Kigezi Mountain Mosaic

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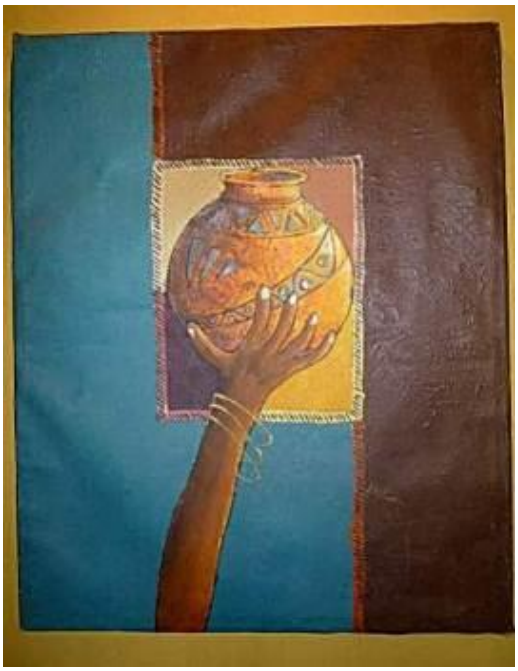
Nations and peoples are largely the stories they feed themselves. If they tell themselves stories that are lies, they will suffer the future consequences of those lies. If they tell themselves stories that face their own truths, they will free their histories for future flowerings.

Ben Okri, Birds of Heaven

Enjoy the read.

Sean Kavanagh, President, Roundwood and District History and Folklore Society, on launching the annual journal in the 1990s.



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## Preface

Kigezi Mountain Mosaic is so named because the landscape, flora and fauna, peoples, sources and this book are mosaics.

Every history has a history. I had no plans to write this book and knew nothing about the area when I joined Edirisa in Kabale in March 2011 for two weeks of editing a new guidebook. My boss, Miha Logar, suggested that I expand on the history a little, which was like a red rag to a bull. Plans changed and a website was mooted where I would have infinite space. Seven months later I had a reasonable text concerning everything I had learnt in the meantime.

I then said “Enough” and took off for North and West Africa. Plans changed again when the website was abandoned, at least temporarily, and everything was to be published in a new (early

2012) Apple ebook ipad format as a guide book entitled Gorilla Highlands (published in September 2012). My texts returned shortened and transformed for editing. I didn't understand exactly what was happening and was concerned about the fate of what I called my 'long text'.

As a result, I returned to Uganda in Spring 2012 and ended up another six months expanding the nature and wildlife sections for a more balanced guide, assisting in the lay-out and working on the final texts. Meanwhile, my research shopping list never shortened and so the 'long text' got longer as I began to understand Kigezi a little better. I decided that, even given its faults, it was worth publishing independently.

I have been asked why I spent so much time on this project and I'm not very sure myself, except to say that such a project was an ambition that I was lucky enough to fulfil. From small beginnings, research and writing about Kigezi developed its own momentum and was its own reward.

This is an informal book and not an academic work with footnotes. I am not a great fan of academic writing but chapters have most of the essential sources, while quotes can be cross-referenced with the bibliography.

The book is primarily a review of secondary sources; a compilation of what others have written about Kigezi's land, nature, history and culture. A detailed primary documentation research program would take two years with six months in Kampala, six months in the UK, three months in the Vatican, one month each in Belgium and Germany and an indefinable length of time in Kigezi. Then there is the making sense, writing up and publication.

Such a program was outside the scope of my current resources. No doubt, the text could have been much improved with three months of editing and rewriting but personal deadlines dictated that, for better or worse, I ended here.

In sum, the book is everything I managed to learn about Kigezi in one year of research and writing. It is a work in progress, a stepping-stone between the golden age of history writing in the late 1960s to early 1970s and the future. It can be treated as a data base, a source for further research and, hopefully, an inspiration.

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## Introduction

It seems strange that a Muzungu is telling Kigezi people their history but, in general, they are disconnected from their historical origins as they navigate modern-day Uganda. This is understandable; the changes wrought by colonial invaders, post-independence dictatorship were deep and significant; while the changes forced by external economic fashionable philosophies

are ongoing. However, it does make problems with reconstructing pre-colonial Africa as a literate writer grapples with memories of the oral, each with many generations of received knowledge.

It is a truism to say that past and present European and African world views were, and are, very different so the art is to accept one's paradigms and perspectives while understanding others. What one asks of a source is that it is reliable, observant and insightful; biases can be assessed on their merits or otherwise.

Analysing European colonialism it was useful to be an Irish Catholic. The Irish have a natural historic suspicion of English rulers after 800 years of conquest, colonialism and independence struggles. It is fascinating to see that the English (and other European invaders) nowhere ever questioned their right of conquest. As Protestantism is deeply intertwined with English rule there is mistrust among the Irish of that pairing and, particularly, the more extreme evangelicals. In other words, there are views and opinions in this book that may seem unfamiliar, strange or even disagreeable to English and Protestant world views.

I discovered that linguists and zoologists have one thing in common: They both have 'lumpers' and 'splitters'; those that seek what is common and make large groups and those that seek individual differences and make small groups. Over time consensuses emerge; the only problem is that they might only be accurate for that time and can only be judged within their specific contexts. Development of technology and methodology changes perspectives and world views.

Take this business of classification of Nature. Forget the super-, infra- and sub- prefixes above the species; look at what happens at species level and below. There are: super-species, species, sub-species, eco-types, clusters, races, lineages, hybrids, variants, forms, morphs and, perhaps, a few more (clans? but not tribes). This lack of exactitude is what makes the study of life so fascinating. Classification is a tool not a substitute for understanding. Life is not static, evolution is all around us, transforming the planet in ways and time-frames we little understand.

Form, function and adaptability in a wide range of environments, unconstrained by time, creates habitats and their respective niches.

And what about Homo sapiens of the Mammilia class? How do we classify people? What makes people different? Who classifies how and why? Why is it acceptable and normal to discuss the evolution and biology of pygmy wildlife and livestock but a major no-no for pygmy people? (With regard to PC euphemisms, they're certainly not 'vertically challenged'). Can the Batwa, in terms of culture, modes of living and ways of life, be called an Albertine Rift endemic?

There are two main methods for classifying people: by some physical attribute(s) or by 'Us' and 'Them'. No matter where you travel there will always be somebody saying “I don't like foreigners, I wish they'd all go home”; and that human attribute can lead to racism. The arrival of the gorilla into the post-Darwinian evolutionary debate brouhaha was like a bombshell and had some saying that white people evolved from a higher ape species than blacks.

And yet, consider the 12 year old who is the despair of his mammy (mother); cut knees, torn shorts, tie askew, tousled dusty hair. Put half a dozen of these 'messers' from different parts of the globe together and lack of common language wouldn't bother them; they'd be up to all sorts of mischief.

The same for female teenagers: showing off their latest clothes and jewellery, sharing magazines and speculating about boys. No matter how poor a house looks, these young ladies emerge spotless and ready to hold their own in fashion rivalry (but the mothers, who spend hours at some dubious water source slaving to get that shirt whiter than white, puts the Western mother and washing machine to shame).

Communication transcends language and relationships transcend culture.

The dedication that parents worldwide have to increase their children's chances through education and improve their lot is a sign that betterment is intrinsic in human nature. The result, however, may be an adaptation rather than an improvement. At the other end of the behavioural scale, the intrinsic drive for power, money and status that conquers ethics, morals and decency is, alas, also global. There is no relationship between wisdom and size; the leadership elite of large countries are no wiser or more foolish than the small.

Fundamentally, people are people. The art is to understand the past and present so that we can understand and appreciate the present and past. As for what we do with what we learn – that is the question.

For those who disagree with any aspect of this work, I look forward to your published opinions and refutations. In fact, I look forward to all future publications concerning Kigezi.

A Note on Measurements

Three time-scales are used: 1) the geological 'mya' stands for million years ago, 2) the scientific BP stands for years 'Before Present' – before 1950, to be more precise, and 3) the historic BC/AD standing for 'before Christ', which ends in 1BC and 'Anno Domine' translated as year of Our Lord and begins in AD1. The PC terms CE and BCE (Christian Era and Before Christian Era) have not been used as they are just another way of saying the same thing and perpetuate medieval calendar errors.

Geological and scientific dates are averages, plus and minus (+) a certain time scale, the length of which depends on the dating methodology. There are many variations in the publication of these dates; many are silent as to the date range and degrees of statistical confidence.

Both English and metric lengths, heights and areas are used as taken from the sources. There is little conversion into dual measurements.

Images

All photographs were taken by the author of places in and around Kigezi, from miscellaneous old books, and the illustrations and paintings of Martin Aijuka Depories, a talented Kabale-based artist; the photos don't do his work justice.

The photos were taken with a cheap digital camera in less than ideal circumstances due to lighting, curved book pages and through glass. The black and white images were taken in colour and, using online software, were reconverted back to black and white. All photos were compressed to keep within the 5mb book file size. As a result the photos from books do not meet normal technical reproduction standards but have been included for their historical and cultural importance and to provide alternative contexts and perspectives.

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## Chapter 1.1

### Origins

In The Beginning...
In the beginning was the land and the land is dynamic; a complex interplay of a mosaic of energies whose scales are beyond human imagination whether it is the aeons of geological time or the life-span of a tropical insect.

Africa is the core of a very old continent that has slowly melded and split apart from other lands over the last 3, 800 million years, as the earth's subterranean forces circulate the thin crust fragments we call home, destroying, recycling and creating land through tectonic processes. In the most recent continental rearrangement, 270-200mya, sections split off from Gondwanaland to become Antarctica, Australasia, South America and South Asia.

Many chains of mountains have been formed and slowly eroded over time depositing soil into alluvial plains and ultimately into the sea; some of the rocks that are exposed on the surface today were deep down in the crust as magma. Other rocks are from old mountain chains or the result of volcanic activity. Some landscapes were formed under cold, glacial conditions, others in deserts, some in swamps and many under the sea.

The original Karagwe-Ankolean rock system of gneiss, sandstone and greenstone, quartzite with softer phyllites is very old and has been buried for aeons, most of it is Ordovician. The gneiss is dated to 3,500mya and the sandstone/greenstone from 2,900 to 2,500mya; the latter maybe of oceanic crust origin. It is mostly undifferentiated, though some contorted banding can be found.

The typical rounded hills and sinuous valleys were formed about 20-30mya and average 2,000m in altitude; they have been subject to prolonged and intense weathering. Valley depth is rarely over 500m. The general trend is NNW-SSE. In some areas metal ores, such as gold, tin and wolfram, are concentrated in pockets; beryl gemstones are found north of Bwindi.

Tectonic pressures at crust plate margins can be violent where volcanoes, earthquakes and tsunamis are a common hazard and are by-products of the slow cycles of mountain building, when plates collide, and rifts, when plates separate. These, while normal, can have catastrophic consequences for environments, wildlife and human inhabitants exacerbated by population pressure and settlement on dangerous land.

Lake Kivu and its volcanoes is one of the most dangerous areas on the planet and may be responsible for many species distribution anomalies, perhaps, caused by episodes of mass local extinction.

In relatively recent times rifts developed about 14mya with eastern and western sections, these fractures are the beginning of new continental rearrangements. Tectonic fission is responsible for the Western (Albertine) Rift, Virunga and Rwenzori massifs, uplift of Rwanda and Burundi and Lake Victoria. The same processes formed the Eastern Rift Valley and related highlands and domes from Ethiopia to Tanzania.

The direction of the Virunga volcanic range is east-west, perpendicular to the rift fault. The volcanoes are no more than half a million years old and have come in a series of explosive episodes. The first to be formed were Mikeno (4,446m) and Sabyinyo (3,645m). Next were Gahinga (3,474m), Karisimbi (4,507m), Muhuvuru (4,127m) and Visoke (3,711m) over the last 100,000 years. Gahinga is an offshoot of Muhavra.

The most recent, and still active, are Nyiragongo (3,462m) and Nyamulegira (3,058m), which first blew 20,000 years ago. Nyiragongo is recorded as having one of the fastest alkaline lava flows recorded at 60km/hr. Nyamulegira is very active having erupted over 40 times since 1865. They are believed to be independent of each other; they are not synchronous. The two account for 25-40% of recorded volcanic eruptions in Africa. Modern lava flows and other eruptive material are only found at the western end of the Virungas, in the DR Congo.

The dormant volcanoes make the most dramatic scenery surrounded by older eroded small volcanoes and cones. Many have lakes, ponds and small swamps of which include Chahafi and Kayumbe lakes. The larger Mutanda and Mulehe (Murehe) lakes are semi-craters as their northern shores are not volcanic.

The many ash and cinder cones encircling the chain have steep sided heavily cultivation and easily eroded craters. Some have a small pond or swamp. Kigezi is named after a water-filled crater in Nyakabande sub-county and was where the earliest English military colonists and African military were first based. A lava flow from an eruption 10,000 years ago or catastrophic mountain collapse dammed one river and created Lake Bunyoni, a drowned valley system.

Other volcanic features include lava tubes from where molten lava gushed out leaving behind long caves around the base of the Virungas. At transition zones between original and volcanic rock, the original rock has been further metamorphosed by the intense heat, best seen on the descent to Kisoro.

[BOX] So You Think Your Tough? - And other Mountain Lore

The first recorded Europeans to climb Mt. Muhuvura were Bethe and Pfeifer, two German military officers, in 1898. In 1930 there was a watertight bottle on the summit with a list of 7-8 people who had reached the top since 1923. Another was J. M. Bessel who spent a night on top in 1931 planning to photo the sunrise but was defeated by heavy cloud.

In 1946 Earl Denman (author of Alone to Everest), in preparation for a solo ascent of Mt. Everest, climbed all eight Virunga peaks. He was not the first to do it, but he was the first, and probably the only, person to do it bare-foot and shirtless.

On Mt. Nyiragongo, the kettle-shaped crater was 1km across and 400m deep with a shelf at 130m; Denman descended to the shelf, without ropes for the final section. There, he got a clear view into the crater for the first time; below was a bubbling lake of black lava with two very active powerful chimneys. He retreated for fear that a change of wind would envelop him in sulphurous volcanic gases.

By the way, when trekking through the Virunga Mountains, you may come across places with bones and rotting corpses of many different animals scattered about. They may include elephant, buffalo, forest pig, baboon, small mammals and leopard, hyena, jackal, civet, genet and other carnivores.

This is not a graveyard, elephant or otherwise. These are mazuku, vegetation rich depressions in the ground, found mostly found by old lava flows. These are formed by underground seepage of gasses that can contain up to 65% carbon dioxide and a miscellany of other gases. The emissions are apparently independent of volcanic activity. The heavier gases settles into the depression and, depending on its height and shape, can create a lethal pool up to 1-2m high.

Animals are attracted to the vegetation and rapidly die of anoxia (lack of oxygen, reversible if the victim is brought to fresh air immediately) while feeding. It mostly affects small animals, particularly the young of elephants and buffalo who succumb while adults, who breathe above the gas layer, live. Meanwhile carnivores are attracted and die while scavenging.

The emissions are a by-product of volcanic activity. During eruptions these grow in volume and rivers of $CO_2$ pour out of ground fissures, sweeping down the mountain side often with many fatalities if they flow through a village.

Leave immediately!

Unless you too want to share their awful fate and join the ten Warega warriors who stopped to feast on a dead elephant.
[END BOX]

Over the previous 20 million years average temperatures have declined with the rise of the Himalayan massif and over 2mya the most recent ice age began. Since then about 50 cycles of glacial and interglacial periods have occurred. This has been the most recent important influence on climate and life with the ever increasing length and severity of glacial periods, the current interglacial began c. 13,000 years ago. In the normal course of events the next glacial period is

due in 15,000-25,000 years but with current industrialisation pumping large quantities of CO2 and other gases into the atmosphere nobody knows what will happen next let alone the timings.

The extent, phase and duration of arid to moist cycles in Africa over this time are not perfectly correlated with glacial to interglacial period in Eurasia, and vary extensively from region to region. Climatic change in the Africa is complicated by variations in atmospheric and oceanic circulation patterns over a continent that spans the equator. Thus, no general climatic-chronological framework similar or synchronous with the glacial-interglacial framework of Europe has yet been worked out for Africa.

In the geological future it can be speculated that Africa will split into two land masses as the continent unzips along the rift valleys. Between the eastern and western rifts an island archipelago will develop when the sea invades Lake Victoria and surrounding land, though that assumes no great lava eruptions and new land forms, an unlikely assumption. The Mediterranean is also doomed to disappear as Europe and northern Africa merge.

Since the earth's formation when life first evolved 3,600mya (give or take a few million years) the world has seen a wide variety of plants and animals that have evolved and become extinct over the course of time; it is estimated that 99.9999...% of species that have ever lived are now extinct.

The species that inhabit Africa are only a very small fraction of the range that have ever existed and reflect climatic and environmental history of the last two million years, though much older relics survive. What we see is only a brief snapshot of life's complexity and to put into context of earth's long history the average life span of primates, including ourselves, is two million years.

So we only have a short time to appreciate and understand our planet and its bounty before we are swept away and replaced as has happened to many hominids, our cousins and ancestors.

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## Chapter 1.2

## Life’s Evolutionary Express

### Introduction

The shifts from dry to wet climates, inter-pluvial to pluvial, allowed for the expansion of forests across the Equator. When dry conditions returned the forests contracted to 'refugia', refuges where environmental and climatic conditions were conducive and stable: islands of survival.

In these constantly changing conditions evolution throve and, over the last 25 million years, there was extensive diversification of flora and fauna. During wet conditions forest species expanded and life branched out in new directions to take advantage of the new niches made available. During dry conditions savannah species flourished. Now, herbivores and carnivores evolved and roamed while early primates moved through forest trees eating fruit and leaves.

The key was adaptability, the species who could best take advantage of climate and environmental change succeeded. This is particularly true in refugia when species were under pressure in small areas; they adapted or went extinct.

The Greater Kigezi Forest of south west Uganda stretched north along the rift valley escarpment and south to the Virunga volcanoes. It is extremely old and is one of the core refugia during the glacial periods of the current Ice Age that began 2mya. It was arid 200,000BP then humid 100,000BP. During the last glacial period (12,000-18,000BP) forests contracted but then expanded again between 10,000-5,000BP with a peak at 6,000BP.

The upper limit of montane forest then was as low as 1,700m but is now 2,600m. About 4,000BP forest species were replaced by species typical of open or disturbed land. This could be a result of settlement clearance or climate change. The evidence comes from local swamp pollen cores, from which changes in climate and vegetation can be reconstructed.

The volcanoes and highlands provided an environment where forest species survived and adapted to high mountain conditions. The highlands have other environments: open savannah, bush, bamboo, swamps and wetlands, as well as transitional and mixed zones. The volcanoes are a special case as forests disappear above 3,000m; their ecology is characteristic of high altitudes.

As a result of its hospitable climate and environment over the millennia, there is a very rich biodiversity of flora and fauna that include 200 tree, 120 mammal (including 10 primates) and 350 bird species; many of these are endemic and some are on the IUCN red data lists.

[BOX] IUCN Red Listed species of South-West Uganda

Mammals
Gorilla beringei beringei, Mountain gorilla, EN
Pan troglodytes schweinfurthi, Eastern Chimpanzee, EN
Loxodonta africana, African elephant, VU
Delanymys brooksi, Delany's swamp mouse, VU
Lophuromys rahmi, Rahm's brush-furred rat, EN
Lophuromys medicaudatus, Medium tailed brush-furred rat, VU
Praomys degraaffi, De Graaff's praomys, VU
Thamnomys kempi [=T. major] , Kemp's thicket rat, VU
Crocidura stenocephala, Kahuzi swamp shrew, Narrow-headed shrew, EN

Crocidura tarella, Tarella or Uganda shrew, EN
Dasymys montanus, Montane shaggy rat, EN
Myosorex blarina, Montane mouse shrew, EN
Ruwenzorisorex suncoides, Ruwenzori shrew, VU
Sylvisorex lunaris, Moon shrew, VU

Amphibians
Afrixalus orophilus, Western Rift leaf-folding frog , VU
Hyperolius castaneus, Ahl's reed frog , VU
Hyperolius discodactylus [= H. alticola], none, VU
Hyperolius frontalis, none, VU
Phrynobatrachus versicolor, none, VU

Birds
Bradypterus graueri, Grauer’s swamp/Rush warbler , EN
Cryptospiza shelleyi, Shelley’s crimson-wing, VU
Muscicapa lendu [=M. Itombwensis], Chapin's flycatcher, VU
Pseudocalyptomena graueri, African green broadbill/Grauer's broadbill, VU

And that's only the ones that have been discovered so far.
EN = Endangered & VU = Vulnerable
[End Box]

Climate History
Reconstruction of climate history over the long term shows periods of warm and wet or cold and dry. However these global temperatures do not necessarily reflect what is happens at regional levels. For instance in Eurasia there were glacials and interglacials while in Africa there were pluvials (wet/moist) and interpluvials (arid/dry).

The impact of climate change could be dramatic as the cycles of glaciers and savannah to temperate times and spreading forests oscillated over the last 50 million years. The Oligocene, 35 to 25mya, was known for being cold and dry. Temperatures rose in the early Miocene that followed but collapsed soon after.

Over the previous 20 million years average global temperatures have fallen with the rise of the Himalayan massif and, over 2mya, the most recent Ice Age began. Since then about 50 cycles of glacial and interglacial periods have occurred in Eurasia. The three main African pluvials over the last 50,000 years are called the Kageran, Kamasian and Gamblian. These dramatic shifts in climate have been the most recent important influence on life particularly with the ever-increasing length and severity of glacial/interpluvial periods.

A regional climate reconstruction from a pollen core from Mubwindi Swamp shows a relatively warm period from c. 30,000-26,000BP, with temperatures 2-4°C lower than now, followed by a long cold phase until 12,500BP when mean annual temperatures were 6°C lower, but may have been a bit higher before 17,000BP.

The period between 12,500 and 10,500BP was transitional and temperatures increased rapidly to values similar to the present. Since 10,500BP, temperatures have been fairly constant, with a slightly warmer period c. 4,000BP. Moisture changes have paralleled temperature changes in western Uganda; a cold climate is also a dry climate.

Human Settlement and Forest Clearances

Ituri Forest in the DR Congo was inhabited 32,000-47,000BP according to archaeological research and though there is no similar evidence for south-west Uganda, it may have been similar. The original inhabitants supplemented their diets from rivers, savannah and wetlands. They may have burnt parts of the forests to encourage wild yams, as was common in Africa. Their impact on the landscape was minimal and difficult to measure.

It is thought that early mixed farming was established before 2,500BP by northern migrants who settled in Uganda and further south. Later, Bantu farmers arrived, from c. 2,000BP, with new crops, crop varieties and iron-smelting technology; the process used more wood and made better tools for forest clearance and agricultural expansion.

This period of 400-200BC is taken to be the start of the Early Iron Age, which reached its apogee early in the first millennium AD. In the meantime livestock had arrived and cattle farmers were grazing in the savannah grasslands. The highlands would have favoured mixed farming though cattle clans were found.

From this time there was forest clearances that happened in surges interspersed with forest recoveries. First to go were the lower slopes, followed by the ridge forests about AD 1100. A surge of settlement and deforestation took place around AD 683-754. From the beginning of the Late Iron Age, AD 1000, there was continuing clearances and population expansion, particularly in 1236-76 and 1322-98.

Around 1600 the Mgahinga and Virunga forests were split and continued to be cleared. From this time there were various waves of migration who settled as far north as the escarpment overlooking Lake Edward. In 1900 forest cover was probably twice what it is now. To put it into national context, Ugandan forests declined from 31,000km2 in 1900 to 6,000km2 in 1986, primarily in legally unprotected areas.

There was some difference between cattle and agricultural clans. Pastoral clans were not interested in forests but in cattle, conquest, power, the high jump and aristocratic culture; which is why they were so popular among colonials who were often minor aristocrats or upper-middle class admirers. Their relationship with forest people was complementary.

The Bakiga who lived at the forest's edge traditionally used forests for hunting, gathering wild food and herbs and raw materials for construction, basketry, fuel and dugout canoes. They liked clearing forests and complained when colonial authorities forbad it. Continuing migration, settlement and expansion of agricultural land, which only stopped in the mid-1960s, resulted in a very high population density, with all its attendant problems and issues, such as national versus local resource competition.

The 20th Century

Under the colonial government forestry protection was introduced with some local resistance. Forestry legislation was not only about protection but was used as a method to control tsetse and the spread of sleeping sickness around the Rift Valley and lowland lakes. Many thousands of people were resettled around 1908 from tsetse hotspots, which allowed forest regeneration in some areas, i.e. adjacent to Lake Edward. However the Resettlement Schemes of 1945-65 were the final major influence as forests and bush were cleared and wildlife culled on a large scale, often, with the assistance of the military.

To give some idea of the scale of culling colonial estimates for 1949 and 1954 are given

Animal Cull Estimates for 1949

| Species | Game Guards | Baboon Poisoner | Village Hunts |
|---|---|---|---|
| Baboon | 13 | 229 | 127 |
| Elephant | 24 | | |
| Buffalo | 355 | | |
| Hippopotamus | 15 | | |
| Buck | 97 | | |
| Pig | 19 | | 235 |

In 1954 the body count was: 406 pigs, 16 hippos, 35 buffalos, 5 buck, 178,305 moles and rats, 1,017 baboons, 5 leopards, 37 H/hog, 2 ant bears, 42 elephants on control and another 7 by licence. The authorities wrote that:

“Slaughter is kept to a minimum compatible with the protection of settlers”

Nowadays the pressure is on from a variety of very well funded and powerful lobby groups with selfish motivations whose main interest is profits rather than ethics and sustainability. One example is the growth of agribusiness. Kingdon, discussing the Even-Toed Ungulate order, wrote that:

“The principal threat to African artiodactyls is their continuing replacement by a few exotic domesticates. An ever expanding livestock industry is eroding and exterminating natural communities of animals and plants on a huge scale. The latter are among Africa's most valuable assets because of their greater diversity, complexity, productivity and sustainability. The livestock industry operates within a kind of conceptual Dark Age in which promoters, consumers and practitioners pursue exploitation of domestic animals in ignorance of the ecological matrix their meat mountains and milk quotas derive. Their activities expand at inordinate cost to the long-term health of African environments and natural resources.”

The situation in the mountains is somewhat different. The livestock industry is small-scale and is generally restricted to valley bottoms. However, they have had a major effect on the swamps that once were 15% of the area. These have practically disappeared.

There are only three areas in Kigezi where the original natural conditions and wildlife can be studied, Bwindi, Virunga and Echuya, each of which provides diverse forest environments and

species. Soils are primarily sandy loams while volcanic soils are found around the Virunga; both support high densities of people. Vegetation is a mix of rain forest, wooded savannah and mountain ecosystems with high levels of diversity and endemic species.

BOX Papyrus Swamps
The importance of swamps in preserving global biodiversity is now being slowly recognised. Uganda is rich in papyrus swamps from the lowlands around Victoria and Kyoga lakes, the rift valley lakes of Edward, George and Albert to the highland river valleys of south-west Uganda at 2,000m.

Traditionally these were an important resource for the manufacture of equipment and implements for farm and house, such as construction materials for walls, roofs and interior partitions, containers, rope, etc. Salt was derived from some plants but was of poor quality; Katwe salt was preferred. Up to the 1950s they were also utilised for crops during droughts and provided an extra layer of food security. Small fish and other miscellaneous creatures were, and still are, caught for food.

In Kabale district swamps are associated with impeded drainage in river valleys and lake-shore inlets. Many have been converted into dairy-farm pastures since the 1950s. In Kisoro district swamps are smaller and associated with crater lake inflows and outflows. The main threats are the expansion of farmland that converts the swamps and affects the drainage of crater lakes. In north-east Rwanda river-valley swamps have been converted into tea and sugar-cane plantations; near Kigali, the emphasis is on horticulture allotments.

The result is loss of habitat, biodiversity and species, a decrease in the availability of (free) raw materials and reduction of food security for marginal farmers during droughts.

With regards to wildlife, birds are the best documented in this habitat. Muko Swamp, half way between Kabale and Kisoro, is a recommended highland bird watching spot. Others, such as amphibians, are less well known. The hippopotamus was once common around Lake Mutanda when it became extinct in the latter half of the 20th century; likewise the situtanga, once also found in Lake Bunyoni's swamps.
[END BOX]

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Chapter 1.3

Parks and Forests

Bwindi Impenetrable National Park
Its original name was Kayonza (Kayonsa) Forest after a small kingdom centred on the north west of the forest, on the Congo border. Five of the major rivers that flow into Lake Edward and onto the Nile have their source there. Bwindi comes from the Rukiga name of the large swamp, Mubwindi. However the Batwa did not find it impenetrable as they had lived there for millennia. Its tangled vegetation is draped over a deeply fissured landscape of steep valleys and high ridges ranging from lowland forest at 1,160m to rare Afromontane vegetation above 2,600m.

Two sections of the forest were gazetted in 1932 as forest reserves totalling 207km2 and was managed by the Forest Department. In 1942 they were combined and measured 298km2 and in 1961 it also became a game reserve and increased to 321km2. However, Bwindi lost just over a quarter of its forest between 1954 and 1990. In Uganda forests declined from 31,000km2 in 1900 to 6,000km2 in 1986.


Figure 1 Boundary between farm and forest; there is no buffer zone, on the road to Ruhija

The period, 1966-86, was a time of political turmoil and resource looting until the National Resistance Army emerged victorious, which brought peace, stability and economic growth. The military activity, looting and poaching caused the extinction of many species (buffalo, leopard and situtanga in Bwindi) and severe depletion of many others, gorillas (caught for meat, body parts for tourist souvenirs, pets or zoos), duiker, bush pig, bush buck and forest hogs.

In the mid-1980s surveys indicated that the forest within 2km of the park boundaries were heavily utilised by adjacent farmers extracting bamboo, wood, timber, forage, minerals, honey, meat and grazing livestock. It was thought that only 10% of the park was still pristine and relatively unused.

In 1999 Interahamwe militia from Rwanda hiding in the DR Congo, crossed the border and kidnapped tourists from the UK, US, Canada, and New Zealand and murdered eight of them on trek back to DRC; they also looted and burnt Buhoma village and murdered a Community Conservation warden, Paul Wagaba. Since then permanent army bases have been stationed at strategic points. A further attack by the same group in 2007 in which three people died was easily repulsed; the daily bus ran as normal.

In 1986 the Impenetrable Forest Conservation Project was launched to control illegal activities, make an inventory and develop a conservation management plan. It finally became a national park in 1991 and a UNESCO Natural World Heritage Site in 1994. There was competition between German and UK consultants to manage the transition to National Park, which led to friction between the purist and pragmatic. This unfortunately led to the suicide of one German consultant. The purist view won out and the Bawta lost their livelihoods and the farmers an important resource.

[BOX] Classification of Habitat Types
There are six habitat types (Nkurunungi et al, 2004):

1. Open Forest. A colonising forest with non-continuous canopy and characterised by mixed herbaceous ground cover of herbs and vines. Mimulopsis aborescens is the dominant tree that dies synchronously, thus opening up the understory with light. Clearings can also be made by elephants, tree falls and landslides. Trees are few and are gap specialists, i.e. Neoboutonia macrocalyx, Allophyllus albisinicus, Milletia dura, Albizia gummifera. On slopes there may be a mixture of bracken, herbs and vines

2. Mixed Forest. A habitat dominated by understory and canopy trees and shrubs, usually interspersed with liana and woody vines. The canopy is discontinuous, open or partially closed. In the Ruhija area it is the transition zone between open and mature forest, while in Buhoma ferns and herbs are predominant

3. Mature Forest. A habitat with tall canopy trees which often bear lianas. The trees form a continuous canopy and the undergrowth usually contains leaf litter and scanty small herbs. In some places the forest is stratified into tall canopy trees, a shrub layer with young trees whose diameter at breast height is <10cm, and a herb layer of herbs and saplings

4. Swamp Forest. A habitat with permanent or temporary streams found on lower slopes or valleys. In a few places there may be waterlogged open areas dominated by sedges. However, in most cases, it is composed of a mixture of herb, vines, shrubs and short trees often found on the periphery of swamps

5. Riverine Forest. A habitat with permanent or temporary streams and continuous or open canopy

6. Regenerating Forest. An area previously logged and burnt. Grasses and sedges, with herbs and vines, dominate but shrubs and trees have started to colonise.
[END BOX]

Conservation
There are many conservation issues including over-exploitation of natural resources of which the felling of mature trees and pit sawing is probably the most serious. Hunting and fishing, mining, grazing of livestock, smuggling and wildfires, all illegal activities, have an impact. All have declined since the late 1980s.

In the meantime animals raid crops outside the park often causing hardship; the issue is a major area of human/wildlife conflict of interests. The worst offenders, from the farmers' point of view, are baboons and jackals, while gorillas are partial to banana trees, coffee and eucalyptus; they are active during the day. At night, carnivores, elephants and bush pig roam.

According to the UNEP:

"A survey of the conservation status of the park was carried out by Harcourt in 1979, and an ecological survey was later made by Butynski of the New York Zoological Society. In 1986, the Impenetrable Forest Conservation Project (IFCP) was set up at Ruhija, staffed by a full time expatriate, 5 graduate counterparts and 20 assistants. The site now contains a library and laboratory equipment, with accommodation and facilities for up to 60 people."

Howard undertook a further survey of the forest in September 1986 as part of a large-scale Forest Department inventory. Further studies of the avifauna were conducted by Butynski and Kalina. In 1991, the facilities of IFCP were developed into the Institute of Tropical Forest Conservation (ITFC) at Ruhija, to act as a field station for Mbarara University of Science and Technology.

The main aims of the ITFC are to systematically inventory the fauna and flora, initiate conservation programs, and assess the population, distribution and particular requirements of the mountain gorillas. Working in close collaboration with ITFC is the Development Through Conservation (DTC) project of the Central African Regional Program for the Environment (CARE) which is researching the economic needs of the local community, training Ugandan students in inventory techniques and ethnobotany, and running extension programs with local farmers.

In 2012 they launched a new project: Conservation Through Poverty Alleviation (CTPA), which is a conservation and development social research project funded by Darwin initiative in

collaboration with the International Institute of Environment and Development in UK. ITFC and ACODE are leading the research and policy components of the project respectively in partnership with the Jane Goodall Institute, FFI, CTPH, BMCT, ICGP and village enterprises.

In 1996 the Bwindi Impenetrable Great Ape Project began a long-term study of local gorillas and in 1998 a research station was built at Camp Kashasha next to the Park, funded by the National Geographic Society and the University of Southern California.

Wildlife Status

Currently there are around 1,000 flowering plant, 325 tree and 104 fern species; many don't have English names and are unique (endemic) to the African rain forests. A 2011 lichen survey has confirmed 99 species so far. Of these, four are new to science, 33 additional species are reported for the first time in Uganda and one appears to be new for Africa. All but two of these 99 species are reported for the first time in Bwindi.

Due to poor soils, there is strong competition among all floras. The number of endemic plant species is described as medium (north west), high and very high. Overall, the combination of species indices of richness and diversity makes it the second most important park in Uganda.

Bwindi's catchment serves a large area of agricultural land. Many rivers have their source here, including the Ivi, Munyaga, Ishasha and Ntengyere to Lake Edward and Ndego, Kanyamwabo and Shongi Rivers to Lake Mutanda.

The forest has been variously described by writers: Undifferentiated Moist Montane Forest: Moist Montane Forest; Tropical Low Montane Evergreen Rain Forest; Parinari Forest (below 1500 m) and Prunus africana Moist Montane Forest (above 1500m); Mixed Forest with Chrysophyllum; and Moist Lower Montane Forest.

The ITFC estimate that approximately 40% of the park is occupied by mixed canopy forest at all altitudes and 30% including swamps, open herbaceous environments and successions of colonisers, climaxing in trees. Some species and species communities are only found at certain altitudes and is divided mainly into southern low and northern high altitudes. In the latter case, altitude affects species range; more open areas are popular with herbivores of all sizes.

They add that:

“It is not clear how much of the open vegetation is natural and how much can be attributed to past anthropogenic disturbance including logging and fire during the early and mid 20th century. Elephant activity also contributes to the creation and maintenance of the open areas.”

Living in this densely packed space are 28 species of amphibians and reptiles (14 lizards and 14 snakes), at least 200 butterfly species (8 endemics), 350 birds species (184 are forest birds and 23 Albertine Rift endemics, mostly in the southern half of the park but the north west has the highest risk), 120 mammal species (49 large and 71 small – 16 insectivores, 39 rodents and 16 bats). Recently a pangolin was photographed twice at low altitude. Primates include the endangered mountain gorilla, vulnerable Hoest Monkey, Redtail monkey, Blue monkey, Black

and White Colobus, Olive baboon, vulnerable chimpanzee andprosimians; totalling c. 12,000 primates.

Temperature averages between 7-20oC and it receives 1,130-2,390mm of rain a year mostly during March-May and September-November, usually many hours of drizzle with occasional deluges. The forest also affects local climate as, due to the high levels of evaporation from plants and free water, precipitation in surrounding areas is increased characterised by the dark heavy cumulonimbus clouds that hang over Kisoro.

The high humidity plays a useful, but unrealised, role that benefits the local human population. The impact of forest destruction is a drier climate, which can have a knock-on effect of lower harvest yields and increased food insecurity.

[BOX] Forest Trapping
There were and are many types of traps used by to catch wild animals. The more elaborate have become less common; easily hidden snares for he unwary deer or bush pig are the main trapping method nowadays.

Snares
Snares are the most commonly used trap and come in various types made from woven grass strings and ropes, designed as a noose. Snares are set in dense bushes that strangle the animal as it attempts to free itself. Another type is set in the ground with a trigger mechanism that catches a leg

According to Schaller:

"At several places we saw ingenious snares set by the Batwa for forest pigs. A sapling is bent over, and the noose of woven bark is concealed beneath a layer of leaves that also cover the little hole. The noose is held in place by a peg clamped into a split horizontal stick. When the pig steps into the hole, the split stick is depressed, thereby releasing the peg and thus the noose. The sapling jerks up and the noose holds the leg of the animal against a branch."

Pits
Pits are dug up to 2m deep and the bottom lined with stakes. The top is camouflaged with a covering of branches and vegetation. It is primarily used for buffalo and elephants that are most susceptible to fall in due to their weight. Fossey tells of falling into an old one when she was alone; she managed to escape and filled it in.

Logs
Schaller saw log traps that used the same mechanism as snares. When a trigger was activated a pile of logs fell and pinned the animal to the ground, probably breaking bones in the process. In the Virunga Mountains Fossey said that log traps were rare. They were generally used for larger mammals and during the plague of man-eating leopards, 1890-1920, when the trap was disguised as a dwelling.

Cliff Runs

Fossey claimed to have seen evidence of buffalo runs where a herd was stampeded into a corridor of saplings and the animals driven off cliffs. This was probably a rare occurrence calling for considerable planning and group co-ordination.
[END BOX]

Mgahinga National Park
At 33.7km2 this is Uganda's smallest park but adjoins the Volcanoes NP in Rwanda and Virunga NP in the DR Congo. In total the Virunga (trans. high mountains reaching the clouds) forest is 8,240km2; there are two active volcanoes in the DRC, in the last ten years an eruption destroyed half of Goma.

The Ugandan section is made up of the northern section of the Virunga mountain range with altitudes of over 2,300m at the northern entrances to Mt. Muhavura at 4,127m (3rd highest mountain in Uganda) and includes Gahinga (which gave the park its name) and Sabinyo, c. 3,500m. The 342m long Garama cave, used by the Batwa as a council chamber and refuge, is a lava tube.

In 1930 it was established as a game sanctuary by the colonial administration. This was influenced by the creation of the Albert National Park across the border and was led by Christopher Pitman, Game Warden of Uganda, who recommended a research station specialising in the mountain gorilla. It was made a forest reserve in 1941. It was reduced to 23km2 in 1951 and the balance was called a game sanctuary that was then increased in 1963-4. However the sanctuary was in name only as land was cleared for farming.

The Virungas had a difficult time during the post-independence instability and strife. During a four week period in 1972 at least 14 poacher groups, 32 smuggler groups with 211 smugglers, 12 cattle herds with 343 cattle, 58 bamboo cutters and 58 herdsmen's shelters were recorded in the eastern Virungas, many of them in Kigezi Gorilla Sanctuary.

In 1989 the Gorilla Game Reserve Conservation Project was established and a National Park in 1991. An estimated 2,420 farmers who had settled within the boundary were relocated in 1992 and a further 70 in 1997.

Wildlife Status
Its vegetation is distinctive and varies between montane woodland, bamboo, montane forest, sub-alpine tree heathers and Afromontane at the highest altitudes. The number of endemic plant species is rated as very high. So far over 1,200 species have been identified of which over 100 are endemic to the Albertine Rift; only a few are endangered.

Of these 364 were added in 2004 with a further twelve that could not be identified. The area around Mt. Sabinyo was found to be the most biodiverse, with over 350 species. The saddle between Sabinyo and Visoke has about the same but, by contrast, the lowland forest between the two has the least number, 160 species.

[BOX] Classification of Habitat Types
There are nine habitat zones (McNeilage, 2001):

1. Alpine, above 3,600m. Areas above the limit of most herbaceous and woody plants, with low grasses and mosses and occasional Senecio johnstonii. Includes bare rocky areas such as the summits of Mikeno and Sabinyo

2. Subalpine, 3,300-3,600m. High altitude vegetation, up to 4-5m high, with abundant Senecio johnstonii, Lobelia stuhlmanni, Lobelia wollostanii, Hypericum revolutum and Rubus kirungensis

3. Brush Ridge, 2,950-3,300m. Dense vegetation along the ridges and ravines on the sides of the volcanoes, with abundant Hypericum revolutum and the shrubby growth of Senecio mariettaei, reaching around 10m high

4. Herbaceous, 2,800-3,300m. Open areas with low 1-2m dense herbaceous vegetation, generally on the side of volcanoes, with very few Hagenia abyssinica and Hypericum revolutum trees

5. Hagenia, 2750-3,300m. Equivalent to the 'saddle' zone of previous authors, a variable canopy woodland dominated by Hagenia abyssinica and Hypericum revolutum reaching up to 20m, with a dense herbaceous or, less frequently, grassy understory found on the saddles between certain volcanoes and on the less steep lower slopes

6. Bamboo, 2,550-2950m. Areas dominated by often mono-specific stands of bamboo (generally 5-12m high) mixed with a few trees and vines at lower altitudes

7. Mimulopsis, 2,550-2,800m. Open herbaceous area, differing from the herbaceous zone in being found at lower altitudes, generally in the flat saddle between Visoke and Sabinyo and often dominated by Mimulopsis excellens

8. Meadow, 2,200-3,700m. Open grassy areas of previously cleared agricultural land at various altitudes. These areas are often marshy

9. Mixed Forest, 2,000-2,550m. Mixed species montane forest with abundant Neobutonia macrocalyx and Dombeya goetzennii. Other trees include Bersama abyssinica, Croton macrostachys, Clausena anisata, Maytenus heterophylla, Maesa lanceolata, Pygeum africanum and Tabernaemontana johnstonii. The open canopy reaches 20m high and the understory is made up of herbaceous vegetation with dense patches of Mimulopsis arborescens
[END BOX]

There are about 40 mammal and 80 bird species (the number of endemic bird species is rated as very high), which include mountain gorillas and the equally rare golden monkey; there is still debate as to the relationship between the latter and the more common blue monkey. Carnivores include the leopard (perhaps), golden cat, serval, spotted hyena and jackal. Elephants are rarely seen, while buffalo, duiker, bushbuck and forest hog are secretive.

By 2004 the following species had been identified, 86 mammals (18 endemic, 6 threatened), 258 birds (20 endemic, 4 threatened), 43 reptiles (7 endemic, none threatened) and 47 amphibians (16 endemic, 9 threatened).

Conservation

Conservation issues are many. Land pressure and encroachment from a rapidly increasing population; there were about 300 inhabitants per km2 in the 1990s, war and civil strife and poaching, particularly in the early 1990s; half the Virunga elephants were killed for ivory, many primates for food and international trade, the bush pig and yellow-backed duiker are now extinct.

Wild animal encroachment onto farmland is a common problem and the buffalo wall completed in 1997 has been successful in preventing from crop damage. Bamboo has always been an important resource and been used for basketry, construction of houses and granaries, furniture, beehives, ropes and even drinking straws.

The current policy is to encourage people to grow bamboo on their own farms, but rhizomes can be collected during October and November.

The mountains are influenced by a mosaic of micro-climates. Temperature and rainfall changes with altitude with the most extreme variations of temperature at the summits where there is intense sunshine during the day but it freezes at night. It is also drier as it is above normal cloud levels compared to lower down where moss and moisture-loving plants are common. On average, annual rainfall is between 1,016-1,524mm. The rainy season is mainly March to April and November and December.

Note that the majority of weather measuring instruments are in residential areas as they are vulnerable to destruction by wildlife in open settings. It follows that published data may not accurately reflect actual rainfall and temperature at different altitudes. However, research shows that rainfall increases with height till about 2,500m, where it peaks, and then declines significantly.

[BOX] Conservation and Climate Change Interventions

The Mgahinga and Bwindi Impenetrable Forest Conservation Trust, founded 1994, supports long-term conservation of the park's biodiversity through community development projects that provide alternative livelihood options; they are grant-aided by the Global Environment Facility (a World Bank division)

These include capacity building for planning and the implementation of enterprise development projects, Batwa development (land purchase, household items and school sponsorship), capacity building for park staff members and supply of equipment and vehicles, and supports park research and monitoring.

