — MacDougall — who despatched soldiers to the area. Some fighting followed, in which Karwemera was killed. The rebels retreated into Rwanda, but their live-stock was captured. Later they returned and surrendered, promising their full support of the British administration. Fire-arms had once again destroyed rebellion.30

The most serious revolt broke out in the same month, August 1917.31 Before dawn on the morning of Sunday 12th August, a large number of Bakiga attacked Nyakasorozi hill at Nyakishenye, burning down houses and killing all the Baganda they could find. Their target was the agent, Abdulla Muwanaika, and his possessions and equipment. Muwanaika narrowly escaped death, and was eventually rescued by Kigaygo, who evacuated him to his own home some miles away at Katonya, South-West of Nyakasorozi. The rebellion and its suppression cost many lives and much property. Rebel leaders were either sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, or — in the case of Baguma and Bigeregezo — publicly hanged in Kabale.

A brief examination of the varied motives of the leading rebels may prove helpful. A common motive was resentment of alien rule, and a hankering after a lost independence. Baguma, in addition, had personal conflicts with Muwanaika, each criticising the other's actions as chiefs. Rukakaba, in whose house the rebels planned their attack, had been arrested in 1912 on a charge of witchcraft, and compelled to live close to the Agent's house. He resented the suppression Nyabingi, and also grieved over the killing of his brother, who had refused to provide food for soldiers. Kaligirwa, who advised and encouraged the rebels, was leading Nyabingi medium. Nkikibiri — also known as Bucirirenga — did not take part in fighting, but had helped to plan the attack, was already widely known as anti-colonial, and the British had been hunting for him for many months. A Mukunde from the Congo, he had been exiled to Belgian rule, and in 1915 he had also assisted Nyindo in his struggle against the British. He was a Nyabingi medium, who had used religious methods of persuasion to incite the people to rebel, and had entered into blood-brotherhood relations with some of them. Among the rank and file, some joined because of religious conviction, some in order to loot property, and others in order to recover their land and expel the Baganda, whereas pre-colonial freedom might have returned. The D.C. at that time regarded the rising as explicitly anti-colonial. His successor, Phillips, came to the conclusion that the rebels were not hostile to colonial rule, but merely to acts committed by Baganda officials. He therefore initiated a policy of dispensing with Baganda assistance as much as possible. Of these two opinions, the former seems to fit better with the opinions of the Bakiga survivors.

An analysis of these risings reveals the following characteristics. First, the intention seems to have been conservative, namely to restore pre-colonial conditions. Second, particular colonial policies created great resentment — notably the suppression of Nyabingi, labour policy, taxation, and the manner of their enforcement. Third, Nyabingi often cropped up as a means of organising and inspiring the rebels. Fourth, the risings were generally very localised, and only Nkikibiri managed to mobilise significant numbers of people at the same time. On the other hand, the localisation of resistance meant that large numbers of small risings occurred, and therefore the British took a rather long time to establish unchallenged control. Control in the centralised political systems was often achieved much more swiftly. Fifth, the World War facilitated such risings. Sixth, the rebels were at a military disadvantage against European weapons, and they realised that they were at disadvantage.

By 1920, after the suppression of these rebellions, the Bakiga had come to realise the uselessness of further resistance, and it is at this point that adaptation began. So rapid was this adaptation, that by 1920 all important posts had been adopted, whereby the Bakiga strove to enter into the colonial hierarchy and influence it from within. That strategy was successful in the long run, when the Bakiga regained their independence in 1962, as part of independent Uganda.

FOOTNOTES

1. Le Geraud in chapter one, chapter seven by Rwabihigi, Chapter eight by Karwemera and chapter thirteen by Denoon.
2. Oral information, collected April 1970, from Msesa Ruhashaga (at Nyarushanjye), Kabuga (Rwamagaga-Magadi, Karaza (Kabale), and Nkogoga (Bukinda).
3. Ibid.
4. Described in Sesbalijja's memoirs, chapter eleven.
5. Ibid. and Oral evidence from the late Thomas Rwemushana (Buhumurimo) April 1970.
7. Chapter thirteen, by Denoon.
10. Considered in chapters twelve and thirteen by Sesbalijja and Denoon.
CHAPTER NINETEEN

My Early Career

by Z. Rwandusa

When the First World War broke out, the British stayed in Kigezi in alliance with the Belgians, in opposition to the Germans. Nyirante rebelled and joined the Germans, until he was captured by the British. The period was also marked by Ntokobiri's resistance. He was a hero and a nationalist. His nickname was Bichubirenga, he belonged to the Bungura clan, and he came from Rwimutu in Buwirunde in Congo. On his way to oppose the Europeans in Rwanda, he stopped a place called Mupimbiri, where he met a Nyabihu named Irembero, son of Murami (and grand-father of Nnamayundi). He asked Irembero to help him expel the Europeans from Rwanda, and he told him that he possessed a sheep which had the power to accomplish this objective. By this time the War had broken out, and the Belgians were fighting in Nyakabora and around Bugoyi. Ntokobiri joined the war and fought against the Belgians. He concentrated on collecting and concealing rifles and ammunition from dead soldiers. At this time he married Nyanamuna, a Munyarwanda from Mulera. The Belgians suspected him, surrounded him, and set fire to his house. However, he cut a hole in the wall and escaped, with severe burns on his fingers and along one side of his body. When his wounds healed, he fled to Kigezi via Kayonza and Kanabura, on his way to Nyakishenyi. There he met Kigungali and Rwandare, who promised him their support, and so the incident at Nyakishenyi took place. From there he went first to Congo and then to Nyasutembwe where he stationed his forces on a hill named Nyanamenda. At his head-quarters he married two wives: Kibatonga, daughter of Bokaya (and their son who was named Kirebanga died only in 1969), and Kabuigi, a Musagi. From there Ntokibiri went through Kayonza, to a man called Rubembe, and from there through the Kubita forest to a man called Bikuku, who betrayed him.

It was at this exciting time that some of us joined the King's African Rifles in Nyakabanda. People were made to dig trenches on hills such as Munuwizi near lake Kigezi, Chaha on the Kigezi-Rwanda border, Nyakishenyi, and Rutare. At the same time some Bafumbira were sent to spy on the Germans in Rwanda. They reported that the Germans intended to invade Kigezi via Chaha and Buhunge, so as to attack Kabale fort. Soon afterwards German arms were heard inside the Uganda boundary. The K.A.R. were issued with arms and ammunition, and entered the trenches. Abdul Nsamase (the Agent in Busumbira) also assembled a group of spearmen, who were concealed behind a small hill named Nyaluwe, in order to protect them from the Germans' fire-arms. The Belgians commanding this unit set fire to a house so that his men could see their way
into the trenches. Then he wanted to join them, and asked a boy who was working for him to take his white shirt and bring a dark one. In the course of this errand the boy was shot dead by the Germans and fell into the trench with his master’s shirt. At this, the Belgians Captains blew his whistle and opened fire on the enemy. At dawn we advanced and expelled the enemy from their position, finding the bodies of six Africans and a German killed by rifle fire. Some of our ammunition was found in 1930 by A. Mavuzo’s porters, who were digging on the site of the trenches. The Germans were forced to retreat up through Bukumbi to Gatuumba, where they were re-inforced and in turn forced the Belgians to retire. In the process they killed Sagini Meya, a Nkisi hero fighting on our side. Once again the Germans lost strength, and were forced to retreat up to Rubengeri, where we captured two herds of cattle and brought them to Kasahe, where they were taken to Kigosi. For a long time the German attacks ceased.

Later the British recruited some young men to go and fight in Tabora. Owing to sickness I did not go, but stayed with Namunye. We were stationed on the Uganda Congo border, on a hill named Bugiro in Nyarusha, while Nkibiki’s men were stationed on a hill named Nyamikumbou on the borders of Congo and gombola Nyanishinya.

In 1910 J. E. Phillips became D.C. He liked the people of Kigosi and understood their problems. He immediately set about minimizing the maltreatment of the people by Baganda agents. Towards the end of the year he dismissed three Baganda gombola chiefs for maltreating their subjects, and dismissed the rest. Before that he had sent the head of Nkibiki to Entebbe, to demonstrate that the insurrection was over. He also discouraged the use of Luganda, and replaced it with Kinyarwanda, for which purpose he invited the services of some Kinyarwanda-speaking Bazuba clerks to help in the administration offices. Baganda who could not speak the language were dismissed and replaced by local people.

Phillips instructed gombola chiefs to select children to learn reading and writing. The following chiefs responded: Mushakama sent Kajuga from Nyakand-commercially prosperous island of Mushakama; and Rwamugamwe, the author, from Bukumbi. Rurisiwqwe sent his brother Bishawwa from Chahi, Mwebere sent Gishari from Nyarusha, from Busanza came Sebasa, son of Hugaramwe, and other Bajumbura feared to send their children to make contact with Europeans, lest they lose their culture and their colour.

For these eight boys who were selected, there was no specific teacher. We would go on safari with the D.C., and whenever we rested we would order one of his askaris or clerks to teach us under the shade of some trees. We would carry with us a box containing stones for learning arithmetic, and books to use. Once we went with him to Rwanza. At Nyanagama, in Bugisu, we camped out of doors, and the chief gave us a cow for meat. As we slept with meat on our heads, a hyena came to steal it; and Chahiri, mistaking the hyena for a dog, tried to scare it away. It bit off his fingers. We did not stay long in Rwanza. In 1920 Phillips appointed as teacher Alasani Nyanibwa, who had studied in Holland. Observing that most of us came from Butumbira, he ordered the building of the school at Kikwero. He then urged parents to send their children to school, telling them that this was the best way to prevent Kigosi from being inferior to the other districts of the protectorate. In response to the appeal came Banyamugwe, Banyarwanda, and Rwandu (now ordained) from Bubumbe, Zemare, Mibumbu, and Nyanisya (now ordained) from Nyakandha, Besi, S. Gashami, Nditi, Nkwe, and Bugabo (who was later killed by the servants of a woman named Ikot); Longo, Mwampe, Mbohoro, and Bwana (who became ordained and who died recently) from Nyarusha; and nobody from Butumbira. From Kikwero came B. Banyama, D. Rukungunza, B. Bugubo, and M. Nyanibwa. Altogether twenty of us, and there was only one teacher.

Meanwhile in 1926 Cooper replaced Brown as Provincial Commissioner for the Western Province, and in the same year most of the Baganda chiefs who had come with Sebigalja were dismissed, including Sebigalja himself who was replaced by W. Kagabura who had been gombola chief of Makaba. In 1921 Phillips returned to Britain, and in 1922 his successor as D.C., Adana, removed the school from government control and placed it under the authority of the (C.M.S.) mission. By the time the school had a second teacher, Saka Mbutunga from Antiokole district. In 1924 the school was divided; those from Butumbira went to Sesse, and those from other counties of Kigosi went to Buganda. Then in 1923 Phillips returned as D.C. He found the people troubled by his predecessors’ orders to burn all ‘endaro’ huts used by the Nyakandha. As part of the anti-Nyakandha campaign, the D.C. in 1927 had ordered the arrest of Butumbira and his two sons, who were alleged to be devoirs of Nyakandha. Regarding the ‘endaro’ huts, some people claimed that they were only kitchens, and even made fire-places there to support the claim. Phillips immediately reversed the policy. He argued that, if the mission people felt they had a right to destroy ‘endaro’ huts, people might equally feel justified in setting fire to the churches. That made him unpopular with the Christians who accused him to siding with the ‘pagans’, but Phillips advised the Christians that their best method for conversion was not coercion but persuasion.

He also continued his policy of replacing Baganda officials. Further, he built a school at Mbulu, whose aim was to give instruction in Kinyarwanda, and where I worked as a teacher in addition to my duties as clerk at the main headquarters. The school was under government control, and was attended by Catholics, Protestants and Muslims. In 1922, when he appointed G. Gishari as a teacher of Butumbira, and when he made a number of gombola chieftaincy appointments, he warned the people against practicing seclusion on the basis of tribe or religious belief. In order to discourage tribal consciousness, he appointed chiefs in areas where they were not indigenous. The following Butungi, for instance, were appointed in Butumbira: Rwumushana as gombola chief of Chahi, Rwemuhare in Bumana, Mumbwa in Nyakandha, Mibumbu in Butungu, and Rwemuhare in Nyakandha. In 1930 Rwumushana became a teacher of Butungi, and Mibumbu became a teacher of Nyanibwa, an area excluded from
Rukiga and named apparently after the drum named Murwana. Ngologozza became sza chief of Kinkizi. In the same year W. Kugubala, one of the few remaining Baganda, was dismissed, and the process of indigenisation seemed to be nearing completion. At the same time I was appointed Mu-

luka chief in Rwraramba. By 1930 therefore Phillips's popularity was at its height.

Soon Phillips's educational work began to bear fruit. Some of the pupils were employed in the district administration during the 1920's, including the following: - P. Tibagizita worked at Mpeko sza headquarters, J. Gichemwa in the Kabale district office, A. Bihwawa, W. Biteyi, D. Chikira was the first clerk at Nyanabande gombola headquarters. I was a clerk in Bufundi, E. Bassuwa worked at Nyanabande before being transferred to Kikungir, Z. Masaora worked at sza headquarters Buh-
bira, and A. Babilonya from Ankole worked at gombola headquarters Busanza. These are only a few of the names that I can remember, of the first pupils at Phillips's school, who rose to positions of responsibility. Their promotion marked the virtual end of Ganda hegemony in Kigezi, and established and consolidated self-rule in Kigezi. The Baganda, for the first time, began to address us as Sebo' — Sir.

Part Five: The Incorporation of Kigezi into Uganda.

The colonial era, during which 'Kigezi' become a recognized and accepted political and administrative entity, also witnessed the demarcation and definition of 'Uganda'. Despite the presence of Ugandanas from beyond the borders, as administrators and evangelists, and despite the communications network which connected Kampala and Entebbe to the far-flung districts, it seems as if Kigezi people become conscious of the existence of Uganda only very slowly and imperfectly. The district was a self-contained administrative and economic unit, and interaction with other districts was at first very limited. An expanding population, however, made it necessary for many Kigezi people to migrate to other districts in search of land or cash employment, and so Kigezi citizens at least became aware of the need for a working relationship with the neighbouring colonial kingdoms of Ankole and Toro.

After the Second World War, here as elsewhere in British colonial Africa, two important political trends could be observed. Power began to be shared with local people at district level, as local councils became democratized. At the same time territorial institutions began to develop, which were eventually taken over by national political parties as they achieved the independence of the dependency. These two trends were not entirely harmonious. In Uganda, so long as territorial political parties remained relatively weak, there seemed no harm in the exercise of power by Ugandanas at a local level. With the coming of independence, however, demands became felt for the integration of the districts into something like a 'nation-state'. Roughly speaking, therefore, there was first a gradual devolution of power within Kigezi; and about the time of independence a fairly abrupt shift from federalism towards unity, which necessarily meant restrictions upon the power of the local councils.

Mr. Paulo Ngologozza, the author of chapter twenty, is uniquely placed to comment on these changes. He was old enough to consider joining Muhumuza in 1911 (though he was disgusted from doing so); he rose to eminence as a local sza chief during the 1920's; when the district administration was localised; and he has been prominent in the life of the district council ever since. He has also been a member of both major political parties, namely the Democratic Party and the Uganda Peoples Congress. Most important, he has always been keen on the preservation of historical information, and has already published a book on the people of Kigezi. His account of the political history of Kigezi, from pre-colonial to post-colonial times, is by one means definitive; but it is extremely interesting to note the events which he considers to be important, and the meaning he attaches to them. Even writing in 1970, it is (for example) significant that there are few references to the Uganda political parties, even though decisions by the Uganda government have had obvious and far-reaching effects upon politics (let alone society and the economy) of Kigezi.

Finally, in chapter twenty-one, Mr. Kabuge provides a vivid and entertaining account of "the Manyama-Baboga controversy" of the 1990's. This controversy, between the adherents of a newly-created "Constitutional Head" of the District, and supporters of his political rival, clearly exemplifies the trivialisation of district politics after independence. All decisions of much consequence tend to be taken by the national government; while the district councils have little to argue about, except personalities and prestigeful positions. But the chapter provides numerous other instances of the incorporation of Kigezi into Uganda. All the members of the district council at least professed membership of a nation-wide political party, either DP or UPC, even if in practice they were committed to exclusively local concerns. Both factions of the UPC seem to have been willing to accept the word of the party president as final. Local political issues were either illuminated or obscured (depending on one's point of view) by the attempts of Kigezi students in the national university to relate them to universal political principles. The triviality of local politics may be depressing, but is clearly preferable to the sectarianism and other disputes which have plagued some other districts. Finally, the good humour and good sense which infuses the final chapter offer perhaps the brightest hope for Kigezi within the wider parameter of an independent Uganda.
CHAPTER TWENTY

Politics in the Colonial Period in Kigezi.

By P. Ngologoro.

The Bakiga people used to settle in groups according to their clans, each of which had a clan-leader. This clan-leader was always one of the elders of the clan and he was democratically chosen by fellow elders on criteria of his previous achievements, bravery, the number of children he had and his wealth. For example, Mutambuka son of Butologo who was the clan-leader of the Bageni of Bukera, was a fortune-teller and a brave warrior who had confronted Muhumuza. Also Buhye, son of Bagyera, who was the clan-leader of the Bagisa of the Banyangabo sub-clan, the descendants of Ewine, was a distinguished warrior and he had taken part in the military campaign against Rwanda when it was under Kigezi IV. Ruvubugu. Clan leaders of various clans plus their assistants met and formulated a code of conduct to set guidelines of the social life. They drew this moral code from the prevailing traditions and customs of the Society. The culprits who defied this moral code were punished. The clan-leaders settled disputes between individuals voluntarily and they never charged fees for their services. If one of the parties was dissatisfied with the verdict of a particular clan-leader he appealed to a different elder belonging to the Basi clan. In such courts of elders, some women reputed for their intelligence were also included. Some parts of Kigezi had rulers instead of clan-leaders, as described in other chapters.