In the Virunga mountains the African Wildlife Foundation is implementing a climate change monitoring and adaptation initiative, funded by the John and Catherine MacArthur Foundation, to assess the implications of climate change for the conservation of mountain gorillas and their habitat in their heartland.

It is part of their Climate Change Response Strategy that aims to address the linkages between climate change, biodiversity conservation and livelihoods. Their aim is to help human and biological systems adapt to climate change and enable ecosystems to contribute to mitigation. [END BOX]

## Echuya Forest Reserve

Echuya Forest is less well known compared to the better-documented and more famous national parks. Yet it has received good attention from the scientific community, which was covered in an excellent report by Babaasa, 2005. For this reason it will receive longer coverage as it may be more typical of Ugandan forests with limited legal protection.

It was once part of the Greater Kigezi Forest but was separated from the Virunga and Bwindi sections at an unknown date. Perhaps around 500 years ago; roughly the same time as the other two. Its species range is complementary to Bwindi and Virunga and has to be understood to have any sense of the make-up, ecology and diversity of the historic forest. It is therefore highly recommended that its status be upgraded to National Park and treated as a unit with Bwindi and Mgahinga.

### Introduction

Echuya Forest is a montane rainforest of c. 3,400ha. It is about 7km long and 750m wide with altitudes of 2,270m at the junction of rivers Mukashaya and Chuya at the north-west corner to 2,570m at Mt. Rwabatama at the southern end on the international boundary with Rwanda. It is part of the biodiversity-rich Albertine rift eco-region.

It was first gazetted as an undemarcated crown forest in 1939 and demarcated in 1947. It has a significant amount of bamboo and swamp in the central area, the latter includes sedges, heathers and giant lobelia, and is home to Blue Monkeys, Black and White Colobus Monkeys with c. 137 bird species (including the globally threatened Grauers Swamp warbler) and butterflies, 40% of which have a restricted range.

### History - Climate

Analysis of a 10m pollen core taken from Muchaya swamp indicates that it was an open lake from 24,000BP to about 1,000 years ago. Over time it became shallower as mud deposits were colonised by swamp vegetation. Pollen cores, used to reconstruct vegetation and climate, have been tested for dated tephra bands and indicate major volcanic episodes at 16,260-15,700BP.

Climate reconstruction shows a relatively warm period from c. 30,000-26,000BP, with temperatures 2-4°C lower than now, followed by a long cold phase until 12,500BP when mean annual temperatures were 6°C lower, but may have been a bit higher before 17,000BP.

The period between 12,500 and 10,500BP is transitional and temperatures increased rapidly to values similar to the present. Since 10,500BP, temperatures have been fairly constant, with a slightly warmer period centred at 4,000BP. Moisture changes have paralleled temperature changes in western Uganda, a cold climate being also a dry climate.

Catchment
Most of the reserve is a catchment area for the Muchuya swamp, a permanent wetland with two rivers, the northern Chuya River, a tributary of the Mukashayu and southern Kashasha River. Outside the reserve there are few other streams, but moist valleys with water holes are numerous, the reserve, with its dense bamboo, is also an efficient catchment area for the surrounding area.

Cool air accumulates in the valleys at night, which becomes saturated with water vapour, forming heavy mists, common in the morning and after rain. The swamp originated through impeded drainage, possibly as a result of back tilting of the valley during recent tectonic activity.

Soils
It is part of the Rukiga Highlands on the eastern flank of the western rift, moulded from Precambrian gritstone, mudstone and sandstone. The soil is predominantly humic red loam; moderate to high in acids, deficient in bases and a low productivity rating. In common with other dark horizon soils it has a two-layer profile arrangement. The upper layer, varying in thickness from one-and-a-half to four feet, is usually stone-less and sharply separated from the underlying layer, consisting mainly of weathered rock rubble with varying amounts of clay loam.

History – Vegetation
Overall the main vegetation types were:

1. Ericaceous and dry montane scrub, 20,000-14000BP
2. Ericaceous Belt and upper montane forest, 14,000-12,000BP
3. Upper moist montane forest, 12,000-10,000BP
4. Moist lower montane forest, 10,000-6,000BP
5. Drier montane forest 6,000-4,000BP
6. Moist lower montane forest with agriculture, 4,000BP to the present, though 2,500BP may be more accurate for agriculture

A comparison of 1954 and 1990 aerial photographs of the forest shows that bamboo has decreased from 21% to 13%, bamboo-hardwood mixture from 48% to 26% but pure hardwoods stands increased from 16% to 51%.

It was suggested that fire, loss of large herbivores, over-harvesting and climate change have gradually led to the conversion of grassland-bamboo into a hardwood forest ecosystem (primarily opportunist fast growers), the long-term implications of this transition is unclear.

The normal lower altitudinal limit of the Bamboo Zone in East Africa is 2450m. Echuya Forest is therefore unusual in that bamboo is dominant between 2260-2450m and maybe due to higher rainfall; evaporation from the forests increase the amount of rainfall in the area, i.e. positive feedback. However there are dry spells; in 1960 a devastating fire destroyed 70% of the reserve but it recovered within three years. In 1974 it was observed that bamboo here had never been seen to flower. By 2001, 124 plant species had been recorded.

Based on rates of sediment accumulation, large-scale forest clearances took place around 2,200BP and 1000BP. The first is almost certainly linked with the migration of iron-working

Bantu-speaking people that resulted in permanently cleared land on hillsides adjacent to the swamp, and further significant expansion 1,000 years later around the time the first Rift Valley kingdoms were beginning to develop.

Forest clearance may have commenced earlier but earlier human induced changes are difficult to separate from those caused by increased aridity and temperatures after 3,500BP when levels of charcoal increase. These may have been due to dry soils and vegetation or increased settlement clearance.

Wildlife

Echuya forest used to have large herds of buffaloes, elephants, antelopes and duikers but, by 1960, most wild game became locally extinct due to widespread hunting. There were an estimated 40 pugnacious pygmy elephants that migrated between Lake Mulera and Echuya during the dry and wet seasons respectively. They were greatly feared for their aggressiveness and often shot as control. Larger carnivores probably disappeared by the late 1930s but there are records of leopards earlier in the decade. In 1954 a pig ditch encircling Echuya was completed; it was 10 miles long, 4' deep and 2' wide.

Surviving mammals include 19 small species and four Albertine endemics, Woosnam's Brush-furred Rat, Montane Marsh Rat, Rwenzori Mouse Shrew and the climbing shrew. A rare relict species, Delany's Mouse, which is restricted to montane swamps, is also known to occur.

Monkeys include the Black and White Colobus, blue monkey and baboon. Baboons, due to their crop-raiding are treated as vermin and may, by now, be already locally extinct; there were only 11 in 2000 and had declined in half over the previous couple of years. In comparison there were 132 blue monkeys in 2000, which weren't hunted as they were not a threat to human activities.

Compared to other Ugandan forests, Echuya is not particularly bio-diverse. Species diversity was average or below average for all taxa investigated. However, in terms of the 'conservation value' of the species represented, Echuya was in the top 10% of sites for all indicator taxa.

As a basis for further comparison with other sites, 77 species in Echuya may be classified as restricted-range (recorded from no more than five Ugandan forests). In Echuya, therefore, almost a quarter (23%) of all species known from the five indicator taxa investigated, have limited distributions. Echuya is clearly one of the most important forests in the country.

About 100 bird species have been recorded. Of these, there are 12 Albertine Rift Endemic Bird Area (EBA) species and high proportions of other species that are highland forest dependant. In view of its size, the swamp is likely to support a larger population of Grauer's Rush Warbler than the nearby Mubwindi swamp, one of the only few known localities of this species in Uganda. The Kivu Ground Thrush is also under threat.

Of the 87 highland biome species of Uganda, 43 are found in the reserve and include rare species such as Handsome Francolin, Rwenzori Batis, Strange Weaver and Dusky Crimson-wing, Rwenzori Turaco, Red-throated Alethe, Archer's Robin-chat, Collared Apalis, Red-faced Woodland-warbler and Regal Sunbird.

## Recent History

During the wars against colonial invaders, 1900-30, the forest was used a base for various rebel groups. The Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) used Echuya as a place to hide and base some of their soldiers before the post-independence civil war, currently there is an Army base adjacent to the Kisoro to Kabale road within the forest reserve.

During 1963-4 there were incursions by large bands of armed Banyarwanda from Rwanda stealing bamboo from Echuya and Mgahinga and attacking any forestry staff who attempted to interfere; bamboo cutting reached alarming proportions. Discussions between Uganda and Rwanda were held on the demarcation of the international boundary and agreement was reached some years later.

Clearing and theft of bamboo was, however, contained by vigorous patrolling and a new forest reserve boundary was demarcated well inside the Uganda side of the border. Some 92 cases were dealt with in local courts, of which 38 resulted in convictions.

## Commercial Exploitation

There have been many studies concerning forest management and sustainable harvesting of bamboo since 1956 (though some record keeping began in 1940); then there were 283 basket makers and people were allowed to extract 'reasonable' quantities for crafts and house-building. A 1955 plan to convert part of the forest to a pyrethrum estate and reconverted into softwood forestry after five years was strongly resisted by locals who argued that the whole should be converted to farmland. The plan was abandoned.

Currently encroachment is a major problem, particularly by cattle farmers who graze their livestock at night and sometimes light clearance fires. The high demand for wood and charcoal fuel will be a significant future threat given the rapid decline of sources combined with equally rapid population growth, particularly adjacent to the forest with some of the highest population densities in Uganda.

## The People

In 2004 it was stated that the areas around Echuya forest are inhabited by some of the poorest people in Uganda. It was estimated that over 35% live below the poverty line of less than US$1 per day and per capita income was US$20 pa. Poor people are therefore likely to have limited economic alternatives and cannot access locally available channels of improving livelihoods, e.g. the local CBOs, credit and savings groups, due to the fact that they cannot afford membership conditions.

They are less likely to benefit from interventions by NGOs if they are not well targeted. In addition, they are also more dependent on protected areas as an income source and are more negative concerning protected areas when restricted from accessing traditional resources, their livelihoods are disrupted or crops damaged by wildlife incursions.

According to Kabananukye and Wily, (1996)

“The Batwa are a special case; it is generally accepted that they ceased to live entirely in the forest long before it was gazetted. Since then, however, a mixture of official forest management policies and demographic/social changes have created a dynamic situation characterised by an accelerated exodus of Batwa outside of their traditional residences, to live with other ethnic groups outside the forests, suffice to say their livelihoods remained finely intertwined with the forest. Today, the Batwa live in 'serfdom' in ramshackle huts, doing all the hard and menial jobs for their landlords, including guarding crops, in exchange for food and a small patch of land on which to build a hut.”

In recent years schemes have been developed to integrate local people residing adjacent to the forest into management and alternative livelihoods. The most important current document is the NFA management plan that covers 2005-15. Nowadays Echuya is the only source of commercial bamboo in Uganda. The NFA has commercialised the harvesting, which benefits commercial traders but disadvantages local people who used bamboo for handicrafts.

The forest is benefiting from the rehabilitation through community education, sustainable livelihood programmes, soil erosion prevention and tree planting among local communities, including the Batwa. This includes the planting of bamboo rhizomes in private farms that is ready for harvesting after four years.

Other Kigezi forests are colonial and post-independence exotic tree plantations from the 1920s; primarily black wattle, eucalyptus and conifers.

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Chapter 1.4

Mountain Gorillas

Evolution
Gorillas are believed to have split from the hominid family around 9mya (all dates are estimates, vary by source and are under debate) in the forests of Central Africa, followed by chimpanzees, 6mya. It is thought that gorillas were originally smaller and arboreal because they still build nests in trees and bamboo, unnecessary when living on the ground. Over time they grew larger, more terrestrial and spread west to Cameroon and east to Uganda, within the general equatorial region.

One hypothesis is that mountain gorillas first evolved in south-western Uganda at the lower altitudes of 2,000m/6,500ft; the hills there are about 20mya. The growth of the Virunga Mountains, from half-a-million years ago, provided a new habitat. Once the lava had cooled and the volcanoes became dormant, species colonised the slopes in succession and found the most appropriate niche, often evolving in adaptation.

The mountain gorilla also took advantage and spread higher learning to take advantage of the new food range, while becoming larger and hairier to adapt to the colder more rarefied environment. Mountain gorillas have always stayed on the eastern side of the Rift Valley.

It is possible that the Virunga gorillas' gene pool was small to begin with but that differences became accentuated with the loss of more transitional forms when the forests were separated 400-500 years ago. Because very small numbers of gorillas survived late 20th century political turmoil in isolated pockets, their gene pool may have shrunk further. Scientists will have to wait and see what the consequences may be.

Discovery
Lowland gorillas were first described as a species in 1847 but the mountain gorilla was not discovered by the scientific community until 50 years later when Friedrich Robert von Beringe (Oscar is a common error) shot two on the slopes of Mt. Sabinyo at c. 3.100m/10,200ft in 1902.

In his description of the event, they could only retrieve one corpse from a ravine after five hours. He added:

“I was unable to determine its type; because of its size, it could not be a chimpanzee or a gorilla, and in any case the presence of gorillas had not been established in the area around the lakes.”

He sent the skin and skeleton to Prof. Paul Matchie, University of Berlin, who identified it as a new species. He called it Gorilla gorilla beringei matchie but his name was removed after Harold Coolidge argued successfully that the gorilla was one species with two sub-species; the lowland or western and mountain or eastern gorilla. The mountain gorilla is currently called Gorilla gorilla beringei after the first recorded man to shoot one but not the first who recognised their uniqueness.

Gorillas were originally portrayed as fierce monsters; various sightings were recorded in English literature from 1625. It was Rev. Thomas Savage M.D. and naturalist, while visiting Rev. John Wilson on the Gabon River in the 1840s, who made the first scientific effort. He collected skulls and sent them to Jeffries Wyman (USA), a personal friend, and Richard Owen (UK), two anatomists, for identification.

Owen published Memoir on the Gorilla (Troglodytes gorilla, Savage) in 1865, which included the following totally inaccurate quote from Savage (Schaller, 1964):

“They are extremely ferocious and always offensive in their habits, never running away from man as does the Chimpanzee... It is said that when the male is first seen he gives a terrific yell that resounds far and wide through the forest, something like kh-ah! prolonged and shrill... The females and young at the first cry quickly disappear; he then approaches the enemy in great fury pouring out his cries in quick succession.

“The hunter awaits his approach with gun extended; if his aim is not sure he permits the animal to grasp the barrel, and as he carries it to his mouth he fires; should the gun fail to go off, the barrel is crushed between his teeth, and the encounter soon proves fatal to the hunter.”

He then adds another bit of fantasy:

“Negroes when stealing through shades of the tropical forest become sometimes aware of the proximity of one of these frightful formidable apes by the sudden disappearance of one of their companions, who is hoisted up in the tree, uttering, perhaps, a short choking cry. In a few minutes, he falls to the ground a strangled corpse.”

You can almost hear the thud! He had unique ideas regarding:

“The most portentous and diabolical caricature that an atrabilious poet ever conceived or a naturalist ever described.”

Savage was more down to earth. When he sought information from local people he rejected stories of gorillas kidnapping beautiful maidens and defeating elephants in single combat. He and Wyman published their own findings in the US in 1847.

Paul du Chaillu and Ballantyne added to the mythology in the late 19th century, though scientists then thought these stories made up. Du Chaillu has been since found to be fairly credible, according to Akeley, his publishers made him 'improve' his books. The following appears to be reasonably genuine

“I protest that I almost felt like a murderer when I saw the gorillas this first time. As they ran – on their hind legs – they looked fearfully like hairy men; their heads down, their bodies inclined forward, their whole appearance like men running for their lives. Take this with their awful cry, which, fierce and animal as it is, has yet something human in its discordance, and you will cease to wonder that the natives have the wildest superstitions about these 'wild men of the woods'.”

Figure 2 According to Du Chaillu’s editors (Carl Akeley, 1921)

And so it went on, these and new stories were reported and repeated so often they were believed to be the truth. Typical is the portrayal of gorillas as fearsome savage monsters in the many films about King Kong and populist fiction of the Tarzan variety. As a result they were treated as wild game and shot accordingly.

Natural History museums also wanted their own specimens and expeditions went hunting in the name of science. Schaller calculated that 54 gorillas were shot for this reason between 1902 and 1925 (excluding the unknown number shot for sport). For instance Prince Wilhelm of Sweden, who led a Swedish Zoological Expedition, relates that he shot 14 in 1921-2. When this became public it caused an outcry; but he was one of the first to recommend to King Albert that gorillas be protected.

[BOX] The Gorilla gorilla gorilla is extinct
Gorilla Name Timeline:

1847-65: Rev. Thomas Savage M.D. sends samples to Richard Owen and Jeffries Wyman. Owen calls it Troglodytes Gorilla Savage in 1849-1865 even after St. Hilaire's change in 1852. Savage and Wyman say (1849) it is a new species of Orang and call it Troglodytes Gorilla. (Orang is Indonesian for person, i.e. orang-utan – person of the forest)

1852: Geoffrey St. Hilaire changes name to Gorilla

1902: Paul Matchie first identifies the mountain gorilla and calls it Gorilla gorilla beringei matchie from one shot by Friedrich Robert von Beringe in the Virunga Mountains

1929: Harold Coolidge drops the matchie and proposes two species Gorilla gorilla gorilla of West Africa and Gorilla gorilla beringei of Central Africa

1967: Colin Groves proposes one species Gorilla gorilla and three sub-species:
1. Western gorilla, Gorilla gorilla gorilla, of West Africa
2. Eastern mountain gorilla Gorilla gorilla beringei, of the Virungas and Bwindi
3. Eastern Grauer's gorilla Gorilla gorilla graueri, of west and north west of lakes Tanganyika and Kivu

2003: The Primate Specialist Group of the World Conservation Union proposes two species:
1. Western gorilla, Gorilla gorilla, with one sub-species, Gorilla gorilla diehli, called the Cross River gorilla. The Cross sub-species has only been identified recently on the border of Nigeria and Cameroon; coincidentally the geographical origin of the Bantu.
2. Eastern gorilla, Gorilla beringei, divided into two sub-species: the mountain gorilla, Gorilla beringei beringei of the Virungas and Bwindi and Grauer's gorilla, Gorilla beringei graueri, of west and north west of lakes Tanganyika and Kivu

This scheme may change again; debate is currently focused on whether the Virunga and Bwindi populations should be one species or two. Small differences of behaviour, diet, taxonomy and physiology have not swayed the geneticists who seek hard evidence from their own expertise
[END BOX]

The First Scientists
Carl Akeley, of the American Museum of Natural History, had a more enlightened attitude. He encouraged the Belgian Government to set up the Albert National Park, though not before he shot five gorillas for his museum; he was the first to film them on his 4th expedition in 1921 around Kabara.


Figure 3 “Mr. Akeley at the Gorilla Camp. The gorilla skins in the foreground, the skeletons between the tents” (Carl Akeley, 1921)

This episode is written up in his book, In Brightest Africa. He was inspired to return in 1926 solely to film them


Figure 4 A still from the first grainy images

Unforumately he caught a fever, maybe dysentry, from which he died; his wife wrote:

“On the seventeenth of November the unexpected end came. A half hour before he and I had a little talk together and he told me he was resting quietly and had no pain. His spirit remained transcendent. I had no warning.”

He was buried at Kabara in a meadow below his camp on the slopes of Mt. Karisimbi. His 8' square grave was carved out the lava rock and lined with packing cases, his coffin made from a

local mahogany. Unfortunately his tomb was desecrated and bones removed in 1972, perhaps an indirect revenge attack by poachers whose activities were being disrupted.

Figure 5 “On Christmas Day the native chief and his retinue greeted Mrs Akeley at Kisolo (recte Kisoro) with gifts and expressions of sympathy” (Mary Jobe Akeley, 1920s)

He can be credited with the first genuine effort to preserve the gorilla environment and, after three years of lobbying, he won the support of King Albert of Belgium, after whom the park was named. It was established in 1925. His widow, Mary Jobe Akeley, continued: she advised and assisted the Belgian government to expand the park in 1929, with the recommendation that the Batwa continue to live in the park undisturbed. Her book, Carl Akeley's Africa, is a useful source of the Albert Park's foundation and early history.

The only previous conservation was by the German colonial government who, in 1911, introduced forest reserves in Rwanda for the purpose of sustainable commercial exploitation and watershed protection. The park was later split into the Congo and Rwandan sections when the former gained independence in 1960.

In 1930 the English established a gorilla sanctuary on the Ugandan side of the Virungas. The Belgian park authorities were very reluctant to let anyone in their side while the English had a more relaxed attitude. The main mover in Uganda was CRS Pitman who, as early as 1930, was arguing that a research centre be set up to study gorillas.

Academic institutions also sent expeditions. Harold Bingham wrote a report about a joint expedition in 1929-30 from Yale University and Carnegie Institute (Washington) to Albert National Park in 'Belgian Congo'. Around the same time, the British Museum (Natural History) sent an expedition to the ‘Birunga’ Volcanoes in 1933-4.


Figure 6 Batwa Guide to British Museum expedition

Even these tended to portray gorillas as aggressive. Bingham reported being charged and having to shoot in self-defence. Akeley wrote that:

“I believe, however, that the white man who will allow a gorilla to get within ten feet of him without shooting is a plain darn fool.”

Otherwise he was very positive concerning gorillas:

“They were amiable and decent characters.”

In the meantime zoos wanted live specimens, often infants. The resulting slaughter of adults was unforgivable, especially since the vast majority of infants died. Collectors did not know how to keep them alive. Nor did most zoos, and their captive gorillas soon died in their iron-barred concrete cages of pneumonia and loneliness. In more recent times the trapping of primates for medical research has become big business.

It wasn't until 1934, and again in 1937, that C. R. S. Pitman, the Protectorate’s Game Warden, confirmed the gorillas’ presence in Kayonsa (Bwindi) Forest, though there are earlier references. Subsequently everyone assumed that they were lowland gorillas but, in the 1980s, genetic research established that they were indeed mountain gorillas. This signalled new research into Bwindi Forest, which was elevated to a National Park and UNESCO World Heritage Site in the early 1990s and rescued from the brink of clearance and extinction.

Travellers Rest Hotel: Primatologist's Mecca

In 1955 Walter Baumgartel purchased the Travellers Rest Hotel and began to offer gorilla-tracking to his guests. He built a small camp on the saddle between Mts. Muhavura and Gahinga. His main guide was a Bahutu named Rueben (Roveni) Rwanzagire of Nyarusiza (c. 1909-1965),

a mountain guide; he led Earl Denman up Mt. Muhuvura in 1946. He was full of entertaining gorilla stories; the most popular, enacted on the mountain slopes, was how he escaped the clutches of an amorous female.

[BOX] Holy Posho and Beans
Reuben was a Church Missionary Society elder who led evening prayers when they were camping; the other trackers responded in unison. A typical prayer was:

God the Almighty, our Father in Heaven!

We thank Thee for the posho and beans you have given us today. Let there be more tomorrow. As for me, you know that I have a weak tummy and posho and beans do not agree with me. Please put it in the bwana's mind that he offer me again of his rice and bully beef as done today.

Let the sun shine for it is damned cold on this mountain when it rains. Let the spirits of Muhuvura, Gahinga and Sabinyo look down upon us benevolently. Let us meet the gorillas and let them be in a friendly mood.

Lord! Thy Name be praised! Amen!

He was awarded a Certificate of Honour in the 1962 New Year Honours List
[END BOX]

Baumgartel was genuinely interested in the gorillas and attempted to involve the international science community. Profs Louis Leakey and Raymond Dart were both interested. Dart and his successor, Philip Tobias (of Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg) sponsored research and publication from 1956. For two years he had two assistants: Rosalie Osborn, sent by Dr. Leakey, and Jill Donisthorpe (later Wordsworth), who attempted to study them.

However the gorillas' elusiveness was the main problem. Baumgartel attempted to habituate the gorillas by offering them various foods but all his attempts were unsuccessful; though this led to later successful tracking methods using Batwa guides. Eventually some groups did get semi-habituated, more by accident than design.

The hotel was extremely popular among visiting biologists worldwide; the guest register has all the top names in the field from that time. However some guests were less complementary: "I'd rather live under canvas than stay here again" and "Don't sit at Baumgartel's table if you value your sanity" were two collected by Heminway in 1961.

Visitors included Sir Julian and Lady Huxley who had visited the area once before in 1929 and walked from Kabale to Kabara, via Rutshuru, to visit Akeley's grave. Robert Ardrey, dramatist, actor and evolutionist, who wrote a number of controversial books on human origins and evolution, visited to gain an understanding of the links between primate and human behaviour. Niels Bolwig, Witwatersrand University, was the first to study nest building.

[BOX] Saza Chief

Saza Chief was the leading silverback whose group was most commonly seen by tourists in the late 1950s. He led a group of two wives and two children (compared with the human saza or county chief of Kisoro, Paulo, who had twenty wives and who knows how many children). Baumgartel recorded his first sight, which is typical of the awe felt by most visitors:

“I got up and ever so cautiously bent the leafage aside. There he stood, the black colossus, the primeval monster, the personification of brute force. His back was silver white, his chest and shoulders immense. He turned his massive head sharply to the left and the right, then looked me straight in the eye. His eyes were bloodshot and his wrath tremendous.”

He and his guide moved closer...

“There he stood, the Lord of the Forest, erect in his full height, a giant of over six feet (2m), raising his long arms. Each hand clutched a tree and shook it in savage fury. He watched our response. But the spell was broken, we stood fast and stared, seemingly unperturbed. The old blusterer was flabbergasted! With one movement he tore down branches, snapping them like matchsticks, and threw the pieces aside with such impatience that we could no longer be sure he was only pretending...

“A few more screams, some half hearted drumbeats!... All passion spent, he disappeared into the forest, barking and grumbling.”

Alan Moorehead also recorded his meeting with Saza Chief in No Room in the Ark:

“Oh, My God, how wonderful!” he remembered calling aloud. He was glaring fixedly upon us and he had all the dignity and majesty of a prophet. He was the most distinguished animal I ever saw and I had only one desire at that moment, to go forward to him, to communicate.”

Such dramatic encounters are now rare since visitors only visit habituated groups. In many cases most of the visitor's hour is taken up by sitting in the rain, being ignored and listening to the random orchestration of gorilla flatulence.

Saza Chief, died from wounds he got in a rare territorial fight against another silverback that had migrated from Rwanda with his own group. Interestingly it was Batwa who carried the corpse down to Kisoro village. Touching a gorilla was taboo for the Batutsi and Bahutu.

Baumgartel tried to send the body to Makarere University but, due to the corpse's rapid decomposition, this proved impossible. Luckily there was a pathologist, A. M. Wilson, staying in Kabale, who, though he knew nothing about gorillas, agreed to do an autopsy. It was discovered that Saza Chief had died from asphyxiation caused by a blockage of food in his windpipe. Wilson added that the skin and body was far too damaged to be saved, preserved and mounted. Baumgartal relates further:

“The police even frowned on me for not having taken the dead gorilla's fingerprints! I wish I had. They might have proved quite instructive. I remembered the hands had shown crisscrossing

lines. The lines of the life, heart, and destiny were all there, just as in human hands. An expert palmist might have read from them the age and character of the deceased."

The skin was returned to Baumgartel, where it was unfortunately eaten by Susi, the hotel's resident pig. The few scraps that survived were respectfully buried in the pet's graveyard.

For more adventures of this intrepid hotelier read his book, Among the Gorillas (1977)
[ END BOX]

Dr. Harold Coolidge, then of the American Academy of Sciences in Washington, returned; he had been a member of the Harvard African Expedition to Central Africa in 1927. He was sent by the New York Zoological Society to recommend research and as a result George Schaller answered the call. For him and later for Dian Fossey, the hotel was a second home. Fossey said:

"(She) had grown to think of him (Baumgartel) as one of the kindest and most endearing friends I had made in Africa."

She carried on a spirited correspondence with him after his eventual return to Germany.

Meanwhile Drs. Kinji Imanishi and Junichiro Itani, two primatologists from Kyoto University and founders of the Japanese Monkey Centre, came for the same reason as part of a central African safari; Itani was an expert on pre-human languages and vocal communication. They sent Drs. Masao Kawai and Hiroki Mizuhara of the Japan Monkey Centre for six months to study gorilla's social organisation, behaviour and ecology. The Itani archives held by Kyoto University's Institute of Primatology are online and are a useful, if little used, source.

There were some less than serious researchers, Baumgartel tells of one who suggested tracking from a balloon, observation posts and tying cow bells around gorilla's necks so that they would be easily found, though he declined to attach the bells himself.

In the aftermath of independence the hotel business and gorilla tours collapsed as political instability and civil war destroyed the tourist industry. The hotel closed in 1964.

Schaller and Fossey
The first scientist to study gorillas full time in the wild was George Schaller. When he reviewed the literature he could find few hard verifiable facts, largely due to their secretive lifestyle in dense forest and bush.

In 1959 he chose Akeley's favourite research area in Kabara (now in the DR Congo) because of its more open habitat, and he spent two years there, with various side-trips to Kisoro and Bwindi. After two years of intensive research he concluded that gorillas were harmless, peaceful and tolerant vegetarians, though not necessarily gentle, and quite unpredictable. All conflict between themselves and man comes from defence of the group, with the exception of the occasional injured gorilla.

Due to the chaos that overcame the Congo on achieving independence he was forced to abandon his research. He wrote two excellent books, one scientific in 1963 and a second informal one in 1966; the latter has gone to three editions. The last edition (2010) also records later visits in 1991, (when they came under rebel fire), 2001 and 2009.

Next to arrive was the iconic, if sometimes controversial, Dian Fossey. In 1963 she had visited Kisoro and in that year had heard Dr. Leakey's call for a volunteer to further study gorillas so as to fill the gaps in Schaller's research. In 1966, even though she was an occupational therapist by training and had no relevant experience, Leakey chose her over better qualified applicants. He obtained funding from the National Geographic Society.

She initially began her research in Kabara, where Akeley and Schaller had been before. Then the security situation deteriorated and she began to have serious problems with corrupt and often drunk military personnel who threatened to shoot her. She had little choice but to abandon Kabara after six months.

She moved to Rwanda as a guest of Alyette DeMunck, first to Mt. Karisimbi and then to Mt. Visoke where she found plentiful gorillas. On the saddle between the two mountains she established her camp, which later became the Karisoke Research Centre. When the National Geographic Society grant stopped in 1978, she raised money through the Digit Fund, in memory of one gorilla she had named Digit, who had been killed and his hands chopped off by poachers.

For eighteen years she courageously lived there and shared the lives of the gorillas as they became habituated to each other and she became adept at gorilla behaviour. She was the first to identify gorilla individuals by their nose wrinkles. As well as doing research that expanded on Schaller's work she strove to protect them from encroachment and poaching and was always concerned about their quality of life. One result was the foundation of the first specialist medical service for gorillas in 1986.

The more orthodox members of the science community did not always approve of her methods. They said she wasn't objective enough, that she empathised with and formed relationships with her subjects. There is a fine line here, as most researchers have developed affinities and relationships with gorillas.

She did not have a good relationship with local officials either. They resented her independent approach and lack of consultation, while she believed:

“(They) considered gorillas as goods for barter to be used whenever they saw fit for material or political goals.”

Local people resented and resisted her efforts to prevent them from hunting and cattle grazing. She wrote about the use of sumu, black magic and poison, which she had to counter among her local staff. Gorillas were murdered, perhaps in indirect revenge attacks. Her main adversaries were poachers. Gorillas had become big business and very profitable.

In 1985 Dian Fossey was murdered in her cabin; the crime is still unsolved. An 'American' was charged, but had fled the country, and a tracker named Rwelekana was arrested; he proclaimed his innocence but died in prison in unknown circumstances. Local people believe that poachers were responsible. However, her life and death, book and film, Gorillas in the Mist, put the gorilla on centre stage. They have been the focus of international attention and intervention since.

Batwa and Gorillas
Due to the influence of Dian Fossey there developed considerable antipathy against the Batwa, based on their alleged hunting and poaching in the 1970s.

This is not the whole story. It is generally recognised that the people east of the Albertine Rift Valley did not hunt or eat gorillas in pre-colonial times in contrast with central and West Africa where apes were a favoured food. The eastern Batwa had a very clear philosophy concerning apes.

According to Pitman, 1931

“Batwa frankly regard this great ape with reverence, and though not objecting to act as guides through the mountain fastnesses known only to them, they endeavour to spare themselves the spectacle of the death of what to them is practically one of their own kin. No greater insult could be offered the Batwa than to suggest such an act (eat gorilla flesh); to them it would savour of cannibalism. Professional tanners will not even touch the hides, much less prepare and dress them.”

Barns wrote (1923) – Kivu Forest is sometimes an alternative name of that time for the Virunga Mountain forests, though his location is not clear.

“The Batwa inhabiting the eastern Kivu forests where chimpanzees are to be found can scarcely be induced to accompany a white man when in search of these animals, much less call for him, for it happens that to the Batwa the killing of this man-ape is taboo, it being their totem or sacred animal.”

Indirectly, therefore, the Batwa can be given part-credit for the gorilla's overall survival. They tried to protect their environment by telling farmers frightening stories to discourage hunting. One was that gorillas caught spears in mid-air and threw them back at the attacker, when the Batwa knew very well that they generally retreated from man. In Kisoro farmers believed that gorillas built fires, houses with roofs, kidnapped women and ate children. One wonders what other stories the Batwa told credulous locals for their own amusement.

Gorilla literature generally states that the Batwa were and are the best trackers Pitman's opinion was that they:

“are unquestionably the people most conversant with the ways and habits of this ape”

He only questioned their knowledge once, concerning average group size; they said 15-20, while Belgian researchers thought c. 13. Nowadays both figures are accepted by the scientific

community; the range is 2-30. Sometimes Batwa guides had their own ideas, Schaller records their belief that:

“If you call the animal you are seeking by name, you will never find it.”

When he became an experienced tracker himself he noted that sometimes, for unknown reasons, they would veer off the trail. He just continued following the signs until they rejoined him. He described his main guide in Bwindi:

“Bishumu, the chief of the Batwa, trotted ahead. His kinky hair was white and beard scraggly. The skin over his knees was wrinkled like that of an elephant, and his old, frail body was wrapped in a torn khaki jacket. Like all Batwa he carried two spears in one hand and a machete in the other.”

It is evident that Batwa were the most commonly used forest guides by hunters, scientists and tourists for most of the 20th century; they knew sufficient English. However the deteriorating post-independence political situation and border closures of the mid 1960s to mid 1980s killed tourism in southwest Uganda. The final blow came when they were evicted from the national parks in 1991 and so they lost a useful supplementary income that had become more important over time as the forests were cleared.

When gorilla tracking was introduced in the early 1990s, they were excluded as participants due to institutional discrimination, even though it is recognised that they are the most knowledgeable guides. Their continuing exclusion will result in a loss of traditional knowledge in future generations to the detriment of all, including the gorillas.

## The Rocky Road to Near Extinction

Mountain gorillas roamed over the Greater Kigezi Forest but their numbers slowly dwindled as wooded areas disappeared under the agricultural onslaught. Their decline may have increased during the late 19th and early 20th centuries due to white hunters. The first major catastrophe that can be identified took place in the early 1890s when rinderpest arrived; not only did it kill 95% of cattle but it also decimated ungulate populations in the forests.

It is known that leopards then started eating livestock, but finding they were too well guarded, turned to humans. It may therefore be surmised that gorillas became also part of their diet. Smaller carnivores may have taken advantage of unguarded infants. Rinderpest outbreaks were common for much of the 20th century with unknown consequences for ungulates, carnivores and gorillas.

By 1930 the recovery of ungulate populations allowed leopards to resume their preferred prey, which must have benefited gorillas. However some throwbacks have appeared; in 1961 a very large leopard arrived on the Virunga Mountains and started killing many gorillas, far more than it needed to. It may have been completely black or very dark spotted; no clear identification was ever made. This behaviour was unusual but was similar to reports of the 1920-30s of larger black leopards that hunted gorillas.

Such was the impact that permission was given to hunt and kill the predator. However it always retreated back to the Albert National Park where it was protected; the Belgian park authorities believed in complete non-interference in the affairs of nature.

The leopard disappeared after a couple of years, nobody knows where, perhaps to fresh hunting grounds. In the meantime independence had come and people living by the parks found they had a free hand in hunting. In 1962 an expedition of three teams searched the Virunga Mountains around Kisoro for ten days but found no trace of gorillas. There may be a climatic reason as it was commonly known that gorillas only came to the northern Ugandan side of the Virungas when there was plentiful vegetation after good rains.

For the next years up to the 1970s gorillas were a rare sight. It is thought in those years the population went into free-fall; Fossey saw the male to female ratio drop from 1:2.5 to 1:1.2. By 1978 population stabilised, but they were avoiding the eastern and western edges of the Virungas and concentrated around Visoke.

Civil war in the Congo, Rwanda and Uganda came with its tragic consequences. These are still affecting the Congo, which has suffered numerous cycles of conflict. On top of that poaching, illegal and government sponsored encroachment made major inroads into the gorillas' population and habitat. It is still a major issue; people want land for food while agribusiness wants land for profit.

Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons added to the destruction when they cleared land for camps (Gishwati forest, Rwanda, disappeared under the onslaught) and in those primitive conditions cholera, dysentery and other infectious human, animal and trans-boundary diseases were rampant. Refugees are not a new problem; in the 19th century the conquests of Rwandan monarchs sent many people north. Nowadays they are called clan migrations since they permanently settled on the land of the forests they cleared.

Scientists have struggled hard in times of peace, those windows of opportunity for research and conservation. Luckily peace in Uganda, since 1986, and Rwanda, since 1995, has been good for the gorillas and there has been a rise in their numbers. The situation in the Congo is less clear cut, they are definitely under pressure there. There are many committed Congolese who passionately strive to protect the gorilla, okapi and other rare animals but often have little defence against well-armed militias and are commonly murdered. The future balance of power between conservationists and destroyers is impossible to predict and will probably fluctuate with unknown consequences.

In retrospect it is a surprise that they have survived at all. Intense conservation efforts have allowed their total population to increase by 17% over the last ten years to over 700. In other words, a success story against the odds.

Population

The total mountain gorilla population is divided into two sub-species of c. 340 individuals in Bwindi Impenetrable National park in Uganda and c. 480 in the Virunga mountains in the DRC,

Rwanda and Uganda. These estimates are currently being revised through the use of genetic research combined with the traditional proxy method of counting nests and faeces. The latter method was standard until 2006 but its accuracy has rarely been evaluated. Research of genotyped faeces samples resulted in a population revision from 336 to 302 in Bwindi NP. The 10% overestimate came from double-counting and multiple nests.

This raises the question as to the accuracy of the censuses of 1997 (300) and 2002 (320). It had been assumed that the population was growing at 1% pa but given that the 10% error exceeded the estimated increase of 5% it is impossible to say what is happening to the population, particularly in Bwindi NP where only 25% are habituated. The Mgahinga count is more likely to be reasonably accurate as 71% are habituated.

However there is an overall research bias, according to Hansen

"It is only in Bwindi that we have both the mountain gorillas and the chimpanzees ranging in one habitat in Africa. I have observed how the gorillas seem to get more 'marketable' over the years than any the other primate species. Not only in terms of research studies commissioned in respect to each of these species, but also in terms of awareness and promotion for tourism and attention from conservation practitioners."

Apparent Humanity

The closest relatives of gorillas are chimpanzees and humans with around 95% genetic similarities. Researchers are often struck by their apparent humanity and have an affinity with gorillas. This has led to debate as to how the behaviour of humans and gorillas can be compared. In the early 1960s a conservative Schaller said:

"That the mind of the gorilla has its own mysterious paths that even the most persistent observer may find difficult to trace"

He added:

"Yet the apes are not under the total grip of their instincts. Learning and tradition play an important role in their lives, a role that is difficult to assess in the wild, because each youngster gradually and unobtrusively learns the things that help it fit into its group and environment. Knowledge of food plants, route of travel, the proper way to respond to vocalisations and gestures – these, and many other aspects, are undoubtedly part of the gorilla's tradition, handed down as a result of individual experience from generation to generation and constituting a rudimentary form of culture."

However he believed that the ape's brain had evolved to or just over the threshold of insightful behaviour. He argued that there was no selective pressure for them to evolve more sophisticated brain power and concluded:

"But the very existence of the gorilla, free from want and free from problems, is mentally an evolutionary dead-end."

In more recent times there is less certainty and there are major question marks over the validity of the above opinion. It is now questioned whether there is always a relationship between selective pressure and evolution, i.e. is intelligence an evolutionary progression or a freak aberration?

Scientific opinions of the 1960s have been constantly revised to understand the changing dynamics of troop formation over time. There is no set troop composition; each develops its own hierarchy and pattern of relationships. There is greater variety and subtlety in gorilla behaviour and cognitive processes than was first thought.

According to some researchers gorillas, like other great apes, have individuality, can laugh, grieve, have 'rich emotional lives', develop strong family bonds, can make and use tools. They can have individual colour preferences. In general, gorillas are believed to have 'cultures' in different areas revolving around different methods of food gathering.

They can think about the past and future; they use past experiences as a guide for decision-making, which often have a future element. However, while a silverback may indicate a time and direction to go he cannot communicate the potential benefit to others in the troop, i.e. fresh fruit or safety this way. There must also be a future component in the decision of a female to switch troops or is there Love at First Sight and the future goes out the window; a trait found in humans?

[BOX] Religious Speculations
Some researchers have speculated that gorillas have spiritual feelings or religious sentiments.

Whatever that means; it is difficult to imagine them practising yoga, singing hymns, discussing theology or voting in elections along religious lines as is common among their human cousins.

This type of belief has a certain history, in 1857, Richard Owen claimed that on the death of a compatriot they

“Cover his corpse with a heap of leaves and loose earth collected and scraped up for the purpose.”

Did he think that missionaries were trying to teach the gorillas to hold a bible, like proper Christians, and intone:

“From dust to dust and ashes to ashes?”
[END BOX]

Physique
Adult males range in height 1.65–1.75m (5.4-5.7ft) and in weight 140–200kg (308-440lb). Adult females are often half the size of a silverback, averaging about 1.4m/4.6ft in height and 100kg/220lb. Silverbacks of over 1.8m/6ft and 230kg/507lb have been occasionally recorded in the wild.

Gorillas are mostly terrestrial and move around by knuckle-walking; they sometimes walk erect for short distances while carrying food or in defensive situations. They cautiously climb trees to build nests, collect fruit or for a better view. Only the very young have been seen to swing from branch to branch.

Social Structure and Dynamics

A silverback is an adult male gorilla, typically over 12 years old and named for the distinctive patch of silver hair on his back. They have large canine teeth that come with maturity. Silverbacks are the strong, dominant troop leaders but not all have this position, some may have never led a troop while others have either retired or been deposed. Groups of male silverbacks have been observed though the dynamics can suddenly change when the leader dies or is deposed.

Each typically leads a troop (group size ranges from 5 to 30) and is in the centre of the troop's attention, making all the decisions, mediating conflicts, determining the movements of the group, leading the others to feeding sites and taking responsibility for the defence, safety and well-being of the troop.

Groups of 30 with five silverbacks have been recorded, as have groups that are male only, 40% in the Virungas are multi-male. Up to 50 have also been seen but these agglomerations are rare and short-lived. The latter have weak relationships and may join another group if there is an opportunity to mate with females; though this can be difficult as the lead silverback has this prerogative and is likely to be the father of most of the group's infants.

Blackbacks are sexually mature males up to 11 years old; they usually serve as backup protection but often maintain distance from the leader. They often strike out independently and can form transitory groups of their own. If alone, they sometimes join other troops for short periods. It is only when they become silverbacks that they will attempt to form their own group or take over an established one.

Multi-male groups appear to be more sexually successful than single males, which results in the formation of blackback troops with individuals of different origins but it is also thought the reason that males leave these groups is the innate need to reproduce. Somewhat contradictory, and may be due to how well they bond as individuals within the group; those who don’t bond end up leaving.

There is no such thing as life-long troop loyalty among females either, they usually migrate away from their natal troop and sometime will switch again leaving an independent juvenile behind. The avoidance of in-breeding and the search for a suitable mate must be innate but other factors can be a trigger, i.e. a lack of males or too much female competition.

Social relations between females are strong and status is defined by seniority. Friendly behaviour between females is the most common though aggression can occur over competition for food or males. They can form coalitions to protect themselves from aggression from other females or males. These tend to be among relatives as the natal bonds remain into adulthood.

There is a social aspect to relationships between males and females since they are often the long-term partners within the troop. This bond develops between individuals as they reach maturity, though the dynamics are little understood and probably vary as do the individuals. With migration the techniques of bond-formation are utilised to form relationships with previously unknown females or males within a new setting. Overall a strong positive long-term relationship between the leader and his females is the most likely to maintain group integrity and social harmony.

Conflict between troops is rare, unlike chimpanzees and other monkeys, because they are not territorial; their home ranges overlap. If two groups happen to meet there is a lot of chest-thumping, charging and other dramatic displays of dominance but rarely any physical contact. Avoidance is the main strategy.