From 1908 to 1929 the Europeans used Baganda to rule Kigezi. In 1929-1930, however, District Commissioner Capt. J. E. T. Phillips brought the Basoga from Bukoba in Tanzania and made them Gombolola Chiefs and clerks. This meant official reports and proceedings of courts ceased to be written in Luganda but in Swahili. However, by 1929 the Bapsa and a few Baganda who had hitherto been working with them, were stopped and their places were filled by the indigenous people.

Although these Baganda and Bapsa got salaries as any other civil servant, they also got presents (strictly speaking, these were bribes) in form of cattle, goats, beer, food, and other things from the peasants. The peasants also offered their labour to these rulers without payment. When the Bapsa Chief was to visit one of the Gombolola chiefs, the latter instructed the Miruka chiefs and other lesser chiefs to get a young cow, a young bull, a goat and beer to be presented to the Bapsa Chief. These things were collected from the peasants, and the Gombolola Chief secretary “knocked off” some of these things before he presented them to the Bapsa Chief.

The same respect was accorded to the Gombolola Chief when he toured the Miruka in his sub-county. Any chief who did not treat his superior chief in this manner was usually sacked, and he had no opportunity to make an appeal, since they had no access to the District Commissioner. It was the Bapsa Chief who was responsible for appointing Gombolola Chiefs, and he only took the names to the District Commissioner for confirmation, but usually his choice was not reversed by the latter.

Disputes were usually settled by the Gombolola Chiefs and the dissatisfied party was free to appeal to the Bapsa Chief or to the High Court (Kiriya, Makerere) which comprised all the Bapsa Chiefs and one or two Gombolola Chiefs from each county. From the High Court if one was still not satisfied with the verdict of the case, one appealed to the District Commissioner. Such appeals were extremely rare for fear that if one lost the case, one would be heavily fined or be imprisoned for a long time.

The legal system was polluted by corruption. The Baganda chiefs passed through the weak legal system to help them accumulate wealth. For example, before hearing one’s case the Baganda Bapsa and Gombolola Chiefs first asked one what wealth one had. Then they would fine him according to his wealth so that if he was very rich, they fined him too much, most of which sank into their pockets.

With the introduction of taxation system in 1919, each adult male had to pay 3 rupees (equivalent to 6 shillings) but the natives of Kigezi did not know where to get these rupees from. Thus because they were available in Buganda, the Buganda went and got them and got tremendous property out of each of them. For example, for one rupee, they demanded a goat. Goats and cows got in this way were sent to Buganda, and after selling them at exorbitant prices they returned to Kigezi to buy more.

However, these Baganda chiefs were not entirely bad. Some of them taught people proper ways of going about things, to obey chiefs and leaders and they helped the teachers in their endeavours to teach people how to write and read, in religion and in the improvement of agriculture.

In April 1929 the Colonial Government decided to transfer power from the Baganda and Bapsa to the indigenous people and the following were made Gombolola Chiefs:

1. Sulemani Ruhunga — Gombolola Chief of Iruma.
2. Paulo Kakwenza — Gombolola Chief of Bufundu.
5. Asmani Kanyona — Gombolola Chief of Rwumungu.
8. Andrea Buhweire — Gombolola Chief of Kasese.
In 1939 (January) the Colonial Government replaced the Baganda Saza Chiefs with indigenous people and the following became Saza Chiefs:

1. Tomasi Rwomusana — Saza Chief of Rukiga.
2. Mukombe — Saza Chief of Ntorwa (a part which was cut off Rukiga in 1939).
3. Paulo Kangwagye — Saza Chief of Xikakizi.
4. James Gileamwe — Saza Chief of Butumbira (but even before 1930 Gileamwe was the Saza Chief of Butumbira).
5. E. S. Kariyegya — Saza Chief of Rujumbura.

The substitution of the Baganda and Baziba with the indigenous ones seemed to be for the better; payment of bribes and exploitation of the masses was reduced. They also supervised the building of bridges and roads, for example, the Kabale-Kisoro and Nyakishenyi-Kanungu roads. They again pressed the Government to build schools, dispensaries (e.g. Bukinda and Kanungu Dispensaries) and they were also asked to supervise the government reforestation scheme.

Thanks need to go to the following hardworking Saza Chiefs: E. S. Kariyegya, Tomasi Rwomusana, Mukombe, Paulo Kangwagye, Paulo Rukeribuga, Paulo Kakwenzza and the Gombolola Chiefs who were working under them. Also deserving thanks are Y. S. Kivunika, a Muganda who kept on giving advice to the indigenous chiefs and Capt. J. E. T. Phillips and other District Commissioners after him for concentrating on the development of Kigazi.

In 1939 the Government established a system whereby the Saza Chiefs no longer would be chosen by the people and also whereby the Gombolola, Miluka and 'Bakungu' chiefs, clerks and 'askaris' were no longer chosen by the Saza Chiefs but by the Appointment Board. The District Councillors were hostile to this Board and they demanded its immediate dissolution so that they themselves chose members to constitute it and thereupon assume powers over it. This controversy was manifested in form of personal hostilities whereby some of the Councillors began burning houses and coffee-plantations belonging to the members of the Appointment Board. In September, 1940 the Government decided to give the Councillors the power to elect the leaders of the Appointment Board.

Kigazi got the first Secretary-General in 1946. He was chosen by the District Commissioner in consultation with the Saza Chiefs and the Local Government Departments. He was to be chosen from the Saza Chiefs, and I was chosen as Secretary-General. The time I was chosen as Secretary-General had not witnessed the rivalry between religions and tribes, otherwise it would have been difficult for me to be chosen.

I was immediately confronted with the problem of resettling people from Kigazi to less populated areas of Uganda. I wish to thank Mr. E. S. Kariyegya, Mukombe, Rukeribuga and P. Kakwenzza, for helping me.

In the same year (1946) the Kigazi District Council came into being. And its first chairman became Mukombe, who was the Saza Chief of Ndebei. The District Council comprised of 46 members, all of whom were chosen by the District Commissioner, with the help of Saza Chiefs. After a short time the Central Government directed that the Chairman of the District Council automatically be the Secretary General, so I took up the Chairmanship. In 1953 the District Commissioner was empowered to elect the Secretary General and I was returned into the office.

In 1956 the Secretary-General was chosen for the third time. By this time the District Council (the body to elect the Secretary-General) had grown from 46 to 80. This time, elections of Councilors in some Gombolola was characterized by trouble and in Mubuga and Kangabura, people fought during elections. These controversies were brought into the District Council. This time F. Kitaburiza who had been the Saza Chief of Rujumbura was elected the Secretary-General, and automatically the Chairman of the District Council. Kitaburiza held this office for 5 years, and at the end of this period the Legislative Assembly directed that the Secretary-General be appointed by the Appointments Board. These five years were characterized by hostilities between Catholics and Protestants up to the extent of rumours spreading that I had brought poison from the Pope in Rome to distribute to Catholics so that they kill Protestants. One day I found a man waiting for the bus and when I offered to give a lift, he refused, saying in case his fellow Protestants saw him in my car while I was a Catholic.

In February, 1961 the Appointment Board elected Mr. K. Kikira as the third Secretary-General. In 1964, however, the Central Government directed that the Secretary General be elected by the District Council and in January of the same year Mr. Bwari was elected the fourth Secretary-General. Mr. Kivunika was elected the Administrative Secretary. Meanwhile the friction between Catholics and Protestants and various tribes gained momentum. Some of the Catholics Chiefs were dismissed or imprisoned under the law for unruly conduct.

October 1964 saw the election of the Rutakirwa Engabo Ya Kigazi (the Chief of Kigazi) as the Constitutional head of the district. Mr. J. Bbajagaga, who had been a teacher in Makerere College School occupied the position. During the period when he was the Constitutional head of Kigazi, the tension between tribes and religions was eased, following his appeal to the people of Kigazi to put a halt to such hostilities. He vacated his position as the Constitutional head of Kigazi, with the Kings of the Kingdoms in 1966, following the 1966 Constitutional changes.

Despite the fact that Mr. Bikangaga tried to calm the religious and tribal storm in Kigazi, there arose two factions, Baboga and Banyarwanda, claiming allegiance to Bikangaga and Lwamana (who was then a Minister in the Central Government) respectively. These factions resulted from a party made by the Rutakirwa at his residence. Cows and goats were slaughtered. On another day Lwamana slaughtered a bull in a party he made for his supporters. Then it was rumoured that Lwamana had actually
slaughtered the bull which belonged to the Rutakirwa. From then onwards those who had gone to Lwamafa’s party were called Banyama (meat-eaters) and those who had gone to the party at the Rutakirwa’s residence were called Baboga (Vegetarians). Although it seemed to be a simple matter at the beginning it provoked a lot hatred between the two factions. Lwamafa, in his capacity as a Minister tried to cool the hatred; President Obote on his tours also tried to condemn such factions but there wasn’t any immediate ease of the situation.

In 1965, March, Mr. Mukombe-Mponbura was elected by the District Council as the Secretary-General, and he was immediately labelled as ‘Baboga’. He, however, tried to ease tensions between the ‘Banyama’ and ‘Baboga’ but he failed.

In 1965, November, Mr. E. Mbwere was elected to replace Mr. Komukoro as the Administrative Secretary. Komukoro was rejected by the District Council to the extent that some members of the Council locked him out of his office. The District Commissioner and Lwamafa tried to intervene but the Council was firmly set to oust Komukoro, whom they accused of encouraging tribal and religious factions. The Minister of Regional Administration intervened and directed that Komukoro be relieved of his duties while Mukombe-Mponbura was promoted to the Chairmanship of the National Trading Corporation.

In 1969, Mr. J. Bitungurirwe, formerly a teacher, was elected as the Secretary-General. He proved to be a capable man, fundamentally opposed to the religious and tribal rivalries and against the Baboga — Banyama hostility and we wait to see the results of his efforts. My observations have led me to conclude that the tribal, religious and factional frictions emanate from a very small clique of selfish people whose tongue is sugary while actually it has venom. They aim at personal aggrandisement and achievement of personal honour and respect.

The District Council sent 4 names to the Minister of Regional Administration for final confirmation on who should be the Chairman of the District Council. The Minister confirmed H. Bitukaramire. The Councillors were against the Minister’s choice and in defiance chose J. W. Rwagalla as the Chairman of the District Council. This triggered of confrontation between the two men, each of whom thought he was the chosen person to occupy the office of Chairmanship.

Faced with this dilemma, the members of the Council (before the session) stood up to say prayers to God to help them and solve this crisis. But as they prayed, Rwagalla closed his eyes while Bitukaramire never closed his, with the aim of strategically positioning himself where he could sit in the Chairman’s chair when prayers ended. Thus as soon as prayers were over Bitukaramire sat in the Chairman’s chair when prayers ended. Thus as soon as prayers were over, Bitukaramire sat in the Chairman’s seat. Rwagalla not knowing Bitukaramire was sitting in the Chair, sat in it (without looking back) only to find himself sitting on the lap of the former.

None of the two was willing to give way to the other, so that the District Commissioner and the O.C. respected the Minister’s decision and therefore forcibly took Rwagalla off his opponent’s lap and forced him out of the Council Hall. The Councillors became riotous and the police arrested one of them, Mr. Zondeke. The 62 Councillors who wanted Rwagalla to be the Chairman went to Kampala to see the President of the UPC about his matter.

The majority decision was respected by the President of the UPC and Bitukaramire was relieved of his duties after 6 months to be replaced by Rwagalla.
CHAPTER TWENTY ONE

The Busoga-Bukoba Controversy.

Charles Kabuga.

Politics has proved beyond doubt that man is inescapable. In the words of Soltan, "It was the same crowd that cried 'Hosannah!' and 'Crucify!'".

Listening to the radio commentary on the day the Rutakirwa was welcomed to Kigali, in 1963, there was no doubt about his popularity. One might easily have concluded, without being challenged, that the Rutakirwa would reign undisturbed until his retirement. Far from it. Shortly after his arrival, forces began to be felt which were luke-warm towards him personally, and towards the institution itself. They operated in the background and caused discomfort to the Rutakirwa's supporters, who were driven to seek the sources of trouble, but were unable to locate any person who could be branded anti-Rutakirwa without sufficient proof. To ensure that no innocent person was accused, the Rutakirwa's supporters laid down certain conditions. For example, in 1964, at the place in Kabale where All Saints' Church now stands, District Councillors belonging to Uganda People's Congress (UPC) were made to swear allegiance to the Rutakirwa in an interesting ceremony. Refusal to swear was taken as proof that the Councillor was opposed to the Rutakirwa. As if that were not enough, any politician beginning a political speech had to greet the people with "Ibura na Rutakirwa" or "UPC na Rutakirwa" or "Rutakirwa Woenka" - that is to say that the word used to be mentioned to show the speaker's loyalty to the Rutakirwa, or else he would be heckled and if possible prevented from delivering his speech.

A number of politicians felt that this cramped their political style, and preferred to use their own methods of raising popular support. They did so, however, at their own risk. In every political gathering some people made it a duty to count the number of times the speaker used the word Rutakirwa. The number was used as an index of enthusiasm or hostility or luke-warmness. It was dangerous for a speaker to omit the word altogether.

Who held this important and powerful post? The man was Mr. John Bikangaga, a Science graduate who had been headmaster of Kigali High School before going to Britain for further studies, after which he returned to be headmaster, as before. His simplicity, omnipresent personality and confident manner, won him respect not only from the pupils but also from his staff and from the people of Kigali as a whole. He resigned as headmaster at the end of 1955, to be the first Uganda headmaster of a school offering a Higher School Certificate course. At the same time he had an opportunity to serve as a back-bench member in the then Legislative Council of Uganda. He was also appointed Chairman of the Kigali District Appointment Board, a post which made him even more popular with the majority of people in Kigali. His impartiality won him confidence of the people who might otherwise have resented him. All of this he gave up in order to become Rutakirwa Enshato of Kigali, after passionate wooing by notable people in the district who insisted that he was their choice for the post.

Why was it necessary to woo him? The necessity was emphatised in the estate remark which he made just before taking up the post: "I did not know why Bakiga wanted him to rule, when they had always been republicans and more independent-minded than the people who had kings. Implicit in that remark was the fact that his task was going to be difficult. To the joy of many people he accepted the challenge.

An important point needs to be noted here and that is that those people who liked and respected Bikangaga as a person also respected the institution. They might not have given it the same respect had it been occupied by anyone else. Conversely, those who disliked Bikangaga disliked the institution as well. Amongst those hostile to the institution were some progressive, educated young men who wrote letters to the press saying that the Rutakirwa had no fiction except giving a few presents and speeches and wishing people felicitations. There was potential danger sooner or later, though there was a 'honey moon period' before those who opposed either the man or the institution revealed themselves in their true colours.

Matters were complicated, and the honeymoon brought to an abrupt end, when Mr. Bikangaga contested the Regional Chairmanship of the UPC. Some people argued that a Rutakirwa whom they saw as a king and father should be above party politics, because he was constitutional head of a district which contained two political parties, namely the UPC and the Democratic Party (DP), and that in matters of difficulty both parties would look to him for solutions to their problems. It was feared that DP supporters might be discriminated against, because the Rutakirwa would be a party man keen on advancing his party's cause. Those who took the opposite view argued that the Rutakirwa-ship was an institution and Mr. Bikangaga a person. In his private capacity he could legitimately contest the chairmanship. They accused their opponents of being too ignorant to distinguish between an institution and a personality. Secondly, they felt that a Rutakirwa in a UPC government ought to be a party man so that no one else might claim to be superior to him in any respect.

The retiring Regional Chairman was Mr. John W. Lwamafa, holder of a Makerere Teaching Diploma, who had been on the staff of Kigali High School while Mr. Bikangaga was headmaster, which may have given Mr. Lwamafa an unusual perspective in looking at the Rutakirwa. Secondly, while Mr. Bikangaga had been abroad for further studies, Mr...
Lwamafa had become headmaster of the school. Before Mr. Bikangaga’s return, Mr. Lwamafa had entered politics and could therefore claim to be politically the senior of the two. Further, he had been Regional Chairman of the UPC and was doing well, having become a Minister in the UPC cabinet and having therefore come close to the heart of UPC decision-making. He and his supporters felt that he was politically better qualified than Mr. Bikangaga, and they feared the consequences if the Rutakirwa decided to contest the election.

When eventually Bikangaga decided to contest the election for the Regional Chairmanship, Lwamafa determined to gain re-election. Much canvassing went on behind the scenes, and the more people campaigned, the more they were divided. Some people were shocked that Lwamafa should stand against the Rutakirwa, interpreting this as open opposition and an insult to the office which Bikangaga held.

The UPC Youth Wing already existed. They had been previously ineffective, but now decided to become dynamic. They had formed a Regional Executive, and like any new group they decided to sweep clean. They became very instrumental in the election of Mr. Bikangaga as Regional Chairman. There ensued great political confusion, as Mr. Bikangaga was henceforth Rutakirwa, UPC Regional Chairman and – of course – Bikangaga. Mr. Lwamafa and his supporters, however, were profoundly unhappy: but he remained a minister in a key ministry – that of Regional Administration. He was determined to teach his opponents a lesson. From the start, also, he had been indifferent to the institution of Rutakirwa, as was very evident at the installation of the Rutakirwa on October 31st 1960.

UPC Youth Wingers had played a significant role in Bikangaga’s victory. They felt that the UPC could only be strengthened if the mother party worked hand-in-hand with the Youths, who would provide the necessary dynamism (if not recklessness). There is no doubt that the Youth Wing contributed positively, for example by composing and singing UPC songs, which had tremendous emotional power and which won some DP converts to UPC. They were, however, as reckless and irritating as they were convincing. Sometimes they harassed people in order to make them give in to their whims. This style of operation widened and sharpened the divisions between the two groups.