Curiously this is the time that females may try to defect to a new group, which may be prevented by the silverback leader. Defectors may be harassed by established senior related females from the group they joined, especially if they become too popular. The leader may intervene but usually does not take sides. He intervenes by calming the situation and individuals down. This damage-limitation is in his interest, as disruption of social harmony may cause females to migrate. Schaller wrote that sex seemed to be of little importance in terms of social cohesion:

“Gorillas always gave me the impression that they stay together because they like and know one another”

Sex and dominance are loosely linked, though competition among silverbacks can centre on females, initiated by the male who doesn't have any. Attitudes of established leaders towards their mates vary from protective dominance when younger and complete tolerance when older. Genetic studies have shown that the leader does not sire all of the troop's children; the second-in-command, if there is one, is responsible for the balance.

[BOX] Gorilla Sex
Schaller was one of the first to record gorilla sex in the wild. Two individuals, after some initial interrupted sexual contact, rested for half an hour, then:

“The female rises and stands by the rump of the male. He glances up and they stare at one another. The process of pulling her into a sitting position is repeated. At about seventy-five thrusts he begins his copulatory sound. His eyes are closed, and the thrusts rock her back and forth, a motion added by his hands on her hips and the swaying of her body. His lips are pursed and hers are slightly parted. At about one hundred and twenty thrusts the male suddenly opens his mouth with a loud sighing 'ahh', the female opens her mouth at the same time. He relaxes, she rises and leaves”.
[END BOX]

However once they have established a position they brook no opposition. If challenged by a younger or even by an outsider male, a silverback will scream, beat his chest, break branches, bare his teeth, and then charge forward. This has the effect of cutting down on disputes within

the established hierarchy. It has also been noted that, in common with ourselves, they indulge in displacement activity when they cannot decide between fight and flight responses.

Independence

Males will slowly begin to leave their paternal troop at 11 years, which is when they reach their young adult or sub-adult years. Sometimes a male may stay in his father's troop and inherit control when he ages.

Female gorillas also leave their parental troop when they reach sexual maturity; they immediately search for a silverback that is usually nearby. This may be due to a number of reasons: an evolutionary trait to avoid inbreeding, to avoid competition and reproductive options may be better particularly in multi-male groups. Females usually transfer more than once to find a male that has the best fighting abilities and access to quality of habitat. Once a female reproduces in a troop, she stays at least until her child is independent but may or may not migrate to another troop afterwards.

Infant gorillas normally stay with their mother for three years and then become independent, though the bond between mother and child may last longer. Silverbacks will care for weaned young orphans, though never to the extent of carrying them.

If the leader is killed by disease, accident, fighting or poachers, the group will split up, as they disperse to look for a new protective male. There is a strong risk that the new male leader will kill the infants of the dead silverback, though if the female has mated with more than one male this may create paternal uncertainty and thus preserve her children.

Sex, Gestation and Fertility

Females reach sexual maturity at eight years and usually have their first baby by ten. Oestrus is 1-3 days a month. Gorilla sex is rare and very short, sometimes less than a minute. A female may mate with some or all of the group males but generally not during oestrus. In oestrus females often initiate contact; they make choices. Due to the imperative among females to leave the troop when she becomes sexually active, inbreeding is rare. Inbred offspring can have crossed eyes and webbing between the fingers.

Gestation is 8.5 months and there are typically 3-4 years between births. A female may successfully raise 4-6 children in her life, infant mortality is high – about 30% die of various natural causes before the age of six; experienced mothers usually are more successful. By contrast they have a high birth rate. Unexpectedly habituated troops have higher growth rates than unhabituated troops for reasons that are unknown; medical supervision may be a factor.

At birth they weigh 1.5-2kg. Infants are fully weaned within three years, they are 100% dependant for at least five months, after four months they ride on the mother's back. They stay with their mothers for about three years and first become independent from one year old. Mothers are highly protective of their young; many have died in trying to protect their offspring against poachers. They learn so much from their mother and other troop members that It is very difficult to re-introduce young rescued gorillas into the wild.

[BOX] Gorillas at Play
Young gorillas play together but not consistently and cease by six years old. However, they typically try to annoy benevolent adults. Schaller describes one scene:

Four infants, between one and two years of age, played exuberantly on a sloping tree, running up and down in single file in a game of follow-the-leader and sliding down the moss covered trunk on their seats or bellies.

A paunchy female walked up, and leaning against the trunk with folded arms, looked silently at the youngsters. Her look apparently conveyed 'time to go to bed', for dutifully the youngsters stopped their game.

One infant descended the trunk by pushing its way under the female's arms and out between her legs; another climbed on her head and cantered down her back before sliding feet-first down her rump; and a third took a running jump and with flailing arms and legs landed on his bottom on the female's back. Only the fourth infant sedately followed at her heels and went off to bed.
[END BOX]

Infanticide occurs when a silverback overthrows another; he then kills all the unweaned youngsters of the previous leader, so that the females will come into oestrus quicker. This is uncommon; most times it is not an issue since the biological father of any one infant may not be known, particularly in mixed transitional troops where no dominant silverback has emerged.

They are classified as infants till four, juveniles to six, adolescents to eight (when they start to become sexually active), blackbacks to 12, and silverbacks thereafter. 40-45% of individuals are classed as immature. Females mature at 10–12 years, they can have their first baby aged eight. They live between 30–50 years and, in the normal course of events, die of an age-related illness.

Communication
Gorillas communicate through vocalisations and physical gestures and movement. Of these sound is less important. Gorillas are always aware of group activities and take their information and signals primarily from this source. Sound, especially contact grunts, is very important for group cohesion and co-ordination in an environment where members of a group often can't see each other for long periods.

While gorilla can be noisy these sounds are not necessarily symbolic but purely express emotion, i.e. when content, anxious or angry. Some vocalisations are warnings, which cause the troop to congregate around the leader for further instructions, imparted physically.

[BOX] Gorilla Music
Weber and Vedder, who spent many years with gorillas in Karisoke, found that around abundant quality food:

“One individual would start a low rumbling sound, breathing loudly in and out in a modulated tone. This might remain a solo performance and last no more than a minute. Often, however, others would join in, adding gender- and age-specific basses, baritones, tenors and sopranos to

the mix. The result was a chorus of intertwined melodies, rising and falling in natural rhythm that might continue for several minutes: a gorilla Gregorian chant in the Virunga cathedral".
[END BOX]

They have at least 25 vocalisations including roars, grunts and growls. There are also variations in pitch, intensity and pattern, which also provide context. A few lowland individuals in captivity have been taught a subset of sign language, like chimpanzees.

Baumgartel recorded one evening with guests:

"I encouraged Reuben to show off a little and entertain our guests with his star act, 'Old Silverback', a clever imitation. He started shyly and quietly but soon forgot himself, hooting and clicking full blast. Instantly from up the hill came the response, "hu, hu, hu, hu," in high falsetto, followed by the wooden "click, click, click, click". A cordial to and fro went on for a while between original and imitator. Then an infant, apparently disturbed in its sleep, began to whimper like a puppy that had not yet learned properly how to bark. Eventually the mother's voice, trying to calm the child, joined in."

Unlike other apes gorillas do not use grooming for bonding communication. It tends to be very casual and strictly utilitarian among adults, to reach parts of the body that an individual cannot reach itself. Juveniles sometimes use it to initiate contact with females either directly or via an infant. Infants receive the most thorough grooming from their mothers. This includes them being turned upside down to have their anus inspected; they protest, wriggle, squirm and kick to no avail.

Diet
Mountain Gorillas are herbivores, eating up to 140 different types of fruit, herbs, stems and roots. They are not tool-users; their main manipulation of vegetation is to remove barbs to avoid being stung. Like other primates they sometimes eat ants and termites and have been seen sitting around in a circle enjoying a communal meal off a favourite rotting log.

Most of their favoured food is found in the lush secondary growth of forest clearings and disturbed sites. Their favourite food is ripe fruit, they will travel some distance for it and, in Bwindi, spend 10% of feeding time eating fruit. Otherwise, given that herbaceous plants are all around them, their movement from one site to another appears to be random, movement for the sake of movement. Their dietary range depends on altitude, habitat and seasonal cycles.

There are differences between the diet of Bwindi and Virunga populations. For instance, the former eat wild figs and omwifa (Myrianthus holstii) while the latter favour Mimulopsis, neither grows in the other area. Bwindi gorillas eat 140 different types of vegetation compared to 60 in the Virungas, where 2-3 species make up 60% of their diet and fruit is rare. There is a difference in the diet of Virunga and Bwindi gorillas, the former have never been recorded eating insects.

They tend to be conservative in their diet, only eating what they know but refusing what gorillas elsewhere relish. However they can be trained to eat anything digestible in captivity, even meat. One early Kigezi DC, Philipps, had a young pet gorilla that taught itself how to catch mice, skin

them and eat them. The skinning procedure may be guessed at; holding the mouse by the tail, it stripped the skin from the corpse like stripping thorns and barbs from stinging plants. It died in the Spanish Influenza pandemic of c. 1918.

Contact with farmers has led them to discover the succulent banana that grows freely by the forests. They don't eat the fruit. The stem core is what they enjoy; however, this spells disaster for farmers who see their crops ruined. They have also learned to like eucalyptus but don't cause as much damage. Since gorillas have been habituated they don't fear humans as much and have learnt that they can get away with raiding.

In the 1930s Bwindi gorillas were already raiding shambas unlike their Virunga cousins. According to Pitman they were more attracted by nutritious weeds on fallow land but

“The gorillas of Kayonsa on rare occasions these forest dwellers sally forth to raid the scanty crops of the local population. The marauders usually carry away a few wounds, painful tokens of the indignation of the inhabitants.”

Since protection in the 1990s some groups are active a lot closer to human settlements than before.

They have a single stomach and long intestine, like humans, and must eat a lot, an adult male consumes 20kg a day, which is why their stomachs are mostly bloated and they are renowned for their flatulence. Their powerful jaw muscles and long canines allow them to crush hard plants like bamboo.

They spend 30% of their time eating, 30% wandering around and 40% resting. They tend to eat in the morning and in the afternoon travel 1-2km in search of suitable nesting sites. Their home range is around 15km2 but slightly less in Virunga NP.

Nest Building

Nests are easily and quickly made; five minutes or less. On the ground it may be some piles of vegetation casually placed in a circle around the body; there is no manipulation of the materials. Tree nests are built where there are forks and horizontal branches for support; surrounding branches and vegetation add extra support and comfort. Gorillas and chimpanzees in Bwindi use almost exactly the same techniques. Nests are always abandoned after one night; a hygienic practice given that they defecate in the nest.

There is debate as to whether nest building is inborn or a learned activity; it appears that the impulse is genetic but the techniques are learnt. All gorillas build nests but the location varies. Where trees are strong up to 50% of nests are arboreal while in the bushes of higher altitudes all nests are on the ground.

Schaller recorded that 10% of individuals around Kabara never made nests and argued that as ground nests serve no function the drive to build them must have been inherited from an arboreal ancestor. He adds that he examined tree nests made by bears in Borneo, pointing out that nest-building is not confined to primates.

Infants imitate the process from 15 months old though they sleep with their mother till three.

Gorilla Tracking
Gorilla tracking is the highest revenue-generating tourism activity in Uganda providing 80% of total tourist revenue; US2 million in 2010.

It can be done through all the year, but most tourists come between June and September. Tracking involves walking in the forest in search of these great apes and can either be easy or strenuous, depending on where they are on that specific day.

There are currently ten groups of habituated gorillas, nine groups in Bwindi Impenetrable National Park and one in Mgahinga Gorilla National Park, though the last group travels between Uganda, Rwanda and the DRC, so check before you book.

Trekking duration depends on how soon the local guides find them; only one hour is allowed with them. Bring good hiking shoes, long trousers and sleeved shirts against stinging plants and thorny bushes. Tuck trousers into socks as a defence against safari ants that climb up legs and then start biting. Bring rain gear, hat, a packed lunch, water and no expectations.

If you are ill, particularly with a cough, cold or any respiratory illness DO NOT visit the gorillas, as you might be responsible for their death.

Gorilla Health
Respiratory illnesses seem to be the leading cause of death among gorillas and they are prone to catching a cold, or worse, in wet weather. Arthritis is sometimes found. Gorillas at higher altitudes are less likely to catch insect-borne infectious diseases due to the fact that insects who can tolerate the more extreme conditions are benign. An injured gorilla gets protection from its group but if it dies, it is abandoned.

[BOX] The 7m Rule
A distance of seven metres is imposed between gorillas and tourists to protect the animals from human diseases. However, the gorillas don't know this and some will come closer and even touch people out of curiosity, which visitors love but makes a mockery of the distance rule. The practice is to stay still and let them satisfy their curiosity when in reality, if gorillas' health is the main concern than either people should retreat slowly or the gorilla be gently shooed away.
[END BOX]

The Mountain Gorilla Veterinary Project (MGVP) was originally called the Volcano Veterinary Centre and was started by Dr. James Foster in 1986 at Kinigi, Rwanda, with sponsorship of the Morris Animal Foundation. It now includes Rwanda, Uganda and Congo and its main function is to provide health care through active monitoring. However, treatment is given only if the problem was caused by humans or is life-threatening.

In 1988 there was a measles outbreak among the Bwindi gorillas. After some heart-searching it was decided to vaccinate them since the disease is fatal to those with no resistance. Another

example of an intervention was against scabies, which is fatal to gorillas, and may have been picked up from refuse dumps outside human settlements. In recent times it has been found that the incidence of diarrhoea is growing.

## Habituation

The process of habituating gorillas to become used to humans is a long process and can take two years. It involves trackers going every day to a particular group and sitting with them making calming vocalisations and even pretending to eat leaves. For the first few months they remain hidden but will start to peek out of the vegetation.

When the silverback leader feels comfortable and decides that the trackers are not a threat then they will emerge to feed in the open. Gradually visitors are allowed to visit but the gorillas are monitored every day. Since they have lost their fear of humans they need extra protection. As one tracker put it

"The whole process is long and gruelling – it demands dedication and love for the gentle giants."

Among the research community this has become a fine art. By the 1990s, one, researching hormonal cycles, regularly placed beakers under squatting gorillas, to collect urine for testing. However it is now believed that habituation in Rwanda went too far and now more discreet distances are maintained. This is primarily to cut down the risk of infecting gorillas with human diseases.

Habituation is a continuous process due to the fact that troops sometimes split. When the troop reforms it may contain a mix of habituated and unhabituated individuals. Also, in the normal course of events, females switch troops and stray single males, mostly blackbacks, may join for short or long periods. The mix can result in very confused unhabituated gorillas; habituated gorillas then wonder what all the fuss is about.

The downside to tracking is more long-term. As gorillas loose their fear of humans they are easily caught and killed by poachers; responsible for more crop damage; and become more vulnerable to human diseases.

## Tracking Guideline Issues

The guidelines on visiting gorillas are very strict; this is due to concerns that humans may pass on diseases and this was one of the reasons that farmers and forest inhabitants were evicted from the parks. However there are problems with this approach. The likelihood of people passing on disease to primates is more likely to come from non-locals who wouldn't share the same immunities, unlike locals, plus diseases can also pass from primates to humans.

The Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) became involved in wild animal health in 1996 and its veterinary unit now focuses on investigations, interventions and management of disease with surveillance and monitoring. The unit is responsible for breeding and translocation programmes, nutritional assessment, and care and rehabilitation of rescued fauna from illegal trafficking and poaching. It is involved with problem animal control and safeguarding people's lives, property and livelihoods. However there is lack of technical infrastructure and experienced staff.

Furthermore, population pressure and the effects of climate change are causing more human wildlife interactions that increase the potential for disease transmission, particularly in new diseases such as HIV, Ebola and Marburg over the last thirty years and new strains of ever-evolving viruses such as malaria and TB.

Gorilla Tracking Rules by Uganda Wildlife Authority
No one with communicable disease (e.g. Flu, Diarrhoea) is allowed to enter the park
Stay together in a tight group while with the gorillas, do not surround them
Do not get closer than 7 meters (21 feet) to the gorillas
Do not use flashes while photographing the gorillas
Do not eat or smoke when with the gorillas or within a distance of 200 meters from the gorillas
Turn away from the gorillas if you have to sneeze or cough. Cover your nose and mouth in the process
Bury all human faeces a minimum of one foot deep and ensure that the hole is properly covered
Do not leave litter. All litter must be carried out of the park and disposed off properly
No person under 15 years is allowed to track gorillas
Do not make loud noise or move suddenly
You are allowed a maximum of 1 hour with gorillas
Do not spit on vegetation or soil while in the park; use your hankie or other garment
Your group must not be more than 6 tourists and must all be over 15 years old

Selected Sources
There is a large literature on gorillas; Fossey (1983) has the best pre-1980 bibliography. The Berggorilla & Regenwald Direkthilfe website has a more recent good bibliograpy

For the casual reader the following are recommended: Fossey and Schaller (1963 & 1966+) followed by Baumgartel (1976), Hansen (2000), Weber & Vedder (2001) and Wordsworth (1961); earlier works could include Carl Akeley (1923, now online free with his first wife's book Portraits of Africa), his second wife, Mary Jobe Akeley (1932), CRS Pitman (1931 & 1942), and Prince William of Sweden (1923). For the serious student of gorilla misinformation tracking down Richard Owen (1865 etc.) would be a fun priority, if for his English alone.

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[BOX] Poaching Pays?
From the Bwindi Researchers' Blog http://www.bwindiresearchers.wildlifedirect.org

“We have just received an official statement from UWA that the three men charged with the killing of Mizaano, the only blackback in Habinyanja group have been fined $20 and $40.

Preliminary findings from a post mortem carried out by doctors from the Conservation Through Public Health indicate that the gorilla died a brutal death. It was killed by a spear through the right shoulder into the lungs and it suffocated to death. It is probable that the poachers' dogs tried to fight the gorilla and in the process the blackback must have fought the dogs, and realising that their dogs are their life line, the poachers decided to save them by killing the gorilla.

UWA with the help of the Uganda Police sniffer dogs managed to track and arrest the suspected killers in Karambi Trading centre, Kanungu District. In addition, machetes and spears soiled with blood (purported to be) Mizaano's were discovered from the suspects' homes.

Everyone round the world waited to see a deserving punishment for the killers and the court process took its toll. To our dismay however, the presiding magistrate almost dismissed the case for lack of strongly incriminating evidence to specifically link the men to the death of the mountain gorilla.

On the premise that there was never a DNA test carried out to link the blood on the spears and machetes to the dead mountain gorilla, the magistrate found no absolute evidence to link the death to the men. Besides neither was UWA invited to render the necropsy results in court nor were the doctors who carried out the post mortem invited to give their testimony. The magistrate also noted that neither of the accused was found at the scene of crime.

In fact, two of the men could only be found guilty of resisting arrest (each with a fine of Uganda shillings 50,000 or $20), while the other could only be charged with possession of weapons presumed capable of harming wildlife and illegal park access with a fine of Uganda shillings 100,000 (about $40)".
[END BOX]

[BOX] Akeleys' Africa
While the Akeleys will be forever associated with mountain gorillas there was more to them that that as these biographical synopses indicate.

Carl Ethan Akeley (1864-1926), believed by many to be the father of modern taxidermy, was born in New York and was raised on a farm. After attending school for only three years he was apprenticed to Ward's Natural Science Establishment in Rochester and then moved to the Milwaukee Public Museum in 1886 for eight years. He created the world's first complete museum habitat diorama in 1890, primarily with North American specimens and developed his innovative techniques and methods in portraying animals in their natural environments.

In 1909 Akeley joined the American Museum of Natural Sciences. He later joined the Explorers Club in 1912, and, for qualifying, wrote Explorations in Somaliland and British East Africa. He became the Club's sixth president in 1917–1918. From the 1920s he began to specialize in African mammals and made a number of visits to the continent collecting animals, including one with Theodor Roosevelt in 1909.These were reconstructed in dioramas that had an individual or group in typical poses within a natural vegetation setting. These included his two trips to the Virunga Mountains, first to shoot and then to film mountain gorillas.

Akeley’s attitude towards collecting fundamentally changed and for the rest of his life he worked for the establishment of a gorilla preserve in the Virungas. In 1925, greatly influenced by Akeley, King Albert of Belgium established what became Albert National Park, Africa's first. He opposed hunting them for sport or trophies, but remained an advocate of collection for scientific and educational purposes. The Akeley Hall of Africa in the American Museum of Natural Sciences is named for him

He married firstly Delia Julia Denning, born 1875, in 1902. She accompanied him on his African journeys and played an essential role in his health and well-being. In 1923 they divorced (a chimpanzee is thought to be involved) and she carried on her own African ethnographic research and photography; her publications included African Portraits in 1930. She was one of the first westerners to explore the desert between Kenya and Ethiopia, and she explored the Tana River in a dugout canoe, from the Indian Ocean. She also lived for several months with the pygmies of Zaire. On her fourth expedition to Africa in 1929, she shot 5,000 feet of film and 1,500 stills; and while not a scientist, helped to pioneer the study of primates and indigenous peoples of Africa. She was a popular speaker on the lecture circuit. She remarried Dr. Warren D. Howe in 1939; he died 1951, and she in 1970.

Carl Akeley married secondly Mary Jobe Watson, born 1886, in 1924. After a short period teaching she joined Hunter College with an MA from Colombia University. In 1913 the Canadian Government commissioned her to study the customs and history of Eskimos and Indian tribes in the Canadian Northwest and she also explored the Canadian Rockies and mapped the Fraser River, 1914, and Mount Sir Alexander the following year. She was fellow and member of the Royal Geographic Society and American Geographical Society.

She accompanied her husband on his final trip to Africa when he died on Mount Mikeno in 1926. She continued the safari in Kenya and wrote Carl Akeley’s Africa describing their last trip and subsequent dealings with Belgian park authorities. She continued his works as an advisor and consultant to the Albert National Park when it expanded and was primarily responsible for the hands-off approach to park management and the retention of the Batwa in their traditional way of life. She was awarded the Cross of the Knight, Order of the Crown, by King Albert in recognition of her contribution.

Figure 7 Mary J. Akeley leaving Kabale

In 1935, she led an expedition through the Transvaal; Portuguese East Africa and Kruger National Park, filming wildlife, Swazi and Zulu. In 1947, the Belgian Government commissioned her to survey the parks and sanctuaries in the Congo. She filmed several endangered African mammals on this trip to raise awareness about conservation. She returned to Canada in a 'journey of rediscovery' and surveyed the Canadian women's war effort, as well as the military defences in Alaska. She died in 1966, aged 80, at Camp Mystic, a camp she had founded in 1914 to teach wildness survival, mixed with lectures by famous explorers, to the daughters of the well-to-do. She was "fiercely independent" to the end.
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## Chapter 1.5

### Other Primates

#### Introduction

Primates are divided into four categories: prosimians, monkey, apes and humans; or three, if apes and humans are classified together. They all descend from a common arboreal ancestor c. 60mya when speciation moved them downwards to the forest floors and out into the savannah. Those that stayed in the trees became the Prosimians while those that left developed and split into the ancestors of monkeys and apes, 27mya.

The monkey line forked 15mya into the Colobus and others; the latter then split 10mya into Baboons and Guenons. The latter include a bewildering fast-evolving and adapting set whose classification is often a matter of judgement, depending on criteria and paradigms. The ape line forked 9mya with the evolution of the gorilla and forked again 6mya with the evolution of the

chimpanzee. The other fork, for better or for worse, is now represented by you, the reader, and me, the writer.

Bwindi primates (excluding humans) are Mountain gorillas, Chimpanzee, l'Hoest Monkey, Redtail monkey, Blue monkey, Black and White Colobus and Olive baboon. These seven species, totalling c.12,000 primates, do not include the 3-4 Prosimians whose populations are unknown. The major difference between Bwindi and the Virungas is that the latter only has Blue and Golden monkeys while Bwindi has no Goldens. Gorillas, Chimpanzees, Golden and l'Hoest monkeys are vulnerable due to loss of habitat, as is the baboon to human hunting as it has an unfortunate liking for crops and chickens.

All species except baboons forage in the same forest habitats. Only the Black and white Colobus, one of the oldest primates in Africa, has a three chambered stomach capable of digesting leaves, others have not yet adapted to floral defences against herbivores that have evolved over longer periods.

Primate research tends to be concentrated on popular iconic ape species such as the chimpanzee and mountain gorilla. Other monkey species are less well known but even when researched the results can be confined to a university dissertation and thesis library. There are other practical considerations such as funding, infrastructure and access. Meanwhile successful research depends on whether the species is easy to habituate; secretive and suspicious animals are much more difficult to observe.

Generally only individual species are researched but the relationships between primate species in the environment are as important. One research program on the relationships between chimpanzees, Redtail, Blue and L'Hoest monkeys in Bwindi NP was carried out by Greenfield is described below; all related data and figures are from his 1988 thesis.

Prosimians

The first major family of primates are the Prosimians (Strepsirhini). These have not been so well regarded either being insulted as 'primitive' or damned with faint praise as 'progressive insectivores'. The first name is translated as 'monkey-forerunner', the more recent Latin tag as 'twist nosed'.

In fact they have an ancient genealogy, their ancestors, 60mya, were a tree species whose diet was primarily insects. From then some adapted to a more vegetarian diet while others split and became ancestors of monkeys and apes. They are related to the Madagascar lemurs (same sub-order) and similar but unrelated to Asian lorises and marsupials of Australasia and the Americas.

Lorsid (Loridae)

They are more commonly known as Pottos (Perodicticus potto) and are an arboreal species, 30-40cm in length and weighing 0.8-1.6kg. There are five subspecies of which the P. p. ibeanus is found in Bwindi. They are most likely to be found in low altitude montane forests and associated swamps.


Figure 8 Two pottos sparring (Pitman, 1930s)

Their diet is mixed insects and fruit; tree gum, a low-energy food, is eaten when there is little else. They are mostly solitary with overlapping home ranges of 9-40ha, with the exception of males who like to remain the general vicinity of females at regular intervals. Copulation is reported to be 'protracted'.

Galagos (Galagonidae)
Galagos are thought to have split from Pottos 22mya. Two genera are now extinct and another four survive with seven subgroups and c. 17 species that vary by length, 10-45cm, and weight, 60-2,000g. Subspecies are common and geographically distinct. They are primarily found in forests and woodlands where density of cover offers some protection from raptors, carnivores and other primates. Galagos' environments overlap as species inhabit exclusive habitats within a range and use differing methods of travel and forage.

Two subspecies identified in Bwindi are the Thomas's and Demidoff's galagos (Galagonides thomasi thomasi & demidoff anomurus). The Demidoff is the smallest primate in Africa: 7-15cm in length and 45-97g in weight; its ears are 24mm. Thomas's is slightly larger: 12.3-16.6cm in length and 55-150g in weight with slightly larger ears, 27mm.

Not much is known about either locally. They are often confused and it is often unclear which is which, given their shy nocturnal behaviour and rare sightings. Where the two species coexist the Thomas's prefer high canopy though expand lower or to secondary forest and woodlands when the Demidoff's is absent. Both primarily eat insects with a small amount of fruit, when in season, and gum when they have to. They are social animals, sleeping 10-12 in a heap, but tend to forage alone.

Monkeys
Black and White Colobus (Colobus abyssinicus)
There are five species and eight sub species of colobus in Africa. The name colobus comes from a Greek word meaning ‘crippled’, as they lack thumbs. They are further distinguished by having rump callosities, close set nostrils, tubular ears and no cheek pouches. In mountains they have longer and thicker fur.

They are mainly arboreal and can jump long distances, though their tails are not prehensile. They are not the most active of primates and rest a lot, spending the afternoons resting and grooming. They may only move 350m/1,150ft in a day as that's all it may take to eat 2-3kg/4.4-6.6lb of leaves. Their ranges are very small and they use visual and vocal displays to avoid or minimise competition and aggression between groups.

Their diet is 50-90% leaves. They have a three-chambered stomach that is capable of extracting cellulose from leaves. Competition from other primates is not an issue as they are the only species capable of prospering on such a diet. They are most common at more open forest edges where young more digestible leaves are at their most plentiful. Even so they are less common than expected given the wide availability of leaves. Other foods include fruit, bark, moss, insects and soil.

They are sometimes seen outside the forest feeding on eucalyptus that it has learnt to like. It has the very strange habit of entering houses, not to steal food, but to eat charcoal and ashes and lick concrete floors. The ashes must give some trace minerals essential to their diet, while charcoal is well known for its ability to absorb toxins such as those occurring in much of their leafy diet.

Their groups are small with 1-3 adult males, 2-4 adult females and offspring. They breed every two years and gestation lasts 5.5 months. They are not the most competent of mothers and make terrible baby-sitters; the most common source of infant mortality is being dropped from a tree. Bachelor males may band together or follow a family troop but keep a low profile until such time that they may take over from a leader whose power has declined with age or by injury. There were about 400 in Bwindi in the late 1990s.

Their main wild predators are golden cats, crowned hawk eagles, dogs and chimpanzees. Humans have hunted them for ceremonial use and trade since historic times, the first possible reference come from Marco Polo, late 13th century. Their pelts were commonly used to make coats and hats.

Olive Baboon (Papio anubis)
The baboon is not strictly a forest species and prefers savannah environments as they are adapted to open landscapes. Nowadays they live at the forest's margins as humans have taken over their normal habitats. They climb trees only to sleep and to forage for fruit.

As adults they weigh up to 50/30kg (male/female). Groups contain up to 45 individuals with several mature males but may split into two when foraging. They breed every two years and gestation is six months. Infants, black for the first six months, ride clinging to the mother's belly and then on her back. Males have manes of long hair around the neck and shoulders.

In the wild they eat grasses, fruit, insects and small animals; most of their intake is from plants. However they are committed and experienced raiders of farmland and a major threat to crops, poultry and incomes. The result is that they are treated as vermin and killed when discovered. As a result they may have become extinct in Echuya with only a small population in BINP, c. 1,000 in the late 1990s, due to the high density of surrounding humans and no buffer zones.

Baboon control featured large in colonial efforts to safeguard the Resettlement Schemes. Around this time one man was employed as a ‘baboon poisoner’ which resulted in 288 deaths in 1948, 229 by poison and 127 by village hunts in 1949, 1,017 in 1954 and many more in other years. They survive causing havoc in agricultural crops and have attracted many local bizarre stories that include one who was reported to have raided tourist cars for hamburgers while another was accused of rape.

According to Thor Hansen:

“Bakiga customs and folklore offered dozens of theories on baboon control: chase them with dogs, plant tea at the forest edge, tie bells to their tails, shoot the dominant male, or catch one and paint it white. The last method was said to work the best. When the ghostly-pale baboon ran back to join its troop, they would all flee in terror never to return. Unfortunately, another local belief made it impossible to put this technique into practice, as everyone in the village knew that any fool who painted a baboon white would surely die from lightning within the month.”

L'Hoest Monkey (Cercopithecus l’hoesti)
Very little is known about this species as they are rare, secretive and suspicious; there may only be five per km2 with a total of 1,000 in Bwindi in the late 1990s. As adults they weigh 3-6 kg /6.6-13lb/ (female/male). Groups average 25-30 and they may have a similar social structure to Blues and Redtails.

Their territorial and social structure is not well known. They tend to feed low foraging 60% of their time below 5m/16ft and their home ranges are 7-10km2/2.7-3.9ml2. They spend more time than other species on the ground, which may protect them against aerial predation. They sleep in tall trees.

Their diet is wild figs 40%, bushy growth 30% and insects 15%. However the quantity and quality of food at this level is the poorest of the forest so the question is: Did they evolve this way or have they been forced to this level by competition?

Given that they spend more time on the ground their main predator is the Golden Cat, though raptors experienced in low canopy predation may also be significant. They sometimes raid crops and were previously hunted here and the Rwenzori Mountains for their skins for shoulder bags. According to Pitman they were crop raiders around Bwindi and that

“The Baamba are most skilled in hunting this species with dogs under exceedingly difficult montane conditions, and a hunt is a highly organised operation in which the odds are on the monkeys; to participate in such a hunt is said to be a real thrill.”

Golden Monkeys (Cercopithecus niticans mitis kandti)
Golden monkeys, according to Kingdon (2001), are part of the silver monkey cluster of the C. n. m. subspecies of the C. n. super species (Gentle monkeys) of the C. sub-family (Guenons and allies) of the Cercopithecidae (Cheek-pouch monkeys) of the Primate order.

They are a rare cluster with only two other species C. doggetti and C. m. schoudtedeni. Both have become extinct in the Virungas, the former before 1991 and the latter since the 1970s. The latter is now only found on Shushu Island on nearby Lake Kivu. The former, Doggetti, interbreeds easily with the Bwindi Blues resulting in many colour variations. It is unusual that such close relations live together without isolating mechanisms but perhaps the Virungas acted as a refuge for species forced to migrate from more favourable habitats. Perhaps the Doggetti and Schoudtedeni were the migrants and are now extinct as per the ecological law of one species to one niche.

Golden monkeys are found only in three locations in Africa: Virunga Mountains and Gishwati and Nyungwe national park, the latter two are in Rwanda. Compared to the mountain gorilla, with which it shares the same habitat, little is known about this beautiful endangered species.

They are one of eight clusters of sub species of C. mitis in Africa and appear to have only recently evolved as inter-species breeding is common and successful. They are thought to be closely related to the Blue monkey, C. mitis. The date and reasons for their evolution are unknown as is the impact of forest clearance and disturbance in terms of their foraging strategies and food sources.

They are highly sociable arboreal herbivores that live in groups of around 30-50 and favour bamboo and mixed forest ecosystems. They are typical territorial primates with internal competition and defence against other groups, however not enough data has been gathered to be more specific as to their social behaviour.

Two groups of around 50 each have been habituated to humans and another is currently being habituated under a research programme.

Status

Currently they are under threat through loss of habitat and interbreeding in Gishwati and Nyungwe but whether inbreeding is an issue in the Virungas is unknown. They have the lowest infant to female ratio of all subspecies but it is unknown if this is a result of their evolution or a response to nutritional stress caused by habitat loss and disturbance. Their preferred habitat is undisturbed forest and they are very rarely seen in regenerating forest.

Various counts have been made since the late 1980s and it appears that their population rose from the mid-1980s until the late 1990s but have declined since, though counting groups is not an exact science and there are variations in methodologies and approaches that may influence the results. There were no overall estimates of the number of individuals; groups are usually 30-40. The census counts of 1998 and 2003 were made by the same researchers.

| Golden Monkey estimates | 1989 | 1998 | 1998 | 2003 | 2003 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. of groups | 116 | 132 | 132 | 46 | 46 |
| Estimated no. of groups per km2 | 3.24 | 6.03 | 5.11 | 4.28 | 3.31 |

Diet

Golden monkeys have been classed as frugivore (fruit eating) but 50-60% of their diet is bamboo, their protein source. The impact of human bamboo harvesting, shoots or culms, is unclear on their diet and the bamboo itself; it flowers very rarely here, maybe once over every 15 years. Their diet is limited primarily to five plants; bamboo, Maesa fruit (20%) and Hypericum flowers (7%) being the most important three; the second is only available August to September and the third from January to March.

They have a flexible eating strategy based on combinations of diet depending on the seasons. There are variations between groups; some eat more fruit, others more leaves and flowers. They appear to cope well in low fruit environments. Pregnant and lactating females sometimes eat insects.

The availability of Maesa fruit defines their home range. They frequently return to the same sleeping, resting and eating sites; the latter two tend to be close together. They sleep in groups of four on top of bamboo culms. Sleeping sites are chosen for good shelter against the wind with good access to food range.

Inter-species Interactions

The interbreeding and relationship status of golden and blue monkeys is unknown. That they are disappearing through interbreeding with other sub species does not explain why they evolved in the first place. Has disappearing forests forced golden monkeys to move into less favoured habitats where there is more competition for food and niches?

In Virunga no research has been done on blue monkeys or comparative research on primate inter-species relationships or interbreeding. This raises some questions: How do they each utilise their niches? Do their territories overlap horizontally and vertically? Is their relationship antagonistic, competitive or co-operative, such as Blue and Redtail monkey in Bwindi NP?

Blue Monkey (Cercopithecus mitis)

These are the most widespread in BINP. Adults weigh 3.5kg/7.7lb and 6kg/13lb (female/male). There were 3,100 in the late 1990s in Bwindi and at least an equal amount in the Virungas as they are found at all altitudes. There were a further 132 groups in Echuya Forest Reserve. They are slow moving. Their groups of 30-35 are single male and multi female.

Males compete in the groups and may join another group; if a male is completely unsuccessful he may pair off with a female of another sub species. Females stay with their natal group; they are responsible for most inter-group aggression and infighting. Females are sexually mature at 5-6 and breed every two years with a slow annual increase. Infanticide is rare. It interbreeds easily with a close relation, the Silver monkey.

There are 41 individuals per km2. They forage in diverse patches and mostly eat fruit, 40% wild fig, with some insects and plant leaf when there is no fruit. They mostly forage in middle canopy layer. Their main predators are large raptors but are less vulnerable due to their size; mothers with infants avoid risky open spaces. It occasionally raids farms but not around Echuya Forest Reserve where local people describe them as “friendly and innocent”. They were hunted for skins and eaten by the Batwa.

Redtail Monkey (Cercopithecus ascanius)
Redtails have seven sub species with various hybrids in Africa, between Uganda and Cameroon; the Uganda Redtail is found in Bwindi. According to Kingdon, Redtails have spread east and west in recent times and may therefore be a recent evolution.

They are the smallest primate in BINP. Adults weigh 3-4 kg/6.6-8.8lb (female/male). They are the most numerous species in BINP, 5,500 in the late 1990s, but don't go above 1,800m/5,900ft. They are likely to be less numerous in the Virungas. They move rapidly and are very agile. Their groups of 30-35 are single male and multi female.

Males compete in the groups and may join another group; if a male is completely unsuccessful he may pair off with a female of another sub species. Females stay with their natal group; they are responsible for most inter-group aggression and infighting but will join together to attack a male if he attacks a female. Females are sexually mature at 4-5 years and they breed every 1-2 years. Infanticide is rare.

There are about 132 individuals per km2 and their home ranges are 1.3-24km2. They feed on dispersed patches and eat in widely spaced areas; they spend more time feeding as they search for sparsely distributed fruits. They prefer disturbed and secondary growth forest. Their light weight gives them access to more precarious light branches than their heavier competitors.

They feed 30% of the time below 13m/42ft, 50% 13-25m/42-82ft and 20% to 25-37m/82-121ft. They eat 1kg/2.2lb at a time but use cheek pouches for storage. They hunt insects by stealth, sneaking up and pouncing, rather than substrate manipulation. They spend less time with their favourite wild fig than expected and spend more time on smaller, more difficult to find, fruits. They may be under competitive pressure and forced to diversify.

Their main predators are large raptors; their main defence is avoidance of open spaces, particularly on trees, and association with Blue monkeys. They raid crops and are seen as a pest.

Apes
Chimpanzee (Pan troglodytes schweinfurthii)
This iconic great ape species has been well documented as a close relation to humans. Adults of both sexes can weigh 45kg/100lb, though females maybe only 30kg/66lb. There were about 860 in Bwindi in the late 1990s but only 300-400 ten years later. Their social structure is markedly different from most other primates, being a community of individuals who share a range but freely join or split rather than travelling as a cohesive troop.

Males remain in their natal community, while females tend to emigrate. Mothers can form matrilineal groups with their offspring and sometimes grand-offspring. Group size varies between one and 40, the latter during food abundance or when oestrous females are present. Both sexes may take defensive duties, but males are the principal defenders of the community’s range against neighbouring groups.

Females become sexually mature at 11-13 years and advertise oestrus with a prominent pink perineal swelling. They may mate with many males though not necessarily during oestrus. Gestation is eight months. Mothers invest more time, up to seven years, in raising infants and transmission of learned behaviour. The interval between births is around five years.

They have a large home range of around 10km2 though focus on small patches of valuable high-energy food. They travel long distances easily usually on the ground. They are omnivorous but prefer fruit (85% wild fig), and feed in the middle and top layers of canopy and use tools for extracting food. They are successful predators of many different mammal species such as monkeys and duikers.

They don't have specific nesting places and at night make new nests with flexible branches bent into a dish-shaped platform and lined with leaves. These are similar to gorilla nests and told apart by their faeces.

Inter-species Relationships: The Wild Fig

One key to understanding inter-species relationships between the Redtails, Blues, Hoest and Chimpanzees in BINP is the wild fig (Ficus capensis), one of 40 wild species found in Uganda. It is believed to be 60-80 million years old but that the main dispersal was 20-40 million years ago. It is a tall slender tree whose fruit ripens suddenly in large quantities and is the preferred food of many primates. It is not widely dispersed and has an open crown, unprotected against raptors. Its fruit is the size of a ping pong ball, a cover of flesh enclosing a ball of seeds. It is a source of inter species competition that defines their relationships and pecking order.

Figs were one of the first domesticates, 11,000 years ago, and predates grain by several thousand years in the Middle East. It is popular for firewood and making beer barrels. Carpenters favour it as it is easily worked but is not durable. Tea made from its bark is widely used as a traditional medicine against gastrointestinal parasites and research indicates that it is effective against Escheria coli and Shigella SP but not against S. typhi. The Igede clans of Nigeria use it as a cure for dysentery and as a wound dressing.

Dominance

The species in order of dominance are the Chimpanzee, Blue monkey, Hoest monkey and Redtail monkey. If many chimpanzees are feeding in a fig tree no other species will approach. Second are the Blue monkeys who will chase away the others and the Redtail will defer to the Hoest. The methods of dominance include mock charge, chase and indirect intimidation. All aggressive encounters have Blue victories over fig trees, excluding Chimpanzees. Though given the variations in their group size it may be that a very small number of chimpanzees may either coexist or give way to a large group of Blues.

Co-Existence

However Redtails have compensated by striking up an alliance with the Blues. They tend to travel and feed together.

They both gain in the defence against raptor predators; two separate perspectives from different heights complement each other in spotting birds of prey. The Redtail probably gains more

because due to its small size; it is far more vulnerable to being snatched from a branch by a swooping bird. They are rarely found on this tree or open ground on their own, it is far too dangerous. Redtails are also protected against intimidation by the Hoest in company with the Blues.

The Redtail's agility is its advantage and they probably reciprocate by finding food when no figs are available. Its speed allows it to search larger areas more quickly. It may also be indirectly beneficial to other primates, as their calls would alert the presence of food.

This relationship between primates is unique in Bwindi. Many ignore others when their feeding zones don't overlap but when they do then dominance comes into play. The Chimpanzee and Blues, though dissimilar, have not yet evolved separated niches so they tend to eat the same foods from the same zones.

Ecological theory states that when two species compete for the same niche than one becomes extinct. However this is not happening in Bwindi, both species coexist and there is no evidence that one is expanding to the exclusion of the other. In other parts of Africa, Chimpanzees are five times denser when they have no serious competitors and Blues are four times denser if there are no Chimpanzees.

On a broader level the reasons how these four species coexist under competitive conditions, the specialisation of the wild fig, are not clear. Perhaps their associations outweigh the disadvantages. They may be disadvantaged more by the extinction of a competitor. However, if a competitor becomes extinct than the populations grows; evolutionary success is not necessarily always about numbers and growth, which is an interesting twist to evolutionary and ecological theory.

Or maybe that's just the way it worked out with no one species being able to be completely dominant since their niches are not exactly the same. Overlap is minimised as they feed at slightly different levels of the forest. The two arboreal species forage at similar heights overlapping a little with chimps, who feed lower down, while the Hoest is the lowest of them all.

Predation

A third aspect is predation. Raptors have not been so much affected though their numbers have probably decreased at the forest edge through hunting and poisoning. The main change is on the ground as the leopard is now extinct; its impact on primate populations is now unknown. It probably had species preferences; it may have preferred slower larger prey as the energy needed to catch a Redtail in relation to its small size was probably uneconomic. It is likely that monkey populations have increased though not necessarily at the same rate, i.e. the Redtails can breed yearly while Chimpanzees every five years.

Conclusion

Primate population dynamics since the extinction of the leopard is unknown. Evidence now suggests that the Golden Cat is taking over the leopard's niche and becoming the dominant predator in Bwindi. It is one of the few that feeds on monkeys as part of its specialisation on medium sized mammals.

It is worth adding that this research only relates to BINP, for instance the primate species mix and population dynamics in the Virunga Mountains differ, as is not the same type of environment, rolling hills versus high volcanoes. No two island biogeography are alike but evolve depending on location, geology, geomorphology, climate (macro and micro) and specific influences over space and time. Specifically, it would be very interesting to know the relationship between the Golden and Blue monkeys.

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## Chapter 1.6

### Carnivores

All carnivores are descended from the one ancestral group of species (Miacid) who were prominent worldwide 60-50mya. Different areas gave rise to various groups; many colonised all continents. In Africa the main groupings are: Dogs, Mustelids, Mongoose, Hyaenids, Genets and Civets and Cats.

#### Dogs (Canidae)

Dogs evolved as genera in North America and became dog, wolf and fox/jackal. The Side-striped jackal (Canis aclustus, length: 70-80cm, height: 35-45cm, weight: 3-12kg) appears to be the most recent jackal species since the Common jackal (Canis aureus) originated in Eurasia and the Black-backed Jackal (Canis mesomelas), though an old species, is only found in two areas. The Side-striped survives in many habitats; doing well in moister climates up to 2,700m. Its habitat is complementary to the Common jackal that prefers more arid conditions. Its niche may exclude tropical foxes. The local status of Wild dog (Lycaon pictus) is unknown, none were recorded during the colonial period.

Mustelids (Mustelidae)
Mustelids are primarily Eurasian; only a few species have adapted to Africa, the earliest fossils are 5mya. They are divided into Weasels and Otters.