The hostility between the two groups was precipitated by elections to the District Council on 9th January 1965. Mr. Bitwari, the Secretary General of the Council, had been identified with the Lwamafa faction, and his appointment as Secretary General was a hint of future developments. He was certainly a member of UPC, but because of his association with Lwamafa he was regarded with some suspicion. The Bikangaga faction felt that the election of one of themselves was necessary if harmony were to be created. They feared that, if Bitwari were elected to the Council, he would contrive to have his name sent to the Minister of Regional Administration (who, of course, Mr. Lwamafa), who would automatically select him as Secretary General. Though Bitwari stood as the UPC candidate in his constituency therefore, his candidacy was resented by the Bikangaga group. Bitwari, on the other hand, was so determined that he succeeded in being elected unopposed.

When news of his victory broke in Kabale, the Bikangaga group was panic-stricken, while Mr. Bitwari and his supporters decided to celebrate in a big way. His excitement had many causes. First there was the joy that comes of any success, however small. Second there was the justification of his efforts. He had won the election despite the wishes of his colleagues. To crown everything, he was now eligible for re-appearance to his post as Secretary General. With a little more effort he could get men to propose his name to the Minister, who – being of his faction – would presumably appoint him. He therefore felt entitled to be excited in a big way, especially as this would have the side effect of spreading alarm and despondency among the Bikangaga faction. This effect was largely achieved.

He and his friends organised a motorcade through Kabale to his residence, which unfortunately was near and opposite the residence of Mr. Bikangaga. Not surprisingly, in the excitement some people hurled Mr. Bikangaga. The insults fell on the ears of Bikangaga’s supporters, who were already disturbed by Bitwari’s success. The Youth Wingers therefore took it upon themselves to retaliate to what they considered hoohiganism. They wrote a strong letter to Lwamafa, whom they regarded as the cause of the friction, asking to take revenge for his defeat in the Regional election. They warned Mr. Lwamafa that they would not tolerate your irresponsible, aggressive and impudent actions towards our beloved Chairman, who also is our Rutakirwa.” He was further accused of engaging in manoeuvres “calculated to undermine a UPC Government, manoeuvres tinged with hoohiganism.” The letter asserted that joy over Bitwari’s success ought to have been extended to the success of all other victorious UPC candidates who were returned unopposed. The letter concluded interestingly that, if Lwamafa were the enemy of the Regional Chairman, then he was also the enemy of the UPC and the country . . .

Mr. J. B. Kwezi, who was then a student of Politics at Makerere, obtained a copy of this letter, and saw it as raw material for a political scientist. He perceived some confusion of institutions and personalities. He could have replied, within the limits of academic freedom, and exercising his Political Science knowledge, pointing out the confusion. However he overstepped the limits of academic freedom and suggested that the Youth Wingers were uneducated. He added that “nobody can suggest that the UPC Chairman and his executive were displeased at the results – though the facts seem to imply so.” He wondered how this could be, since Bitwari was the party’s official candidate, presumably chosen without malice. He also wondered why the Chairman and his executive did not share in the jubilation, nor even complained that other UPC members rejoiced. He considered the letter to the Minister as merely an empty threat which need not cause concern. His letter got to the Youth Wingers, who tactfully ignored it. The signification of this rejoinder was that Kigezi factionalism was spreading to Makerere, where the supposedly uneducated Youth Wingers found some
support, and the enthusiasm of the students from Kigesi was channelled into district affairs.

Then on January 12th an anonymous circular was widely circulated in and around Kabale, entitled “Abany Kigeri Twerere Okureraamiria Rutakirwa”. It called on all Kigesi people to unite and defend the Rutakirwa. The authors said that they were compelled to write because of four factors which they alleged had ruined Kigesi. They also wished to use the opportunity to warn the people responsible to act. The first factor was that, when the Uganda Prime Minister visited Kigesi in 1984, he was supposed to attend the feast organised for him by the whole district, at the residence of the Rutakirwa. On the very day, Mr. Lwamafu had organised a feast at his own house, also for the Prime Minister. As the Prime Minister was a visitor to the District, no private arrangements ought to have interfered with the District programme. If Mr. Lwamafu had wished to give a feast for the Prime Minister, he asserted, he ought to have invited him privately, or to have feasted him at Entebbe where they both lived. Secondly, they objected to the jubilation over Bitwari’s victory, and to the insulting words hurled at the Rutakirwa on that occasion. Third, they listed the names of people who were supposedly hostile to the Rutakirwa, and accused them of breeding evil thoughts. The fourth factor was the most historic. It was alleged that Lwamafu had slaughtered a cow belonging to the Rutakirwa, given him as a present during an official tour, and eaten while celebrating Bitwari’s success. The cow’s name was “Butakirevere”. To dramatise the affair, there was a cow-side in the UFC office, which was alleged to have been obtained from Lwamafu’s house shortly after the slaughtering of Rutendere. The fourth factor captured people’s imaginations like an infectious madness. Women, Youth Wingers and others anxious to ridicule Lwamafu’s faction began to sing songs about the stealing and butchering of Rutendere. Because of the songs, those listed in the circular wanted to show that they had no knowledge of any such cow. They tried hard to exonerate themselves, but no-one would listen to them. Since the Rutakirwa’s faction refused to listen, the Lwamafu faction saw no reason to go on explaining.

In Kigesi, to eat meat, one had to be a man and well-to-do, having either money to buy meat or skill to hunt for it. Where the head of a family lacked money and hunting skill, his family ate no meat but had to live on vegetables (“ebogga”) which were easy to find and cheap to buy. The people listed in the circular ultimately decided to hit back: when they were accused of eating meat, they retorted that oly ‘men’ could eat meat. From then onwards those who were alleged to have eaten the meat (“ebogga”) were called Banyama — meaning that they had eaten the meat of Rutendere — and their opponents were called Bubogga, implying that they could not afford meat. The Banyama no longer felt apologetic, but expressed pride in being skillful or clever enough to eat meat. At beer parties the division tended to break out into fighting.

Meanwhile the District Council elections had been completed, and the division was transferred to the Council. Mukombe-Mpambura had outwitted the other politicians and he easily won the election. Even before the election he was the obvious choice for Secretary General. But the Banyama were a thorn in the flesh and even Mpambura could not afford to ignore them. The new method of appointing a Secretary General was as follows: Three names had to be sent by the District Council to the Minister, who could then select any one of the three and appoint him Secretary General. From the same list he would choose the Assistant Secretary General. Ordinarily his choice was guided by the number of votes given to each of the three candidates, but he was not obliged to go by the votes. Though Mpambura was the obvious choice, his name had to be forwarded with the names of four candidates who were obviously unsuitable. To be doubly sure that the other parties had to be given many more votes than anyone else, the man selected to be Assistant Secretary General (Mr. John Bitunguranye) rather than the third man on the list. The Minister made no mistake, but gave the Council the two men they wanted.

A further problem remained: the District Council had to have a Chairman, appointed in the same manner as the Secretary General. The names were duly forwarded: Mr. John Rwagabo, Mr. H. Bitakarame, and Mr. Karaza.5 Rwagabo, whom the Councillors ear-marked as their candidate for Chairman, was deliberately given a massive majority of votes. Bitakarame, ear-marked for Deputy Chairman, was given few votes. The third candidate was Mr. Karaza, a very old and illiterate man, whom the Minister could not possibly appoint. Just before the names were forwarded, the Baboga (including both Rwagabo and Bitakarame) agreed that, should the Minister reverse the order of preference, either Bitakarame or Karaza would stand down from the Chairmanship.

The Minister acted swiftly. Bitakarame was appointed Chairman, Rwagabo Vice Chairman, and Karaza was not appointed at all. The Minister had reversed the order of preference, and the majority of Councillors much resented his decision. The only consolation was that Bitakarame would stand down, and the minister would have to appoint Rwagabo whether he liked it or not. Bitakarame, however, on receiving the letter of appointment, saw no reason to stand down. First, he was a loyal UFC man; second, he had as much education as Rwagabo; third, he was a Musigi. The Baboga threatened the Musigi. When, in 1912, the British had allocated posts in Kigesi, Rwagabo, a Musigi, had declined to become a chief.5 Subsequently the clan had felt shame that its eminence had been given away. Accordingly the Banyama and the Musigis who disliked Rwagabo (a staunch Musigi) refused Bitakarame and told him that standing down would bring shame to him, comparable to the shame brought upon the Basiig by Rwagabo.2 Bitakarame was convinced. When he was summoned to the Rutakirwa’s house to clarify his stand, he refused to go. This change of heart had been anticipated by the Banyama, who quickly made Bitakarame feel at home in their camp. They assured him that Lwamafu’s decision was final, that all that was needed now was to convene the Council and begin business, and that he could not afford to ignore the tremendous monetary rewards involved in the post. The Baboga were shocked at this behaviour, but they calculated that they formed a majority of the Council,
and they believed that they would find some way of disposing of the unwelcome Chairman.

The Council was convened on Wednesday 14th March, 1965. Several private meetings of both factions preceded the meeting of the Council. The Youth Wing remained solidly supporting the Baboga and the Baboga planned that Rwagalla should go early to the Council chamber and sit in the chair until the Councillors assembled for business. The plan leaked to the Banyana, however, who threatened that Bitakaramire would sit in the chair all night on the eve of the meeting. The Banyana abandoned that idea, however, when they realised that they had great influence (through the Administrative Secretary) on the Kigezi District Administration, askaris, who could prevent anyone entering the Bukiko Hall. The idea leaked to the Baboga, who were much disturbed. The Youth Wingers conceived it their duty to assist the Baboga by launching a reign of terror outside the Hall in the morning, thereby preventing Bitakaramire from entering the Hall: they assumed that, once inside, he would enjoy parliamentary immunity. That idea was abandoned in turn, because the askaris were instructed to guard the Hall and cane anyone disrupting the peace. The Baboga then agreed that they would all go to the Hall at the appointed time and sit down. Rwagalla would be seated anyway, since there would be two chairs on the platform, for the Chairman and for the Vice Chairman. As the Chairman came in, the Baboga would hold the door and prevent his entry, while Rwagalla conducted business. The Banyana, on the other hand, were confident that they would be able to control proceedings.

When it was time for the meeting to begin, the Youth Wingers drove around the building singing songs and reigniting terror, but keeping their distance from the askaris and their canes. Soon every Councillor was seated, and Rwagalla on the platform in the Chairman's seat. Then Mr. Bitakaramire began to enter, and the Baboga carried out their plan of holding the door. As he came in, Councilor Zendeire of Kihili sprang from his seat, grabbed him, and for a few seconds held him at the door. Officer in Charge of the police rescued Mr. Bitakaramire by hastily taking Zendeire to gaol. That did not frighten the other Baboga, who kept on shouting, determined that Bitakaramire should not chair the meeting. While Bitakaramire stood puzzled, Rwagalla wasted no time in calling the Councillors to stand for prayers. They all responded: and while the prayers were being said, Bitakaramire quietly seated himself in the Chair. When "Amen" was said, Rwagalla found Bitakaramire already in the seat. He could not now quit the stage, as that would have been too demoralising for himself and for his supporters. Accordingly he sat down in Bitakaramire's lap, and for a while it looked as if Bitakaramire would burst under Rwagalla's weight. Rwagalla looked furious. That, together with his size, and his indignation that Zendeire had been taken to gaol, had infuriated him altogether. The police must also have been confused at this unprecedented development. The Baboga determined to remove Bitakaramire by hook or by crook. There was a great deal of shouting, until eventually the District Commissioner and the Officer in Charge of Police came to rescue Bitakaramire.

The D.C., Mr. Kanwawa, pointed out that Bitakaramire was legally the official chairman.

Sixty-two Councillors who continued to support Rwagalla chose to go to Kampala to see the President of the Party. The other seven, who supported Bitakaramire, also went to Kampala to see the Party leader. In the afternoon of 17th March the bus carrying the 62 Councillors left Kabale for Kampala. It was a sad sight, since it meant that brothers had entirely failed to resolve their differences; on the other hand, if a solution were found, the brothers might be reunited.

When the Councillors reached Kampala, they resolved that, as this was no laughing matter, they should all stay together in the bus, suffer together, and present their grievances together, even those who had friends with whom they could stay comfortably. These resolutions were honoured. The Party President being a busy man, kept them waiting before he saw them. Telephone messages flew between Kampala and Kabale: the Babona in Kabale wished to know if the President had seen them, and if so what he had said, and if not, why not. They suggested that the 62 Councillors should not return to Kabale unless they resolved the issue. Anxiety mounted when a telephone message announced that the President of UPC would see them soon. During this delay the Banyana were constantly being reassured by their seven men in Kampala that the President was refusing to meet them, and was reluctant to reverse his Minister's decision, since that would be equivalent to a vote of no confidence in that Minister. That story was plausible and circulated widely through Kabale, alarming the Baboga.

At last the UPC President found time to see the 62 Baboga, and news flew to Kabale at once that the President was solving the problem. Mr. Kibuzi Rwendire, a prominent politician, had loaded his camera and took the opportunity to photograph the President meeting the Baboga. These photographs would prove that the meeting had taken place, and convince doubters. In the parliamentary buildings Obote invited the Councillors' problems. After listening to them he told them: "The ball is in your court". Some Councillors, in awe of Obote, nodded in agreement, pretending that they understood him. Some others distrusted the vague phrase and asked him to call a spade a spade: they wanted to be assured that, if they played the ball, their opponents would not be allowed to play it back. They understood that they needed only to pass a motion of no confidence in Bitakaramire, select three more names and send them to the Minister. They then drove back to Kabale where they were anxiously awaited, singing UPC songs as they went. They said nothing to anyone, but drove straight to the Rutakiramire residence to report. Every Mubogo rushed there to hear the news, but all they were shown was the photographs, which were also posted outside the bookshop, but which proved only that a meeting had taken place. People were more interested in what Obote told them. However, there was no language in which they could explain what the President of UPC had said, and they could not openly admit that Bitakaramire was still Chairman. A number
of Baboga began to doubt whether the councillors had ever reached Kampala at all. The Banyama meanwhile rejoiced that Bitakaramire was still in office, and that the Council could only meet on his invitation though probably on the initiative of the D.C.

Bitakaramire duly convened the Council. The 58 Baboga were heart-broken and panicky because they could not predict what would happen. The Banyama, after all, were also intelligent men and knew what they were doing. Their confident manner worried the Baboga considerably. The meeting opened and the first item on the agenda was to fill the place of Mr. Bitakaramire (as the Chairman had resigned as an elected member, which was supposed to make him impartial). The second item was a vote of no confidence in the Chairman, an item which had only been placed on the agenda after a great deal of trouble. The first item was despatched very quickly, while everyone looked forward to the second item. The Baboga meanwhile were annoyed by the jubilation of Banyama outside the Hall that Bitakaramire was conducting business within. Tension increased and the division deepened. After the first item, however, Bitakaramire adjourned the meeting until 2 p.m. Baboga fears were increased, and the afternoon was slow to come. That afternoon Bitakaramire was again in the Chair. Just as Rwagalla, who had kept his seat for fear of disheartening his supporters, so he could not allow a vote of no confidence to be passed, but was hold on for his own group. He came in accompanied by the D.C., and told the Council that he had allowed the motion of no confidence to be included in the agenda, under Kigezi Standing Orders No. 17 (4), and that the motion would be discussed that afternoon. He requested the members to listen to the D.C. briefly, before proceeding with the agenda. The D.C. proceeded to tell the Councillors that the Chairman had been appointed by the Minister, and that he had not held office long enough to make errors which would warrant a vote of no confidence. It seemed to the D.C. that such a motion would therefore be a vote of no confidence in the Minister, rather than a vote against the Chairman. He advised them therefore not to proceed with the matter, but stressed that this was merely advice rather than anything stronger. Pointing out that if they did proceed to a vote, the Chairman would have to leave the chair, he wished them God's guidance and left the Hall.

Bitakaramire resumed the Chair and asked the Council to heed the D.C.'s advice, suggesting that such a motion would break the law. This he said amicably. Of No. 41, No. 41, Impossible! He then adjourned the Council sine die. To dramatise the affair, the Administrative Secretary, the Clerk to the Council, Mr. Bitwari (the former Secretary General), and seven other members (including two D.P. members) walked out with him. The Deputy Chairman, Mr. Rwagalla, then took the Chair. He informed the remaining members that they still formed a quorum, and that they could elect someone to record proceedings in the absence of the Clerk of the Council. Councillor Tugume was unanimously elected as temporary Clerk. Rwagalla then asked the proposer of the motion of no confidence to proceed, and Councillor Kakuramati (UPC Buganda) introduced the motion of no confidence in Bitakaramire. It was seconded by Mr. Mukombe-Mpambasa (UPC Kabale). Speaking to the motion, Kakuramati could not see how his motion could be illegal, as Bitakaramire had alleged. He quoted Section 12 (7) (c) of the Local Administration Ordinance, No. 23 of 1961, to substantiate his point of view. What were the reasons for wishing to remove the Chairman? He was accused of refusing to attend to lots of motions and business which members wished to discuss. For example, said Kakuramati, the Chairman had thrown back to the deliverer, a letter suggesting a motion for discussion. That action, he continued, was contrary to Section 16 (2) of the District Standing Orders. Secondly, it was stated that he had refused to convene the Council within 21 days of a request from more than a quarter of the members of the Council. Thirdly, he was accused of refusing to receive registered letters from the Post Office, and Registered Letter No. 4394 was quoted. This letter requested the inclusion of a motion of no confidence in the agenda. Fourthly, he was accused of refusing to take the Party Whip (by refusing to stand down as Chairman) and since the UPC was in power, the Party had a right to take disciplinary measures.

Two motion was supported by all Councillors present. The Banyama outside, however, were sure that no legal action could be taken inside, and they also locked up all the books so that nothing could be recorded. The Baboga, however, believed that Bitakaramire was now out of office; 58 had supported the motion, none had opposed it, and there was one spoilt paper, so that more than two-thirds of all members had supported the vote of no confidence. At that point Councillor Kajjaka (UPC Buganda), basing his action on Standing Order 17 (1) requested permission to move a motion of urgency, namely to ask the Council to select two names from which the Minister could choose a new Chairman. Councillor Paulo Ngolozoga seconded the motion, which was accepted, and the Chairman asked for nominations. Rwagalla, Karazza (from the previous list of candidates), Kyarabakabuze and Bisaguru were nominated. Councillor Rwagalla nominated. The names of Rwagalla and Karazza were accordingly forwarded to the Minister, and every Councillor (including Karazza) was convinced that the Minister would have no further choice in the matter. Indeed he had not, and was obliged to appoint Rwagalla as Chairman, which was a terrible blow for the Banyama, as well as being demoralising for the Minister himself, who had refused to see facts from the beginning of the dispute. The longed-for Rwagalla was now Chairman, and the Baboga were happy beyond description — while the Banyama were intensely unhappy.