Weasels (Mustelinae)
The Zorilla (Ictonyx striatus, length: 30-38cm, height: 22-30cm, weight: 700-1,400g) is divided into three groups of 22 subspecies. As a species they are renowned for their noxious anal secretions used in defence and dominance conflicts. They can stalk and pounce, dig, and bite deep depending on the prey, i.e. a small mammal, burrow species or reptile. The status of local group (I. s. erythrae) is unknown, as is the Striped weasel (Poecilogale albinucha); both prefer the open ground of the highlands.

The Ratel or Honey badger (Mellivora capensis, length: 60-77cm, height: 16-30cm, weight: 7-16kg) is common and found in many habitat types. It is primarily carnivorous preferring insects and small species that can be easily killed. They are vulnerable and declining, the main threats are livestock disease, trapping and poisoning; the latter two because it raids beehives and small poultry

Otters (Lutrinae)
The four otter species originate in Eurasia but two are specifically African, the Swamp (Aonyx congica) and Clawless (Aonyx capensis) otters. A. c. Philippsi is a sub species of the former and called after its discoverer, L.E.T. Philipps (Kigezi D.C. 1918-21). It is found at the most eastern part of the A. congica range, including where it was first discovered, Lake Bunyoni. The Clawless otter (length: 72-92cm, height: 40-71cm, weight: 12-34kg) is divided into 11 subspecies though this division is not accepted by all. They mainly eat crabs; also frogs, fish, birds and small mammals. They are hunted for their skins and fish-farm raiding.

Mongoose (Herpestidae)
There are 24 species of mongoose, four are immigrants; the others evolved in Africa in three centres: equatorial forests, East African woodlands and the Kalahari Desert.

The Slender Mongoose (Herpestes sanguinea, length: 26-34cm, height: 23-31cm, weight: 350-800g) is commonly found and divided into four groups and c. 70 subspecies. The H. s. ochracae is the central and east African group. Like all of mongoose species, they rely on tracking and speed; the Slender's ability to climb trees and negotiate branches quickly is a factor in its success.

The Banded mongoose (Mungos Mungo, length: 30-45cm, height: 15-30cm, weight: 1.5-2.5kg) is divided into four groups and 20 subspecies; the M. m. colonus is East African. Like the Slender they are fast and efficient hunters and have learnt to colonise cleared forest and agricultural margins.

There are a few other possibilities. The Alexander's Cusimanses (Crossarchus alexandri minor, length: 35-44cm, height: 22-32cm, weight: 1-2kg) at the eastern side of its range – it is also found on Mt. Elgon. It is shaggier, with a crest, and ground-dwelling focusing on swampy areas in rain forests. The Marsh Mongoose (Atilax paludinosus robustus, length: 46-64cm, height: 32-53cm, weight: 2.2-5kg) prefers water courses and papyrus swamps and the White tailed Mongoose (Ichneumia albicauda, length: 41-71cm, height: 35-50cm, weight: 2-5kg) is found in many habitats, including man-made.

Hyaenids (Hyaenidae)
There are no records of hyenas in the highland forests and they are not listed in carnivore surveys of the parks. This is not surprising as they are open environment species and not associated with forests. They share a common ancestry with civets, 25mya, and evolved in either Africa or Eurasia. Larger species have since gone extinct. Bone-crushing dentition is first found 10mya.

There are intriguing references in the 192030s in the Virungas of a large hyena that also was known as a man-eater, which was hunted to extinction soon after. No specimens were ever recovered so it is now difficult to say if it existed and, if so, whether it is a sub species of the Striped hyena (Hyena hyaena) or the Spotted hyena (Crocuta crocuta).

From Pitman (1931) comes the following

“In recent years numerous lions, leopards and hyenas, responsible for the loss of numbers of human lives have been hunted down and killed in the Virungas; an area where leopards and hyenas are notorious for their unusual size.”

He adds that they were recognised as different by locals because while leopards were skinned, hyenas were taboo. Ekyooha (Rukiga for'greedy gobbler') a term used for the black leopard may more describe a dog's eating habits rather than a cat's; the dog family bolt their food while cats are more leisurely.

Genets and Civets (Viverridae)
A successful group that is mostly found in tropical rain forests but have adapted to other habitats. The first fossils of their ancestors are dated to 25mya. They are divided into two main groups with species and not-always-recognised sub species.

Species found here may include the Blotched Genet (Genetta tigrina, length: 4-55cm, height: 40-54cm, weight: 1.2-3kg ), Servaline Genet (Genetta servalina, length: 41-50cm, height: 35-44cm, weight: 1-2kg), West African Linsang (Poiana leightoni, length: 30-38cm, height: 35-40cm, weight: 500-700g) and African palm civet (Nandinia binotata, length: 45-58cm, height: 50-62cm, weight: 2-3kg).

Its glandular secretions were a popular ingredient of perfumes as a fixative.

Cats (Felidae)
They are a diverse group, from 2-260kg, that are primarily carnivorous unlike many other carnivores that more omnivorous. There are ten species in Africa with specific habitat preferences.

Wild cat (Felix sylvestris, length: 45-73cm, height: 20-38cm, weight: 3-6.5kg) and serval cat (Felix serval, length: 67-100cm, height: 24-35cm, weight: 11-13kg) are common in the highlands, though the former is not as well known as the Serval. The main highlands predator is the Golden cat (Felix aurata, length: 61-101cm, height: 16-46cm, weight: 5.5-18kg) that has taken over from the leopard (see below).

Local Overview
The main carnivores locally are jackal, civet, golden cat, honey badger, zorilla, otter, genet, mongoose and, possibly, leopard. Leopards are extinct in Bwindi, since 1945-68, and maybe extinct in the Virungas and three other species are doubtful. Generally arboreal and nocturnal species are little known. The side-striped jackal is not a forest species but has adapted to forest life as wild savannah, as a local habitat, has disappeared.

In terms of habitat preferences the jackal and African civet are found in degraded forest, palm civet and golden cat in mature forest. Others can be found in all habitats, though most prefer higher altitudes. The Canidae; civets, serval cat, Egyptian mongoose and zorilla prefer the interior. The honey badger and otters are found nearer to forest peripheries and humans as was the golden cat until recently.

Mongoose and otters are generalists and are found at forest edges and degraded forest, low altitude grassland and moist habitats. Most Bwindi carnivores are solitary except for the mongoose, otter and some mated pairs of others. They mostly are terrestrial and hunt at night, a few are arboreal and day-time hunters.

All are opportunists and only the golden cat and otters are specialists in one type; medium sized mammals for the former and fish for the latter. Food abundance is determined by the percentage of ground cover; high levels offer protection to prey but also attract more carnivores. The main prey are monkeys, duikers, bush pigs, goats, civets, small mammals, birds, zorilla, beetles, bees, molluscs and other insects, while all eat some fruit or leaves in the wild.

Carnivores aren't 100% meat eaters; most eat some plant material in much the same way many herbivores eat meat. They are flexible in what they eat due to variations in prey availability.

[BOX] Primary Prey of Selected carnivores in Bwindi NP
Jackals: small mammals, insects, domestic refuse, food crops and safari ants; groups can carry prey
African civets: food crops and domestic refuse, small mammals, some fruit and leaves
Serval and wild cats: small mammals, insects, birds and eggs

Golden cats: medium sized herbivores, duikers, monkeys and bush pigs, small mammals, birds and eggs
Palm civets: birds, eggs, insects, small mammals and fruit
Genets: small mammals, insects, birds, eggs and fruit
Mongoose (land): birds, eggs, fruit, banana, mollusc and millipedes
Mongoose (water): molluscs, insects and fish
Otters: fish, insects and molluscs
[END BOX]

Raids on Farms

They have major impacts on farm livelihoods and subsistence. Surveys of households around Bwindi show that 95% of them have been affected by raiding, though the figures seem to be exaggerated. The worst offenders are jackals and African civet who raid village refuse piles, standing crops (cowpea seeds, millet fruit, potatoes) and livestock, particularly goats and poultry. The serval cat takes sheep and goats; only one-third of its farm prey is poultry. The wild cat, genets and slender mongoose concentrate on poultry. Many also eat crops.

As a result they are heavily hunted though the sensible farmer protects his flocks with strong huts and palisades. Most farmers have guard and hunting dogs that can, with their feral brothers, interfere and compete with wild carnivore hunting at the forest's edge. Meanwhile care needs to be taken with the jackal as attacks on humans are not uncommon.

However the main problem with hunting carnivores is that their main diet is small mammals. The disappearance of carnivores causes an increase of these populations and plagues in farmland can cause havoc and far more serious crop losses. However about 80% of people living adjacent to the parks are negative about carnivores; only 20% are positive, with the unrealistic caveat that predators stay in the parks.

Traditional Hunting

The Batwa believe that a jackal's heart improved physical performance and they used its meat as medicine; its hair was used to ward off evil spirits, as was an otter's. The zorilla's flesh was also believed to have strong healing powers particularly for breast diseases of women. However care needs to be taken in capture as they squirt noxious anal secretions at predators, which irritates the eyes and can even cause temporary blindness. The African civet was a delicacy. Serval cats were popular while genets were used for hat making.

Genets were culturally revered. To see a genet's carcass caused skin disease, but to see a live one was very good luck so long as you didn't tell anyone otherwise you could get sick. Wild cats were sacred but a bad omen for women.

Animal hides were the only material for clothing until textiles were introduced on a large scale by Europeans from 1910; there are references that hides were still worn in the 1950s. Most of these came from goats but wild animal hides were also popular; there was status to be had with a good quality hide. Batwa specialised in the curing and tanning of hides for local markets. According to John Roscoe, 1919-20, the skins of leopards and wild cats were used for aprons worn by warriors and house rugs.

In some cases medicine men and women used hides to absorb specific powers in their spiritual rituals. Hunting for the Western fashion trade up to the 1960s was common. The introduction of protection has helped to preserve many species but they are still vulnerable to poaching whose ultimate market is the very rich and pachydermatous.

Leopard (Pantherus pardus)
Once spread all over the continent and southern Europe and Asia, leopards have hunted for centuries, for sport during the Roman Empire and, in more modern times, due to the belief they were vermin who needed to be eradicated combined with the demand for their skins. The coat, which is excellent camouflage, is a geometric abstraction that averages the light and shade in its environment. Coat colour varies across Africa, with one of the darkest variations found in Uganda's Rwenzori Mountains where the environment is more open and colder; black is a more efficient heat absorber.

Leopards are primarily nocturnal. They are solitary and stealthy hunters that feed on diverse prey, mainly found close to the margins of thick cover. Hyraxes, hares, birds, reptiles, fish, monkeys and baboons can be found on their menu, among other food. In extreme cases they become livestock and man-eaters.

Bwindi Researchers, in discussing leopards in Bwindi, say

“We acknowledge that some authorities, including Jonathon Kingdon, do not accept these past leopard records as well founded and do not believe there is any good evidence that these cats persisted/existed in Bwindi in recent decades or even centuries.”

This is a strange conclusion since the forest and adjacent bush is prime leopard habitat with good opportunities for predation; also they seem to have been well-adapted to open landscapes. It was the top predator in the highlands and had no competition for larger prey; golden cats, jackals and hyenas are very much smaller. There is no evidence that lions (with a few recorded exceptions) or cheetahs ever hunted in the highlands, as they prefer the savannah at lower altitudes.

Figure 9 “A cultivated portion of S.W. Kigezi in which man-eaters established a reign of terror” (Pitman, 1930s)

There is plenty of evidence from local traditions, park rangers, colonial officials and evangelists, who either saw or hunted them as a public service. It is hardly likely they are all wrong, since it hard to confuse a leopard with anything else. Concluding they were in Bwindi and surrounds is the only sensible interpretation.

[/BOX] How to Catch a Leopard
In the following slightly abridged account of a traditional method of trapping wild animals from Kigezi and its People by Paul Ngologoza, The translators incorrectly identified ntaragwe as Golden Cat. Rwata, according to them, “in emotional content the closest English word is 'bastard'”. It is a straightforward insult with no specific meaning.

“In the same year, 1908, there was fear because of the beasts named ntaragwe which ate many people by day and by night. It was thought that these beasts took to eating people as a result of eating bodies of the victims of Rwaramba (the terrible famine that decimated Kigezi), sometimes referred to as Mushorongo or Rwanyaizoba. Even when Mushorongo ended, these animals, which had been used to eating dead bodies, took to hunting those who were alive, but some attribute their coming to a curse from the creator whom the people wronged.

Mahiirane (the son of Karamagi who was killed by a leopard) gathered his friends to come together to fight the beast. This was done by cutting big trees, gathering many big stones and making a very strong trap buriba (a fall-trap built above the ground). He fixed poles on either side and laid a trap. He made it look like a house and he put under the trap a trap-spring rutambasyoko. Behind it he put a sheep and cow's after-birth.

The devil of the rutaragwe that had been used to entering houses and eating people, when it saw the trap's entrance, and heard the sheep and smelled the cow's after-birth rejoiced, and stretched itself walking towards the trap. Matters became terrible when it stepped over the trap spring, for as it did so, all the trees and stones crumbled down; the devil made such a terrible noise that, together with that made by the falling stones and trees, it awoke many people.

Mahiirane bravely went out with spears, and others who had a brave heart followed him, by moonlight. They found the devil trying to lift the trap, but was unable to do so for all the stones and trees had broken its chest bones and crushed its head. Then Mahiirane pushed his spear through a passage in the trees, entered it into the anus of the Rwata and left it inside. And thus it gave up the ghost”

In the 1920s and 1930s there were gun traps, according to Bill Church, one was

“a two partitioned trap with logs, one part with the goat safely inside it, and the front one with a shot gun and trip-wire that would get the intruder first”
[END BOX]

Leopards weren't confined to the forests; there are references to them elsewhere. Prince William of Sweden describing Bafumbira, 1923, wrote:

“There was a scarcity of big game on the Bafumbira plain, but plenty of birds. The district is too densely populated and cultivated and the Ba-twa have poached to such an extent that wild animals have practically disappeared. A few leopards, pigs and antelopes are all that remain of the larger animals, except several mongoose and the amusing porcupines.”

Even though Kigezi had the reputation of being one of the most densely populated rural areas in Africa in the early 1900s, population density was 10% of what it is now at c. 39 persons per km2. The highlands were the most densely populated part of Kigezi, probably around 50 persons per km2, (using 1948 breakdown of 76 in the district and 139 in the highlands). It is now 386 in the district and 518 in the highlands. It can be therefore surmised that there was far more bush, forest and mixed slash burn and fallow land then there is now. In other words Kigezi wildlife biodiversity was far richer and more extensive in than it is now.

Evangelists found themselves regularly hunting while on safari. It was part of their service to the public to rid communities of dangerous predators and other large mammals. According to Dr. Stanley Smith, 1930s,

“Hunting leopards is dangerous work, but no man who can shoot could refuse to risk even his life itself to save those helpless people, children mostly, from such a treacherous foe.”

Figure 10 Wounded by a leopard, c.1930

There were two medical safaris a year to Lake Edward, primarily to check out sleeping sickness among the Bahunde fishing communities. They regularly shot man-eating lions as well, according to Dr. Sharp:

“The lions of Toro were as notorious as the lions of Tsavo in Kenya”

Meanwhile two CMS missionaries, Joe Church and Capt. Geoffrey Holmes, attached to the Ruanda Mission based in Kabale, were badly wounded and had narrow escapes while hunting man-eating leopards around Gahini, Rwanda, in 1928; one measured 8' 4” from head to tail when pegged out.

Constance Hornby who disapproved of hunting, on a visit to Seseme, adjacent to Kisoro, 1935

“A leopard killed eight goats right in front of the camp I was at yesterday, in the long grass, of course. He just killed them and, I suppose, drank their blood. That is why I hate leopards so; they kill for the joy of killing, not like lions because they are hungry.”

Mary Sharp, daughter of dr. Len Sharp, on staying with Hornby in Rugarama, adjacent to Kabale, late 1920s

“I remember several times there were leopards outside just outside during the night. Once she was outside her front door with her dog, a leopard took the dog from right beside her; and another time a leopard came very close to her bed by an open window on the veranda.”

Joyce Gower, nee Sharp, daughter of Len Sharp, on a typical medical safari from Lake Bunyoni to Kisoro, c. 1930, over Behungi Ridge, then the main route before the Kabale-Kisoro road was built

“The forest (Echuya) was home for buffaloes, leopards and a species of mountain elephant... We had camped there, the dogs securely tied in the tent from possible attack from leopards”

Man and Livestock Hunters
A largely unknown impact of rinderpest in the 1890s in Uganda was that it decimated the ungulate population. Predators turned to bush pigs and drove them to extinction in many places. There followed intense competition among all predators for smaller prey, such as small mammals. Primates were too large or arboreal to suffer much. This probably was initially beneficial to farmers who would have noticed a decline of crop raids.

In 1895 and 1905 there were two extremely serious drought-famines. The second, Mushorongo, was called after the rows of human corpses by the side of the paths; easy food for a hungry scavenger. Meanwhile cattle were rare as rinderpest had killed 95% of them. Surviving animals were jealously guarded against animal (and human) raiders, which here mean the leopard, and when they found them too well guarded, it was then but a small step to attacking live humans.

This appears to have caused a change in their behaviour because they are found attacking houses at night when all were asleep or during the day while unsuspecting people were working in the fields or travelling alone.

Theo Kassner, 1911, recorded

“A lion who has who has never fed on human flesh will not attack except when driven to bay. He will generally slink away. But the lion who has once tasted human flesh becomes a man-eater and man-hunter.

Around the station of Ruchuru lions and leopards abound in such numbers that it is quite unsafe to venture out after dark, and the roaring of the brutes round the dwellings and sometimes on the

verandas disturbs the slumbers of the inhabitants. It is of the greatest importance that all windows, doors, or openings should be closed after sundown, because, strange to say, these animals will enter a house more readily than a tent.

Two of my carriers, while fetching water from the river were carried off, and we heard their agonising screams as they died away in the dark distance, but could render them no succour."

CRS Pitman, Game Warden of Uganda, 1921-55, has an extensive discussion, (A Game Warden among his Charges, 1931) on man-eating predators from the first post-boy, who was eaten between Moshi and Taveta in 1908 while carrying mails,. He has a photo of a treeless Kigezi landscape that is captioned 'A cultivated portion of S. W. Kigezi, in which man-eaters established a reign of terror'.

For example, one in 1916 is thought to have killed 100 people in Kinkiizi. It was very hard to trap as it ignored goats and sheep and concentrated on herders, particularly children. Cattle herders were very vulnerable as often all they had to protect themselves were sticks and stones. The CMS hospital in Kabale reported many casualties of confrontations with lions, leopards and boars in the 1920s.

As late as 1920 houses in Kabale had to be barricaded against them; compounds had their own palisade defences. Otherwise

"(It) enters through a small place and kills by lying silently on its human victim, getting the whole throat and face in its jaws, and staying thus until the victim is suffocated. It then carries him off."

This was done so silently that other room occupants slept through unaware.

By the 1930s they seem mostly to have disappeared as a public menace. They perhaps returned to their traditional prey as those populations recovered and increased. Another factor, according to Pitman, was,

"In recent years numerous lions, leopards and hyenas, responsible for the loss of numbers of human lives have been hunted down and killed in the Virungas; an area where leopards and hyenas are notorious for their unusual size."

Colonial records have many references to leopards. In 1923 they were described as numerous all over Rukiga and in some parts of the other three counties. Rukiga County, which then included Ndorwa, was by that time primarily treeless.

"The agent of Rukiga reported that leopards were causing considerable alarm in Kitanga; in a few days' eleven men were injured, three of them dying later. Orders were issued to hunt them."

In 1930 two were shot, one had mauled a person. In 1931 they were troublesome, one was shot below 'CMS hill'; i.e. Rugarama adjacent to Kabale. One killed livestock and a child at Kinarina in 1932. In 1948 three were killed in Nyarusiza, one with spear. By this time the Game Warden

was offering bounties for their skins. In1949 bounty was paid for 13 skins of leopards killed in defence of livestock. They were sold for 150/-, which provided compensation for the loss of goats, sheep & dogs. In 1954 five were shot during Resettlement Scheme hunts.

No doubt a a search of the remaining Kigezi Annual District reports combined with the Game Warden's annual reports would provide many further examples.

Black Leopards
In fact there appears to have been a specific subspecies in the Virungas. Pitman describes it as follows

“The ondrlarwo, judging by the accounts of amateur investigators, seems to be a partly melanistic leopard. The general description is that in shape, size, characteristics and claws it was a leopard, but in colour it was almost black on the back, lightning to hyena grey on the flanks. The skin was practically devoid of the usual leopard spots and had only a few of the customary markings on the extremities and round the lower jaw. According to native reports it is a very fierce animal, hunting in threes and fours and known to be a man eater. Also it had a peculiar laugh uttered only when hunting.

Mountain gorillas were also prey, relying on sneak attacks. The Batwa said that it was only on rare occasions that these leopards were unsuccessful through some mistake or miscalculation.

Pitman has further discussion of these larger leopards and hyenas but first it is necessary to clear up confusion over names.

| Local Names | Leopard | Black Leopard | Cheetah |
|---|---|---|---|
| Rukiga | engwe | ekyooha | ruturargwe/enturargwe |
| Rufumbira | ingwe | ntaragwe | uruturangwe |
| Luganda | engo | kintale engo | ruturargo/enturargo |
| * | | (wonder leopard) | |

Ekyooha is also translated as 'greedy gobbler' (of food), as a description of its eating habits. The name may have come from Batwa. In Rufumbira (as well as Rukiga) it is called ntaragwe after a cheetah, for which there are no records for the highlands. The reason may be this: according to the Batwa, if you call an animal by its name in the forest you will never find it. Imagine therefore a group of villagers out hunting a man-eating leopard with spears, bows and rocks, led by Batwa guides. They will misname their quarry to ensure that they find it. Over time this misnaming became standard and the original word, if there was one, is now, perhaps, forgotten.

The question of whether ekyooha refers to the black leopard may also be raised since a 'greedy gobbler' more describes a dog's eating habits rather than a cat's; the dog family bolt their food while cats are more leisurely. It is possible that it referred to the man-eating hyena then reported in the Virungas.

One needs to be careful, however; take ikimizi, mentioned by Prince William of Sweden, 1921, who described it as a lion-leopard cross that was grey, had dark spots and a beard. It lived in

caves but hadn't been seen for a long time. Ikimizi in Rufumbira means 'to swallow' and refers to the python; it appears that the Prince ikimizi a tall tale – a not uncommon experience for the unwary writer and researcher.

The last appearance of a leopard, so described, was in 1961. According to Baumgartel (1967) a very large leopard arrived on the Virunga Mountains and started killing many gorillas, far more than it needed to. It may have been completely black or very dark spotted; no clear identification was ever made, but was spotted independently more than once.

Such was the impact that permission was given to hunt and kill the predator. However it always retreated back to the Albert National Park where it was protected; the Belgian park authorities at that time believed in complete non-interference in the affairs of nature. The leopard disappeared after a couple of years, nobody knows where, perhaps to fresh hunting grounds.

However, according to Heminway, Rueben, gorilla tracker and witness attached to Travellers' Rest hotel, said in 1964 (about 3-5 years later) that it was “nonsense” and claimed

“The real culprits were poachers – pygmies starving in the Congo. And who was to blame them?”

However his reliability may be questioned, he seems embittered. In Baumgartel's book Reuben relates a story of how, when he strayed into Rwanda with a client, c. 1960, he witnessed the massacre of a troop of gorillas by people he identified as Batwa; they allegedly killed the gorillas because they had disturbed their hunting – they apparently didn't take any body parts. However, he had the traditional Bahutu dislike of Batwa and they were serious competitors as wildlife tourist guides. On the other hand he said they came from the Congo, nowhere does he say local Batwa were responsible.

Such behaviour was totally untypical of Eastern Batwa who had deep respect for gorillas and considered them, like chimpanzees, as taboo. But in the chaos of post-independence conflict behaviour became extreme; traditional values vanished like smoke and who is to know whether some Congolese Batwa turned poachers – following the gorilla hunting and eating traditions of Central Africa – didn't stray into foreign territory, whose recently imposed colonial boundaries disappeared up cloud and mist covered mountain slopes.

Or was there something between Reuben and Baumgartel for whom it was a popular fireside story to entertain his guests and useful alibi if no gorillas were seen? The hotel business was then on the verge of collapse; Baumgartel left soon after and Rueben died a year later. Worth noting is that neither Belgian nor English park authorities queried this animal's existence in their earlier decision-making.

BOX Lions
Coping with wildlife, especially predators, was part of early colonial life. However there were compensations, Dr. Len Sharp, CMS missionary saw ivory as a special provision from God whose sale paid for medical supplies, their children's education, a new car, etc.

Lions were more of a hazard in open country at lower altitudes. Athanase Nalugumbula, a Catholic missionary, described travelling from Mbarara to Kigezi around 1915; he had to spend an afternoon, night and early morning up a tree surrounded by 14 lions near Bukanka. It took that time for them to lose interest and wander off.

According to Dr. Len Sharp the "The lions of Toro were as notorious as the lions of Tsavo in Kenya" and recounted one instance. The porter, John, recovered.

"Returning from the sleeping sickness area, early one morning we had seen many tracks of lions in the wet grass, then the game scout pointed out the tracks of a very large lion, which he and I decided to follow, accompanied by two or three men, while Esther went on to find a suitable camping site. We followed the lion's tracks to a clump of elephant grass where suddenly it leapt out and bonded away, waving its tail, and into more high grass. We followed it again, and then suddenly, there it was crouching low, just in front of me. The lion sprang with its mouth open and claws ready. I fired at it at the same time as it knocked me down. The bullet went straight through its open mouth and into its head. It sprang right over me and landed on the man behind. I was on the ground but it had not hurt me, but I felt that at that moment that an angel had put his hand over me. But it was on the next man and I heard his call for help. I got up quickly. I could not find my gun so I snatched my second gun from the man who was carrying it. The poor fellow was lying with the lion on top of him holding him with his head in his mouth, a terrible sight. He said "Shoot it, my friend" which I did. He had some bad wounds, so I tore up my shirt and we bandaged him as best we could, then breaking and binding branches together we carried him to where Esther had already camped."

In 1928 four old lions entered Kigezi from Belgian Rwanda. They killed 15 cows over the next few weeks, disappeared for nine months, returned and killed 22 people and 250 cows, until they were killed by locals with spears. They hid in caves around the Virunga Mountains. This was a rare occurrence; the sighting of lions near Rubindi camp, near Nyarusiza, in 1954 elicited the following comment

"(It is a) very long time since any lions have been heard of in this part of the park."

They were more common in the open pastures of Kinkiizi and Rujumbura, the most southerly part of their range; some may have migrated from neighbouring Albert NP.

In the early 1920s letters sometimes bore an apology from the Kabale Postmaster "Damaged by lions" and had teeth marks to prove it. Letters were brought to Kabale by runners who walked to and from Kampala. The earliest reference to a post-boy carrying mails being eaten was in 1908 between Moshi and Taveta. The Protectorate Postmaster then only had two old muskets that he lent out to his runners. Given the hazards it is not a surprise that the post was irregular and often delayed. No doubt letters went missing if the runner was unfortunate enough to be eaten. The expansion of motorable roads allowed a more safe and reliable method of delivery.

The lion is now confined to the national parks of Toro but their numbers are declining. The leopard is extinct in Bwindi and close to it in the Virungas. Incidentally, the letter is also close to extinction.

[END BOX]

An ecological survey of Bwindi by Butyski in 1984 indicated has the following comment on the leopards' disappearance:

"That they had last been seen by local communities in the early 1950s ranging in the Northern sector of the park and that they had disappeared from the Southern sector in about 1972."

The 1984 survey showed very low densities of duikers, bushbucks, wild pigs and giant forest hogs due to heavy poaching. It is difficult to assess the relative importance of loss of habitat, declining prey numbers (humans competed for the same prey; duikers, bush buck, bush pig, wild pig and forest hog) and direct hunting on their extinction; no doubt it was a combination of factors.

Impact of Leopard's Extinction

The extinction has caused subtle changes in food strategies among Bwindi's carnivores, though the effect of its loss on prey populations is difficult to say; there is probably less predation of larger mammals. The golden cat, which used to be a farm raider, has moved into the interior and is now rarely seen. The knock-on effect is to decrease competition with other carnivores. Genets have also have moved into the interior but the reasons are unknown, perhaps they are benefiting in prey availability from the leopard's extinction and golden cat's niche adaptation.

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## Chapter 1.7

### Even-Toed Ungulates

The Even-Toed Ungulate order (Artiodactyla) has many representative species found in East Africa and south west Uganda. They derive from multiple bovine ancestors who crossed the African Eurasian land bridge(s) at various times in the last 65 million years from the end of the Cretaceous period. Intercontinental migration of flora and fauna was restricted to clement climatic periods since the Sinia Peninsula is mostly inhospitable with very hot arid conditions and poorly-vegetated difficult terrain.

The order is divided into a number of different families and genera; those that are, or were, commonly found here are described. Some species have been researched locally and are given in more detail. For the general descriptions, Kingdon, 2001, is the main source.

### Buffalo

The African or Cape Buffalo (Syncerus caffer) is an Oxen (Bovini) part of the Bovine (Bovinae) a subsection of the Bovids and Horned Ungulates (Bovidae).

This well known animal is one of the iconic species of Africa and, unlike its Asian cousins, has never been tamed or domesticated. Its reputation as a large fierce animal with curvaceous horns made it a favourite target of rich western game hunters who liked to adorn their homes with trophies. The more utilitarian African hunted it for meat and hides but treated them with respect.

They are only aggressive if they see themselves as under threat. It is therefore wise to keep a safe unobtrusive distance as they are easily spooked. Park rangers are normally armed in self-defence against them. More people (including poachers) die in Uganda from confrontations with them than any other animal, with the possible exception of the hippopotamus.

It was originally a forest animal that expanded and replaced a larger species that roamed Africa from 4mya to a few thousand years ago. In its recent adaptation to savannah it has become up to

20% larger and heavier with larger horn bosses swept forward. However sound, more useful in the forests, is still more developed than vision, more useful in savannah.

There are two types in Uganda, the common Cape Buffalo and Forest Buffalo (S c. nanus). The latter are currently only found in the Virunga Mountains and elsewhere in the forests, mostly lowland, of Africa. Dwarf varieties are also found in the forests of Central and West Africa, possibly including the Virungas, and may be a separate subspecies.

To complicate the issue hybrids are not uncommon. Buffalos in the Virungas appear to be shyer, more nocturnal and move around in smaller herds. Its Cape cousins are more common in Africa-wide savannah national parks at lower altitudes, i.e. the shores of Lakes Edward and Albert. In comparison the forest species is about half the size of the savannah species. Its average height and weight are 120cm and 300kg. They generally are red-brown in colour with darker and lighter patches that remain in adulthood.

It maybe hybrids also exist among the savannah buffalos in western Ugandan parks, as many are red or pale orange instead of black. In general their horns curve up and back but local variants are also possible. In the forest they live in small hierarchical groups of around ten or less that are highly protective of members with the possible exception of inter-male dominance contests during oestrus.

They are strict herbivores and graze in open grassy areas and on young shoots, saplings and leaves in open sections of the forest and forest savannah mixed zones. They have traditional feeding areas where continuous grazing creates semi-permanent pastures but will vary their diet in different zones. Closed canopy forest is avoided due to a lack of ground vegetation. In common with all buffalo it needs water daily and never strays far from a reliable water source.

Excluding humans, the leopard is the most common predator, but their population is controlled more by total food availability than predation. One of their favoured food sources is farm crops and they can devastate a field in no time. For this reason a buffalo wall was built by the Uganda Wildlife Authority and local people on the northern edge of Mgahinga NP in the 1990s. It has proved to be successful, at least from the farmers' perspective.

They were hunted to extinction in Bwindi before 1960. They have not been investigated in the Virungas so it is unknown exactly if they are a sub-species or a hybrid and if altitude has influenced their taxonomy or behaviour in any way. They are a common visitor to anywhere they feel safe around humans and there are many scattered observations from the research community,

Schaller wrote of one unexpected piece of behaviour in Kabara:

“These buffalo were gentle animals that never sought to attack. But their size and curve of their horns demanded respect, and at night we were careful not to bumble into a grazing animal. After dark I usually urinated near the cabin, inadvertently creating a salt lick. It was not long before the buffalo discovered this salt-soaked earth. From then on, almost every night, we heard one of

these huge beasts paw the ground, snuffle, lick and smack its lips, and finally rub its hide against the cabin wall."

Spiral Horned Bovines

The Sitatunga (Tragelaphus spekei) and Bushbuck (Tragelaphus scriptus) are members of the Spiral Horned Bovines (Tragelaphini) and part of the Horned Ungulates (Bovidae).

They are believed to have originated in Eurasia; ancestor(s) arrived in Africa perhaps 15mya when they are first found as a distinct species. The original species was probably large and adapted to seasonal habitat variations typical of Eurasia. They have since speciated into nine species specialising in different environments with an East African bias. In general they were hunted for their meat and skins for aprons worn by warriors and house rugs.

Sitatunga

The Sitatunga is a swamp-adapted species with hairy coats and splayed hooves; they are also found in vegetation mosaics adjacent to swamps and permanent water. They tend to be nomadic, focusing on specific areas and then shifting to new grazing.

Males are 150-170cm in length, 85-125cm in height and 80-130kg in weight. Females are about one-third smaller than males. They can live up to 20 years.

The original adaptation may have happened around the original Lake Zaire, which drained 2mya. There are three subspecies; T. s. gratus is found in west and central Africa, including Uganda. It was common in papyrus swamps of valley bottoms and lake inlets and outlets but is now locally extinct as a result of swamp clearance and hunting.

They are one of the few local species that attracted attention in the early 1900s because of its curiosity value and elusiveness. The following three quotes are culled from travelogues relating to political or research missions.

From Jack (1914) comes the following description

"They have finely twisted horns, a thick hairy coat, and elongated hoofs, fitted to carry their weight on soft and marshy ground. The natives are unfortunately very fond of their meat and hunt and kill them in great numbers. Their numbers must have also been reduced by what seems to be the unnecessary and short-sighted permission for their promiscuous slaughter which was given to the police and askaris of the Political Mission."

From the Worthingtons (1933) comes an account of native hunting around Lake Bunyoni.

"Previously one of the great occupations of the natives was in hunting the sitatunga. The swamps are breeding grounds of this rather rare antelope. Here he lives in hundreds. He spends all his time among the tall papyrus and can occasionally be seen in a clear patch leaping from clump to clump.

Before the days of game-laws the natives would start at the inland edge of the swamp, and by ploughing thigh-deep in mud, by swimming or forcing their way through the papyrus, drive the whole swamp until the sitatunga, disturbed by their shouts or by the burning papyrus, all accumulated at the water's edge to swim to the other shore. In the middle of the lake picked spearsmen stood ready in canoes as the petrified creatures swam from the pandemonium behind them, becoming easy prey.

This form of sport is now a thing of the past and the timid creature lives in peace, only occasionally molested by the European hunter, who more often then not will come away empty-handed since they offer such difficult targets always at great range."

From Prince William (1923) comes the white hunter's perspective in the papyrus swamp around Muko, the outflow of Lake Bunyoni. It was a popular, but challenging, game species mentioned in many hunting travelogues.

"To wade in the swamp itself is impossible and the steep mountain slopes covered with forests make advance along the shore impractical, but the natives know of small open spaces where the situtanga likes to graze and are able to bring the hunter there by half overgrown paths. Then you must sit patently and wait till one of the animals comes out of the reeds; and you have to bring down the antelope on the spot, otherwise he disappears without trace in all the greenery."

The forest and much of the papyrus swamp of Muko are also gone, as elsewhere around Lake Bunyoni and Kigezi generally. The loss of habitat by swamp reclamation had as much to do with its extinction as hunting. This loss began in the 1920s when the swamps were first used for potato plots that were regularly raided. The impact was at first small as local people had little interest in swamp reclamation preferring to use them as a resource. The district annual report, 1931, noted

"Constant complaints of damage to crops... It is the ravages of the sitatunga on their potatoes which helps to account for the unpopularity of swamp-clearance, of which potato-planting is one of the features."

In 1922 a veterinary officer believed that they spread rinderpest to cattle and a large number were shot around Butale but this had no effect. References to them dry up after the 1940s. They don't appear on the list of species killed during Resettlement Schemes though none of these were in swamps. Presumably their extinction was due to the large swamp clearances from that time by chiefs and dairy cattle farmers who drained and converted them to pasture.

Bushbuck

There are a large number of subspecies found all over sub-Saharan Africa; up to 27 have been listed. However there may be revision as, according to Wikipedia, 2012, the bushbuck is in fact a complex of two geographically and phenotypically distinct species.

The most compelling evidence for the division of the bushbuck into the kéwel (Tragelaphus scriptus) and the imbabala (Tragelaphus sylvaticus) is that both species are more closely related

to other members of the tragelaphine family (the imbabala to the bongo and the sitatunga, and the kéwel to the nyala) than to each other.

They are mixed feeders and prefer forest cover though have adapted to farm forest boundaries utilising its concealment to evade predation. They are found grazing with duiker in the Virungas; the combined read of the environment allows greater defence awareness.

Males are 105-150cm in length, 61-100cm in height and 30-80kg in weight. Females are the same size but 20% lighter. They can live up to 12 years.

A 1997 gorilla and large mammal census of Bwindi NP (Mc Neilage et al) noted seven sightings in three sectors in the south east and centre. It is assumed here that large duiker dung (see below) does not include bushbuck, a Tragelaphini.

Duiker

Duikers (Cephalophini) are members of the Antelope (Antilopinae) group, who are thought to have evolved 25mya. They evolved in many directions including dwarf forest antelopes from which duikers split perhaps 5mya; they are not found often as fossils. Since then they have split into bush and forest groups. There is only one bush species, divided into over 40 subspecies in eight geographical groups, but only in sub-Saharan Africa. They live territorial lives either alone or as mated pairs with offspring.

The forest group has 17 species and many subspecies. The species are divided into four lineages; the two found locally, the Black-fronted and the Yellow-backed, belong to the Red and Giant lineages respectively. Having evolved from a leaf-eating dwarf species duiker speciation has made some species larger with greater food choices. In forests most duikers rely on primates, birds and other arboreal species to knock leaves and fruit off trees; they are sensitive to what is happening above them. In the Virungas this is not possible for much of their range; they need to be more self-reliant.

The largest species are thought to be the youngest with more advanced adaptability. This may not be the case with high altitude species where smaller sizes are advantageous. The extinction of the larger yellow back in the Virungas since the mid-1990s is likely because of hunting and habitat loss. Duikers, as a group, have the largest and most complex brain of all Even-Toed Ungulates and the slowest maturation rate.

Black-fronted duiker (Cephalophus nigrifons)

The black fronted duiker is divided into four subspecies of which the C. n. kivuensis is found in the western Rift Valley mountains, the others are found on Mts. Elgon and Kenya to the east and lowland forests as far west as Cameroon. The skin in upland forests tends to be thicker, darker, with a mix of dark and white hairs compared with the plainer redder lowland type. They are small: 80-107cm in length, 45-58cm in height and 14-18kg in weight as adults.

Ocen (2000) researched the black in Mgahinga NP and found them at all altitudes; most other mammals are only lower down. It was the only species found on Mt. Muhavura's summit, 4,127m/1,351ft.

They live in monogamous pairs in small territories jointly marked and defended against intruders. They are mostly solitary travellers, though some pairs, sometimes with a juvenile, can be seen. Their average density is 1:1.8km2 but distribution varies with greater concentrations in dense plant cover and high altitudes.

High up they avoid rugged terrain and steep slopes, while lower down they avoid areas of human disturbance and are least found near park boundaries (though they like human trails). They are immune to seasonal change; rain does not affect their behaviour.

They have a high degree of habitat specialisation. What matters is the abundance of food not the species. In terms of impact they spread fruit seeds but eat young shoots. They often graze with Bushbuck, the duiker's keener senses allow more grazing time for the Bushbuck (first recorded by Fossey).

They are prey of larger carnivores and humans. Snaring is a major problem, Ocen recorded an average of 25 snares found and destroyed per month in the late 1990s (this was a famine period in south west Uganda). There was one snare every 4.6km2 with a high correlation between density of snares and duiker. It has always been important nutritionally and economically in all parts of Africa.

Yellow-backed duiker (Cephalophus silvicultor)
The Yellow backed duiker has not received detailed research. Nine possible subspecies have been recorded but may only be variants. They are found in the western half of Central Africa and coastal West Africa. Uganda is currently the most north easterly part of its range. In the south west it is now only found in Bwindi NP; it was recorded to be extinct in the Virunga Mountains in the mid-1990s.

It prefers forest at most altitudes but are also common in mixed environments of forest and other habitats. It has a mixed diet of seeds, fruit, bark, leaves, fungi and moss and easily adapts to availability. It is attracted to salt licks.

It is a larger duiker 125-190cm long, 65-87cm in height and 45-80kg in weight.

A 1997 gorilla and large mammal census of Bwindi NP (Mc Neilage et al) identified a Red duiker, presumably the Rwenzori red duiker (Cephalophus rubidus) rather than the Red-flanked duiker (Cephalophus rufilatus). The latter's range, from the Gambia River, ends further north and is separate from the Black-fronted; they don't share habitats. In comparison the Black and Red inhabit different habitats, the former in swamps, marshes and adjacent low altitude mosaics, while the latter prefers highland and alpine open ground and bamboo zones.

The Red is about 10% smaller than the Black: 75cm in length, 45cm in height and 15kg in weight on average.

Duiker comparisons in Bwindi NP, 1997

The Red was the most common duiker seen around Ruhija (surveyed in-depth), three times as many as the other two combined. Overall, in Bwindi, there were about twice as many Black-fronted seen compared to the other two.

An analysis of duiker dung cannot be brought to species level but only subdivided into large and small dung. The Yellow backed is the only candidate for the former (assuming that the researchers didn't include the bushbuck); the other two are the same size. Overall 60% of samples belonged to small duikers and 40% large. Around Buhoma and Ruhija (surveyed in-depth) there were 75% small/25% large and 90% small/10% large, respectively.

A comparison of ranges indicates that duikers were mostly commonly found in the east of the southern section, particularly through the centre. In the western end small duiker were not uncommon but large were rarer. Larger duikers were more common on the southern side, while in the northern section all types were uncommon.

Hippopotamus

The Hippopotamuses (Hippopotamidae) now survive as two species, the common hippo (H. amphibius) and a pygmy found only small areas in West Africa. They share the same ancestry as pigs and are thought to have evolved 40mya. Up to 1mya there were eight species in Africa; four around Lake Turkana (fossil preservation there is good), where they varied by size, diet and niche. Three species in Madagascar became extinct in the last 2,000 years which leaves the interesting question of how they got there and whether it was one or three species originally. All Indian sub-continental species are extinct, probably 4-5,000 years ago.

There is not very much that can be said about the hippopotamus locally; they were never scientifically described. A small herd lived in Lake Mutanda and were hunted to extinction. It is likely that some lived in Lake Mulele; only 5km separates the two lakes through a swamp valley bottom and little difference in altitude.

Figure 11 Looking east

Paulo Rukeribugathen, Bufumbira saza chief of 1941-61, organised wildlife eradication programs, primarily against wild pigs and hippopotamus as a menace to crops, for which he was much praised locally. They were said to be nearly extinct by 1943 so it probably wasn't long before most were killed.

The last sighting was apparently in 1994. One can imagine a solitary, born in the midst of an eradication campaign, living out its days with plenty of wild food in an isolated part of a swamp with no competition; having learnt not raid crops.

Some travellers wrote about confrontations but they were best avoided and giving way on meeting one was the best advice. This still holds true; they are one of the top two causes of death from wildlife (buffalo are the other) from either their weight or their teeth; as lethal as a crocodiles. Giving them a wide berth is sensible as they can run as fast as humans but luckily cannot climb. Their aggression comes from a very competitive hierarchical environment.

Two interesting questions are: how did they get to Lake Mutanda in the first place and how long have they been there? The lake, at 1800m, is surrounded by mountains and the one river route to the Rift Valley, Rutshuru River, is not easily navigable; it is a zigzag route of 14.5km to the frontier, 110m lower, and a total drop of 860m to Lake Edward, at 922m.

Maybe the simplest solution is that when the Rift Valley was flooded into a giant lake, an arm spread east as far as the modern day Lake Mutanda. Then, when the flood subsided to create the current lake system, the resident hippos were marooned.

There are no records of them in Lake Bunyoni, (1,900m) 140m higher. In general their habitat preference is permanent free water and open grazing. Home ranges are small; they can migrate during rainy seasons but not above 2,000m.

Pigs

The Pigs' (Suidea) ancestors first appear 10mya in Africa and diversified 5mya. They may have originally come from Eurasia but current African species all evolved on the continent, with the exception of the Wild Boar only found on the Mediterranean coast. They are a social species whose main diet comes from rooting; the warthog and forest hog have diversified into grazing some species can tolerate arid conditions.

Bush Pig

The Bush Pig (Potamochoerus larvatus) is found all over East Africa, Ethiopia, as far south as Mozambique and west to Angola. Its distribution is separate from the slightly smaller Red River Hog (P. porcus) found in Central and coastal West Africa. There are seventeen subspecies within the main group; P. l. hassama is found here. It is 100-177cm in length, 55-100cm in height and 45-150kg in weight.

The bush pig is omnivorous and has successfully adapted to forests, woodlands and dense valley bottom habitats with soft soils up to 4,000m; but not the Virungas where lava soils are unsuitable for rooting.