Under Rwagalla's chairmanship, the Council was re-convened to select names for the post of Vice-Chairman. The Councillors easily agreed to nominate Mr. Ngolozoga, who was duly appointed by the Minister. The Council could at last turn to business, and the Baboga triumph seemed complete. To the delight of the Banyama, however, Rwagalla did not serve for long: He was a teacher, and the new act of governing district administration prevented teachers (as participating in politics). Rwagalla therefore informed the Government that he was resigning from the Council in order to remain a teacher. Also affected were many constitutional
heads, whose posts were abolished in 1957. The Banyama rejoiced in the down-fall of the Rutakirwa, especially as their own lynch-pin remained in office as Minister. But in those revolutionary times it was difficult to know who could keep his job for any length of time, and taut minds factionalism less intense, even though the fire died down rather than being extinguished altogether.

When President Obote introduced new methods of electing members of parliament (Document 5), the factionalism burst into flames once more. This time the Baboga were determined to eliminate the Banyama completely, while the Banyama planned a comeback. It could be guessed that the confrontation would be very bitter—and so it was.

What caused the bitterness? There was a rumour that, if a prospective UPC candidate for parliament failed to win election as chairman of the constituency party, that failure would be interpreted as a vote of no confidence in the candidate. Another rumour suggested that victors in the chairmanship elections would be members of parliament immediately, to save the country from repeated elections. That rumour forced candidates to devote all their resources to the election of constituency chairman. Campaigns took the form of Baboga-Banyama contests before the new system was fully explained to the people.

The campaigns were therefore fought in the old constituencies, of which I would like to refer to Kigeli South-East, which beautifully exemplifies the Banyama-Baboga conflict. Minister Lwamasa and Mr. Rubabaza (a prominent trader in Mizia, but lacking much formal education) contested it. The Baboga supported Rubabaza, and gave the Minister and his men a hard time, though, in the end Lwamasa won by a narrow majority. Mr. Rubabaza attributed his defeat to electoral irregularities, and petitioned Party headquarters challenging the result. The petition, however, was overruled by events. New constituency limits were drawn, and Lwamasa felt it safer to transfer his efforts to Kigeli South where he expected greater support, leaving Rubabaza un-opposed in the old constituency. Moving to Kigeli South, however, was jumping from the frying-pan to the fire. There Mr. Mukumbe-M'.Amabura's organisational ability ensured his victory, and the defeat of Magaba (who was contesting the election on behalf of Lwamasa), having agreed to stand down for Lwamasa when necessary.9 Magaba's heavy defeat discouraged the Banyama faction, which was not successful in other elections.

The only hope for the Banyama, therefore, lay in the real parliamentary elections scheduled to take place in 1971. It can therefore be argued that the ushering in of the Second Republic (January 25, 1971) saved Kigeli from imminent bitterness. The coup cooled the heat of election fever. How happy we should be if such divisions disappeared for ever. However, so long as human beings continue to differ, factions will be inevitable, and these are usually the sign of a healthy society. They can, however, be dangerous if the governmental structures are not strong enough to control their effects. In the case of Uganda, and particularly of Kigeli, James Madison9 would warn that nothing was being done to control the effects of factionalism, so that the results were likely to be disastrous. Mwaimu Julius Nyerere of Tanzania would have suggested that people be given the same ideas. That suggestion has many limitations. In Uganda, Obote was trying to give people the same ideas by introducing the Common Man's Charter for a socialist mode of development. Sadly it can be stated with confidence that this is a useless method for eliminating or controlling factionalism. Human beings are different, and cannot be made to think alike. We require different ideas to check each other for the betterment of society. When ideas are reduced to one set, this may impede the development of society.

In the case of Kigeli, ideas were reduced to two, revolving around the Banyama and Baboga groups. Being too rather than many, they showed down the proper development of the district. The tax-payers' money was wasted in argument over posts, when the councillors would have been better employed in deliborating useful matters. Secondly, the conflict weakened UPC as a political party, and was demoralised. Had the DP been organised, UPC was vulnerable to attack. The conflict, for some citizens, represented a challenge which UPC failed to resolve, and therefore they regarded UPC as a dead letter. Third, the uncontrolled conflict led to destruction of property. For instance, the crops of several people including Nglooga, were destroyed. Mr. Karimbwende's Mercedes-Benz was burnt to ashes while he was Financial Secretary of the district.

But it is unfair to say that these factions had no positive contribution to the district's development. From the inception of the conflict, no-one could take anything for granted. Having been told many lies in the past by politicians, the people have become more critical, and more difficult to convince. The factions also increased the level of participation. Every individual was branded a Muboga or a Munnyama, and therefore had to participate, since it was impossible to hold aloof. This had the effect of making many people calculative in political beliefs. It could also be argued that the factions had the effect of improving the standard of housing, since people tended to build iron and brick houses which would be safe from attack! Finally, the conflict tended to minimise clan, ethnic and religious tensions, all of which were cut across. Nonetheless one would wish that the factions had never come, as they were much more destructive than constructive.

FOOTNOTES
2. The title of the constitutional head of the Kigeli administration.
3. "Rakiga" in this paper is used to refer to all the ethnic groups in Kigeli, and not simply those of Ngorwa, Rakiga and Rubanda.
4. The son of a prominent colonial chief. He later became Chairman of the National Trading Corporation.
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When President Obote introduced new methods of electing members of parliament (Document 5), the factions burst into flames once more. This time the Baboga were determined to eliminate the Banyama completely, while the Banyama planned a come-back. It could be guessed that the confrontation would be very bitter — and so it was.

What caused the bitterness? There was a rumour that, if a prospective UPC candidate for parliament failed to win election as chairman of the constituency party, that failure would be interpreted as a vote of no confidence in the candidate. Another rumour suggested that victors in the chainship elections would become members of parliament immediately, to save the country from repeated elections. That rumour forced candidates to devote all their resources to the election of constituency chairmen. Campaigns took the form of Baboga-Banyama contests before the new system was fully explained to the people.

The campaigns were therefore fought in the old constituencies, of which I would like to refer to Kigedi South-East, which beautifully exemplifies the Banyama-Baboga conflict. Minister Lwamasa and Mr. Rubazaba (a prominent trader in Mibwa, but lacking much formal education) contested it. The Baboga supported Rubazaba, and gave the Minister and his men a hard time, though in the end Lwamasa won by a narrow majority. Mr. Rubazaba attributed his defeat to electoral irregularities, and petitioned Party headquarters challenging the result. The petition, however, was over- taken by events. New constituency limits were drawn, and Lwamasa felt it safer to transfer his efforts to Kigedi South where he expected greater support, leaving Rubazaba un-opposed in the old constituency. Moving to Kigedi South, however, was jumping from the frying-pan to the fire. There Mr. Mukombe-Mpunagaba’s organisational ability ensured his victory, and the defeat of Magala (who was contesting the election on behalf of Lwamasa) having agreed to stand down for Lwamasa when necessary. Magala’s heavy defeat discouraged the Banyama faction, which was not successful in other elections.

The only hope for the Banyama, therefore, lay in the real parliamentary elections scheduled to take place in 1971. It can therefore be argued that the ushering in of the Second Republic (January 25, 1971) saved Kigedi from imminent bitterness. The coup cooled the heat of election fever. How happy we should be had such divisions disappeared for ever. However, so long as human beings continue to differ, factions will be inevitable, and these are usually the sign of a healthy society. They can, however, be dangerous if the governmental structures are not strong enough to control their effects. In the case of Uganda, and particularly of Kigedi, James Madison® would warn that nothing was being done to control the effects of factionalism, so that the results were likely to be disastrous. Mwalimu Julius Nyerere of Tanzania would have suggested that people be given the same ideas. That suggestion has many limitations. In Uganda, Obote was trying to give people the same ideas by introducing the Common Man’s Charter for a socialist mode of development. Sadly it can be stated confidently that this is a useless method for eliminating or controlling factionalism. Human beings are different, and cannot be made to think alike. We require different ideas to check each other for the betterment of society. When ideas are reduced to one set, this may impede the development of society.

In the case of Kigedi, ideas were reduced to two, revolving around the Banyama and Baboga groups. Being two rather than many, they slowed down the proper development of the district. The tax-payers’ money was wasted in arguments over posts, when the councillors would have been better employed in deliberating useful matters. Secondly, the conflict weakened UPC as a political party, and was demoralised. Had the DP been organised, UPC was vulnerable to attack. The conflict, for some citizens, represented a challenge which UPC failed to resolve, and therefore they regarded UPC as a dead letter. Third, the uncontrolled conflict led to destruction of property. For instance, the crops of several people including Nglogoza, were destroyed, Mr. Karibwenda’s Mercedes-Benz was burnt to ashes while he was Financial Secretary of the district.