It has not been studied locally; with the exception of people-wildlife interactions. A survey of pig dung during a gorilla and large mammal census of Bwindi NP in 1997 (Mc Neilage et al,) shows a major concentration on open forest ridges and to a lesser extent on closed forest ridges and open forest slopes. Small numbers were also found in bracken, closed forest slopes and open forest valleys. They were rare in mixed bamboo, grasslands, closed forest valleys and herbaceous areas and not found at all in pure bamboo and swamps.

Their core territories were the eastern park and the northern end of the western side divided by the Mubwindi Swamp. They were much rarer along the southern boundary and the northern section but dung was found in all sections but two, indicating high mobility. Sightings of them are skewed toward the northern section and the south eastern boundary.

They are well-known raiders of agricultural land and have always been detested by farmers. In 1930 the district annual report stated that pig depredations were “causing whole villages to move and seek new habitation”. One result was a joint battue with the Belgians south of Lake Bunyoni and regular pig hunts were organised throughout the colonial period. In 1954 the 10 mile Muko pig ditch, 4' deep and 2' wide, that encircled Echuya Forest was completed.

Statistical estimates have 19 and 235 killed by game guards and pig hunts respectively in 1949, and 406 altogether in 1954. The colonial adminitration had no love for the pig and actively organized hunts where ever they were common. It was deemed Public Enemy Number One with no redeeming qualities and “a heart as black as charcoal”.

They have been hunted and trapped since time immemorial in Africa and, notwithstanding rinderpest and many eradication attempts by individuals, villages and governments over the last 150 years, it survives. While it is unlikely to become extinct any time soon, numbers are low; an estimate of 700 (optimistic, according to the authors) was made in 1997.

Rev. John Roscoe, 1919-20, has the following comment concerning them in a section on hunting among the Bakiga.

“Pigs have only recently found their way into these districts and their flesh is not eaten but given to the dogs, while the skins are used for sandals and shields.”

Forest Hog

The Forest Hog (Hylochoerus meinertzhageni) is a recent evolution; the fossil record shows that grazing is a recent innovation among the Hylochoerus. There are three sub species of which two appear to share a common range and may have bred hybrids along the Western Rift Valley, the Eastern Giant Hog (H. m. meinertzhageni) and the Congo Giant Hog (H. m. rimator). The third is in the northern forests of Guinea (Conakry) only.

It is about 30% larger but twice the weight of a bush pig; it is 130-210cm in length, 80-100cm in height and males weigh 140-275kg and females 100-250kg. They can live up to 18 years.

They have adapted to a mix of environments, anywhere that is open, in and around forests, bamboo zones and natural meadows up to 3,800m. They are found wherever there is plentiful

vegetation with dense cover nearby for protection; ideally year round but they will travel around their large and shifting territories in search of food. They tend to have established places for specific functions, i.e. sleep, latrines, wallow, drink. They are attracted to salt licks.

They are a social animal and while matriarchs form the core group members with children and grand children, membership of groups is flexible. The ranges of adjacent groups can overlap; boundaries are not strictly observed since they are also nomadic within larger meta-territories.

The Forest Hog is listed as rare in all its locations as they are under serious threat from hunting and poaching, particularly in politically unstable and conflict-riven areas. In the 1940s they were listed among the species killed as H/Hog during the Resettlement Schemes; 37 were killed in 1954.

An analysis of their dung during a gorilla and large mammal census in 1997 (Mc Neilage et al,) showed that they were very rare in Bwindi then. No sightings were made and only five samples of dung found in 550km of reconnaissance. These were in two central parts of the southern section, identified as H and R sectors. The first, around Mubwindi Swamp, was also popular among bush pigs, duikers and elephants and, to a lesser extent, primates and not at all by humans. The second seems to be the valley north of Nyakibungo ridge, visited by bush pigs, duikers and elephants but not primates; it had seen human disturbance, mostly wood-cutting.

Other Ungulates

Various descriptions of wildlife are found in colonial reports but often refer to the area adjacent to Lake Edward where wildlife was left untouched because of its Sleeping Sickness; fatal to humans and livestock. For instance, in 1930, there were a “few cob and waterbuck, but thousands of Topi”. In 1954 there were numerous buffalo while waterbuck, topi and kob were all common with the occasional 'grey duiker' (C. maxwelli?). The following year Kigezi Game Reserve had 2,000 buffalo, two large herds of topi, 1,000 and 300, plus many small herds, and kob, elephant, waterbuck and lion.

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Chapter 1.8

Other Mammal Orders
This section has a representative mix of other mammalian orders represented in the south west Uganda highlands: Elephants, Pangolins, Hyraxes, Insectivores, Elephant Shrews and Rodents.

Elephants (Loxodontia)
Elephants are the sole family of the Proboscid (Proboscidea) order and share a common ancestry with Odd-Toed Ungulate and Hyrax orders. They evolved from a small swamp herbivore in Central Africa between 65 and 35mya; the latter dates the first identifiable fossil (Phioma). Around 5mya they began to evolve further and by 1mya about ten different species were found worldwide including the Indian elephant, mammoth and island pygmies.

Elephants adapt easily to their environments and have recently evolved into megafauna bulk feeders in drier habitats, though still depended on shade and reliable water. According to Kingdon:

"Because successful adaptation to peculiar ecological conditions depends upon long-maintained family traditions, elephants readily evolved sub populations"

In recent years it has been discovered that the Forest Elephant is a different species to the Savannah Elephant; it was thought to be a subspecies. Genetic analysis shows that the two are as different from each other as they are from the Asian Elephant. One theory is that it is descended from the extinct Loxodontia abauro (last dated fossil 2mya) while the savannah is descended from a cousin.

The pygmy elephant has been widely reported in the Congo and south-west Uganda but little studied. It is thought to be a morph of the forest species. Its smaller size may be an adaptation to either dense forest or high altitudes at the periphery of its range. Currently there are an estimated 25 subspecies of the two African elephants.

Jack, 1914, thought that the Virunga elephants were the same as elsewhere on the basis of their tracks. Pygmy elephants were only found in Mabaremere Forest (Echuya). Unfortunately there are few reliable descriptions, mostly scattered uninformative references.

“(They are an) isolated and curious kind of elephant that never reaches more than 8' 6” high, their feet and ears are smaller in proportion The tusks are the same in male and female and weigh no more than 20-25lbs. They have a great reputation for ferocity.”

The Echuya population was well known: they were troublemakers, crop destroyers and didn't like people very much. They were regularly shot as a control.

Forest Elephants have been researched less than their savannah cousins as it is easier to observe in the open than in the forest. The main differences are the numbers of nails on their feet, shape of ears and tusks. The forest species has four hind nails and five front nails compared to the savannah species who have four and three. The Forest Elephant has straighter tusks (up to 1.5m/5ft) and was preferred by ivory craftsmen, as it was easier to work. Ranges overlap between forest and savannah.

One theory is that the Bwindi population is the savannah species who have become marooned and are adapting to forest life, which may explain why their numbers are low.

History

Elephants have come back from the brink of extinction in Bwindi and Mgahinga parks since the mid 1980s. In the early 19th century they were common but slowly declined due to loss of habitat and disruption of migratory routes due to expansion of farmland. From the late 19th century they came under severe pressure during the ‘Arms for Ivory’ trade particularly when guns replaced more traditional methods of killing.

In the early 20th century European travellers often shot them for sport, J. Coote, when here in 1909 on a border mission records shooting 'pygmy elephants' around the Virungas. Under colonial rule they received protection and combined with low ivory prices (1920-70). However a worldwide economic boom and lax post-independence control put populations at risk. In Uganda there were major losses during the Amin dictatorship, Tanzanian occupation and continual political upheaval until 1986.

It is estimated that around 1930 elephants could be found in 70% of Uganda but by 1960 this had shrunk to 17%. In 1960 the Game Department estimated that 40,000 elephants had been killed since 1927, 20% of these by licence. The area that they inhabited has dropped by 1/6th over the same period but the population was now20-25000 compared to 18,500 then. Now they are mostly in protected areas.

It therefore appears that before the 1920s elephants were thinly scattered over a large area. The impact of settlement and cultivation expansion combined with protection has resulted in the same numbers in a smaller area, in increase of density by up to six. What effect this has had on the social behviour of groups can only be speculated; perhaps the high fertility and population stability, in the face of major loss of habitat, is the result of more interactions between individuals herded together in protected areas.

The Resettlement Schemes, 1945-65, were responsible for much of loss of habitat in south west Uganda. Colonial records have many references to elephants causing damage to crops in Kinkiizi

and Bufundi (adjacent to Echuya Forest), the earliest so far found is in 1922, when one was shot on Behungi Ridge and another in Bufundi the following year.The Game Department records the annual culls in Kigezi as elsewhere in Uganda. In 1931 it was noted that the pygmy herd migrated between Echuya and Lake Mulera some 3-5 miles away

“Elephants have become a nuisance at Behungi; besides appearing to take a delight in prancing up and down the road in the Chuya valley, they (and one in particular) caused fear to all travellers. A posse of police have been sent to deal with the situation, so as to encourage the brutes to confine themselves to the bamboo forest.”

The result of that exercise was one, presumably the 'one in particular', was shot. The district report of 1949 recorded that:

“In August, Mr. Holmes, temporary game ranger, shot eight of the Chuya herd of pygmy elephants which raid into Kigezi from Ruanda during wet weather. It has been decided that this small herd should be exterminated whenever the opportunity occurs.”

The elephant population of Kinkiizi migrated between there and the Congolese part of the Albert National Park but declined due to 'Asians' hunting tusks in the 1940s. During the Resettlement Schemes from 1945 many elephants and other species were shot; 24 in 1949, 42 as control and seven by license in 1954 (heaviest was 91lb and next 48lb, many small elephants, similar to pygmies of c. 30lb), 41 as control and 10 by license in 1957 (heaviest 84lb) and 12 as control in 1958 (heaviest 85lb).

In 1962 there were an estimated 25,000 elephants in Uganda; 1,200 were culled annually to prevent overpopulation. By comparison there were an estimated 17,620 in 1973 and only 1,855 by 1987 as a result of unrestricted poaching during the 1970s and early 1980s, particularly in 1972 and 1976 when large poaching expeditions from the Congo were active. Since 1986 poaching has declined considerably among local people and border security prevents large scale incursions of poacher gangs.

By the mid 1960s they became extinct in Echuya forest and the numbers in the Virunga were around 8,000 in 1960 but declined to 400 by 2005. In Bwindi surveys indicated there were 20 in 1986, 24 in 1994 and 40-50 in 2004; there are a number of doubtful ranger estimates for the early 1980s of between 10-30 and one of 50. They are mostly concentrated around the south eastern section of the park around Rushaga and Mubwindi Swamp, 60km2/23ml2. It is generally accepted that the population is growing in Bwindi but is less than the park's carrying capacity.

Current Estimates in Bwindi

Current statistics for Bwindi are a little vague with estimates of 30-50, roughly the same as eight years ago. However, if they doubled between 1994 and 2004, they, theoretically, should have doubled again to 80-100. However it appears that the population has not increased, which may be due to birth and death rates being the same in the current age ranges.

If it is assumed that all those over 20 in 1993 are now dead then there are eleven elephants over 20 years, with the oldest 28. However given that they live to between 40 and 60 it is likely that

there are some elderly individuals still alive. At that time the population had the following age structure: 25%, below 5 years; 25%, 5-10; 15-20, none; >20, 50%.

The ages of the 20 born between then and 2004 probably form a continuum with a fairly constant average of births per year; they may make up 50% of the current population. Given mortality rates, the majority of the remainder are probably between 18-28 years old with a few over 40. Over that age they lose their teeth and, in the normal course of events, starve to death.

It would appear that they have not expanded as much as might have been expected, but this may be a result of a lack of monitoring. However, as there was only one breeding male in 1992, the population maybe has been affected by genetic erosion, which is affecting their birth and survival rates. It seems strange that that there was only one breeder out of a potential cohort of around 10 individuals. If this is an issue than elephants from other areas may need to be introduced since their current ranges are effectively genetic islands with no migration as before.

Social Structure and Fertility

There was only one group of 21 individuals and a solitary male. The current group structure is unknown. It is not possible to say whether this was a surviving natal group or whether they were survivors of other decimated groups who banded together for defence and togetherness.

It is likely that there are more sexually active males now, as they become sexually mature at 20 and are fertile till they die. They are slow breeders, usually one infant every five years. The female is receptive for 3-6 days at a time and advertises it with a low growl that can be heard for several kilometres. Gestation takes two years.

The infant begins to eat solids from six months but will feed on mother's milk till they are five years old. Young calves are vulnerable to the death of their mother. If under 2 years they die 100% of the time, if between two and five years they have a 30% chance of survival, which rises to 40% between 6-10 years. In other words poaching has a deleterious affect of successful reproduction and replacement.

Diet

They utilise about 78 plant species in BINP, but concentrate on nine principal foods types. Overall their diet is made up of 62% trees, 12% bushes, and 25% herbs, climbers, grasses and sedges; fruit is rare. Their diet is synchronised to seasonal changes of food availability and climate. They focus on bark in the dry season and bamboo in the wet. Geographically they feed on bamboo shoots at high altitudes during the wet season, then to Mubwindi Swamp (water source) in the dry and forage around mature forests.

Research has shown that they are selective in the areas they feed and tend to concentrate their activities around areas that are easily accessible and avoid dense canopy forest and steep slopes. They may suffer from nutritional stress in the dry and early wet season as food quality declines at this time.

Environmental Impact

Their impact on trees is usually divided into bark stripping and damage by toppling and breaking. Large mature trees are more vulnerable to bark stripping while younger trees are more likely to be toppled or broken; their survival depends on how badly the roots have been damaged. More trees are stripped in the bamboo zone while more are broken in mixed forest; they also tend to cause more tree damage at the forest's edge and near rivers and other permanent water sources. Damage at higher altitudes can convert montane forest to a forest bush mosaic.

Meanwhile tramping can retard regeneration, which gives a selective advantage to unpalatable species that then predominate. This is followed by the cycle of elephants abandoning the area, the return of the palatable species and the return of the elephants. However a take-over by ferns is bad news as they suppress other species. This seems to be a growing problem as human eradication has been proposed to control its spread.

Overall they increase forest stress but disperse seeds, maintain structure and prevent bush encroachment. However, tree damage can cause changes in microclimate, diversity, forest structure and the landscape. Their impact on the habitats of other fauna, particularly gorillas, is not known.

The feeding habits of megafauna are a management issue in national parks and the growing population of elephants in Bwindi will be no exception. If it increases than the UWA is going to have to employ more guards to monitor elephant encroachments and to chase them back to the park.

The normal method is a combination of shots fired into the air and beating jerry cans; in other parks they have become blasé to gunfire alone and carry on nonchalantly chewing. Elephant encroachment has become a major issue around Murchison Falls NP and, notwithstanding the guards' activities; local people are threatening to sort out the problem using 'local methods'. Two were found poisoned in early 2011.

Scaly Ant-Eaters (Pholidota)
They are an ancient order going back to an early tree insectivore perhaps 70mya. Their place of origin is unknown but had already specialised into large or small ground or tree species before dispersal. They are similar but unrelated to the armadillo. The scaly tail is an adaptation of a past tree limb; it catches ants and termites with a sticky tongue and grinds them up in a sandy stomach before digestion.

Very little is known about pangolins locally. One was recently captured on a night camera on the ground in the northern section of Bwindi (It was tentatively identified as an African White-fronted pangolin (Phataginus tricuspis). It is also called a Tree pangolin but feeds mostly on the ground where it is equally at home.

Hyrax (Hyracoidea)
The Hyrax order is one of the oldest African mammals; it evolved 50-30mya, and is of obscure origin. They were first listed with the Rodent order and then with elephants and rhinoceros but in 1932 Thomas Huxley successfully argued for a separate order. Similar fossil histories led to association with elephants but more recent research on antibodies, placenta, mammae and

genitalia have shown them to be also associated with the Odd-Toe Ungulate order. Research is ongoing to solve the mystery of common origins and ancestors.

Initially they were extremely successful with 11 known genera Africa-wide by 30-25mya. Over time they were supplanted by larger ungulate grazers and the larger species died out. They were forced to specialise in difficult terrain, poor rocky zones with defensive thorny bushes, the Rock and Bush hyraxes. Tree Hyraxes maybe a more recent adaptation; the Bush Hyrax has some incipient tree-climbing ability.

Currently there are three genera: Rock (Procavia) with five species; Bush (Heterohyrax) with three species; and Tree (Dendrohyrax) with three species. The Rock genera are generally distributed from Gambia River estuary to the Horn of Africa with a northern arm to the Nile estuary and south to the Lake Victoria basin. A second set is in South Africa, Namibia and north to Lake Malawi. The Bush genera are mostly found on an band of eastern Africa from the Nile estuary to the southern tip of Malawi with a westward arm into Angola, circling Central Africa.

There are three Tree species, Eastern (D. validus), Southern (D. arboreus) and Western (D. dorsalis). The first has a very limited range in isolated mountains and islands of Tanzania. The second is found west from the Western Rift Valley through Central Africa and coastal West Africa. The third is found south from Lake Victoria into Zambia and north Mozambique. The ranges of the Southern and Western species overlap along the Western Rift Valley and there is evidence of hybrids in that Western species have soft hair typical of the Southern.

A Southern subspecies is the Rwenzori hyrax, (D. a. ruwenzorii), which comes in a number of forms. They were common in all Afro-alpine and highland forests of south west Uganda but their status is unclear now. Some have adapted away from trees and back to rocks at higher, more inhospitable, environments.

Hyraxes eat a wide range of vegetation, up to a third of their body weight in a day, and always quickly. Population density can be high in mountain forests; they are very territorial and aggressively defensive. Gestation is about eight months, long for a small mammal and may reflect larger ancestors. The new-born can climb from birth. They can live up to 12 years.

They are best known for the high volume and far reaching cacophony of sound. That such a small body is capable of such noise seems incredible. Peaks are mainly seasonal and can they be heard from before sunset well into the night particularly where there are dense populations during breeding season.

There is a wonderful typical description by Schaller who mostly heard them in August and September and March to May.

“At certain times of the year the forest became alive at night with the unearthly screams of tree hyraxes – screams that sounded like the croaking of gigantic frogs, the laughing of hyenas and the wails of a woman being choked to death.

Hyraxes, the coney of the Bible, are rabbit sized creatures with soft grey brown fur, small velvety ears, and a blunt black nose like a shiny truffle. Each foot has only three toes, the tip of each covered by a nail. Hyraxes are rather solitary animals in the forest, with the habits of rodents, living in the hollow trunks of trees and in burrows beneath the boulders of lava rock.

Their nearest relatives are the elephants, a fact hard to believe until one examines the shape of the skull and the curious upper front teeth which consist of two miniature, three-sided tusks.

The calls, it has been said, are given by males to attract females. Usually one animal begins to moan and screech, between eight and eleven in the evening, and soon others join in until the mountains vibrate with their calls.

An hour later, all is silent again, but between one and four o'clock in the morning the hyraxes often resume their chorus, I could find no pattern to these calls, for they occurred at irregular intervals, perhaps for two or three days in succession, and on rainy nights as well as clear ones."

Small Mammals

The four main orders of small mammals are the Insectivores, Elephant Shrews, Hares and Rodents. There is some confusion over the first two; originally they were classed together in a 'scrap basket' of species who shared primitive archaic origins. They were split into separate orders recently but this is unlikely to be the final word.

Insectivores (Insectivoroa)

They are a very old order, parhaps from 100mya. Insectivores locally include the Rwenzori otter shrew (Mesopotamogale ruwenzorii), Cape golden mole (Chrysochloris, 3 species) and African hedgehog (Erinaceidiae, 4 species). Shrews (Soricidae) make up the vast majority of this order with 130+ species, many of which are endemics of uncertain status. Probably here are species of Mouse shrew (Myosorex), Climbing shrew (Sylvisorex), Rodent shrew (Paracrocidura) and White-toothed shrew (Crocidura) as well as the endemic Rwenzori shrew (Ruwenzorisorex suncoides) and Hero shrew (Scutisorex somereni).

Elephant Shrews (Macroscelidea)

Elephant Shrews are one of the smaller orders and represent more common and ancient lineages shared with Hares 100mya. They have since split into two groups, Soft-furred shrews (Macroscelidinae) and Giant elephant shrews (Rhynchocyoninae) perhaps 35-25mya.

From the former may be species of the Lesser elephant shrews (Elephantulus) and the Four-toed elephant shrew (Petrodromus tetradactylus). From the latter the chequered elephant shrew (Rhynchocyon cimei) is perhaps the sole species represented by R. c. stuhlmanni.

Hares (Lagomorpha)

Hares are found worldwide, the oldest in N. E. Asia from 60mya. There are many relict species dating from dispersal 10mya as well as more common species. In Africa (Leporidae) they are found no earlier than 20mya and are classed as either hares or rabbits. The three species of the Lepus group appear to have evolved recently and may have supplanted older species, a process possibly still continuing.

Locally may be found the Cape hare (Lepus capensis), Scrub hare (Lepus saxatilis), Uganda grass hare (Poelagus marjorita). Very little is known about them in south west Uganda; they are occasionally referred to as prey.

Rodents (Rodentia)
The Rodent order has the largest number of species of all the orders with a wide range of adaptations in an assortment of environments and vegetation mosaics where food is plentiful and cover is good. They are divided into three main groups on the basis of their body shape, squirrels, porcupine and rat. Three minor groups are the Anomalures, Spring hares and Blesmols; these are ancient and their links with other rodents less than clear cut.

In south-western Uganda the following are not found: Spring hares, Gundis, Blesmols, Dassie rat and Jerboas. Cane Rats (never mentioned as part of local diet) and Pouched Rats are in Uganda but not necessarily in the highlands.

Squirrels (Sciuridae)
There are about 34 different species of squirrels divided in five groups: Ground, African pygmy, Rope, Bush, Giant and Sun; the last two are grouped together. They may be late arrivals into Africa, sometime after 10mya. The original founders were Bush squirrels who radiated out.

Represented here are the Striped ground squirrel (Euxerus erythropus), Thomas's rope squirrel (Funisciurus anerythrus), Carruther's mountain squirrel (Funisciurus carruthersi), two subspecies of Boehm's squirrel (Parexus boehmi emeni and vulcanorum), Rwenzori sun squirrel (Heliosciurus ruwenzorii), Red-legged sun squirrel (Heliosciurus rufobrachium) and African giant squirrel (Protexerus strangeri).

Anomalures (Anomaluridae)
This group is made up of seven species of gliders. They are an old group with a history going back 30mya. They are thought to be similar to the common ancestor of rats, squirrels and porcupines.

They are bark-eaters who prune branches to create flight-lines through canopy forest and create holes in the trunk that can be enlarged for a den. This may give selective advantage to the trees in that it may decrease local competition; it appears that the fruit trees they favour are assisted by the topping of young tree shoots around the base of the main tree.

The most common species found locally is the widespread Lord Derby's Anomalure (Anomalurus derbianus). It was caught by Batwa as a test of hunting skill. Beecroft's Anomalure (Anomalurus beecrofti) may possibly be found; it's most easterly distribution is the Western Rift Valley.

Dormice (Myoxidae)
An older common widespread primitive group, 40my old, made up of 14 different species.

Porcupines (Hystricadae)

A primitive group made up of three species who may have originated in Asia. Represented here is the Crested porcupine (Hystrix cristata) up to 3,500m and a subspecies of the Brush-tailed porcupine (Atherururus africanus centralis)

Rat-like Rodents (Murodea)
This is a very large class encompassing at least 1,330 species in 281 genera and 17 sub families. They are divided into ten groups, not all represented here, including the Psuedo hamsters, Maned Rat and Gerbils.

Dendromurines (Dendromurinae)
This division is made up of eight groups and now only found in Africa; they were common in S. E. Asia 15mya. They represent an earlier dispersal of whom only two, Climbing (Dendromus, 11 species) and Fat (Steatomys, 6 species) are widespread, the rest are relict populations of which only the Link Rat (Deomys ferugineus) may be found here. They were replaced by later dispersals.

Pygmy Rock Mice (Petromscinae)
They are a rare subfamily that shares characteristics with tree mice and Psuedo hamsters.

It includes the endangered Albertine Rift endemic, Delaney's mouse (Delanymys brooksi), a terrestrial mouse whose main habitat is high altitude marshes where it nests. It has only been recorded in Bwindi NP and Echuya FR swamps.

It is 5-6cm in length with a very long tail 8.5-10.5cm and weighs no more than 5g. The hind legs are relatively longer and forelegs have five mobile digits and a vestigial thumb. Its red-brown fur is dense and mixed with longer guard hairs. The fur between the nostril and eyes is black-shaded. Its main diet is seeds from sedges and grasses and the occasional fallen fruit.

Groove-toothed Rats (Otomyinae)
Some of the 12 Otomys species are found here.

Root Rats (Rhizomydae)
They are an immigrant population also found in the Himalayas and S. E. Asia. Of the 11 (provisional) species the most likely here is the Ankole root rat (Tachyoryctes ankoliae), others are possible, i.e. T. ruandae.

Murid Rats and Mice (Muridae)
This is the most common classification with currently over 150 species divided into 32 genera. They arrived 6mya and have either replaced older species or relegated them to relict populations. Not all have Africa-wide distributions since many have ecological geographical associations and very specific habitat preferences; in these they are abundant and successful.

Local Research
The theses of Aleper (1995) and Kasangaki (1998) provide more comprehensive coverage on small mammal communities and have extensive species lists.

In Bwindi NP 17 species were identified during a research project in the early 1990s from 1,234 individuals caught in 5,747 captures. What proportion of species escaped capture is unknown but it can be assumed there are more; perhaps new to science, that would be the most suspicious and secretive.

Known park species include: Woosnam's Brush-furred rat, Western Rift Pygmy mouse, Kemp's Forest Rat, Delany's Mouse (ARE), Montane Marsh Rat, Montane Thicket Rat, Mole Rat, Papyrus Rat, Rwenzori Climbing Mouse, Rwenzori Mouse Shrew, Stuhlmann's Golden Mole and Hopkin's Creek Rat.

In Echuya Forest Reserve 19 small mammal species were recorded in 2000 including four Albertine endemics; Woosnam's Brush-furred Rat, Montane Marsh Rat, Rwenzori Mouse Shrew, and the climbing shrew. A rare relict species, Delany's Mouse, restricted to montane swamps, is also known to occur but its conservation status here is unknown.

Small Mammal Profile

As might be expected different species of small mammals occupy different niches and don't compete much as their food sources and foraging strategies vary widely. Their populations fluctuate considerably as they are sensitive to environmental change and its impact on food availability, quality and foraging. Some disappear and come back from neighbouring areas later.

Some species have taken to farmland crops and scavenging in human refuse so it follows that they have expanded their niches with growing populations on forest edges. Other species interact to disturbances caused by humans, megafauna or climatic variations differently, which can then affect their regeneration patterns.

They all are vulnerable to predators and have different defence modes, which affects their behaviour and choice of environment; generally the larger and denser the ground-cover the higher the number of species. These conditions are more likely found in open forest, naturally disturbed areas or rugged slopes with thin soils and less likely in closed canopy forest because there is less light. There are no communal species common to grassland.

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Chapter 1.9

On the Wing
This section contains a basic introduction to Bats, Bees, Birds and Butterflies and Dragonflies.

Bats
No useful information on bats in Kigezi has been found. In Africa there are c. 200 species belonging to Fruit bats (including Nectar bats) and Insect bats; divided into Sheath-tailed bats, Slit-faced bats, Large-winged bats, Horseshoe bats, Leaf-nosed bats, Vesper bats and Free-tailed bats.

How, when and where they all evolved will take time to sort out. In general Fruit bat ancestors of 30mya were roughly like they are now; their fossils are very similar to lemurs of similar age. Insect bats are much older, 70-100mya. Echo location, as found in Horseshoe bats, may go back 40mya.

Bats are known migrants but the larger species are vulnerable to poaching. A disappearance of bats in Arua, north-western Uganda, in summer 2012 was thought to because of poaching; apparently they were being sold in the DR Congo for UgSh3,000 each (US$1.25).

Bees
There are two major types of honey bees locally, stingless and stingers of which the former has received some attention locally.

There has been little research on Stingless bees in Africa. They are generalists in their selection of nest sites and their main criteria insulation and low risk of predation. One nests only on walls, mostly found in northern Bwindi but not elsewhere. The others nest on trees and one on the ground where it spends one-third of its time. There are usually 1-3 colonies per hectare /100,000ft2. They suffer from habitat loss; fragmentation decreases habitat quality. They don't like low temperatures, so are vulnerable to seasonal variations. If there are local shortages they will forage in areas adjacent to the parks. They are mostly active between 8am-4pm.

The Honey bee has larger colonies and more sophisticated communication, is less aggressive and can be attacked by aggressive stingless bees but they usually return to the flower they were

chased from. Aggression comes from competition, they are larger, some have developed mandibular teeth, distinct colour and they can recruit rapidly.

Their main predators are humans who, because of restrictions, harvest clandestinely. It has always been a favoured food of the Batwa who are knowledgeable about the different species and the properties of their respective honey. Chimpanzees are also fond of honey and, like humans, use tools. Other predators are ants, toads, and lizards.

They all appear to use the Dwarf honey-guide to find nests. An experienced Mutwa, by watching one bee visit a flower can, from its direction, trajectory and time taken on the round trip to its hive, can identify the species and hive location with great accuracy.

Birds

There are many bird species beloved of Homo sapiens twitcher to be found in these highlands. As many as 100 species may be spotted in a day.

In Mgahinga NP 75 species had been recorded by the late 1990s but given that the southern Rwandan section had 185 records it is likely that as many are on the northern Ugandan side. For the Virunga Conservation Area, which includes the DRC, 295 species have been recorded. Sixteen of these are endemic to the Albertine Rift Afromontane Region; thirteen of these have been recorded in MGNP. Grauer's swamp warbler is vulnerable to extinction and is only found on the swampy saddle between Gahinga and Sabinyo summits and Mubwindi swamp.

Many species inhabit specific altitude ranges. There are less species at higher altitudes and are probably rarer having specifically evolved and adapted to more extreme conditions. In BINP there were at least 350 species in the late 1990s of which 184 (53%) were true forest birds. Echuya Central Forest Reserve, including Muchuya swamp, is an Important Bird Area in Uganda, with 100 species recorded.

Of these, there are 12 Albertine Rift Endemic species and high proportions of other species that are highland forest dependant. At least another 17 are of restricted range (found in less than five forests). In view of its size, the swamp is likely to support a larger population of Grauer’s Rush Warbler than nearby Mubwindi swamp and Mgahinga, two of the only few known localities for this species in Uganda. The Kivu Ground Thrush is near threatened.

There are 43 of 87 highland biome species in the reserve, which include such rare species as the evocatively named Handsome Francolin, Rwenzori Batis, Strange Weaver and Dusky Crimson-wing. Others include the Rwenzori Turaco, Red-throated Alethe, Archer’s Robin-chat, Collared Apalis, Red-faced Woodland-warbler and Regal Sunbird.

Bwindi Impenetrable National Park has three bird species that are relictual, and the only surviving representatives of their respective genera: African Green Broadbill, Grauer’s and Short-tailed Warbler. The Broadbill and Short-tailed Warbler are considered to be more closely related to Asian than to African species.

Birds are everywhere and can be spotted at all locations, even hotel gardens. Breeding seasons are during the wet seasons of February to May and September to November. This is when they are most active and the chances of seeing and hearing them increase.

Where to Watch

The main references are the highly recommended Where to Watch Birds in Uganda by Jonathan Rossouw and Marco Sacchi (1998) and Birding in Uganda (c. 2010): both were published by the Uganda Tourist Board and focus on National Parks. There are minor differences in species names. The East African Ornithological Society Journal is called Scopus.

A useful supplement is the Guide to Mgahinga Gorilla National Park and Bwindi Impenetrable National Park by David Bygott and Jeanette Hanby (1998) and published by the Uganda Wildlife Authority. The UWA Kisoro office has checklists with suggestions for the most effective use of time.

For general bird identification books useful on field trips the most recently published are van Perlo's Field Guide to the Birds of Eastern Africa and Stevenson & Fanshawe's Birds of East Africa. An older book is Britton's Birds of East Africa – their habitat, status and distribution, Nairobi, 1980. Zimmerman's Birds of Kenya and northern Tanzania, Nairobi, 1996, does not cover all Ugandan birds but is, otherwise, a useful reference for those in common between the three countries.

A useful source for the history of birds is the occasional references in colonial records. One example is in the Kigezi District Annual Reports, 1949, that lists two 'uncommon' species: Pitta anglolense longipennis and Falco ? biamicus. The former is not currently found locally and the latter is rare. Probably, colonial wildlife annual reports would be more informative.

The best time of day in the highlands is morning. Birds are generally more active during dry weather but the rainy season is when they breed. The recommended months are February to May and September to November.

[BOX] Albertine Rift Endemics

Albertine Rift endemic species are restricted in range to montane forests, moorland and transitional montane-lowland forests. Geographically they are found in Bwindi and Mgahinga national parks, Uganda, Nyungwe forests of Rwanda and Burundi and the forests of western Congo. A significant number are globally threatened. In Uganda, the best places to see these birds are Bwindi Impenetrable National Park, Mgahinga National Park, Echuya Forest Reserve and Rwenzori Mountains National Park. Other sites with 1-3 species are Kibale National Park, Queen Elizabeth National Park, Kidepo Valley National Park and Mount Elgon National Park.

Checklist (from Rossouw and Sacchi, 1998)

| Species | Mgahinga | Bwindi | Echuya | Rwenzori |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Handsome Francolin | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Rwenzori Turaco | Y | Y | | Y |
| Montane Nightjar | | Y | | Y |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dwarf Honeyguide | Y | Y | Y | |
| African Green Broadbill | | Y | | |
| Archer's Robin-Chat | Y | Y | | Y |
| Red-throated Alethe | | Y | | Y |
| Kivu Ground Thrush | Y | Y | | Y |
| Chapin's Flycatcher | | Y | | |
| Yellow-eyed Black Flycatcher | | Y | | |
| Red-faced Woodland | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Grauer's Rush Warbler | Y | Y | | |
| Montane Masked Apalis | Y | Y | | Y |
| Collared Apalis | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Grauer's Warbler | | Y | | |
| Short-tailed Warbler | | Y | | |
| Stripe-breasted Tit | Y | Y | | Y |
| Rwenzori Batis | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Blue-headed Sunbird | | Y | | Y |
| Greater Double-collared Sunbird | Y | | Y | |
| Regal Sunbird | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Purple-breasted Sunbird | Y | | | Y |
| Strange Weaver | | Y | Y | |
| Dusky Crimsonwing | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Shelley's Crimsonwing | Y | Y | | Y |

[END BOX]

Raptors

There are about 14 raptors in Bwindi of which the most common are, with their average altitude and height of nest from ground: Crowned Hawk Eagle (2010m, 27m), Mountain Buzzard (2140m, 16m), Rufous-chested Sparrowhawk (2160m, 10m), Harrier Hawk (1995m, 21m), Spotted Eagle Owl (1905m, 0m), Long Crested Eagle (1665m, 15m) and Augur Buzzard (2087m, 11m). Others include migratory Black Kites (March to May and October), nocturnal owls, the secretive Bat Hawk and Cassin's Hawk Eagle. Two visitors are the African Hobby and Steppe Buzzard.

Generally raptor density is low. They are at risk from disturbance and high fledgling mortality even though their nests are a minimum 10m from the ground and half over 25m. Nest materials vary by species but are usually made with a combination of sticks, twigs (including eucalyptus), fresh and dry leaves, moss and lichen. Many species re-nest in the same location if well protected. The sole exception is the spotted eagle owl that nests on bare ground. The nesting season for all is February to October.

Their prey varies with availability and size but is mostly insects, reptiles, rodents, small mammals, duiker and primates. They also snatch poultry and young goats from around farms and are disliked for this reason. However there is much misinformation and they eat much less farm-stock than people think. Raptors play an essential role in keeping rodent populations in check; otherwise crop damage would be far more severe.

Traditional folk tales protected raptors but the loss of poultry and young livestock has turned people against them, particularly when seen in combination with carnivores and baboons.

[BOX] Local Bird Lore
The Blue-headed Coucal's bubbling call is associated with rain
The red wing feathers of the Black-billed Turaco is a remedy for earache
The regular call of the Great Blue Turaco is used to tell the time of day
If a Pied Wagtail dances on the roof then you will receive pleasant visitors. To kill one brings bad luck
Following a Dwarf Honeyguide will lead to honey
[END BOX]

Butterflies
There are about 1,200 butterfly species in Uganda, mostly in tropical rain forests, and 30,000 worldwide. In Bwindi, there are an estimated 310 species of butterflies from nine separate families. Thus this small area hosts a quarter of Uganda's species.

At least eight are Albertine Rift endemics of which two and other non-endemics are threatened, including the Cream-banded Swallowtail and African Giant Swallowtail; the latter is the largest butterfly in Africa.

The number of species in any one location varies with food availability and altitude. By location the greatest number of species in Bwindi were in Ishasha Gorge (lowland forest) and Kitahurira corridor (mid-altitude climax forest) while the fewest were in Mubwindi Swamp and the bamboo zone, two areas with few flowers. Other areas had medium diversity.

Little is known about Mgahinga populations. In Echuya Forest there are 54 species of butterflies of which 24 are restricted and seven regional endemics. There are 43 large moths of which four are restricted and one endemic; small moths have not been surveyed.

Populations fluctuate widely and depend on food availability and quality, which is seasonal and also affected by climatic variations. Possibly inter-species competition and predation are also influential but as few species, or their host food plants, have been studied it is impossible to make firm conclusions regarding their niches and foraging strategies or interactions with each other, if any, and the environment.

Their niches are defined by time as well as space and the maximum diversity is in the wet season, peaking in October and April, and minimum in dry seasons, particularly August and February. There are nearly twice as many species in the high months as compared to the low months. In general there are about 15% more males than females.

The number of species identified keeps growing; in Bwindi the numbers have grown from 120 in 1990 to 180 by 1995. Davenport (2002) lists 310 species for the Albertine Rift.

Diversity varies by altitude as shown by the following table

| Altitude (m) | Number of Species in Bwindi |
|---|---|
| 1,400-1,800 | 140 |
| 1,800-2000 | 50 |
| 2000-2200 | 55 |
| 2200-2400 | 75 |
| >2400 | 50 |

As this totals 370 species there is overlap between these altitudes, averaging 50%. The majority are found below 1,800m but the small peak of 75 at 2,200-2,400m is of interest.

From Bwindi Researchers comes the following fascinating information on their importance:

"These delicate creatures are in fact highly specialized and each species has a range and unique flight pattern. Caterpillars belonging to different species feed on a diversity of plant species and more often specialize on the plant parts they eat, e.g. young or old leaves.

Butterflies are categorized as keystone species, which enable many smaller species of insects to thrive and reproduce in an ecosystem. In simple terms, it denotes that conservation of butterflies also conserves other species of insects. In fact, the basic health of our ecosystem is directly dependent on the number of butterfly species.

Butterflies act as indicators in monitoring environmental health, play an important role in food chains and food webs, are excellent pollinators, control of weeds and are very sensitive to pollution and have been used as bio-indicators to detect the pollution levels."

Dragonflies
Not very much is known about dragonflies locally. According to the World Conservation Society (who published a list online by Klaas-Douwe B. Dijkstra)

Thirteen species are endemic to the Albertine Rift. A number of species has been recorded further east into Uganda, sometimes as far as Kakamega or Mt Elgon in western Kenya, or in adjacent northeastern or southeastern DRC. These fourteen species are listed as near endemics. Those that have been found in adjacent areas on both sides of the AR are not included, although their headquarters lie in the region (40 species altogether, including the (near) endemics).

For reference, Uganda has about 230 species in total. Four rift and near endemic species are not described and one was only described in 2004. Many of the species are only known from Bwindi Impenetrable National Park. Because only Uganda has been fairly well studied, this suggests that known species will be found in more rift forests and also that new ones will be discovered. The IUCN classifications are preliminary and may change slightly in the forthcoming Red List.

Species identified in Bwindi
Chlorocypha hasta Pinhey
Chlorocypha jacksoni Pinhey
Chlorocypha molindica Fraser
Chlorocypha schmidti Pinhey

Platycypha pinheyi Fraser
Chlorocnemis superba Schmidt
Agriocnemis palaeforma Pinhey
Pseudagrion rufocinctum Pinhey
Neurogomphus wittei Schouteden
Notogomphus flavifrons Fraser
Notogomphus sp. n. near leroyi (Schouteden)
Onychogomphus bwambae Pinhey
Idomacromia jillianae Dijkstra & Kisakye
Neodythemis sp. n. 1 near gorillae Pinhey
Neodythemis sp. n. 2 near gorillae Pinhey
Tetrathemis corduliformis Longfield
Tetrathemis denticauda Fraser, Libellulida
Tetrathemis ruwensoriensis Fraser

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Chapter 1.10

Game Department

The Game Department was set up in 1924 with the prime purpose of elephant control under the leadership of Capt. Caldwell prior to the appointment of Christopher Pitman as Game Warden. Its role expanded rapidly and became involved in the preservation of wildlife, hunting control of restricted species and sale of animal products.

The department was funded through auctions of ivory, horn, teeth and skins. Ivory sales of c. 18,000lb in 1926 were worth nearly £8,000. In 1927 its fate hung in the balance as many colonial officials were biased towards this 'stunt' department. However, it was supported by Sir Gowers, Uganda Governor 1925-32; no doubt due its healthy annual profits. These continued until 1949 when, for the first time, a loss was recorded and was due to increasing staff costs of the fisheries section. It also supported small-scale industries utilising snake skins, crocodile hides, etc.

In 1932 it took over responsibility for the development of fisheries in the Protectorate and there is has voluminous coverage, sometime separate reports, on it activities, surveys, species introductions, catches, boats, etc. The annual reports are the primary source for commercial fisheries in the colonial period.

The reports are also a primary source for the wildlife of the period with extensive descriptions of all major species, especially behaviour and distribution. Elephants get major coverage due to the continual efforts of colonial officials to control the population. They also actively controlled wild dogs, buffalos, hippos and crocodiles in combination with local chiefs and clans.

Carnivores: lions, leopards and cheetahs, are covered in detail (lions getting the lion's share) with particular reference to the man- and livestock-eating; a declining problem in the 1920s. By the 1940s, with regard to the leopard, emphasis has changed from extermination to preservation as they helped to keep bush-pig and baboon populations down. Other carnivores get occasional mention.

Mountain Gorillas get some coverage though supervision was haphazard and the department depended on the reports of Batwa, District Commissioners, prospectors and other knowledgeable people. There was much debate up to the 1930s over whether the Virunga population was resident or a visitor to the Ugandan side. The general conclusion followed the Batwa argument that they were primarily based on the Rwandan side but travelled north and stayed for as long as good rains provided sufficient nourishing vegetation.

There is a fair amount of coverage on reptiles while birds were a major fascination with the department having an active role in bird-ringing and collection of records of migrants. To take one local reference at random, the find of an Egyptian goose nest on Mt. Sabyinio, at 10,000' was deemed to be a "remarkable record".

Game control was organised through the sale of licences and control of poaching of protected species. The latter was always a problem for the rarer species and impossible for informal sales

of common species such as blue monkey skins, which maintained their popularity throughout the colonial period.

The reports up to 1948 were written by Pitman or his assistant, sometimes Acting, Capt. R. J. D. Salmon. Pitman retired in 1948 and was replaced by B. G. Kinloch who expanded the reports and introduced photographs of the department at work around Uganda. He, in turn, retired in 1960 and was replaced by J H. Blower. For obituaries for the first three see end of chapter.

In 1960 its budget must have been heavily slashed as it now no longer had the resources to publish an annual report. The final two reports cover 1961-2 and 1963-4 and are very basic, typed on cheap paper, with the minimum of information and no photos. Its subsequent post-independence history is yet to be explored. It was eventually amalgamated with the Uganda National Parks in 1996, forming the new Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) under the 2000 Uganda Wildlife Statute.

The reports are an important primary source of wildlife during the colonial period and, as far as the author is aware, the only complete set is in Rhodes House Library, Oxford (reference 752 14 s 4).

Two spelling notes: I have followed Pitman's spelling of Lake Bunyonyi and Kayonsa Forest (now Bwindi NP), the more common spelling was Kayonza

pExtracts relating to Kigezi in chronological order, with some additions of general note, are next.

1925
"There are probably several hundred elephants near the Congo border, including a small race of elephants in the bamboo forests of the Virungas, The tracks of these elephants can be found at any altitude and they frequently visit the crater at the top of Muhavura."

Kigezi was twice visited by the Indian Game Ranger Mukhan Singh and guards during 1925 and "amongst areas in which it was necessary to deal with elephants on account of their destructive tendencies were Ruzumbura and Kinkezi."

Leopards are highly variable in type and impossible to sub classify. Forest leopards' divergent features are constant. No records of melanism. Tales of fishing leopards hard to believe, Introduction of spring-teeth snap traps have been significant in bringing down the population.

Topi common to northern end of Kigezi

Little known is about chimpanzees due to their secret and elusive behaviour. No sport in shooting them, as they are harmless, shy and timid.

Gorillas were designated a protected species from 1924. After commenting negatively about travellers' hunts he says that "Descriptions of these gorilla hunts is simply a tale of indefensible sickening slaughter". They are common around Muhavura where Batwa guides estimated the

number of groups varied between 15 and 20 with a total population of around a 100. (This total must be an underestimate as the general troop size at that time was understood to be 15 and over)

1928
A close season has set at Lake Bunyonyi between 1st May and 30th September with the object of affording protection to the duck, geese and teal during the breeding season. It may be necessary to extend to 4th November as three broods of young ducks – unable to fly – were spotted on the western shore.

Derscheid J M, Royal Zoological Society of Belgium, estimates 100-150 gorillas on the Uganda side; he says, “Astonishingly small number of young gorillas in the troops I have had under observation”. Pitman believed that mortality amongst young gorillas was due to the activities of leopards “which is exceptionally high”. A gorilla killed near Ikumba should confirm their existence in Kayonsa

Four lions killed by two Uganda police, askaris and a Native Advisor in the Virungas.

A black leopard reported by DC of West Nile District, lightning to hyena grey on flanks.

1929
The duck population has declined in a disquieting fashion during the last few years. The species of duck which frequent the lake are residents and not migrants; unrestricted shooting will result in their rapid extermination.

He commented, tongue in cheek, on the attentions paid to mountain gorillas, “Gorillas are distinguished on account of the extraordinary solicitude displayed for its welfare on the part of learned societies and others of extra-limital habitat”.

The Game Warden visits to define the gorilla sanctuary boundary, which was difficult due to it being a “precipitous region of forest and bog”.

It is impossible to say whether the gorillas were resident or migrant on the Ugandan side of the Virungas, “The natives say that gorillas have been absent for some time past from areas in which formerly they were well known”.

A Golden monkey dead is found at Muhavura summit and assumed to have got lost.

The Kigezi District continues to harbour some exceedingly large and dangerous leopards. One notorious man-eater, which had no less than eight victims to its credit was tackled very pluckily and killed by three local spearsmen. Leopards and lions have killed 15 and about another thirty were injured but recovered.

The price of Lutra otter skins at 10/- each at Lake Bunyonyi is leading to undue persecution, In the Congo they are traded for a sheep or goat. Paraonyx skins are used for bracelet amulets.

Philipps (Kigezi DC) provided duiker skins and skeletons for science, to the Game Department (and British Museum, Natural History Museum, etc.)

1928-9 organised drives exterminated bush pigs in several areas but they are now returning. Further drives needed.

1930
Five small gorillas on Mgahinga for first time in two seasons were reported by Capt. Philipps

Troublesome leopard killed 25 goats and mauled a girl speared, killed.

Zorilla peceilogola doggetti (Thomas) identified from the Virungas

Bass noted as voracious and would wipe out other introduced species in Lake Bunyonyi

1932
Lake Bunyonyi season is now to the 30th November with no shooting within a ¾ mile radius of Bufundi rest camp.

"The elephant herd frequenting the elevated bamboo and swamp region either side of Behungi appears to becoming unusually contemptuous of human beings and at times may be found for most of the day right out on the Behungi track from Haritindo. There have been several reports of unwarranted truculence and a sub chief who had occasion to run away fell into a hole and fractured a thigh". Depredations reported in Muko.

Estimates gorilla pop in Kayonsa as 50-80

The gorillas are "imagined as unapproachable brute wickedly tempered from constant conflict with local natives whose crops he habitually raided" but finds they are utterly peaceable. His guides were Wambutte who were used to them (it appears that there was already some habituation). He notes differences in diet and nest building between the volcano and Kayonsa populations. The pygmies were deferential and respectful but some farmers would have liked to exterminate them; he had to warn off one set of armed villagers after spending some time with the gorillas.

Regarding shamba raids," Gorillas contemptuous of their efforts and the females and young having departed they will only move when it suits them". He notes that they are mostly attracted to nourishing weeds in fallow land. They need protection from "the camera man and pseudo investigator who disturb flagrantly and unnecessarily them and then irritate and finally have to take a life in 'self defence'."

Heavy forest destruction east & west of Kishasha River

Weekly pig drives part of normal routine in Kigezi.

Duck census

In Lake Bunyonyi there were: Yellow Bill 300, Hottentot (Blue-billed) Teal 30, African Pochard 6,000 but no Cape (Red-bill) pintail, White-backed diving duck, Knob-bill (Comb) duck, or Spur-wing goose. In Lakes Mutanda and Murele there were 60, 40 and 400, while the twin lakes of Chahafi had 230, 40 and 300 as well as 560 White-backed diving duck. Numbers fluctuate depending on the rainy seasons

In Muko, eight reptile species were recorded, of which seven were harmless. The Brown House snake was most the common; others included the Green tree, Small brown and Egg eating snakes. The Tree snake was the only poisonous reptile. No puff adders, cobras or back-fanged species were found.

Situtanga-bush buck cross bred at Human Trypanosomiasis Institute

Survey of Lake Bunyonyi fishery. He disagrees with Worthington who says no trace of tilapia since 1930. Worthington caught one tilapia that had developed divergent characteristics and though a new species adapted to the lake's environment. Cuncuma vocifer (fish eagles) are common so there must be sufficient fish, New barbus hitherto unknown found in stomach of pigmy cormorant locally called buzungura; they became common in the previous five years and were an accidental introduction with earlier tilapia, They were caught in baskets, but locals not very interested in them. Tilapia caught have two tastes one palatable the other muddy. They are mostly found around the lake shore's lily beds and spread throughout the lake, bay by bay,

Xenopus laevis (frog) is super abundant and their tadpoles are the main diet of lake predators; it is otherwise known as the Deep-water frog – plathander. There was debate around this "pathological species"; he notes differences between Lake Bunyonyi and Lake Mutanda frogs.

The price of otter skins, at 6/- will compensate for any damage they may do to nets, treating themselves to a caught tilapia

Bird notes of Lake Bunyonyi
Species noted: Large cormorant, Pigmy cormorant, African darter, Grey-headed Gull (local migrant from Nyanza), Fish Eagle. Coot, moorhen, black rail and lily-trotter aren't a threat to fisheries. Herons are scarce, only the Goliath heron, Purple heron, Black-crowned heron and cattle egret. Very few Little bittern. Pied kingfishers very rare but the Crested kingfisher abundant.

Along Lake Bunyonyi's shores two snake species were found: adder (atheris nitschei) and harmless green snake (Chlorophis irregularis)

Lake Mutanda
Lake Mutanda is very similar to Lake Bunyonyi but has hippopotamus "whose origin is too remote to enable satisfactory explanation" The largest herd was clustered around Ruchuru river exit. Another party of three tame individuals lived in a papyrus swamp at the lake's north east corner, while an itinerant pair wandered around the Mushongero islets.

Pygmy cormorant and cattle egret are common, but large cormorant not. Crested cranes are common on hillsides above the swamps. Coots are found, while moorhen and rails common, Hadada, sacred ibis & hammer-headed storks. Lily-trotters are absent. Migrants included the sandpipers and dabchick. Crested kingfisher is common. Grey-headed gull and White-winged black tern spotted, but no fish eagles.

Lake Murehe
The best duck lake, with up to 3,000 African pochard, while otters are rare. Its canoes are the most primitive.

Lake Chahafi
It is more of a swamp than a lake that was one time larger but blocked by a lava field to the west (Geological Survey Memoir III p. 2). It is very shallow, maximum 12', no deep water frogs but a few other frog and toad species.

Only place for Pond heron (ardeola ralloides)

Lake Kaiumba (Mugisha)
The local variety of dug out canoe is primitive and none too safe. The lake is very storm-affected

1934
After 10 years of elephant control in Uganda 9,827 (5,730 males) were shot, another nearly 2,000 were found dead, and around 1,350 killed under licences, totalling c. 14,000. The ivory sales were valued at £137,618.

"The Behungi elephant valley herd has in the course of their peregrinations occasionally come into conflict with the local prospectors and three elephants bolder and more persistent than their companions have had to be destroyed."

In Kayonsa Forest, with the assistance of local guides, a gorilla troop is found and observed. "Though eventually disturbed the gorillas were not alarmed and exhibited extraordinary confidence and inquisitiveness. Finally they withdrew in dignified silence". Groups are small family units but one large band for the last three years one had over twenty. "The pygmy investigators one day unexpectedly walked into it and returned gibbering with excitement." (It would have taken something special to impress the investigators, indicating that such a large group was unusual there.)

Hamlyn's monkey (C hamlyni Pocock) reported in Virunga Mountains but practically nothing known about it. It is yellowish green, similar to Kandt's monkey

"The legend Darkest Africa may not ring exactly true these days but the annual departmental reports indicate that there are plenty of incidents of out-district life which belong to the 'wild and woolly' period".

In Kigezi the results of the weekly pig drives are usually disappointing.

African pochard have disappeared from Lake Bunyonyi, duck numbers down by two-thirds

Tilapia nigra introduced 1932 and is very successful, Tilapia nilotica will probably disappear

1935
L'Hoest monkey first identified in Kayonsa

The ratel is accused of being beehive raiders but locals know very little about it, except in Rubanda and Rukungire

"In Lake Bunyonyi, local natives spend most of their weekends (in the afternoons) otter hunting. When eight to a dozen dug-outs co-operate it is a noisy business and rather picturesque. These hunts give the natives a great deal of exercise and excitement. In spite of the usual disappointment, they evidently afford much enjoyment. The otter usually escapes."

"The otter spear is usually six to seven feet in length and is made entirely of wood and the four prongs are set forward and slightly outward (in a square) from the end of the shaft."

Black-crowned heron observed nesting in Lake Mutanda. A pair of fish eagles (enzo) attacked the heronry of the goliath heron and smashed all the eggs. They are known to be 'sworn enemies' but this behaviour is very unusual.

Pochard return to Lake Bunyonyi

A list of publications to which Pitman contributed: Ibis, Ostrich, Bulletin British Ornithologist's Club and Oologist's Record. He wrote The Wild life of Uganda – The Traveller's Guide, (re-issue No. 5, 1934), published by Kenya and Uganda Railways and Harbours.

1936
Small elephant damage around Kivumbo.

Acting Game Warden RJD Salmon viewed some Kayonsa gorillas and "found them amiably disposed".

A phathander frog caught eating tilapia fry. (Within the colonial philosophy of identifying threats to fisheries, this was deemed to be significant enough to be mentioned, though in a humorous vein))

Rainbow trout introduced into Lake Bunyonyi. (They were never seen again)

1937
Elephants now only in Behungi and the Virungas, Heavy rains are most likely time for devastation.

Leopard numbers decline rapidly due to their skins. (Now focus shifts to preservation to keep bush pig and baboon populations down)

Buffaloes in the Virungas but, as they are confined to relatively uninhabited areas, they do not cause damage.

“The tale of the bush pig is unfortunately always evil. It has no redeeming graces except as a pet in captivity.”

Good duck sport in Lake Bunyonyi. In December there were very few due to a rise in the lake level by four feet and consequent submergence of feeding grounds.

National Geographic Magazine January issue on Kigezi by Jay Marston

1938
Elephant marauders from Belgian Congo and Maramagambo forest make swift crop raids never lasting more than 2-3 weeks. By the time the department has been notified they have usually gone.

Elephants have as much magezi (intelligence) as a European according to a local Katwa salt lake inspector

Gorillas spotted at Bwito in Busangora , unconfirmed reports of them on the southern slopes of the Rwenzori Mountains. (There were some consistent rumours that were never substantiated, searches in the 1930s found no trace of their presence)

Leopard kills eight sheep at Kachwekano Agricultural Research Station, Kabale. Killed with a strychnine baited corpse, its male mate poisoned a month previously.

‘English’ bush pigs reported in Toro. A local chief described them as different from the normal bush pig. It was thought they were escapees from a European farmer that went feral and perhaps interbred with their wild relatives.

A large quantity of migrant storks reported in Kabale in April also an Abdim (White-bellied) stork

Yellow bills declining in Lake Bunyonyi

Nyamaligira volcano erupts after 30 years and is now a tourist attraction.

Lake Bunyonyi’s I32 fishermen appear to be an “impoverished community without sufficient money to buy nets”. Nets set are often raided by otters.

Lake Chahafi fish trade is lucrative. The fish are properly and evenly smoked on racks in well constructed drying huts built mainly of reeds.

1939

“Captain Salmon dealt with the troublesome Behungi elephant herd which at once fled across the international boundary and did not return for ten days”. 28 elephant marauders killed in Kinkizi & Rujumbura.

Leopard bites treated in Kabale hospital

As a defence against bush pigs, potato crops have been planted inside strong palisades with great success.

(No reports for 1940-5, its activities took secondary place during war-time, especially with Pitman’s secondment. Salmon kept the department going with minimal staff.)

1946
Kigezi Resettlement, 77 buffalo and 42 elephants killed in first year. No crop damage, guards to be credited

Gorilla permit, the first for twenty yearr, for Coryndon museum. Easily found in Kayonsa.

Mass unexplained mortality for three days among Tilapia nilotica in Lake Bunyonyi; they came to surface with distended air bladders and died in a few hours.

The Lake’s Tilapia muddiness taste is caused by local environment conditions

Tilapia parasitic infestation arrived from 1943. It affects small numbers with black specks on the scales and in the flesh

1947
The four elephant herds of Kigezi are the Virunga herd, Behungi (Echuya) herd, Rwanga herd of Kinkizi and Buambura herd of Rujumbura. The total estimated at 300

Gorilla population has increased in Kayonsa in the last twenty years.

Baboon poisoner in resettlement areas is very successful

The L’Hoest monkey is locally common in Kayonsa. It comes down to ground a lot and is a confirmed shamba raider. “The Baamba are most skilled in hunting this species with dogs under exceedingly difficult montane conditions, and a hunt is a highly organised operation in which the odds are on the monkeys; to participate in such a hunt is said to be a real thrill.”

Francolin, live specimens from Kigezi

In Lake Mutanda, a flourishing ngege industry of five fishermen, each with a five-inch net from a dug-out. They cost 25 fresh and 30 cents dry each in Kisoro. Lake Chahafi has two fishermen

1948

Behungi elephant herd becoming more destructive as cultivation extends into for what has been its normal habitat. 18 killed.

“At Kayonsa an ancient male gorilla shared a water-hole with a nearby settlement. He was a cantankerous old gentleman, but not ferocious and, though on several occasions he met with water-carriers face to face he never attempted to molest them.” The large group is now thirty individuals.

“A chief in Kigezi shot and killed a leopard which had serious mauled several men in Nyaruisiza. He thus belied his nickname of Piga Missa which he earned many years ago when, as a Native Administration askari, he failed to hit a raiding Munyaruanda at point-blank range.”

Flying squirrel, “It is said that this little creature was the Batwa dowry given by the aspirant swain to his father-in-law; nothing else won him a wife.”

Lake Mutanda, fish thriving but many complaints about hippos due to crop damage, however their survival is of vital importance, otherwise the fishery economy would suffer. (Their impact on the lake’s ecology was seen as positive and essential for fish)

1949
This was the first year that expenditure exceeded income and was due to staff costs in running the Fisheries department. Also ivory prices dropped by 15-20%.

Lake Chahafi declared a Bird Sanctuary. In recent years it has been unnecessarily shot over, especially during breeding season. It has a wonderful variety of interesting bird life

Gorillas plentiful

On the decision to destroy the Behungi elephant herd: “It is one more sad instance of the wild life having to give way to modern progress”. Eight already shot

A Four-tusked elephant confirmed in Rutshuru with photo; each tusk weighed 52lb. A split germ was believed to be the cause. Such animals were still to be found, according to Conservator of the Albert NP. About 25-30 years previously, there was correspondence concerning another in Azande County in NW Uganda

Over the last twenty years the Kayonsa gorilla population has increased by 50%. One old male was killed accidentally during a pig hunt. There is a long description of a gorilla’s behaviour by a prospector in Kayonsa. District Officer reports gorillas at 11,800’ on Mt. Sabynio and a trail to Ruanda. “As some of the ridges are extremely, steep, narrow and exposed, it says much for the gorilla’s capabilities as hill climber and scrambler.”

Leopards reported to be making small comeback

The bush pig is Public Enemy no 1 with “a heart as black as charcoal”

Angola pitta recorded

1950
Pitman awarded a CBE

Game Department is trying to keep leopard skin prices low, to assist in the protection of this "beautiful and normally useful animal".

No member of the department has been able to visit the gorillas for a long time. Rumours indicate that they are slowly increasing

19 elephants killed in the resettlement area

The female chimpanzee, captured in Kanungu, was eventually sent to Chessington Zoo UK, where it was very popular. "It is nice to hear this as it left Kigezi under rather a cloud having, in a fit of temper, bitten the DC severely on the thumb". A group reported living near Rwensama and helping themselves to tit-bits from the shambas.

Baboon poisoner yet again successful, 109 killed, but his methods have not spread as other authorities are fearful of the arsenic compound being put to other uses. (This attitude is ridiculed in the reports that note that the compound was ineffective against people while natives were knowledgeable about more lethal poisons)

It is difficult to persuade Africans that leopards eat baboons and pigs and therefore should be protected.

Spotted hyenas reported to have started worrying cattle in Bufumbira. They eat corpses of poisoned baboons in Ndorwa.

334 buffalo shot in Resettlement area but are still common in north Kigezi

A 17' long python skin recorded from Kambuga

Monitor Lizard killed in Bufumbira, locals had never seen one before.

Compliment to Pitman on retirement. "During his long period in service built what is now the Uganda Game and Fisheries Department from its original conception as a small elephant control department to a flourishing organization dealing with both the control and conservation of game and the development of the economic fisheries of the Protectorate."

1949 report that a blue-grey lioness had been seen in Kayonsa Forest region. It was described as "very peculiar". "During the past thirty years there have been from time to time similar reports of blue-grey lions from the same district indicative of a common origin."

1951

The Batwa of Bwamba Forest in Toro are voracious elephant eaters and small amounts of ivory are smuggled across the border.

Gorilla population in the Virungas was 12 adults and 2/3 “toto”, numbers unknown in Kayonsa

Leopards are regularly seen at night on the road through the Mitano Gorge but as none are reported to have been killed, they must confine themselves to pigs and baboons.

12 elephants killed in Resettlement area. Heavy rains forced the elephants to move from the forests to the shambas.

An elephant kills seven goats in Bugangiri; it may have been wounded. It stayed for a month but caused no further damage.

Limits on the number of elephants shot by licence introduced causing a decline of 75% of licences issued

1952
24 elephants shot in the Resettlement area. Four of the Echuya herd were speared to death by villagers protecting their crops. Inexperienced license holders wounding, but not killing, elephants, is a cause for concern. Two were recently wounded in Kayonsa; one was later killed by guard while other “at large presumably debating the usefulness of mankind”.

In Budongo forest every chimpanzee troop has an old male blue monkey with them; acting as a servant or guard?

A number of leopards killed in defence of property and one poisoned. One was first reported as an olutarangwe “much like a leopard but larger and fiercer” but was only medium sized beast with larger spots than normal and “it seems probable that the name is applied to old animals which have lost their respect of men and animals”.

Kigezi DC reports major pops of rodents doing serious crop damage, resulting in a major poison campaign, mostly Otomys and Lophuromys. Forestry officer accounts for 12,826 in Mafuga Forest with another 17,000 poisoned in Ndorwa and Rukiga. However, they thrive and the introduction of domesticated cats to be considered.

Dept. gets seaplane, which lands once on Lake Bunyonyi. Tourist flights to Murchison’s Falls not a success as they provided “too much excitement” in landing complicated by the possibility of submerged hippos and flocks of pelicans.

About 60 fishermen active in Lake Bunyonyi, fish supply now exceeds demand but they are small and attacked by ovary parasites, including the trematode worm. All are nilotica, no sign of the nigra or esculata introduced in 1944

Lake Mutanda, active fishermen varies to a maximum of 10 canoes. Fish caught here are exported to Ruanda where high prices put it out of reach of local Bakiga. In Lake Mulehe fishing

is intense with up to 80-100 canoes. Locally sold for Sh1 per pound; though most is exported to the Congo.

Acting Warden, R. J. D. Salmon MVO MC died in 1952; he was a “colourful character”.

1953
32 elephant killed; shamba damage around Kigezi Game Reserves, Kashasha and Nyarusiza

A miner records playing peek-a-boo with a gorilla in Kayonsa; he behind his hand and the gorilla behind a tree “They then take quick peeks from behind their covers, to the considerable amusement of the gorilla”.

Wild Life in Uganda filmed and distributed

Fish stocks in Lake Bunyonyi poor, bass now to be considered. Lakes Mutanda and Murele limited to twenty fishermen each.

1955
17,8305 rodents poisoned in Kigezi.

1956
He records the opening of a hotel in Kisoro (Traveller’s Rest) and organised gorilla tracking tours. “Since it known that they are shy easily disturbed animals this abuse stopped otherwise they would have migrated to Ruanda where they are undisturbed”. However, the tourist potential is recognised and to be investigated whether hides could be built where they could be seen undisturbed.

Resettlement areas’ game control needs has led to increased demand for game guards, which is difficult to provide with so small a staff.

By now the Gorilla sanctuary has shrunk from 18 to 9m2. The gorillas are in no danger but are disturbed by forest use and cultivation. The elephant is a seasonal visitor to the Uganda side of the Virungas.

Normal elephant migrations are between September and January, and March to June; they follow the same routes along forested valleys of Ntungwe, Chiruruma, Mitoma and Kazinga. “It is difficult to understand the purpose of these local migrations since different herds appear to move in opposite directions at one and the same time.”

Crop protection is difficult in Kigezi owing to the broken and wooded nature of the country and because settlement is so scattered; often with large areas of bush between the shambas. After raids the elephants retreat to dense cover where they are difficult and dangerous to hunt

A gorilla is seen on Mt. Mgahiga at c. 13,000’

Baboon hunts kills many in drives in Kinkizi, (It is not popular among locals as the meat is inedible. In comparison killing a bush pig was its own reward in providing meat to the family. For baboon hunts it was sometimes necessary to let villagers kill a few deer as an incentive.)

Leopards are fairly common. Golden cat first identified in the Virungas

Two new rodent species identified in the Virungas are the harsh-furred mouse (Lophuromys woosnami ptrittie) & mole rat (Tachyoryetes ruandae)

1957
Baumgartel, manager of the Traveller's Rest hotel, is now an honorary game ranger, His failed experiments of attracting gorillas with different types of food in an attempt to semi-habituate them is mentioned. (What occasioned Pitman's change of heart towards Baumgartel is not explained)

Lake Mulere is the most productive fish lake with 20 canoes and annual catch of 37 tons

1958
Gorilla Sanctuary. Gorillas are popular; one troop lives within an hour of trail head locally called Nyagahuga Silverback. It is doubtful if there are more than 35 at any one time. Elephants and buffalo are seen while leopard, red forest duiker, golden monkeys, giant forest hogs and baboons are all common.

County chief of Mutwale and Gombolola chief of Nyarusiza are credited for valuable assistance in stopping poaching and bamboo cutting. Professor Itani attempted to use Japanese monkey language on the gorillas "but was not understood".

Leopard reportedly kills 158 goats, four calves and 17 dogs. An extensive, but unsuccessful, hunt finally called of and there have been no further reports otherwise since. "They do comparatively little harm."

Lake Bunyonyi has a uniform depth of 130' until a few yards from the shore when it rises in steps about 3' deep that may represent different lava flows that eventually dammed the lake. There is a continuous bottom stratum of two layers about 2' thick each overlaying a hard sub stratum.

1960
Long report on Gorilla Sanctuary

40,000 elephants killed since 1927, 20% of these by licence. The area that they inhabited has dropped by 1/6th since 1927 but the population is now20-25000 compared to 18,500 then. Now they are mostly in protected areas. Numerous elephant routes have disappeared due to settlement and cultivation. The department's receipts from the sale of ivory over that period of 33 years were £500,000.

1961-2 financial stringency

Rueben (Roveni) Rwanzagire of Nyarusiza (Traveller's Rest gorilla guide) awarded Certificate of Honour in 1962 New Year Honours List. Kinloch retires in 1960 and is replaced by J H Blower.

Gorillas are now seldom seen due to continuing encroachment and a leopard
Bibliography of elephant publications, 1959-61

Delany's mouse, called after its discoverer, and Brooks, the game department's biologist. It is the first new genus from East Africa in 25 years.

1962-4
No references.

Game Warden Obituaries
In conclusion three obituaries of the three first Game Wardens follow: RJD Salmon, CRS Pitman and BG Kinloch follow

Roy John Dugdale Salmon
The obituary to Captain R J D Salmon was written by Capt. Pitman and published in the Uganda Journal of 1953.

Samaki – Captain R J D Salmon, M. V. O., M. C.

A Tribute

by Captain C R S Pitman, C. B. E., D. S. O., M. C.

With the death, on 23 September 1952, at his home in Natal, of Captain Roy John Dugdale Salmon, universally known as Samuli, one more of the fast-dwindling band of great elephant hunters passes on. He was for more than twenty years the outstanding personality of the Uganda Game Department and his skill as an elephant hunter was unrivalled. He did not know how many elephants he had killed, but the total may well have been more than 4,000. Once when asked how many he had shot he replied "Ask George Bateman (then the Government Dentist) how many teeth he has pulled out." His achievements were unique and his skill was not only exceptional but uncanny, for he possessed an elephant sense which enabled him to survive experiences which would have been the end of others. Fully 90 per cent of his elephants were killed with one bullet to the brain, and to see him illustrate in the field how to deal with a charging elephant frontally – either to kill, stun or turn it – was to witness a remarkable display of virtuosity in the art of elephant hunting.

He was born in New Zealand in 1888, and came to East Africa in 1909, when for three years he worked for the late Lord Delamere. He then settled in Uganda to grow coffee and shoot big game. His modus operandi in Toro in those good old days was to take land in the vicinity of well-used elephant highways, followed by constant agitation to Government for compensation on account of damage to crops, more often hypothetical than real, or alternatively and preferably for

permission to kill ‘shamba raiders’ without licence. On one occasion when an infuriated Government suddenly closed down on the so-called ‘cultivation protection’ measures of the planting community, Samaki had to hand in to local authorities some ninety-six tusks for which he could not properly account.

From 1914 to 1919 he served with distinction in the 4th (Uganda(Battalion) The King’s African Rifles and was awarded the Military Cross for an act of conspicuous gallantry when, swimming under enemy fire, he took a rope across the crocodile-infested Kagera River. His men thought only a fish could have performed such a feat and henceforward he was popularly known as Samaki. (‘fish’ in Swahili), which was, an apt play upon his surname. At the end of the war he returned to his coffee and his elephant hunting prior to taking up employment with the Government in 1923, and it was during this period, in 1921, that he had a disastrous encounter with a wounded elephant – the only time an elephant ever worsted him. His life was saved by the pluck of his gunbearer but the great beast had inflicted grievous hurt to Samaki’s neck. Nevertheless, with his usual courage, he made his way to the not far distant Officer’s Mess of the King’s African Rifles at Bombo and tried to pretend that all was well with him. But a badly twisted neck cannot be concealed and he was indeed in sorry plight, necessitating a tricky emergency operation in the train which took him from Kisimu to Nairobi. Although he made light of the incident and its after-affects, there is no doubt that this serious injury eventually hastened his end.

In 1923, together with two other expert elephant hunters, he was first engaged by the Government in an organized scheme of elephant control, which developed in 1925 into the Uganda Game Department. in which he was absorbed. He acted as Game Warden from 1930 to 1933 and again in 1936 and 1939. At the end of 1941 the substantive Game Warden was seconded for special duty and Samaki again acted as Game Warden until the end of 1945; during this war period he had to conduct the affairs of the entire Game Department with only one Game Ranger, an Asian head clerk and African staff. In the latter years of his service his health suffered considerably and finally, in 1948, much against his will, he was invalided.

Since 1933 he had not been 100 per cent fit, though few except himself knew this; but undaunted, he carried on with the life he loved until in 1946 even his indomitable spirit had to surrender to the ills of the flesh. He married in 1931 Celia de Groot, a lady whose adventurous spirit and love of wild life accorded well with his own and who was herself a skilled hunter and a remarkable shot. There is one daughter. One of the more flippant congratulatory telegrams sent to this old warrior on the occasion of his marriage emphasized “only one allowed on the licence”.

His patient, painstaking and thorough training of his African hunters – an exceedingly dangerous business – afforded an example which others could emulate, and the integrity and faithfulness of his personal staff were proverbial. He was a delightful companion on safari, never at a loss or upset, and a breezy raconteur, above all, he excelled as a showman and would enthusiastically undertake responsibilities from which others recoiled. Among his host of friends in all walks of life could be counted several members of the Royal Family for at one time or another he had acted as ‘white hunter’ to the late King George VI and the Queen Mother (then Duke and Duchess of York) in 1925; to the Duke of Windsor (then Prince of Wales) in 1928 and 1930; to

Princess Alice, the Earl of Athlone and Lady May Cambridge in 1932; and to the Duke of Gloucester in 1938. He was an ideal choice for such assignments as he was utterly fearless, resolute and imperturbable. He was awarded the M. V. O. in the Coronation Honours, 1937.

Again and again he was called upon to assist a V. I. P. to obtain close-ups of elephants which not infrequently resulted in a close-quarters charge much to the subsequent satisfaction of the 'intrepid' photographer who, gazing into a postage-stamp sized view-finder had no idea of the staunchness and skill which stood between him and sudden death. On one such occasion Samaki, having apparently killed a charging bull with a frontal shot, was greeted by a somewhat shocked member of the fair sex with a suggestion that it was a pity to have killed him. Samaki replied. "He's all right, wait and see". And sure enough shortly after the bull struggled to his feet, shook his head, turned and strode away.

In his unrivalled supremacy as the world's outstanding elephant shot with far and away the largest bag ever attributed to a single person, his life was naturally cram full of incident. Of his many amazing performances, the one which impressed me the most is the unforgettable occasion when on three consecutive days, in the course of a special elephant reduction campaign, he killed single-handed a total of seventy elephants. Only the few who are familiar with the high-velocity heavy rifle will really appreciate the magnitude of such a feat, which, apart from other considerations, is, when judged in terms of discharge and recoil, well-nigh incredible.

Although he excelled at killing elephants, the preservation of the local wild life, of which he had an intimate knowledge, was always foremost in his thoughts and he much preferred photography to shooting. He lived just long enough to welcome the creation of Uganda's first two National Parks – permanent wildlife sanctuaries which he had long advocated. He was a bridge player of no mean ability and a keen golfer. In his time he had endeavoured to keep many strange pets. He was the most modest of men and few but his closest friends were privileged to share, conversationally, his entertaining experiences. Woe betide the braggart who in a misguided moment offered to demonstrate in the field his prowess to Samaki; the master faithfully dealt with him as all braggarts should be treated. Unfortunately, it is due to Samaki's inherent modesty that posterity will be deprived from sharing his wealth of experience for he has taken with him his vast store of knowledge.

Many there are who will honour his memory, but this tribute is also written that the rising generation and their successors who will not have known Nimrod may have the background of the legend which will assuredly gather round the achievements of one who performed "in the figure of a lamb, the feats of a lion".

Charles Robert Senhouse Pitman

The obituary to CRS Pitman was written by Bernard Verdcourt and published in Conchologists' Newsletter, No.131, pp. 417–424, 1994, and available on the website of the Conchological Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

Capt. Charles Robert Senhouse Pitman, CBE, DSO, MC was born in Bombay, India on 19 March 1890, the son of C.E. Pitman, CIE, but like most children of civil servants and military serving abroad he was educated in Britain. After leaving Sandhurst in 1909 he was gazetted to

the Indian Army, 27th Punjabis; he served in Egypt, France and Mesopotamia during the First World War gaining the DSO and MC, then in Palestine from 1918–21 when he resigned his commission to go farming in western Kenya. He collected snails in the Cherangani Hills at this time. In 1925 he accepted the offer of the post of Game Warden of Uganda (the first one) and apart from about eight years of secondment held it until he retired in 1951. The Game Department had only just been formed in 1925 and was at first named the Elephant Control Department which was meant to protect people from the huge herds of elephants that then roamed the Protectorate. His first secondment was to Zambia (then Northern Rhodesia) as Acting Game Warden (1931–33) and secondly as Director, Security Intelligence, Uganda (1941–46). During the Second World War he was also Officer in Chief, Uganda Defence Force. For his service to the Empire he was made a CBE in 1950. After his retirement in 1951 he moved to England and lived near the British Museum (Nat. Hist.) where he was an honorary worker. The Uganda Government commissioned him to write a history of the Protectorate which occupied him until 1955, but it was decided not to publish it. He looked on this as four years of his life wasted. I do not know what happened to the manuscript, whether it is in Uganda or England and attempts to trace it have been unsuccessful. He died in London on 22 September 1975 in his 86th year.

Pitman, essentially a field man specializing in birds, reptiles and mammals, collected a good deal; the British Museum has most of his material including, for example 3000 clutches of eggs, all properly documented. I have been through the accession books in the Mollusca Department and his name is not mentioned between 1911 and 1924 so it is probable he had no early interest in the group but was asked to collect, perhaps by Connolly. There are entries for May 1925 (4 specimens from the Cherangani Hills), November 1925 (14 specimens from the Ruwenzories and S. of Wadelai), October 1927 (26 from Ankole), December 1927 (20 from Lake Victoria – destroyed), February 1928 (2 from Entebbe), August 1928 (6 from Victoria Nile), September 1929 (16 from Butiaba, Lake Albert) and December 1930 (6 from Lake Victoria Mwana I.). Other material reached the museum with Connolly's own collection. There is further material in other museums, certainly in the National Museum, Nairobi and at Liverpool; in fact I suspect there is a great deal of unworked material around.

Pitman wrote extensively and was reviewing books whilst in bed during his last illness. One of his first contributions was a paper on the eggs of Palestine birds (1921) and he wrote many further papers on birds. Undoubtedly his most important book is A guide to the snakes of Uganda (1938) sponsored by the Uganda Society; 83 species are dealt with and splendidly illustrated in colour. A complete revision of this book dealing with 98 species was published in 1974. His secondment to Zambia resulted in a long report (1934) on his faunal survey containing checklists of mammals, birds, reptiles and fish. In 1942 a wildlife conservation department was set up as he had recommended. Apart from scientific papers he wrote two books about his work as a game warden, and also a preface to Joy Adamson's Born Free. His recommendations of areas suitable for National Parks in Uganda and his organisation of the first two parks formed the basis of conservation in that country.

He served a number of societies and was a member of the British Ornithologists' Union for 50 years, joining in 1914, elected to the Council in 1952 and Vice-President in 1958 (1960–63 another source); he was awarded the Union Medal in 1968. He was Vice-Chairman of the British

Ornithologists' Club, 1956–59 and Chairman 1960–63, Vice-President of the Fauna Preservation Society and President of the Uganda Society, 1940–41. He was a life member of the East African Natural History Society.

Pitman is said to have encouraged J.P. lonides who became famous for his snake collecting and knowledge of reptiles (see A. Wykes, Snake Man, London, 1960) but since lonides was only ten years younger than Pitman I doubt if there were much either could have taught the other.

He was a kind and courteous man, a meticulous correspondent and extremely hard working and diligent, and remained so long after his retirement. At the time of his death he was working on a book about the elephant.

I suspect Pitman may have had an acid sense of humour. I remember when I first looked over the Coryndon Museum (now National Museum of Kenya) collection of shells with a view to putting it in better order I found a lot of three shells of the very well known and characteristic Burtoa nilotica collected by Pitman, I believe somewhere in the Sudan and clearly labelled with a completely fanciful made-up Greek name (which I now forget but it was something like Erampodites) that had been accepted without question by the Museum authorities. Hugh Copley and H. Graham Turner used to look after the molluscs but knew little about them. I can only assume that Pitman was pulling their leg in a rather wicked manner. Maybe they had irritated him by pretending to know more than they did and their ignorance annoyed him.

Marjorie his wife survived him. There was no mention of any children in any of the obituaries.

(List of molluscs collected by Capt. Pitman in East Africa not included)

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Verdcourt's Notes

1. Occasionally entitled Lt. Col. which presumably was an acting rank.

2. I have seen reports of a paper jointly with J. Adamson entitled 'Habits of the Giant eagle owl Bubo lacteus' to be published in the Rhodesian journal Arnoldia but could find no trace of it looking through the run of that publication.

Bruce Grant Kinlough

The obituary to Bruce Grant Kinlough was published in the Daily Telegraph (UK), 4th September 2011

In February 1942 Kinloch was adjutant of the 1st Battalion 3rd Queen Alexandra's Own Gurkha Rifles (1/3 GR). His battalion had been rushed from India to Burma after the Japanese invasion and endured days of choking dust as it hurried along winding jungle tracks through tinder-dry teak forests; the soldiers' aim was to reach the Sittang Bridge and so deny the Japanese a gateway to Rangoon and the heart of southern Burma.

On the morning of February 21 they came under attack from Japanese bombers. These were followed by Zero fighter aircraft, which raked the columns of weary soldiers with machinegun fire and set the jungle ablaze.

The Japanese were holding a twin-hill feature on the eastern side of the river, close to the final approach to the bridge. Forward companies of 1/3 GR close by were pinned down by heavy automatic fire; when Kinloch, at Battalion HQ, was ordered to contact them he saw it as a death sentence. His CO went himself and was indeed killed.

At first light the next day Kinloch was awakened by three huge explosions. A decision had been made to blow the bridge before the Japanese overwhelmed the small bridgehead force, took it and crossed the river in strength.

Kinloch's battalion, together with most of 17th Indian Infantry Division, were stranded on the wrong side of a river 6oo yards wide. Many in the forward companies had been taken prisoner and the rest – dog-tired with incessant fighting, short of food, water and ammunition – were outraged at being abandoned.

That afternoon, Kinloch put machine guns at the head of his force and cut through the jungle to the river. He organised a defensive perimeter and set the rest of the men to building rafts.

The Japanese seemed to have vanished. After reconnoitring the eastern end of the blown bridge, Kinloch climbed up a jungle track in search of some sign of the enemy. As he approached a huge forest tree, he saw the outline of a head. Drawing his revolver, he challenged the figure. The head disappeared. With one bound he reached the tree and, peering cautiously around the massive trunk, found himself looking straight into the face of a Japanese officer. The man was in black boots, wore a soft peaked cap and carried a Samurai sword.

Kinloch leapt back and, pulling a grenade from his binoculars pouch, rolled it, smoking gently, around the tree. He heard a gasp, a scuffle of feet and a shattering explosion.

The air came alive, he said afterwards, with the whip-like crack of bullets as machineguns opened fire from all sides. A heavy machinegun from across the river joined in as he sprinted back down the track.

He regained the bridgehead without a scratch but his men were being cut down by mortars and small arms fire. Kinloch had to find some ferry boats. As darkness fell, he and two comrades slipped into the river, pushing in front of them a bamboo raft lashed together with rifle slings and loaded with their clothes and pistols.

They swam across but saw no sign of Allied troops; eventually they found a sampan and, by dawn, after five trips, all the wounded from the different units had been ferried to the western bank. Kinloch returned to his depleted battalion on the eastern bank, which then moved two miles downstream, and the next night swam the river again to try to organise a larger ferry operation. While he was on the western bank he heard firing on the other side of the river and saw the Japanese swarming out of the jungle. After a fight the rest of the battalion was surrounded and forced to surrender.

Kinloch set off with some of the wounded men he had previously ferried over when, walking across a paddy field, he was bitten in the foot by a viper. A comrade pluckily sucked out the venom and Kinloch reached Allied lines with nothing worse than a swollen leg. He was awarded an immediate Military Cross.

Bruce Grant Kinloch was born at Saharanpur, India, where his father was stationed, on August 27 1919. He was educated at Berkhamsted School, where he was in the Shooting VIII.

After RMC Sandhurst he was commissioned into the Indian Army in 1939 and posted to 3rd Queen Alexandra's Own Gurkha Rifles. He saw active service with the 1st Battalion on the North-West Frontier and took part in punitive operations in Waziristan against the Faqir of Ipi.

For much of 1943 the battalion, having re-formed and retrained, held a line of positions in the Chin Hills, northern Burma. In December, Kinloch was ordered to attack a Japanese force which was dug into deep underground bunkers high up on a rocky, knife-edge ridge.

"Brigade must be mad even to suggest it," Kinloch told his CO. "Who do they think is crazy enough to tackle it?"

"You," his CO replied.

Kinloch led two rifle companies in the assault. In the event he was mistakenly bombed by Allied aircraft, shelled and mortared by the enemy, and forced to withdraw.

In 1944, he was second-in-command of 4th/9th Gurkha Rifles and subsequently commanded the battalion. After the end of the campaign in Burma, he ran some of the first jungle warfare courses and, after partition in 1947, joined the Colonial Service.

His first posting was that of District Officer at Kilifi on the Kenya Coast, where he became involved in the pursuit and capture of ivory poachers and smugglers. In 1949 he transferred to the Uganda Game and Fisheries Department as assistant to the chief game warden, succeeding to that post a year later. Over the next decade he was responsible for the expansion and development of the department.

In 1960 he moved to the Tanganyika (later Tanzania) Game Department as chief game warden. While in this post he launched the College of African Wildlife Management at Mweka, to train Africans to become game and national park wardens in newly-independent African countries.

He retired in 1964 and, following a series of advisory posts as wildlife adviser to Bechuanaland (later Botswana), Cape Province and Malawi, in 1973 he joined a 4,000 acre mixed farming estate in the Yorkshire Dales.

After the death of its owner, he worked for the Yorkshire Water Authority in land and fisheries management. Four years in Spain followed before he retired to Fownhope, Herefordshire.

As well as contributing many articles to the Shooting Times, he published The New Noah (1955), Shamba Raiders (1972), Game Wardens in Africa (1981) and Tales from a Crowded Life (2008). Shamba Raiders, written with passion and authority, was particularly well received. It is an account of the struggle to preserve East Africa's herds of game which were then, and still are, threatened by poaching, wars and population growth.

Bruce Kinloch died on June 21. He married in 1943, Elizabeth Charter. She predeceased him and he is survived by their daughter.

* * *

## Chapter 2.1

### Historical Origins

#### Introduction

The early history of East Africa can only be dealt with in a very general way as there is little archaeological or historical evidence. Generally the rise and development of agriculture is the main theme. There are two aspects, the harnessing of crops and the spread of livestock 3,000 years ago.

Pollen analyses from swamps in south west Uganda give some clues as to the progress of settlement, particularly after the arrival of Bantu people, culture and technology, from around 2,000 years ago. The section ends with a consideration of agriculture, social structure and identity by 1500.

#### Origins

The search for the origins of Homo sapiens is a work in progress and is based on elusive fossils found mostly in the Rift Valley, often discovered by chance, and genetic research that reconstructs history backwards. It is fascinating to try and imagine what the reactions of early men, women and children were to consciousness, something we take for granted.

Was it like a sudden illumination or did it happen in increments over time and different locations? Given that they had no previous knowledge the world had to be understood in a completely new and original way with the new brain tool, intelligence.

Whatever happened, humans learnt to adapt, survive and prosper in many different environments as hunter gatherers for many hundreds of generations and spread throughout Africa and beyond. It is now thought to have happened in two waves, the first 62-75,000 years ago were the ancestors of Australian Aborigines and the second 25-38,000 years ago, the ancestors of everybody else.

There is little archaeological evidence in Kigezi, but it would be incorrect to assume that there was no settlement. A Wilton lunate was discovered by Wayland in 1919 in a cave in the Virunga Mountains, Mecklenburg was shown a cave with patinated bones in another cave and was sworn to secrecy as to its location, and Nengo cave is recorded as being archaeologically significant. In Nsoongezi rock shelter, near the Tanzanian border on the old road between Kabale and Mbarara, occupational evidence has been discovered, which indicates that other cave systems were settlement and shelter sites but most evidence has not survived the passage of time or been discovered.

There are many places, caves and hill tops that were sacred sites and ritual centres that are of unknown age. These have never been mapped or investigated systematically. A survey of these followed by targeted archaeological investigations may uncover structural evidence, artefacts or rock art, which would give some insight as to older cultures. Hillside habitation evidence is more problematic given the intense agriculture expansion and population increases of recent times. In general archaeological knowledge in Uganda is undeveloped compared with Kenya and Tanzania.

Early Agriculture

The domestication of plants was not a straightforward linear process. It was experimental and vulnerable to climate change and a host of specific problems relating to plant species and environments. It was necessary to mix agriculture with hunting, fishing and gathering, though which was more important depended on how any one clan adapted to the specific environmental conditions and food availability at any one time.

Meanwhile the learning process continued of how to increase yields by systematic breeding, till soils, use fertilisers, leave land to fallow and design tools. It would have taken many generations before people could become self-sufficient and guarantee food security. About 4,000 years ago, pollen analysis indicates that in Kigezi forest species were replaced by species typical of open or disturbed land; but it is unknown whether this is a result of settlement clearance or climate change.

The plants that were first experimented with were wild grasses (millet and sorghum), legumes (peas and beans) and roots (yams and groundnuts). This probably would have occurred at forest and savannah borders where water was plentiful, i.e. there was open space to plant crops but easy access to wild meat and plants.

It is believed that wild sorghum was harvested by hunter gatherers by 8,000BC. The earliest evidence of sorghum archaeologically is in Nubia where wild varieties are dated to 800-600BC and domesticated varieties to 100BC. However in India and Pakistan, where it does not grow wild, domesticated varieties have been dated to 3,000-3,500 years ago. Finger millet was domesticated around 5,000 years ago in Ethiopia, Sudan and Uganda and appears in India around the same time as sorghum. Legumes, such as cow peas and hyacinth beans, have an equally ancient history having been first harvested by hunter gatherers and also went to India.

These discoveries indicate trade between the two areas from very early times and predate the emergence of Swahili culture by 2,000 years. The main trade route may have been via early Ethiopian and/or Yemeni kingdoms or via the East African coast though that needs to be verified.