But it is unfair to say that these factions had no positive contribution to the district’s development. From the inception of the conflict, no-one could take anything for granted. Having been told many lies in the past by politicians, the people have become more critical, and more difficult to convince. The factions also increased the level of participation. Every individual was branded a Muboga or a Muyamana, and therefore had to participate, since it was impossible to hold aloof. This had the effect of making many people calculate political beings. It could also be argued that the factions had the effect of improving the standard of housing, since people tended to build iron and brick houses which would be safe from attack! Finally, the conflict tended to minimise clan, ethnic and religious tensions, all of which were cut across. Nonetheless one would wish that the factions had never come, as they were much more destructive than constructive.

FOOTNOTES.

2. The title of the constitutional head of the Kigedi administration.
3. “Kigidi” in this paper is used to refer to all the ethnic groups in Kigedi, and not simply those of Ngora, Rukiga and Rubanda.
4. The son of a prominent colonial chief. He later became Chairman of the National Trading Corporation.
5. Karaaza, though not a Councillor, could still have become Chairman.

6. See chapter by Sirbalijja. Mr. Rwagalla asserts that he changed the spelling of his name, so as to avoid association with the other Rwagara.

7. Mr. Kyarabakabiza, like Mr. Karaaza, entirely lacked formal education, and could not conceivably accept the post of Chairman.

8. Mpambars won 870 votes, Magaba only 80. (Uganda Argus, 24th June 1970.)


APPENDIX I

Kabale, January 23rd, 1942.

To The District Commissioner Kigezi

Sir,

I respectfully beg you to take my application in your entire consideration.

I was dismissed from my chieftainship and my Bukama of Kayonza and I was prevented to settle in my mother land Kayonza any more.

When I saw the D.C. of Kigezi a few years ago, he sent me to the Lukiko of Kigezi centre but the chiefs did not realize my difficulties I talked them of being cut off my mother land for ever, nevertheless could they think how my children are going to get lost and our race too.

As you are a new D.C. in this District and the leader of us all Kigezi people important and unimportant, I have found it good to let you know those difficulties which hampered me from my mother land and I am looking for your help.

I am the “Omukama” of Kayonza I descended from my ancestors: Kalemye Nyakarasi I, Karamira, Byabagambi, I, Rwengabo I Ndhura, Kubaire, Muhayirwa, Yeye, Kemuramu, Kwabirwa, Rugura, Nyarubakura, Rwengabo II, Nyakarasi II and others.

I came to the throne after my father’s death Nyakarasi II who was killed by our enemies being left in their land by Belgians. After the death of my father I ruled Kayonza in peace for a short time under the Belgians’ control. After some years British Government came and took the country, I continued ruling I served all Officers.

When Bwana Sylvis was ruling when the Great war broke up why I say that the war broke up it is because it was the time in which we were asked to send loads of small melt four for the people who were fighting. The war went on worse, owing to my stupidness I went to refuge and I became a refugee. After the war had ended I came and reported to Bwana Bescyongbo at Kabale’s office. But as one Muloki called Salamani Miangaranwara who was the Agent at Kinkizi had reported me badly to him already Bwana Bascyongbo told me that I shall be taken to another part of the country my wife, a son, a maid and I were taken to Masindi.
I spent five years at Masindi. I asked the P.C. Masindi to ask the Governor of Uganda if I can be allowed to come back to my country. I was refused.

When I reached Kabale I found Ewana Adams as the D.C. Kigezi. He sent me to Mparo so that the Saza Chief Kagabula look after me and to be taught how to rule and work as a Gombokora Chief. Mr. W. R. Bietyi was an interpreter and I hope he knows it. After eight months I was sent to Kayonza. I ruled for five years and my work was quite satisfactory all the D.C.s pleased with my work as it was going ahead and I thought of promotion to the Saza Chief. But when Agent Sulaimani Ntangumarara saw that he became jealous and the hatred towards me took place. Bad people were given to me. I mean clerks and Askaries. I was silent.

In the month of July 1927 my Gombokora Askari burnt himself in the jail when I was away about 9 or 10 miles going to bury a man called Chacho who fell on his spear and died. I was called I tried to write all the matters till the Saza Chief came when he came he regarded me as one who burnt the jail with Owomuruka Rwahugya s/o Kahumu who was my representative. He tried to put us to the death chiefly by finding the false witness when the D.C. Mr. Trewn found out that he chose chiefs from another County Rujumbura to try the case and those chiefs were Omwami Erasto Musoke, Eryika Kakondo, Daudi Kakonkole, and Ntadabwaise. The case was tried and we were innocent. All happened to me about that case your interpreter Omwami Yowasi Kajwiga knows it and Owennza Mukonde.

Agent Sulaimani Ntangumarara was not satisfied in the same year he told my Gombokora clerk to write bad words about me and send a letter to the D.C. in his name. That was done at once the clerk accused me for being with drums of "Nyabingi" he wrote to the D.C. Secretary. When I was in the Lukiko of Iware at Kasaale the D.C. and Sulaimani Ntangumarara sent a police man and other people and my clerk Agyushe Kasive who was a friend to Sulaimani Ntangumarara who served with him in the war and whom he had promised to be given my Gombokora being a Muganda from Kisi where Sulaimani came from in Masaka they went to search Nyabingi they went privately to my mother's house and searched but to my Nyabingi article was found such as Easopokes and stick of steel they caught charms of children and other things. When my mother was brought to Lukiko they said that I kept a witch so I must be blamed for it. I given a little time to ask why I was to be blamed and I asked they refused. I was dismissed from Gombokora Chiefship and I was told not to live in Kayonza. Many people who were in the Lukiko refused the judgement like Mukonde, Zaribage, Erasto Musoke, Ntadabwaise, and others but Sulaimani Ntangumarara refused with other Baganda who were big chiefs. My mother was put to jail for 9 months imprisonment!!! I was given Government money to build houses I built at Kijuguta about 1 mile from Kaabale Rutchuru road. Bwami D.C. gave me 1000 shillings to build houses. But who hurts me most are why am I allowed to live in any place I like but not in Kayonza????

I was accused for having drums for Nyabingi but those drums were ROYAL DRUMS and Ewana Adams allowed me to beat them when I wanted and showed them to him Omwami Yowasi Kajwiga knows it as he was an interpreter.

I know I am old and I am not asking for a Gombokora but sir if my child can come to you and serve the British Empire can you not send him in my position?

Can I not go to Kayonza and settle there or given a small work if you find it possible. If not I have some from which I can mention one's name whom you can think about.

Sir, your interpreter Omwami Yowasi Kajwiga and Omwami Mukonde can let you know all which took place between Agent Sulaimani Ntangumarara and I from 1924 to 1926 because Mr. Yowasi Kajwiga was D.C.'s interpreter during that time and Omwami Mukonde a Gombokora Chief Kirims.

If you can be pleased to see your servant I am going to wait for a week time, if you told Omwami Kajwiga to call me I shall come to you at once.

I respectfully beg you to remain,

Yours obedient servant,

Sir,

MUGINGA BYABAGAMBI II,

RUIHRWARIROA.
APPENDIX II

Gombaroa Kayonza,
Kinkizi.
P.O. Box 3,
Kabale.

May 1961.

The Chairman,
Appointments Board, Kigezi &
D.C. Kigezi.

We people who have signed this letter, together with the people of Kayonza, request you and your colleagues to consider and execute the matter we are putting before you.

We request the return of Mr. Matiya Muringa Rwankwenda to us. We trust and like him.

When the British occupied Kigezi, they found that we had a ruler, Muringa Mr. Rwankwenda's father. Muringa ruled us very well; he encouraged us to work hard for our own development, he protected us from our enemies, he encouraged us to become Christians when Missionaries came and helped the young Churches, both Anglican and Roman Catholic; in all possible ways he did, he left his children with us. We trust them and we are obliged to remember and respect them for the good things their father did for us.

Mr. Rwankwenda helped us very much, he had schools built for our children. Although there were some misfortunes, he made a good foundation for us. That is why we trust him and have always struggled to have him returned into Government, so that he may come and work with us again.

The following know it Messrs. F. K. Kitaburaka, Ex. Secretary General, Mr. H. Kakuyo Saza Chief Kinkizi, the Archdeacon E. K. M. Balaba, and many Government A.D.C.s and D.C.s, who come to our Gombaroa and whom we always ask about Mr. Rwankwenda’s return to us as a Chief. We do not want Mr. Rwankwenda to disappear from his mother land. We therefore ask you to give him even the simplest job so that he comes back to Kayonza.

We have not put this before you because we do not like those who are ruling us, but because we only want you to help us and return Mr. Rwankwenda to us.

Please excuse us for anything that may not be right in our letter.

Yours faithfully,

S/d Yoweri Nkurut of Burema Kirima
S. Kabare
B. Kambo
D. Katunguru
Kabire
Mureruka
B. Murenge of Kayonza
A. Omukigombe Kayonza

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