On the way back from Asia it can be speculated that early seafarers returned with banana, plantain (matooke) and mango; the mythic Bugandan Nambi brought bananas to Uganda. Yams are believed to have been domesticated in West Africa and may have arrived during the Bantu migrations  though wild yams as common in Uganda in surviving forests and are still used as a supplement to inter-harvest shortages and a famine-food, the most recent being 1999.

African rice has been cultivated for 3,500 years. Between 1500 and 800 BC, Oryza glaberrima propagated from its original centre, the Niger River delta, and extended to Senegal. However, it never developed far from its original region. Its cultivation declined in favour of the Asian species, possibly brought to the African continent by Swahili Arabs between the 6th and 11th centuries and is the main source of rice in East Africa. Earlier arrival dates are also possible.

African rice has several negative characteristics compared to Asian varieties, such as shattering, brittle grain and poor milling quality. More importantly, it consistently has lower yields. However African rice often shows more tolerance to fluctuations in water depth, iron toxicity, infertile soils, severe climatic conditions and human neglect, and exhibits better resistance to various pests and diseases like nematodes, African gall midge, RSNV, rice yellow mottle virus (RYMV) and Striga parasitic plants.

Sugar cane was introduced into Africa by Islamic traders from Asia; it probably arrived in East Africa via the Nile or from the coast from 900 years ago. Other crops such as maize, sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, cassava, guava, avocado and tobacco all come from Central and South America and arrived in Africa, via European traders, from 1600 onwards.

The Bantu

The Bantu, (Muntu is singular) translated as 'the people' and defined by culture and language, spread from the border of Nigeria and Cameroon in a reverse migration and replaced early farmer and hunter gatherer cultures in grassland savannah environments from around 2,000 years ago. The original theory of a single point of origin has been replaced by a series of regional centres across west and central Africa where innovations were discovered and spread.

They currently make up c. 500 ethnic groups and one-third of the African population. Not all Bantu are descended from the original migrants, an unknown number of peoples learnt Bantu language, culture and technology from their neighbours. The cumulative effects of intermarriage would have also blurred distinctions, if they existed much in the first place.

The term Bantu was first used in the 19th C. It comes from the term 'mutu' or 'muntu', a person, which is found in many Bantu languages with the plural prefix 'ba-'. There are anywhere between 250 to 500 languages, depending on the definitional difference between language and dialect.

The relative roles of migration and cultural transmission are still being debated; European history has many examples of marauding peoples from Asia sweeping across Europe conquering, looting and causing havoc from the Roman to the medieval period. There is no evidence that this happened in Africa, except for the kingdoms of the upper Nile and some Vandals who ended up in Morocco, both originated outside the continent. However there were many quiet migrations as land opened up with population growth.

Cultural transmission is as difficult to test in Africa, as elsewhere around the world, but must have been an important in the transfer of knowledge. There are three possibilities: first is that hunter gatherers were supplanted, the second was mutual coexistence in different adjacent

environments and the third was that the hunter gatherers learnt agriculture. It is thought hat Bantu knowledge arrived in eastern and southern Africa before Bantu-speaking migrants did.

Current thinking is that one set of Bantu speakers arrived in the Great Lakes region by 1000BC while another set spread to Central Africa and south via the western rift valley around the same time. There may have been cultural crossovers between the two along the western Rift Valley since they possibly split 1,000 years before. From the Great Lakes communities spread south reaching South Africa c. AD 300.
Their main contributions were smelting and new crops. Iron and copper smelting and use of metal tools (c. 2000 years ago) to till and clear forests more efficiently was combined with the introduction of new higher yielding crop varieties. New environments were opened up and higher population densities overall were the result.

Livestock
Livestock rearing developed independently in the Fertile Crescent in the eastern Mediterranean and herders with cattle, sheep and goats migrated down the Nile and around the Horn of Africa arriving in East Africa about 3,000 years ago, both routes played important roles in migration and the spread of knowledge. Many migrants would have also grown crops as their ancestors learned in Pharaonic Egypt. There was probably slow progress as in each zone herders had to learn how to cope with different climates, environments, food sources, predators and insect-borne diseases. In East Africa, including southern Sudan and Ethiopia, the two agricultural ways of life met, fused and branched out in new directions.

From around 800AD zebu cattle were introduced into East Africa, from India, via the Swahili-Arab coastal culture whose trading network spanned the north Indian Ocean. Subsequently they interbred widely with local cattle and the many breeds, including the Kigezi Cow, today in East Africa are the result. It is worth noting that this introduction is not associated with rinderpest, which indicates that the Indian sub-continent was free of the disease at that time.

The arrival of livestock expanded the potential of farmers as it was no longer necessary to get protein from the wild by hunting but was now available from managed herds handy to the compound. It allowed further spread and migration into areas previously unsuited to farming, which was a great boon to crop farmers who integrated livestock into their food regimes. The cultural impact transformed beliefs, customs and rituals as the cow became mightier than the crop.

The expansion of crop agriculture also allowed the development of specialist livestock farmers who now had access to crops as a dietary supplement. They used two seasonal strategies, nomadic and transhumance. The former, i.e. Karimojong and Turkana, travelled with their livestock in circular routes within their territory in search of grazing while the latter lived in one location and shifted livestock to upland and lowland pastures or to fallow land in agreement with crop farmers; the latter was the practice in Kigezi. Pastoralists did not hunt much except for livestock predators, which became an important rite of passage for some groups.

One constraint to pastoral dominance was the tsetse fly that could decimate herders and livestock; areas where they existed were avoided. A constraint to crop farmers fully utilising

livestock is lactose tolerance (persistence), the ability to digest milk products as an adult. This only began in East Africa about 3,000 years ago and, even now, is unevenly distributed among Africans. Hunter gathers have little tolerance while crop farmers are variable, 30-70%, depending on social mobility and intermarriage with herders. To what extent tolerance is due to migration or to adaptive behaviour is not yet known.

Specialist livestock rearing therefore tended to be the preserve of those people who were lactose tolerant. The importance of this physical constraint is unclear and it is worth noting that goat's milk is much more digestible. Whether this was important in African history is unknown, though its properties were positive on human health; it is a traditional medicine among some groups in Uganda.

Another unknown is to what extent and from what period did specialist livestock become common in the western Rift Valley area. There is some evidence to suggest that it only dates from the 15th century and coincides with the growth of pastoral kingdoms, however if this is so then they did not come from far since there are no great genetic differences, only environmental differences such as sickle cell traits and lactose tolerance. Whether this migration was caused by climatic and environmental change or for political reasons is a matter of debate.

There were two types of nomadic systems. The first, pastoral, migrated in search of new land and then circulated within a specific territory; whether it be circular, mountain valleys or river flood plains. The cycles of farmers differed in that clans migrated in search of new lands every few generations and then stayed in one place till the next wave. In marginal mountain lands emigration has been a fact of life since 1900; there is a limit to what the land can sustain. The combination resulted in the willingness of Bakiga to migrate, an impulse that shows no sign of diminishing.

Early Settlement History in Kigezi

On the basis of combined archaeological, linguistic and pollen evidence a tentative chronology of settlement in western Uganda has been established. Pollen evidence comes from swamp and lake sediments cores that show changes in vegetation over time and are radiocarbon dated (the dates have a two in three chance of being correct due to radiocarbon calibration curve variations). Early mixed farming was established before 500BC by northern migrants who settled in Uganda and further south.

Around 400-200BC new crops and iron smelting was introduced and is taken to be the start of the Early Iron Age, which reached its apogee early in the first millennium AD and is associated with the Urewe pottery tradition (first reliably dated to 500BC and replaced Olteme pottery). A further surge of settlement and deforestation took place around 683-754AD but between 600-1,000AD there is little archaeological settlement evidence except for some roulette pottery.

The Late Iron Age began around 1,000AD and there was continuing clearances and population expansion particularly in 1236-76AD and 1322-98AD; around 1600AD the Bwindi, Virunga and Echuya forests were split and continued to be cleared until the colonial English introduced conservation and protection measures.

Agriculture by 1500

By at least 1500AD society was made up of three important livelihood strategies, hunter gatherers, crop farmers and livestock herders. No doubt their respective status symbols were well established, the hunting dog and honey of the hunter gatherer, the cow of the pastoralist and the woman of the farmer. For the latter two, quantity was as important as quality. Mixed farmers no doubt appreciated both many women and cattle, though which was more important probably depended on individual preferences.

However this tripartite division is over-simplistic in that mixed farming was probably the most common livelihood, crop farmers had livestock and cattle herders grew crops and if cattle farmers had no access to livestock they hunted while if livestock herders had no access to crops they gathered; otherwise they bartered crop produce and products for livestock produce and products. Meanwhile hunter gatherers bartered for what they needed and everybody fished or collected swamp and wetland amphibians, and a miscellany of small mammals and insects, depending upon skill and availability.

More importantly, these classifications are based on food whereas in reality life is far richer and complex. For instance nowadays we are not defined as farmers, marketers or supermarketers because of where we get our food. This division came from European scientists who wished to classify people into discrete categories that often had little basis in reality. They assumed that the classifications also defined ethnicity and that these were completely separate.

However they simply define the primary way of life of any one family and clan at any one time; social mobility, intermarriage and other interactions were important processes that ensured that society was dynamic and not static. In reality people defined themselves as members of a lineage and clan but not by race, language or ethnic origin.

Selected Sources

Taylor D., Robertshaw P., Marchant R.A., Environmental Change and Political-Economic Upheaval in Precolonial Western Uganda, The Holocene, vol. 10 no. 4, 2000

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## Chapter 2.2

## Settlement, Households, Exchange and Trade

### Compounds

The most common household in East Africa was the compound (Rukiga, orugo), which was the preferred residence type among all agricultural communities. Its outer boundary was made up of a palisade of poles and sticks to protect against wild animals and raiders. Inside were the various

residences of the family made up of the male head, father or eldest brother (nyinaeka in Rukiga is a patriarchal household), wives and children.

Figure 12 Rukiga Village, (Jack, 1911)

Each wife had her own house (enju in Rukiga, inzu in Rufumbira) and her property of fields and livestock that was under her control and not shared with other wives; her children lived with her until adulthood. Usually the first wife had more prestige than later wives. Jealousy was rare unless the husband favoured any one wife over the others; his duty was to ensure harmony between the various households within the compound by being even-handed. Roscoe reported that Kigezi was unusual because there was little friendship between wives and no feelings for others' children.

Over time, as the hillsides were progressively cleared, living higher up became a status symbol. In the 1940s, according to Purseglove:

“The richer a man is the further he lives up the hill. A rich man has several wives to fetch water, so he can afford to live further from the stream.”

Buildings

Typical houses were circular beehive shaped with wattle and daub walls, grass- or papyrus-thatched roofs and woven wickerwork doors; they were usually rebuilt every five years. The main hearth was in the front (on the right side, just off centre) and comprised of three evenly matched stones and was never moved after the house was built. There was often a subsidiary hearth used by the women.


Figure 13 House, photo by May Edel

Lighting and maintaining fires took a lot of time. Two types of fire-sticks were used and called 'the woman' and 'the penis' among the Bakiga but were avoided where possible with many methods to preserve fire from going out by banking the fire or, when going to the fields, by carrying charcoal in a small pot or smouldering grass. If the fire went out then it was customary to get a light from a neighbour or even a passing stranger. There were some added rituals, for instance it was forbidden to bring fire into a house where there was already fire burning.


Figure 14 Typical Kigezi village (Martin De Depories)

Within the compound the houses, with doorways facing inwards, were set around a courtyard where the cattle were milked and kept at night; a small platform for drying grain was just outside the courtyard gate away from the livestock paths. There was no furniture except for stools and beds built either on the floor or were raised using forked sticks and a woven frame; they were covered with frequently renewed dried grass. The inner rooms had woven papyrus partitions (sometimes plastered) and floors were covered with decorated mats made of swamp grass and embroidered with strings used by women during wedding ceremonies and feasts.

Figure 15 Traditional farm buldings

Other buildings included roofed granaries set on stilts, made of either woven bins plastered with an earth and cow dung mix or wattle and daub structures. Indaro were huts for prayer, rituals, offerings and sacrifices were a central part of the compound.

House walls were constructed using poles set in a trench that were bound using bundles of flexible branches tied with papyrus rope. The roof was then made and thatched with dried grass in overlapping layers with a covering in the centre to avoid rain drip; a small stick set in the centre was symbolic and was only removed on the death of the householder when the house was taken down and rebuilt on a new site either within the compound or a new compound nearby.

There were no latrines and usually one open air spot was used. These were health hazards and a disease vector. Early missionary doctors were appalled:

“Here was to be found a condition of filth, disease and degradation that shocked us. Every collection of huts was surrounded by patches of bushes or long grass which constituted the communal latrine: the stench and swarms of flies that greeted the visitor can be better imagined than described. It was not therefore surprising that dysentery was rife in those days.”

Under their influence, particularly Dr. Len Sharp, District Medical Officer 1921-8, legislation was brought that stated that all compounds must have a pit latrine. By the mid-1940s the vast majority had complied, which compared well with the rest of East Africa where they were still rare. Colonial Agricultural Officer Purseglove, 1948, was rightly proud of this achievement

“We feel we've made real progress there... People can be summoned before the native court for not having a proper twenty-foot latrine in good order, and to start with, some were. Now its seldom necessary. I guarantee that if you walk from one end of Kigezi to the other you'd find hardly any offenders.”

Clothing

Clothing was usually made from livestock hides; goat skins more expensive than sheep, among the poor woven grass skirts were common. Jack has a photo, c. 1910, of a male dressed in banana leaves. While men could strip naked when working in the fields women were always more modest, particularly after adolescence.

Figure 16 Sewing hides, photo by May Edel

The hides, not always tanned, were always worn with the fur facing inwards. Tanned hides were maintained by using butter sometimes mixed with powdered iron ore or red earth. Untanned hides harboured prolific populations of lice. Married women sometimes perfumed their skirts by smoking them over smouldering plants. In addition women wore many ankle and wrist wire ornaments while babies and young girls had woven grass bracelets.

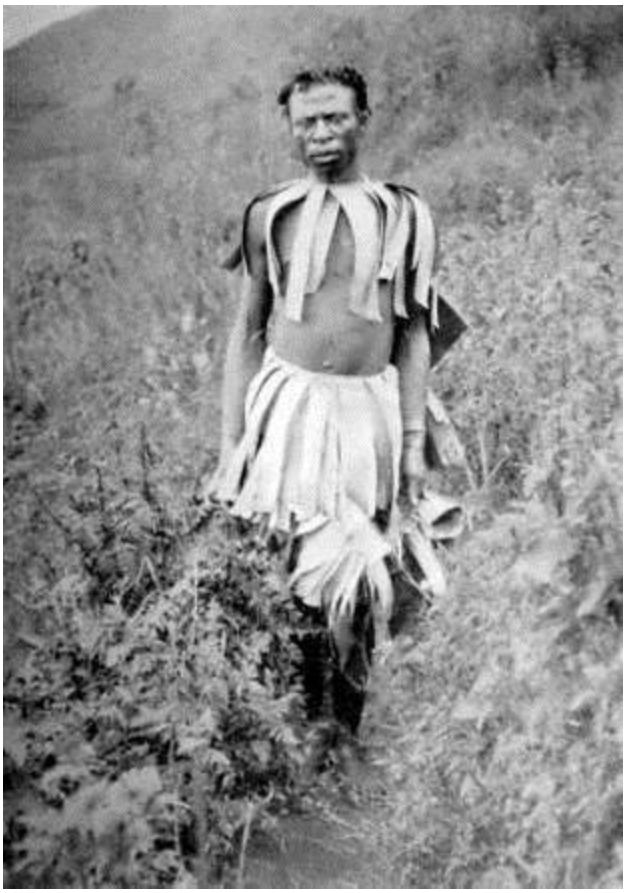
Figure 17 Bafumbira male dressed in banana leaves, (Jack, 1911)

Missionaries and colonial authorities waged war against anklets for reasons that are unclear though typhus epidemics were the excuse. Perhaps they were trying to prevent the theft of copper wire from telegraph lines, a common source of anklets and bracelets. Beaded head coverings were common among young girls but went out of fashion in the early 20th century.


Figure 18 The new clothing, photo by May Edel

The shaved scalp is said to be a European innovation and that the Bakiga thought it was a Christian requirement. However photos from the 1910-30 show that most men and women had short hair in common with most of sub-Saharan Africa. There are also written references to different native styles of scalp-shaving as an indication of identity and fashion. Braiding with coloured cords went out of fashion in the 1930s but has since made a comeback with European styles of hairdressing and modern African identities.

Edel noted, that among the Bakiga, hygiene was not a major issue and that many had abhorrence for water, they neither drank it (preferring sorghum based drinks) nor washed with it. Instead the body was regularly oiled particularly for festivals. This changed in the early 20th century under the influence of the missionaries and Buganda combined with cotton clothing and store soap. Body hair was removed regularly by plucking particularly in the pubic area, which was sometimes smoked with scented herbs as an aphrodisiac. Body lice was common and treated as a fact of life, they were mostly ignored or removed with a lice comb.

Utensils

Traditional household utensils included woven mats, baskets, winnowing trays, grinding stones and an assortment of pottery, calabashes, gourds, mortars and pestles, imitiba (large bamboo storage baskets inside the house) and wooden stools, spears, knives, bows and arrows. Additionally there were inkongoro for milking cows and ibisabo (churning gourds) and other milk containers.

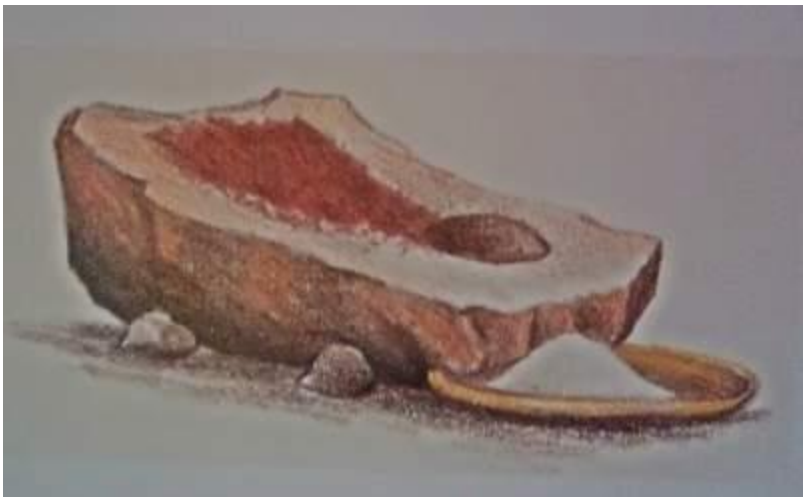
Figure 19 Mortar (Martin De Depories)

Baskets were made from coiled (sewn) or woven (checker and wickerwork) materials. Women made coiled baskets, either deep (etcibo) or shallow (entemere), while men made woven baskets, checker weave winnowing trays from bamboo and fish weirs made from freshly cut papyrus.

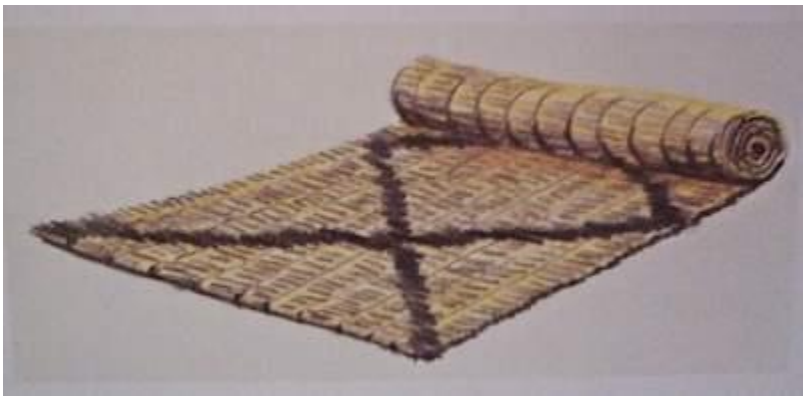
Figure 20 Mat (Martin De Depories)

Woodwork
Woodwork was men's responsibility and the most common products were iron tool handles, stools, bowls, ladles, paddles, dugout canoes and troughs.

Among the Bakiga boat building was surrounded by various taboos and rituals. For instance the tree when felled must fall 'correctly' or be abandoned, the builder's wife must not sit down when the tree collected, if his wife has sex while the tree is being carved the builder will cut himself and, weirdly, ants running over the log is a very bad omen and it must be abandoned. When a boat is pulled to the lake a twig must be set in the prow to lead it otherwise it will be impossible to bring it to the lake, but on reaching the lake the twig is discarded.

Figure 21 Hollowing out a new boat, photo by May Edel

Blacksmiths

Blacksmiths made farm implements such as adzes, axes, hoes, knives, spears and wire anklets, bracelets and bangles from the beginning. They smelted the ore, made the charcoal, bellows and all their own tools. Their huts were very basic as they were always burning down from stray sparks. Iron ore was mined around the lake and smelted in a earthen mound when a bellows was used to keep the temperature sufficiently high.

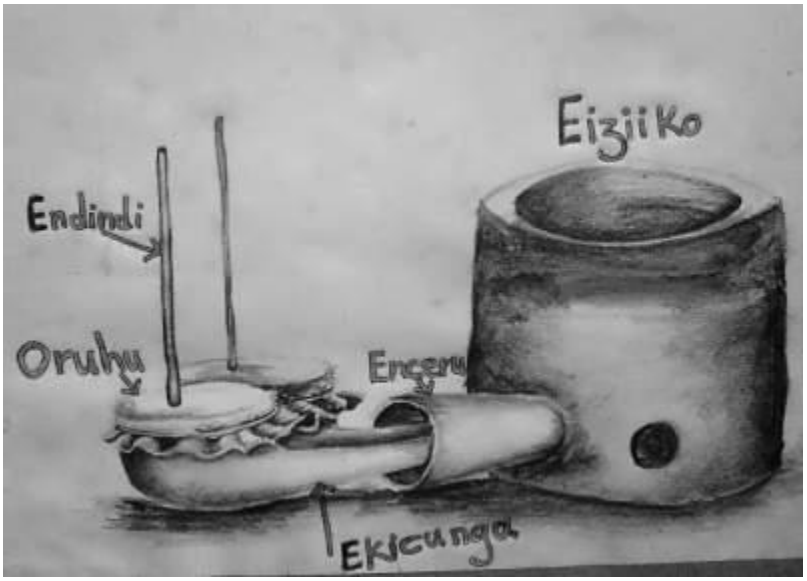


Figure 22 Forge with Rukiga terms

By the 1930s Indian hoes became common though were not of good quality though local tools had the same problem if they were manufactured too quickly or carelessly.

BOX Post-Colonial Blacksmiths
In the 1960s blacksmiths were still very common with 146 surveyed by a Kigezi College student project in 1968, though it is not known whether this was the total or if some were missed. These were widely dispersed with the exception of 21 blacksmiths in Mushanga, Kitumba gomolola; there were around 100 in 1900 who were all descended from one Baheesi smith.

Mushanga was seen as an anomaly as it is not sited near any ore quarries but came from Kabale, behind the DC's house five miles and 500m lower. The concentration is earlier than Kabale, founded in 1913. The decline in numbers seen at that time was typical of the area due to the import of factory products. Iron smelting was very uncommon though the skill had not died out; there was a demonstration by local smiths at a local fair in Kabale in 1968.

The typical smithy was a wooden structure with no walls and grass roof. In the centre was the fire, adjacent were the stone anvil and various stone stools. The bellows (cane frame covered with a clay and dung mix) and tools were only made by the most expert. They made a wide variety of products, i.e. knives, hoes, sickles, cones for walking sticks, spears, axe heads, arrow heads, chisels, needles, hunting dog bells, tool for hollowing canoes, digging tools plus they made coil ornaments. A smith had two assistants, usually an apprentice son for forging metal and manufacture and another to work the bellows.

Smiths did not belong to any one clan; 29 clans were counted in the survey and 82% were trained by their father. Of these 16% worked full-time, 11% were seasonal, 46% worked 2/3 days a week and 27% were irregular. 54% were traditional residents while 40% were recent arrivals and only 6% were migrant smiths. As for materials 88% made their own charcoal and 91% recycled local scrap iron.

There was no status or superstitious dread regarding the craft in Kigezi society, unlike elsewhere. They were well paid; but incomes declined from the 1930s, when Edel reported that the blacksmith was the richest person in Bafuka, with the import of non-native products widely available in Indian dukas (shops).
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Pottery
Pottery was done by both men and women. The clay was left to dry then mixed with water and ground pot shards, poured into a trough and kneaded. When it was of the correct consistency, a small cup was moulded and coils of clay added an inch at a time. When 4-5 coils have been added it is smoothed into shape using calabash pieces dipped in water. The top was completed first and decorated and when it is dry the pot was turned over and the bottom smoothed.

It was then left in the sun to dry for a few days before being baked in a kiln. The kiln was a pit lined with calabash fragments and quick firing grass that was ignited in several places to ensure even baking. It was a hit-and-miss affair as it could take several firings to get the pots uniformly baked and, even then, many pots broke when first used, even though they were put on to fire till they were soot-blackened and a spell recited to prevent early causalities.

Intoxicants

Beer was brewed from sorghum (sometimes mixed with honey) and was mostly reserved for chiefs, elders and heads of households but was the social lubricant of all festivals and social occasions and was plentiful after the sorghum harvest.

Figure 23 Sorghum beer in a traditional drinking bowl, sold in small jerrycans

Honey beer had higher status and was preferred by Nyabingi and emandwa mediums; as a result colonial authorities banned it though with what success is not known. Women were not allowed to drink in public and were mostly given the dregs though non-alcoholic sorghum drink was more common among them. Beer could also be made from bananas and special varieties were favoured. In the colonial period this beer wasn't taxed.

Elders smoked pipes with unprocessed tobacco. Cannabis grew wild and was a popular smoke; there are many references to the practice in early travel literature, less now since the world-wide prohibitions from the 1930s.


Figure 24 Bakiga pipe, Uganda Museum


Figure 25 Crafting while smoking, Photo by May Edel

Figure 26 Bakiga smoker's pouch, Uganda Museum. “Both men and women smoke pipes. Tobacco was ground to make snuff. Special pipes were used for hemp consisting of a bowl below a tray of hot embers. The smoke was drawn through a water-filled container.”

In Bufumubira the dead were allowed to sip the blessed wine jug (Ntanga ya Liangombe) and smoke an intoxicating tobacco. The latter, tasteless to the living, grew on the top of Mount Muhavura and was watched over by a white sheep.

Agricultural Yields

Agricultural practices in pre-colonial Uganda were dynamic as many new crops were introduced in the 19th century, if not earlier. Originally crop choice was limited to sorghum, legumes, finger millet, plantain, cassava, ground nuts and sweet potatoes. Millet took a lot of labour and needed large amounts of land, usually 5-8 acres for a yield of 900-1,800lbs per acre per year.

Plantains (matooke) and bananas, which produce around five tons per acre per year could be looked after by one person. Traditionally this was women's work though in more recent times it has been taken over by men as it is now a major cash crop. Cassava yields 3-6 tons per acre per year, sweet potatoes 2-6 tons per acre per year and ground nuts around 700lbs per acre per year (but not grown in Kigezi until recently).

Edel reported that bananas were not grown in 1930s Kigezi but the evidence is not clear cut; some clans' traditions credit them with their introduction. Roscoe, ten years earlier, describes bananas in sheltered locations. Crops introduced later, maize and Irish potatoes, were grown along with peas, beans, millet and sorghum in Kigezi, while before 1900 small quantities of sesame (simsin), peppers, pumpkins, okra and onions were grown depending on the land's suitability.

It has been estimated that 19th century milk yields was only around 1.5 litres per cow per day. The long-horned nganda was not known for its meat. By the 1940s livestock were no longer kept outside the compound as security provided by the colonial authorities meant it was no longer necessary to keep them inside as wild animals and cattle raiding became a thing of the past. Farmers still had to be careful as cattle theft was not uncommon, Edel reported that the Bakiga had mixed feeling concerning successful thieves, on one hand it was dishonourable and inglorious but on the other hand their ingenuity was admired and tales of successful raids were told around the fire at night.

Agricultural Life

The main type of farming practice was shifting slash and burn agriculture that left large areas under fallow and used for grazing. Rotation was practised by allowing fields to fallow every second year and intercropping was common. The main tools were the hoe, adze and machete. Neither the plough nor wheeled vehicles were used, though they must have been known about since they were found in Ethiopia and Sudan. The hill country was not suitable for ploughs and there was always plenty of female labour.

The season began in the short rainy season, August and September, though given that the weather conditions varied planting was a matter of guesswork with different people planting at different times. Edel said that the Bakiga calendar was lunar but vague, with differences of opinion as to what month it was.

Daily Life

The best description of a typical day comes from Edel:

“Here (the fields) the women spend most of their days from dawn till early afternoon. Often they take the younger children with them, unless they can arrange to leave them in the care of an old man or older sibling at home. The older children may go along to help, or go off separately to tend the flocks and herds. The six-year-old boys trail along with the twelve-year-old herders when the latter condescend to tolerate their presence. Most men also are away by day, fetching materials for house-building, arranging the purchase of a hoe, or just drinking beer, so that by day the houses and courtyards are often very quiet.


Figure 27 Agructural routines have little changed

After four o'clock, when most women come home from the fields, smoke rises through the straw roof-tops throughout the village, greetings and messages are called across the courts and paths, and sometimes quarrels are aired. But after dusk the village grows very quiet again. As dark comes on and the last of the cows are herded into the compounds, the entrances are barred, and soon after the house doors are put up and the fires burn low.

There is no artificial lighting – nothing but brief-lived rush torches – and no one except thieves and witches is likely to go about on ordinary nights. When the moon is full, girls may take advantage of its light to dance and visit in the evening. And when there is a wedding or other festive occasion, people will gather to feast, to drink beer, and to dance. Otherwise, each family spends the evening quietly at its own fireside, eating, talking, perhaps telling stories, till the children and adults fall off to sleep."

Bufumbira Village
Prince William of Sweden described a typical village near Kisoro, around 1920,

"All around it there was a palisade of twigs and thorn branches which prevents unauthorised entrance except through the gate. Once inside you stand amidst an agglomeration of huts and small buildings made of straw and dried clay. The former are human dwellings, the others are storehouses for food, often placed on poles. In the middle there is generally an open space where all kinds of cereals, meat or skins lie out to dry.

With copper wire round their ankles and wrists and a small necklace of blues glass beads round their necks, the men thresh the corn on the ground with a stick. The women sit crouching and pass peas through a sieve into flat round straw baskets, which they shake with a backward and forward movement. Arms and legs are wound three times round with a kind of thread made of ratan and round their wrists are tightly fitting polished brass rings, several rows of which also adorn their necks. The wealthier the women are the more of such things they wear, so that their liberty of movement is completely checked and their joints grow stiff. The rattan round the upper arm gives an impression of puffed sleeves and the one around the ankle forces them always to

walk with their legs wide apart. In a goatskin flung over their backs hangs the latest born. It seems to sleep equally well whether its mother sieves peas or stands with head bent down in the fields and weeds. It is a miracle that it does not tumble out.

The entrance to the hut is always screened in order that people shall not peep in. Inside there may be one or several short low dividing screens of grass. In the middle some coals glow, round which jugs of water or bowls with matama have been placed. Along the walls are a handful of primitive tools and plaited straw mats. Here lives the whole family - perhaps a dozen members - including the cows (if there are any), dogs and fowls, which are driven in at night, but have liberty in the daytime. The hygiene of such a hut does not bear thinking of!"

## Economy, Exchange and Trade

### Introduction

Exchange, a language in its own right, was one of the most important processes of social interaction and while the cow was the most important item of exchange many other items were also used. In areas where the politics of lineage predominated these exchanges were among equals, for instance crop farmers and livestock herders would give each other the surplus produce as a complement to their own.

While the market economy was undeveloped compared to Europe there was trade and market centres that dealt with iron tools and weapons, pottery and salt. The ivory for guns trade that developed in the late 19th century was the preserve of travelling merchant clans. The slave trade was not found in Kigezi, though slaves did exist as a result of captures during inter-clan warfare.

### Livestock Economy

The cow was the main medium of exchange in pre-colonial African economies presumably because it was the most stable item of trade that could be bartered and had the advantage of being able to reproduce, unlike money. According to the Bakiga

Grain is quickly eaten and easily stolen while cattle endure and multiply

However its value was more than that; it was an indication of power, wealth and status and was the oil of interaction between all classes of society. It was so powerful a symbol that kingdoms were built on its power and accepted by many cultivators as the natural order.

Cattle herds, rather than land, were the main indication of wealth and power, which explains why pastoral monarchies controlled access to these valuable assets often forbidding cultivators to own cattle, as in Ankole. The claim of ownership by the Rwandan monarchy over all the cattle of his kingdom was more a claim of his lordship and power.

In Ankole the monarchy granted lands to his aristocracy for tribute of cattle, agricultural produce and tools, which they also collected from their subjects. Usually they owned their herds and paid agreed tributes to their overlords and were involved in defence of the king's herds (as well as their own) against the continual cattle raids that were a feature of pastoral societies. It was only

the Bairu who were obliged to engage in public works, such as road building, construction and porterage.

A well known Rwandan proverb goes

Urampe amata, urankize, urambere umubyeyi

Translated as ‘Give me milk, make me rich, be my father’, it expresses well the patron-client relationship that existed. The patron would give his client a cow and would have full rights of female offspring while the client kept the milk and male offspring.

Furthermore the patron would offer protection, assistance in bad times and other problems and be there for family events that called for rituals such as births, marriages and funerals in exchange for the client herding his patron's herds, working in his fields or other menial labour. It was roughly a win-win situation, the patron was able to be an aristocrat, he didn't have to work, while the client got the opportunity to improve his situation and perhaps gain wealth and status. In Rujumbura cattle keepers were often the de facto husbands in polygamous aristocratic households.

It played many other social and economic roles. The cow was an essential part of marriage negotiations and became part of the wife's property to be passed on when her children got married. They were given as payment to traditional healers and spirit mediums. During the harvest festival in Bafumbira in June and July farmers often gave cows to their neighbours as a token of their regard for one another while cattle farmers would give cows to their servants.

Reciprocal Gifts

Within the same lineage gift giving was the standard way of relieving shortages and always involved reciprocal gifts in return either immediately or in the future as a point of pride, there was no advantage in always being a recipient. Hospitality always involved gift exchanges. Formal arrangements of exchange were also possible when specific tasks, crafts or products were involved indicating that there was no clear division between barter and informal exchanges.

Employment, prior to the introduction of money, was also a type of exchange by where the employee received land or cattle for work. Labour was not sold and was mostly done communally with hospitality given by the sponsor; this did not reflect the value of the work done but was reciprocal.

Iron Manufacture and Trade

Iron working specialists were the Basingola of Bwindi, Barunga and Beheesi of Bukora (Lake Bunyonyi); the Barunga learnt their skills from the Basingola. In Bufumbira the main specialists were the Basyaba, Bahihira and Bakimbiri. Ore was mined at Kemburura, Rugarama and Mubicenzi. In these two areas products were bartered for labour, food and livestock.

In Kayonza the local chief had a monopoly from which he supplied his army though he supplied iron goods to Rwanda as well; he also supplied Rujumbura when he wasn't fighting them; the latter also had their own smiths at Kyamakanda kya Baheesi, Kingamo, Kiziko, Kayinya and

Kyaruyenje, though the quality wasn't as good. The Banybutumbi from Kyangwe kya Mbiribiri, east Congo, were long-distance traders of iron goods.

The hoe was the main item of exchange (and bride price) and the main units of exchange were one hoe for one measure of beans, peas, millet or sorghum, two hoes for a mat, 30-50 hoes for a cow, two hoes for a sheep, four hoes for a goat, (one goat bought one spear). Kayonza was an important supplier in the local arms trade, prior to the introduction of guns.

Pottery Trade

There was also trade in pottery and the most important clay sources were Kijuguta (Bakungu) and Mparo, while the main potter centres were Bayundo, Lake Bunyonyi and Bazobiki, Kinkiizi. The main units of exchange were one hoe for and one pot, two pots for one goat.

Salt Trade

The main source of salt was Katwe, Lake Edward, but was also found at Kagyeni and Kibero. There were three grades of quality, and the trade became interdependent with canoe production and stimulated fishing settlements around the lake to feed the many salt caravans that came to trade. Traders used blood brotherhood networks to protect themselves and their cargos from hostile enemies and bandits. The main long-distance traders were Bagabo and Bakingwa who had low social status but the overall trade was controlled by the Banybatumbi. One of the five wives of the king of Karagwe in 1860 was from Utumbi indicating the Banybatumbi's power and prestige.

The trade was profitable for instance a person could buy six packets for 2/- and then sell it in Kabale for one goat. The buyer could then take it to Bufumbira, Rwanda or Kampala and sell for it two goats, while a Rwandan or Bugandan had to pay three goats. It became source of paying for colonial tax until the Indians arrived with trucks in 1930s who bought and sold for cash, which then affected trade in goats and sheep.

However these routes also carried diseases, such as sleeping sickness and malaria, apparently unknown in Kigezi before 1920. By 1933 the salt trade had ceased to be locally controlled when Indians with motorised transport took over. Salt was also derived from swamp grass and papyrus. Lake Bunyoni was a centre for production where specialists knew the methods of preparation.

Market Centres

Pre-colonial market centres were found at Hakaziniro, Nyrarushanje, Muganza and Kalabosha in south Kigezi, and Ishaka and Ruhinda in north Kigezi.

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Chapter 2.3

## Agriculture

### Traditional Agriculture

The main type of traditional farming practice was shifting slash and burn agriculture that left large areas under fallow and used for grazing. Rotation was practised by allowing fields to fallow every second year and intercropping was common. The main tools were the hoe, adze and machete and neither the plough nor wheeled vehicles were used.

The season began in the short rainy season of August and September though, given that the weather conditions varied, planting was a matter of guesswork with different people planting at different times. Edel said that the Bakiga calendar was lunar but vague with differences of opinion as to what month it was.

Edel's description of the Bakiga's agricultural cycle is unlikely to have changed much from the 19th century and was no doubt similar to the Bafumbira. September to November was when maize, peas and beans were planted, eleusine (millet) ground prepared and sown and millet fields prepared. In January millet was sown and by end of February maize was harvested, though there maybe food shortages in December.

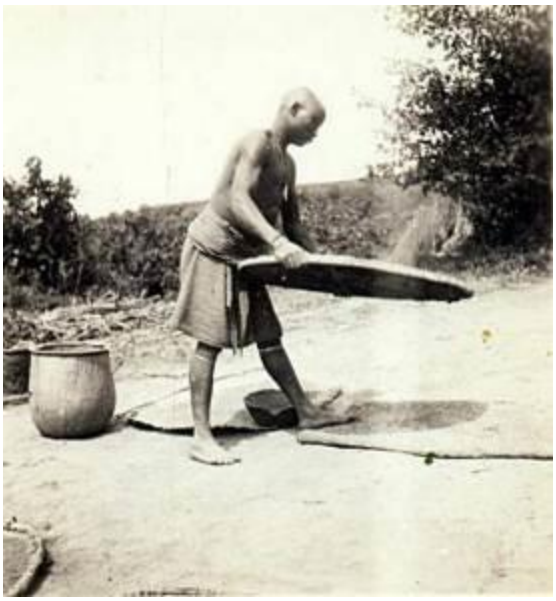
Figure 28 Winnowing millet

In March the peas and beans were harvested and more planted, small millet (buro) was harvested in April. Between June and August was the main millet harvest with second plantings of maize, peas and beans. There were food shortages in July if the harvest was late. From the early 1900s Irish potatoes were introduced and could be planted anytime to ensure year round food security.

It took about a month's work to prepare a millet field so only one or two fields were ever used. Colonial agricultural advisers recommended deep digging to improve yields but this never caught on. Inter-cropping included maize and gourds with beans. The hoe was the main weeding tool and had a long handle to avoid stooping; only small millet needed hand weeding but had to be done twice particularly since a weed called empunika was spreading in the area in the 1930s. Meanwhile Irish potatoes and maize grew in popularity over much of the colonial period; they were a useful source of income.

Figure 29 Preparing the field (Martin De Depories)

By this time, for those not living near forests, there were few wild fruit or nuts and the only wild food available was occasional honey, mushrooms and green plants, there was some trapping of birds, small game, fish and frogs, while locusts were roasted whenever they arrived.

Cow's milk and butter were common but many Bakiga did not consume milk from sheep or goats or chickens and eggs, while women were forbidden sheep and goat meat and nobody ate pork. Beekeeping was a valued skill passed from father to son.


Figure 30 A traditional beehive is a handy roost

The main crops grown in 1920 were sorghum, millet, peas and beans. Potatoes, sweet and Irish, had been introduced and their use was expanding. Other crops were tobacco, sugar cane, sesame (simsim), ground nuts and chillies. Chillies apparently grew wild in Kinkiizi and a trial sale fetched 12/- per frasila in Kabale. Bananas were found in Ruzumbura, Kinkizi and the warmer parts of Rukiga. Wheat was attempted in Bukimbiri but there was no market. it was susceptible to drought and mostly imported. In the 1920s bread flour was treated with suspicion; it was the influence of Asians that made chapattis and samosas popular.

In general expansion of farmland in the upland areas was completed by the 1940s. Since then clearance focused on papyrus swamps that were converted into fields and pastures. Areas with bush and scrub woodland were converted into small-scale farmland and planted wood lots. There were some wild forests as Ngologoza said that some were cleared after the arrival of colonists.

When they started issuing orders regarding forest preservation it pleased nobody as local people believed they had the right to these lands for settlement and grazing and that they, including Ngologoza, enjoyed clearing forests. Its worth adding that when New Rukiga, now Kihiihi, was founded in 1946 the government had to sent askaris to shoot elephants, buffalo, deer, monkeys and wild pigs who were a threat to the settlers' crops. He added that the government was pleased that settlers had replaced wild animals and cleared their habitats.


Figure 31 Bakiga Family (Martin De Depories)

Overall the eating habits of Kigezi people were very conservative though this changed significantly over the colonial period; they now eat a much wider range of food and most food taboos have been abandoned.

[BOX] Sorghum Drinks
The classic Bakiga drinks were omuramba (beer) and non-alcoholic obushera, both were made from sorghum and was both food and drink; people sat on wooden stools around a pot and drank it through long tubes. While, linguistically, Kigezi people are strongly associated with Banyoro and Ankole sorghum drinks are shared only with their southern neighbours. In pre-colonial times beer was the liquid of all social occasions, communal activities, ancestral offerings and emandwa payments. The sorghum harvest was a time of heavy drinking and all that entailed; little has changed in the present.

In the early colonial period it was also used to pay taxes but thereafter declined when money became common. While nowadays the making sorghum drinks in rural areas is still common the number of bars in urban and market areas grows with increasing urbanisation. Bars are primarily a valued meeting place where news and gossip can be exchanged, deals done and negotiations take place. Those with the money, seeking status, are generous, which reflects one aspect of the new social order between rich and poor.

In Buhara in the 1960-70s there were three bars that opened in rotation when each made two drums of beer. In the light of today's inflation it is interesting to see that a sack of sorghum (80kg, yield was 10kg an acre) cost USh90, two drums cost USh50 to make; USh10 paid the wages. A bowl of ½litre cost USh1 in 1968 and USh1.5 in 1975. Needless to say the bar owners were the wealthiest and paid most tax.
[END BOX]

Colonial Agriculture

In East Africa plantation agriculture under the control of European settlers was favoured but this was never seriously considered as appropriate for Uganda and would have been hopeless in Kigezi given the primitive road network at the time. The focus was then to develop farming production through the introduction of cash crops. There was a close relationship between agriculture and taxes. Taxes were needed to pay for colonial administration and there were no taxes to be got from subsistence agriculture. Cash crops created incomes and money supply needed to oil local government and society and integrate into the Protectorate.

However Kigezi was a net food producer and this remained the main source of livelihoods and money notwithstanding colonial attempts to introduce non-food cash crops; the most important were coffee, tobacco, flax and pyrethrum. All failed for various reasons. First there were the memories of two serious famines around the turn of the century and another in 1928 that would have motivated local people to ensure food surpluses.

The communal granary was a colonial innovation designed to ameliorate food shortages but wasn't always popular as the people who grew the crops didn't necessarily have access when needed. They preferred their own compound granaries. The result was a reluctance to replace old stores with fresh. When local people complained of drought in 1921 the government response was that it

Served as an opportunity to impress upon them the need for more adequate storage of food against possible famine

Food in Kabale was then scarce and there were difficulties in feeding the 'alien population', i.e. Rwandans fleeing famine there. Orders were issued that every gombolola was to plant a communal millet (wimbi) plot for storage. These had to be well guarded as thieves broke into the compounds and stole famine food reserves. Another problem was that some chiefs 'borrowed' famine reserves with promises to restock or pay in the future, which caused suspicion.

Significant problems with colonial agricultural development were: Underestimating the role of women in food production combined with a focus on men as cash crop producers, restrictive marketing practices and fluctuations in prices during wartime.

In general because women did most of the work they often had little time to devote to cash crops and preferred food crops since they had control over them. With cash crops they did most of the work but received little of the money, though this is maybe exaggerated. Men could only access land for cash crops with the permission of their wives who controlled their plots unless they had their own land and many preferred the easier money they could make elsewhere.

For much of the 1920s lack of infrastructure was important in this geographically remote area, particularly the primitive roads. Whatever bright idea was conceived there was always lack of good roads, transport, indigenous knowledge, manufacturing skills and marketing. Profits were small and unattractive to investors. From the 1930s roads and transport improved markedly allowing greater manufacture and trade potential but no well-intentioned schemes lasted.

During WW2 there was a great need for flax and pyrethrum but demand only lasted from 1939 to 1950 when wartime stockpiles were released and prices crashed making local industries uneconomic, examples include the Kalengyere pyrethrum plantation, Kinkiizi flax and Kabale tobacco-insecticide factories.

The administration tried to control the purchase and price of products but many farmers discovered that prices were better elsewhere and resorted to smuggling to these markets. As a result the colonial officials deemed them a failure though the farmers thought them a success so long as they remained profitable.

One successful intervention was that locals were encouraged to have garden plots to grow produce for local markets. Compulsory sale of provisions at the station was discontinued in 1920.

Trees

There is some difficulty in reconstructing tree cover in the first few decades of the 20th century. Travel writers then tend to describe a landscape with woods, particularly on higher altitudes. However photographs mostly show a treeless landscape with only a few groves of trees and patches of bush. The district report of 1922 stated that the district is not well-wooded except for Kayonza and Echuya, the latter was harvested for bamboo used mostly for rafters. It appears that most tree cover had disappeared by 1900. Between migrations and exponential extensive slash and burn, valley sides had been denuded of trees except near water courses and sources.

Colonial policy concerning forests and trees seems contradictory. While it was assiduous in preserving some wild forests this may have only been for economic reasons as Ihimbo forest was cleared of native trees as they produced no timber. In general they attempted to keep the Bwindi and Virunga forests in their natural state but as a money making resource. Trees were regularly sold and large quantities went to mining companies for pit supports. Meanwhile prospecting and mining of gold, tin and wolfram in Bwindi was a source of licence fees. Roadside tree planting was another innovation.

The other major endeavour was the introduction of tree monoculture plantations in designated areas. In 1930, 12,000 trees were planted in Ikumba; tree planting was a regular work detail for prisoners from Kabale jail and other locks-up as they gained responsibility for minor sentences.

Under DC Sullivan commercial trees were introduced, specifically black wattle from South Africa for farmers from 1913, which was widely disliked when first introduced. In 1921 an ordinance was passed that all households had to plant 25 trees, which was widely ignored. The government relied on propaganda but then ordered, in 1927, that those who refused would be forced to plant 50, be fined 10 shillings or receive 15 strokes with a cane of hippo hide. Chiefs who were lax in implementing the law were also to be heavily fined.

However this law wasn’t implemented consistently; the district report of 1930 notes it had gone into abeyance. They went back to propaganda and dropped the requirement to 20. The following comment concerned a visiting forestry officer

“who hoped to start a tree campaign, got a bit of a shock on his first appearance here, and has since modified his exhortations.”

Eventually the farmers gave in and by 1935 two-thirds of households had their own source of fuel. Black wattle is now rarely found, since the late 1940s, Australian eucalyptus became the most common species. The pressure on trees for fuel was becoming noticeable by then, according to Elspeth Huxley, 1948

“The utter treelessness of this country is its defect. A generation or two ago these hillsides were clothed in fine natural forest, but the industrious Bakiga have razed it all, save for an occasional little patch spared for some magical reason. To find firewood is, perhaps, the tribesmen's greatest problem, and many families make do with the rhizomes of elephant-grass or papyrus. Tree planting is an idea that does not seem to have occurred to even the most up-and-coming African tribes.”

In general, since then, the amount of land under commercial trees has increased and will be important as firewood and charcoal resource given the increasing pressure on native and exotic trees in Uganda. Currently eucalyptus is the only tree of choice and is found everywhere, but there are concerns regarding its impact on soil fertility over time.

Coffee

Coffee is recorded as early as 1921-2; there were a few scattered plots with seed from Belgian Congo. In 1923 trials were set up by the Administration and Agriculture Departments with four natives sent for training in Masaka. In 1928 it was concluded that Robusta was unsuitable in Kigezi. In 1928 nurseries were prepared and 9,000 trees planted, mostly in Kinkiizi and Rujumbura counties. The first sale was in 1931 when 1½ tons were sold to an Indian trader. By 1934 there were 840 acres and 2,000 acres by 1936.

The main problem was that the acidic soils were more vulnerable to 'hot and cold disease'. It was also prey to the antestia pest that required the manual removal of the pest combined with insecticides and this proved to be a step too far for Kigezi women who would have had to do all the work for little reward at the expense of food crops. Though for women from other areas such as Mount Elgon it was not an issue for reasons that are unknown.

As a result, by 1939 no new plantings were recorded. However due to their long maturation, yields increased for a few years peaking in 1942 at 343 tons, but decreased to under 50 tons a year by 1944 and practically disappeared by the mid-1950s. It has since made a small comeback in Kisoro where here is an outlet for quality organic coffee.

Tobacco

Tobacco was only other cash crop to be introduced (1940) and was primarily for the production of nicotine extract for use in insecticides. It was initially unpopular largely because coercion had been used to get farmers to grow it and delays in payments; the next years acreage targets had first to be met before they got paid and as a result leaf quality was poor and unsuitable for processing. It was then decided that only voluntary farmers were to be given seedlings and payments were made on harvest and supply to the factory, set up by Stafford in Kabale.

Due to good prices, acreage increased from 250 acres in 1942 to 2,100 by 1948. However farmers then discovered that they could get better prices in Ankole and Rwanda and large scale smuggling to these markets commenced resulting in the closure of the Kabale factory and the discontinuation of government support by 1953. Tobacco is still grown around Kabale, the current district development plan records 26 farms.

Flax

Cotton was grown on an experimental basis in the 1920s with trial plots around the district. These had mixed results; the best area was Rujumbura County. The main problems were lack of transport and nearby mill. It doesn't appear as a cash crop in the 1930s.

During WW2 a flax factory was set up at Kisiizi Falls to supply the allies with essential raw materials, which was constructed by Italian POWs near the end of the war. It was working during the war but the machinery, described below, must have imported afterwards since it would have been too dangerous to transport during war-time.

The only description of it at work comes from Elspeth Huxley, 1948

“The waterfall which once tossed erring maidens to there death now turns the wheels of a flax factory, and a stench of rotting straw pollutes the little valley.

Before 1939 these fertile hills sent nothing out; everything grown here was eaten locally. And the Bakiga peasant had little chance to earn even the few shillings needed to buy the simplest things – tea and sugar, a pair of shorts, a lamp, a comb – or to pay taxes.

Then came the need for war production even in remote Kigezi, and flax was selected as the likeliest crop. The Government, taking something of a gamble, imported machinery from Northern Ireland together with a man to run it.

The expert had a hard struggle. Not a single person in all Kigezi had ever seen flax machinery, or for that matter any machinery, before. He had to train his labour from the very foundation. Now men at the scutching machine hold the long horse-hair bundles against a whirring shaft with a dexterity that looks impressive. These are ordinary local Bakiga who, the manager said, work an eight-hour day without flagging and like the monotonous but comparatively well-paid work. He is the sole European and sole expert, yet a high proportion of his flax qualifies for top grades in an exacting English market. He spoke highly of the teachability of the Bakiga. For him, used to the bustle of Belfast, life must be lonely in this far-off valley, 20 miles or so from his nearest European neighbour and a hundred from a town of any size.

The flax is grown in little bits and pieces a quarter of an acre is about an average plot. The cultivator sends in his bundle of ripe straw on his wife's head, and is paid a flat rate of a few cents a pound. Probably he makes no more than ten or fifteen shillings a year out of his crop, but even that is welcome: at least it will help to pay his annual tax of 13 shillings”

It didn't last long due to changing post-war economic conditions and a decline in quality; it became uneconomic and suffered from pasmo disease. The maximum acreage was just over 2,000 acres in 1946; fell slightly and then dramatically declined to about 250 acres in the 1950s. The factory started to lose money, despite rising prices and disease control, and was closed in 1955.

It lay idle for a number of years and then was converted into a hospital in 1960.

Maize

It is ironic that the one successful cash crop, maize, was not encouraged due to fear of soil erosion and East African marketing policies. It had become very popular among farmers due to its importance for food security and sale value. The amount steadily grew though the acreage was probably underestimated due to the practice of intercropping; it easily fitted in to existing crop strategies.

It is strange that the authorities were so concerned with food security, development of agriculture and the importance of crops to pay taxes and yet they almost completely ignored the obvious because they were so fixated on non-food cash crops.

Beeswax

Beeswax was another supported product that had limited appeal. In the 1920s it wasn't recommended due to small returns, cost of transport and huge workload. In 1922, 50lb were sent as a trial to the Commonwealth exhibition.

Livestock

Cattle

Traditionally cattle were the high status units of currency of the pre-colonial period. The arrival of rinderpest wiped out much of the population that never recovered fully. The colonial administration focused on efforts to prevent the spread of further outbreaks through quarantine and inoculation. The main problem faced by agricultural officers was the borders; the disease was rampant in the Congo and was easily spread here via smuggled cattle. Smuggling, that is according to the Europeans, there had been no borders before they arrived. Free movement of cattle was the norm depending on clan relationships.

It took some years for local people to understand government policy and for many they obeyed only because it was law. Around 1919 two local veterinary workers were killed when the clan they were trying to assist believed that their cattle were going to be stolen. This is not surprising given that colonial forces regularly confiscated cattle as part of counter-insurgency and imposition of taxation.

In an attempt to control the spread of rinderpest and other cattle diseases, six quarantine camps were set up along the border and a public relations campaign there bore fruit in that cattle that were officially imported or exported went through the camps to check cattle-moving permits (only issued by district officers) and inoculation papers and marks.

Of course, smuggling continued, particularly among those who had little love for Europeans. When a cow was cleared by the veterinary officer it was branded; however, it proved easy to copy and that was another headache for the officials. There were regular police patrols by the Lubira River and border initiatives in conjunction with Belgian officials who were equally keen to suppress rinderpest, anthrax (a local common mild form was called Buzimba), Black- and Red-Water.

Inoculations weren't free and all had to be paid for. Since, in the 1920s, money supply was low fees were paid with cattle through barter. The number of cows in a herd was counted, their value assessed, and a few were given to the veterinary officer as fees. These were collected, sold in local markets and the money went to the local treasury. Once enough cattle had been sold to cover costs the balance was sold, without reserve, to locals so the cattle stayed in the district.

New vaccines were always being introduced with mixed results. Around 1940 the side effects of a new vaccine had the disastrous effect of killing all the cattle. This was a major blow and officials recognised that the negative consequences set back rinderpest control, particularly since no compensation was paid to the cattle owners.

Nobody liked selling cattle much, preferring to augment their herd but if it was necessary, i.e. to pay local taxes in the 1920s, mostly males and barren cows were sold. It was also recorded that the “natives were learning benefits of castration”.

Overall, in the early colonial period, the chief district asset was its cattle.

Goats and Sheep

Goats and sheep were the main items of export and local trade was lively even when cattle sales were depressed. Goats usually got better prices than sheep; their hides were superior for clothing. Until the arrival of enough money they were the backbone of barter in the markets; over time cash became king and small livestock was relegated in importance, particularly when Asians gained control of local and regional trade by 1930. By and large, movement was unregulated with the exception of imports from Belgian territories that were liable for custom's duty.

There were some interventions; in 1930 it was reported that the “long promised ram” arrived. Firstly 40 ewes brought but many died, then, with better supervision, 10 were selected from each saza to be serviced. This was all unsupervised as there was a hiatus when there was no veterinary officer stationed in Kigezi. Within a few months the pedigree ram died and, as there was no record of issue, nobody knew if it was a success or failure.

Livestock Secondary Products

Locally tanned hides were poor and various initiatives were put in place to improve quality. While a tannery was out of the question in this remote area, new methods of flaying and shade drying were introduced that improved the price from 1/- to 5/-. This was the main incentive used to improve production but had limited success. Local government also made money; 9/- per frasile, which included hides from those cattle that had died in quarantine camps.

The production and sale of ghee (clarified butter) was promoted from the 1920s with little success due to transport problems, quality control and profitability; the last was most important to Asian merchants who were the main market and controlled supply.

BOX 1930s Colonial Agriculture
Tothill (1940) gives a glimpse of agriculture in Kigezi in the late 1930s before the arrival of Purseglove.

“The district is densely populated and the steepest slopes are cultivated, millet, peas, and beans the main crops. Although the rainfall is moderate (30-40” pa) the native has developed his own anti-erosion measures; he grows his crops in strips across the slopes, with intervening strips of uncleared land, and this system leads to the formation of natural terraces. In addition some individuals have built small terraces. The lava plains suffer little from erosion, but on the slopes the native collects stones to build them into contour bands.”

“Periods of severe drought in June – September are not unknown and may cause serious shortage of food.”

“The volcanic soils are at present of little agricultural importance, at the moment only cultivable when the crust is broken up and the stone piled in heaps.”

He noted local crops such as sorghum where 50,000 acres were sown and produced 17% of the Protectorate's total, only Lango and West Nile were slightly higher. He said that it had poor keeping qualities unless completely dry, a difficult undertaking in high humidity. Bambara ground nuts were a staple. By 1940 Irish potatoes had become important in Kigezi, there was no record of its first introduction but many varieties had been imported from Kenya in the previous 20 years.

As for other colonial introductions he refers to tea, which was first tried in 1919. By 1934 only 'Rukingire' county had any success; hail storms depressed yields. There were unsuccessful rice trials in 1910-15; rice in the markets was then mostly imported from the Congo. Carapa grandiflora was researched as its large seeds were rich in oil, however a 1919 report concluded that it was only good for candles and soap but was too bitter for cooking. Its cake was only good for manure.

The black wattle, acacia decurrens var. mollis, was planted in large quantities. They were wind breaks, fuel-wood and a source of poles. The native tree erythrina tomentosa was a useful windbreak but not a shade tree.
[END BOX]

Colonial Interventions
This is not to say that there weren't any successful interventions yet even these have to be treated with caution. Soil conservation measures were introduced in the 1930s based on the belief that due to intensive agriculture, which appeared haphazard to Europeans, soil erosion and fertility was becoming a major problem that would impact on food security and lead to famine.

However there were already indigenous measures in place; over time locals had developed terracing, grew crops on strips following contours, practised inter and serial cropping thus ensuring that there was never bare earth to be eroded. For example beans (important as a nitrogen fixer) and maize were planted together, when the beans were harvested sorghum was planted and when the maize was harvested the stalks would be left until the sorghum was established. Weeding was not so common and weeds were left on the soil to decompose thus protecting the soil and recycling nutrients.

Roscoe described the native method, 1919-1920

“After a few seasons the fields become regular plateaux, for the rains wash the earth from higher ground against these ridges and form terraces raised above the lower fields. As I wandered along a path on the side of a mountain and looked over to the opposite side of the valley the fields looked as though they were laid out in terraces and fenced.”

According to Dr. Sharp a few years later

“Here is the home of the Bakiga, a vigorous highland tribe whose untiring industry has covered these hills from top to bottom with terraced farms, to the astonishment and admiration of every visitor.”

However the authorities believed it was not enough and introduced various measures. So impressed were they with their efforts that they proclaimed it a major success and it became a showpiece for agricultural advisors from all over east Africa. Purseglove's work was much admired around Africa but he felt the need to complain that there were too many delegations who took up too much of his time.

Measures were introduced in the mid-1930s with advice on plot sizes, ridges, sod banks and crop rotation, which were minor improvements on indigenous methods and were readily accepted. In fact it was often missionary farms and pyrethrum estates that needed the advice most. Some things didn't go plan, however, Elspeth Huxley (1948) describes the scene at one experimental farm, a few miles from Kabale:

We passed up the steepest of hills, looking at plants with a moral: plots where maize had been grown year after year until the plants were sad and stunted, places where maize followed grass was all that maize could possibly be; plots manured and unmanured; plots strip-cropped and not strip-cropped; all, one may hope, convincing and impressive to visiting peasants, if not always for the reasons we should approve.

To him, the European has a field of good maize and a field of bad; nothing could be more likely; no one ever doubted that the Europeans held powerful medicines to bless crops or to blast them. It is almost impossible, even for these amenable and virtuous Bakiga that anything so trivial as the planting of grass or the placing of dung can lie at the bottom of it all.

Purseglove, who served in Kigezi as District Agricultural Officer between 1944-53, is an example of an enlightened officer who attempted to do his best for the people, he learnt Rukiga, and gained the local nickname of Kyarokyezire, roughly translated as 'plenty of local ripe food'; songs were composed in his honour.

He is best known for highlighting the belief of that overpopulation was causing soil erosion and degradation, which would ultimately lead to food shortages and famine and conducted a survey around Kabale town to prove his concerns. He was a strong believer in the resettlement schemes, 1946-60, and spent time in regulating and advising the settlers in agricultural techniques.

Review of Agricultural beliefs

Hillside terracing methods introduced by colonial agricultural officers were an extension of farming practice. Many authors described the terracing in Kigezi and were impressed. However photographs from around that time show few trees and little sign of terracing in many parts of Kigezi. The hills look open without many boundaries. This may be due to original extensive slash and burn practices; it was only when population rose that farming became more intensive as newly bounded farm units got smaller. Colonial innovations spurred intensification with the idea of promoting food security but the medium to long term effect was to feed population growth.

However the fear that Kigezi was on the verge of famine has proved to be incorrect and yet has informed agricultural policy in both colonial and independence administrations. Claims from the 1970s by the Department of Agriculture, donor agencies and NGOs (CARE & ICRAF) and various researchers, of environmental degradation are unproved but simply repeat colonial negative statements that blamed the farmers without evidence.

In reality population density has increased at least five-fold from the 1920s to date and yet there has been no famine with only occasional food shortages, though some of these have been serious. Kigezi farmers have generally successfully surmounted the challenges of population growth and intensive agriculture, mostly without government assistance, and maintained its position as net food exporter.

Modern Day Agriculture

There is an increasing amount of evidence that supports this conclusion. For instance a 1992 comparison of yields in Kabale with the national average shows that the majority of Kabale crops have higher yields with the exception of maize and sweet potatoes. A 1996 resurvey by Carswell of Purseglove's 1945 survey area around Kabale showed that land under cultivation had fallen from 51% to 43%, the amount of land under fallow increased from 19% to 32% while the period of time under fallow had also increased from an average of 9.4 to 14.2 months with 95% of land out of cultivation for more than six months compared with 50% in 1945.

However there were variations in that fallow was most common among wealthy households who could afford to take land out production and the poorest households who were often employed elsewhere and didn't have the time to farm their own plots. Also the steeper the lands the more likely it was to be fallow or converted to woodland.

There has also been a shift of grazing from hillsides to valley bottoms that had been cleared of swamps which is correlated with a decline in livestock ownership and the average number of livestock owned since the 1930s; cattle now are primarily owned by wealthy farmers, particularly in the dairy sector.

An analysis of soil fertility showed that the majority of samples had sufficient nutrients and organic matter with the exception of phosphorus; also some soils are over-acidic. In fact, contrary to current beliefs, soils are resilient, well aggregated, structurally stable and resistant to erosion and that Kabale farmers are proactive in soil and plot management.

This is not to say that there are no problems and land and mudslides are not uncommon, particularly after heavy rains on unprotected slopes. It is worth adding that most studies have focused on Kabale and it remains to be seen whether they are also relevant to Kisoro, which has higher population density and a higher proportion of steeper slopes. Soil fertility and yields are probably roughly the same with the exception of well-maintained volcanic soils.

A recent survey in 2005 of 360 households with 2,530 plots in Kabale district showed that 60% were cultivated with crops, short fallow and long fallow plots 8% and 14% respectively, wood lots 8% and abandoned plots 10%. An analysis of one-quarter of plots under long fallow or abandoned indicated that 61% was due to soil fertility problems. Other reasons were livestock grazing (10%), location of fields (11%), labour shortage (9%) and old age (2%) while bush fires and poor health affected 3% of the plots surveyed.

Short fallow are more likely among farmers with large farms and post-primary education with an emphasis on valley bottom plots, while large plots and hillside plots are less likely to be under short fallow. Long fallow is more common among older farmers, female headed households and those with more than one resident wife. Plots chosen tend be those with low fertility and at distance from the residence.

Wood lots are mostly found among farmers with post-primary education and who are able to sustain medium term investment; the plots chosen tend to have poor fertility, stony soils, steep slopes and at distance from the residence. Abandoned land is most likely among the older farmers without post-primary education and the plots abandoned are mostly on hill tops, steep slopes, have poor fertility and stony soils,

The authors also note that the mean household farm size is about 4ha. This contradicts existing data, which reports the average land holding is less than one hectare, which could be an underestimate based on the total land area divided by the total number of farm households, which does not necessarily include hillside plots that are lying idle. Farmers tend to report fewer plots than they hold and only those under cultivation.

They conclude that 26% of long fallow and 40% of abandoned plots face multiple constraints to cultivation and just under half of each type faces one constraint. About 30% of long fallow and 15% of abandoned plots appear to be highly cultivable, but 60-70% of these are at least 500m from the residence. This will affect incentives for investment in value and labour intensive

systems. For cultivable plots and nearby plots, there are already available technological options that can be introduced, if resources permit.

The large number of plots with physical constraints implies that on the technological side, options that require relatively little labour or management, such as wood lots or fodder production, need to be identified. There is a further group of uncultivated plots that are at distance from the owner's residence, which hinders their productive use.

The authors suggest that policy makers and farmers need to consult and find meaningful ways to encourage free land exchange, or by renting and sales to improve the distribution of holdings. Local government could play a role in facilitating interested exchangers of land to meet and enable multiple party exchanges to take place.

In other words, notwithstanding fears of over-population, there still appears to be land available for agricultural expansion though the author's suggestions regarding land exchanges and sales run counter to the traditional successful strategies of diversification of ecologically sustainable holdings to ensure food security. Additionally it is unrealistic to expect farmers to give up land held under customary tenure when land titles are non-existent and unforeseen legal problems may affect tenure and livelihoods in the future.

The debate concerning the optimal population and most effective and sustainable use of land that includes all wealth groups in society has some way to go and needs continuous monitoring to ensure agricultural viability.

BOX Group Employment Societies
In the pre-colonial there was little opportunities for employment and the most common was exchange of work for access to land and livestock (okwatira) and bride price (okutendera). This practice continued to the 1940s but was replaced by money, which is now the preferred method of exchange. With the growth of intensive farming and large farms farm labouring has increased in importance as being a major source of income for poorer households and can be done individually or in groups.

Group labour is organised using different arrangements depending on their economic status. Labour-rotation and labour-loans groups are the most common but labour-saving, labour-brewing and labour-meat groups are also found. The very poorest tend to work individually as they are unable to wait for their money even though groups work less hours in the day overall. [END BOX]

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Chapter 2.4

## Kingdoms and Clans

### Introduction

From around 1500-1600 pastoral political organisation became more of a factor in society. Around 1500 much of sub-Saharan Africa was a patchwork of many small kingdoms and territories. In Kigezi some were led by rainmaker or rainmaker/cattle clans and others by pastoralists; the latter became the most powerful over time. Conquest and assimilation was the fate of many small peaceful territories as pastoral lineages expanded their power. The role of language is briefly touched on.

The history of clans and clan migration to Kigezi is a complicated topic. Though much has to be learnt about these movements, clan histories have been written since 1900 and a reasonable understanding has been reached. In general most clans came from the south from the 1600s though some may have originally come from the east (Karagwe and Ankole) or west (Congo). These clan histories have almost completely erased the histories of previous inhabitants.

### Early Dynasties

Politically most peoples were lineage based but the current main ethnic groups formed around 1,000 years ago. By the 15th century kingdoms were developing between Albert and Kyoga lakes to the north down to Lake Tanganyika to the south circling the northern and western shore of Lake Victoria to the east and bounded by the Western Rift Valley to the west. The first kingdom, founded around 1,000AD, to arise was the Bunyoro, centres of powers were Kitara and Bigo.

Oral tradition lists three dynasties, Batembuzi, Bachwezi and the Babito, the last are the ancestors of the current Bunyoro monarchs. The origins of these dynasties are unclear; they may have been either indigenous or migrants. In all cases the dynasties were pastoralists and this was

the case for all Rift Valley kingdoms except Buganda and Busoga. The Luo migration of later times was limited to northern Uganda though some may have filtered further south.

However the Bahuma (Bahima outside Bunyoro) dynasty isn't mentioned at all in oral traditions but definitely held power; they may be associated with the Bachwezi. Whatever the Bahima origins, when they lost power significant numbers moved south to Nkore (Ankole), Rwanda and Burundi where they mixed with and were assimilated by pre-existing pastoralists, possibly Bashambo, though this is speculative.

In Ankole they retained their name and established themselves successfully. Perhaps they brought their dynastic ambitions south and this was the spur to the development of kingdoms in these areas. In the meantime the Banyoro invaded and raided as far south as northern Rwanda in 1580-1630.

Languages

There was also a linguistic divide as Rukiga is the most southerly language of the north (and western) Rutara language family (Rutara group within the West Nyanza set, with Runkole and Runyoro) whereas Rufumbira is the most northerly language of the West Highlands family (Kivu group within the Western Lakes set, with Rurundi, Ruha, Ruhangaza, Rushuubi and Ruvinza).

The Nyanza and Western Lake sets split sometime over 1,000 years ago while the current language families split from about 500-1,000 years ago with the development of pastoral kingdoms. The southern limit of Rukiga is not clear but it appears to have been the main language of those areas later conquered by Rwanda and Karagwe.

Early Kigezi and its Neighbours

Kigezi, with much of the western rift mountains before conquest by Rwanda, has a complicated history, parts were lineage and clan based in recent history, while others were under the control of small kingdom networks. In common with other parts of Africa the political situation was fluid.

In 1500-1600 there were many small mountain kingdoms: Kinkiizi, Kayonza, Bafumbira, Mulera, Bugara, Nduga and Rwanda bordering the Rift Valley; Ndwora, Mubari and Gisaka in the centre; Rujumbura and Mpororo in the east. To the north was Banyoro and Toro, to the north east was Ankole, Karagwe was to the east and Mutare to the south east. Overall the only two pastoral kingdoms that had significant impacts were Mpororo in the 18th century and Rwanda intermittently from 1600 with serious efforts in the 19th.

Originally these were small clan kingdoms that, over time, expanded or were conquered though not without making their mark on history. They tended to be of two types: the mixed farmer kingdoms that were mostly ruled by rainmakers and pastoral kingdoms that depended more on military power. The latter were more politically successful in the long run as they conquered and assimilated rainmaker clans into their territories.

The success of rainmaker leader clans was based on their success in providing a clement climate, they could, theoretically, be replaced by common consent. These units can be seen as a network

of relationships; the rulers provided rain and protection while other clans had specific responsibilities and tributes while living in peace with their clan-land neighbours. Each clan specialised in a particular skill – drum-makers, blacksmiths, potters – or tribute – honey, ivory and hides.

Mountain lands are always last to be conquered by expanding lowland kingdoms. They are full of communities who value their independence and fight for it; it takes committed effort to pacify and hold them. Meanwhile mountain people have internal power struggles and vendettas' going back generations with rises and falls in clan dominance. To this mix were added migrant displaced clans, fleeing conquest, who sought refuge in the mountains. Luckily for them there always forest to be cleared and subsequently they added to the military backbone. In the 19th century Kigezi was naturally divided into four or five sub-political units, each a complex mix of leadership, origins and cultures.

Neighbours

Rwanda and Ankole (Nkore) became the major centres of power through conquest in 1600-1900. Ndorwa and Mpororo were powerful intermittently, The Bashambo were the main rulers of both. They were the mythical descendants of Gihanga, descendant of Kagwe, associated with Mubari and Bugoyi, who married a daughter of Jeni, one of the last kings of the Barengye dynasty, Basinga clan. Gihanga crafted the Rwoga drum, ancestor to Kalinga, royal drum of Rwanda. The Barengye connection indicates that they were possibly migrants who married into the local dynasty and then took over. The exact same origin story is recorded for the Rwandan dynastic lineage.

Mubari, ruled by the Bazigaaba, was first to go. It was fatally affected by Banyoro invasions of the 1580s and was finally conquered in the mid-18th century when King Biyoro and his mother, Nyirabiyoro, were killed. She is considered a prophetess because she predicted the arrival of Europeans. Mubari is the mythical place of arrival of Kagwe. From 1800 suffered a long drought and was an autonomous state until WWI. It was a pre-colonial border and buffer zone between Rwanda and Karagwe.

Ndorwa has a complex history in its dealings with Rwanda and Gisaka but its three periods of ascendancy appear to be mid 17th century, early and late 18th century to c. 1800, when it was finally assimilated into Rwanda, though it had been conquered by Gisaka in the 17th century. However the Ndorwa drum, Murorwa, was not seized at that time and its keeper, Rwankoma, died under torture rather than reveal its whereabouts. Gisaka was conquered by Rwanda 1675-1708 and again in 1780 though resistance continued, the last in 1901 was put down by German forces.

The short-lived Mpororo dynasty, c. 1650-1750+, at its peak controlled Rujumbura, Kinkiizi, Rukiga, Ndorwa and Rubanda but fell apart on the death of the famous Kayaha Rutindangyezi when it was split among various sons. Rujumbura in north Kigezi was ruled by one lineage and was the only one to last. Previously the Baishekatwa were the main ruling dynasty of which Queen Kitami was the last monarch. Another source states that a son of Kayaha married into a Bakiga family and founded the Basigi clan. Kayonza and Kinkiizi were ruled by rainmaker Bakiga clans.

## Kigezi clans from 1500

Around 1500 Kigezi was inhabited by pastoral, crop and mixed farmers and included the Bashambo, Bahororo and Banyabatumbi; the Bashambo were cattle farmers from Nkore who controlled central Kigezi, the Bahororo were cattle farmers from the north who controlled Rujumbura and still are significant in modern Rukungiri, while the Banyabatumbi may have been some of the original settlers; their livelihood was a mix of farming and forest resources and in the late 19th century they controlled the Katwe salt trade; they are now found by Lake Edward.

Elders were the rulers of smaller clans when clan territories were independent political units. Larger clans had central rulers with specialised religious functions like rainmakers. The most important rainmaker clans in Kigezi were the Banyoni of Lake Bunyonyi, Bagahe of Ndorwa, Basigi in Busigi and Babaanda in Kinkiizi. The Babaanda were ruled by a royal drum Sera that was taken by Rwanda. The Basingora from Batumbi were iron workers. Exogamy and blood brotherhood acted for accord between clans though competition for resources by military means was common.

However there were many small clans such as the Bajeje and Batomi of Lake Bunyonyi about whom nothing is known. According to Geraud, Kigezi's oldest clans are the Bagyesera (Gisaka), Basigi, Babaanda from Rwanda, Baitira and Baishaketwa from Mprororo and the Basinga (Bagahe) and Bazigaabe from Karagwe.

The Bahesi, Bacucu, Bakako and Basingo, of similar antiquity, share the same totem as the Bagahe. The Bakimbiri are also old; it is the clan of Ryangombe, who was deified. The Bushengyera were ruled by Kayaha Rutindangyezi and was succeeded by Nyakajunge his 'servant', who died 1800, and then by Muraire, Bigyeyo (died 1873). They controlled Rukiga, Rubanda and Ndorwa and were known as wise pastoralists, their royal drum was Mahinda.

## Clan Migrations

The expansion of Rwanda into surrounding territories was responsible for many migrations of clan elites from conquered areas seeking refuge in the mountains where land was still to be had and independence. The general pattern was that the deposed elite migrated northwards in search and then found free land that was either not settled or abandoned. This could take many years as they negotiated passage, pasturage and crop land through often hostile territory. As land became scarce in the 19th century land take-overs were more common, which forced the original settlers to migrate, causing a chain domino migration.

Later they were followed by clans who were dissatisfied with their new rulers and preferred to live with their clan cousins or strike out on their own. While migration was common from 1600, the reign of King Rwabagiri (1865-95) saw an intensification of movement that was a major influence on the pattern of settlement found in Kigezi in the early 20th century.

The reasons for the south to north migration over the previous centuries are not fully known. The most common reason given is political; the constant expansion of the Rwandan kingdom forced displaced ruling lineages from their ancestral homes. However this does not take into account the

migration into Rwanda from east and west and the consequences of climate and famine at any one place at any one time. Famines appear to have been more serious south of the Virunga Mountains.

An impression of the past is of a restless society on the move in search of good land, good grazing and independent leadership; a diminishing resource as population expanded, clans multiplied and kingdoms became larger and more centralised. As society grew more complex and interconnected, 19th century migrations had a domino effect on the various clans that they came in contact with all sorts of unpredictable outcomes. Early migrants generally integrated into host clan communities while later migrants maintained their own clans.

By 1900 there were c. 50 clans settled in Kigezi until the arrival of the Europeans, the number is vague as the difference between clan and sub-clan is not always clear. Even afterwards there were many other migrants from Rwanda and the DRC, usually escaping famine and epidemics. In 1943 further immigration was halted by colonial authorities.

Later Clans

Other significant clans in the early 18th century were the Banyoni, Bashambo rainmaker pastoralists who ruled Lake Bunyoni, the Barihira of Maziba, south Rukiga, Bahesi agriculturalists by Lake Bunyoni led by Rutoogoogo a religious leader and the Basigi in Bufundi and Kagarama. In 1875 Kayaya ka Ruguru arrived and claimed to be king of Bakiga; he gave all his subjects cattle, but was murdered by jealous Bagina in 1877. He was one of various 19th century putative leaders who arrived in Kigezi with 'Nyabingi and a rifle' in an attempt to carve out a kingdom.

In Bafumbira mixed farmers were clan oriented but came under the leadership of the Bagesera (Bahinza) clan who were associated with magical powers and rain making according to Bishop Shalita. They received tribute to ward off disaster and generally were responsible for clan welfare. Their leaders, the Muhinza, were buried on an island in Lake Mutanda to avoid crop and livestock failures on the mainland. They were also responsible for defence and led many campaigns against the Rwandan monarchy from the 1750s whenever they attempted to conquer the area.

Fr. Geraud says that there were five important clans ruled by the Bahunde around Echuya forest and west to Rutshuru in the DRC. They had deep traditional links with the Batwa since their leaders married a Batwa woman on accession. The Bahunde were from the Congo who migrated to Rwange in Kinkiizi in the 17th and 19th centuries. They were renowned as fierce warriors; their aggressiveness protected them from attack as an uprising was always possible.

They were renowned elephant hunters and paid tribute to Kayonza chiefs in ivory. They were famous for their devotion to Nyabingi, but it is unknown whether they learnt this from Bakiga in the 19th century or had practised such devotion in the Congo. Buhunde, west of Lake Kivu, was conquered by Rwandan King, Kigeri Nyamuheshera, around 1600; they kept their original dynasty and paid tribute. Their early history is not well known as they have not received the same attention as the Bakiga or Bafumbira.

## Conclusion

In the breakdown of traditional clan networks, politics in Kigezi in the late 19th century became very competitive with various lineages and clans attempting to gain land, acquire tribute by plunder or blackmail, or satisfy and train their young men whose levels of adrenaline were high. In some of these petty conflicts the Batwa, the original inhabitants, were prominent as they exploited each situation to their maximum benefit, i.e. protection and plunder.

Commenting on the Basigi Uprising, a Musigi named Rubuzi, interviewed by Fr. Torelli and quoted by Geraud, said

"The fight of the Basigi helped all the other clans to become the serfdom of the Bahima. The Babango, Bakyebuka, Bahweju, Bakimbiri, Basaki, Batambira, Bahimba, Bachuchu were liberated from the rule of the Bene Kihondwa. The Bainika, Balitu, Bagyego, Batendura, Basyba, Banana, were made free from the power of the Bene Rugambagye. The Baheesi, Bahurwa, Batamba, Banyakwanzi were liberated from the Banyoni and the rainmakers. Others remained under the Bahima, such as Rujumbra with the Bene Kirenzi and Kayonza ya Kinkizi with the Barengye from Mpororo, Bene Karasi. But this war brought about more trouble among clans in Rukiga. The Bagyseera were defeated by the Bakimbiri, the Bakuba were defeated by the Basingora, and the Bahesi by the Bakongwe."

Geraud concluded on the basis of extensive research that

"The Bashambo could not reorganise the unity of the kingdom as it was during Kayaha's reign. On the other hand their authority over the people was not uniform in all parts of Ndorwa. In some remote parts they were ruling over grazing land. The authority over the people was in fact the authority of Bakuru b'emiryango. At other places the power was more firmly recognised, for instance ruling the Basonga at Omukagoye.

The Mushambo Mureku was ruling the Batimbo at Mwisi, the Mushambo Kasugyera was ruling the Bashambo at Kabale, the Mushambo Rumaswa was ruling the Bakimbiri at Mpalo. Some other clans were traditionally ruled by Bashambo chiefs such as the Bagabira (drum keepers), the Bahweju (shield makers), and other servants of the dynasty such as Bazoobiki, Bazara, Basaha, Bahinko, while others as sub-clans of the Mugyesera endahiro were also under theit leadership, such as the Bagyeyo, Bagunga, Baitira and so on called abairu babo."

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Chapter 2.5

Kigezi and Rwanda

Introduction
Rwandan expansion into Bafumbira began in the early 1700s. The first attempt was by Yuhi II Mazimpaka who sent Mwanga-bwoba (maybe a son) around 1700 to rule the area but with little long-term success. His successors Kigeri III and Yuhi III apparently collected tribute intermittently.

Further conquest campaigns took place during the reigns of Yuhi IV Gahindiro (1810-30) and Mutara II Rwogera (1830-65) but it was not until Kigeri IV Rwabugiri, who invaded with an army of 3,000, including Batwa allies, in 1882 that Bafumbira finally came under Rwandan rule. However this was his only success; three invasions of the Kabale area and northwards gave him some victories but no overall control.

King Rwabugiri of Rwanda (c. 1840-95)
Rwabugiri, who ascended the throne in 1865, was a very active ruler in the manner of his father and grandfather. King Gahindro conquered Mulera and attacked Bafumbira while Rwogera conquered Gisaka, Buberuka and Bigogwa. There was a lull during the time of Nyirakigari Murorunkware, Rwabugiri's mother, who was regent, 1853-65 (she remarried despot Sarutganya responsible for many atrocities). Rwabugiri invaded Bafumbira and south central Kigezi as far as Nkore (Ankole) three times, as he attempted conquer the northern mountains.

In the 1860s he led a campaign against Nyabingi bagirwa in Mabungo, Bafumbira, but was partially defeated by Sakaryango of Ankole. He was committed to destroy Nyabingi bagirwa of the Basigi and Bazigaaba and, in the 1870s; he reinvaded Ndorwa and defeated them, causing further Basigi and Bazigaaba migrations to Kigezi and Ankole.

In 1873-6 he invaded Kagarama of the Basigi, without much success but then went to Ihanga where his forces killed many Bazigaaba from Muko and Mwirwaniro. In 1882 he was back again with 3,000 soldiers and campaigned in Rushomo and Lake Bunyonyi where he defeated Bakiga clans near Kabale.

In 1885 he campaigned against Makobora, ruler of Rujumbura, and then attacked Kinkiizi where Mishereko, its ruler, was slain. However he could not consolidate victory as he had overextended his forces and lacked supplies in hostile territory. Northern sources tell a different story of repelling Banyrwanda raiders as a minor inconvenience.

In 1886 he was at Maziba (four miles from Kabale) where he was ambushed but pushed on to Ruhinda and Rushoroza. A Bakiga named Nyabwana infiltrated and spied on Rwabugiri who was then unsuccessfully ambushed at Kicumbi.

Overall he made many attempts to conquer territories to the north but, ultimately, was only successful in Bafumbira. However, that he could stay for several years on campaign must mean that plunder was good; it takes daily ample quantities of food to keep an army in the field. Perhaps the reason he withdrew was because the land became exhausted and he couldn't sustain his troops

Succession Struggles

In 1895 King Rwabugiri died supposedly of smallpox, though Roscoe records that Rwandan kings took poison when they felt death was near. His death resulted in a power struggle between his nominated successor and son, Minabwambe, who was defeated (he committed suicide) by the Beega family (the 2nd most powerful clan in Rwanda) who put another brother, Yuhi V Musinga (then 15 years old) on the throne in 1897. An alternative by Bessel, perhaps quoting Muhumuza, is that it was her son Bulegeya (born c. 1895, according to Bessel) who was nominated and that his uncle, Minabwambe, was to regent.

Musinga's mother, Nyaranyuhi V Kanjogeyra, apparently decided to kill all of Rwabugiri's other children by other wives to protect her son, which caused a mass exodus of them and their children, including Muhumuza and her son. The power struggle split Rwanda into two factions; the southern heartland against the recently conquered north.

German Intervention

The take-over by the Germans in 1897 tilted the balance of power to Musinga, as a youth he was probably easier to control, they supported him and used their superior military strength to mercilessly crush dissent. Once Musinga was established, Germans ruled using the established and traditional modes of Rwandan rule combined with colonial procedures. They then reasserted control over the rebellious north; pacification took ten years.

Musinga was deposed by the Belgian administration in 1931 because he preferred the Germans and restrained Catholic missionary expansion; he was replaced by his son Charles Rutahigwa, a Catholic catechumen. The Kigexi district report notes the coup (he left “not without some indignity”) and some of his relatives applied for work in Kigezi but no national political effects were expected.

If it had not been for German intervention it is possible that the north-south split may have become permanent and previously conquered territories regained their independence.

Rwandan kings ruled Bafumbira indirectly; the king appointed a resident governor who appointed chiefs who then appointed sub-chiefs to control clan units. The first main local chief of Bafumbira under Rwabugiri was the Rwandan, Buuki, who settled in Mubange and controlled Bafumbira, (Uganda) Jjemba and Bwisha (DRC) and Bugeyi, Bukamba, and Mureera (Rwanda). He was recalled due to his tyranny.

Another centre of power was in Muganza under Rwabugiri's daughter (or sister) and son, Beeraboose and Nyindo.

Bafumbira Resistance

Naturally local resistance continued. The most famous rebellion (1900-05) was by the Batongo of Kanaba, led by Ngirabanzi, which was crushed by Mushakamba, Tutsi chief of Nyakabande, using Batwa warriors. Other minor rebellions were similarly dealt with by Rwandan and Batwa alliances.

The main early leader of northern resistance to Musinga was led by Muhumuza. Originally her activities were focused against the Rwandan monarchy but as she was disrupting German colonial expansion in Rwanda and border demarcation between Rwanda and Uganda she ended up with three sets of colonial enemies. She incorporated Nyabingi in her struggles and later claimed to be Nyabingi but it is not clear whether she was a genuine medium or was only using Nyabingi for political purposes.

However, her message was gladly received by many local people on both sides of the border who were suffering from colonial expansion, famine, disease and rinderpest. She was captured and interned for two years by the Germans, 1909-11 and again in 1912 by the English who deported her to in Kampala, where she lived in exile until her death in 1945.

Basebye and the Batwa

The Batwa were the strongest independent military group in the Virunga Mountains at this time. They had gained military training as personal bodyguards of King Rwabugiri and put it to use in the political chaos of the times. Basebye had been commander of Rwabugiri's personal bodyguard.

After Rwabugiri's death, Basebye and his people returned to Bafumbira and between 1896 and 1910 he became the most powerful leader of Bafumbira raiding far and wide exacting tribute and plunder. They also attacked southern Bakiga and while they were rebuffed Senzoga, a Bakiga warrior leader, was killed. An attempt by Rwandan Queen Nyirayuhi in 1906 to defeat the Batwa failed and resulted in the deaths of many Batutsi warriors, including Mahiryoli a warrior hero.

However Batwa attempts to gain acceptance were unsuccessful; a female Batwa leader, Nyirakote of Mururembwe, requested the hand of a Tutsi princess for her son Kanyarwanda from Birahira, a Tutsi chief of Nyarusiza, and Nyindo, a Rwandan Tutsi prince. When these were rebuffed the Batwa continued their raiding while others were allied with Katuregye busy conquering Ndorwa.

The Rwandan monarchy were then assisted by Belgian and German colonial administrations who also wished to defeat the Batwa as they were a barrier to colonisation and political control. Finally Basebye was betrayed by a Batutsi named Rwabusisi who, under the guise of a friendly invitation, captured him in 1910. He was transported to Nyanza where he was summarily executed by the Germans. With the decline of the Rwandan monarchy under German control further resistance was solely against colonial military forces.

Kigezi Conclusions
South eastern Kigezi (northern Ndorwa) remained independently ruled by small clans despite many raids and military campaigns. Even more importantly it acted as a place of refuge in times of Rwandan expansion and famines while many refugees came from the Congo when slave raiding was at its most intense. Kigezi was a frontier where cultures and languages mixed and, typical of such areas, the fusion created many different cultural mixes.

According to Fr. Geraud the colonial invaders saw

A decimated people in a desolate land. If they had arrived around 1875 they would have found Bakiga society divided into three ruling (Bashambo) families but still an organised kingdom, with plenty of faithful supporters of the established order. They would have found the society somewhat disturbed by Nyabingi but still living in harmony. They would have found traditions equal in every respect to any oral traditions found in neighbouring kingdoms. They would have found commercial routes, traders and artistic expressions and they would have appreciated the agricultural skill and energy of the people of the mountains.

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## Chapter 2.6

Kayonza, Kinkiizi and Rujumbura

Introduction
In northern Kigezi there were six kingdoms, three senior, Kayonza, Kinkiizi and Rujumbura and three junior, Ibinja, Kikombe and Kuvumbu. All, except Rujumbura, were ruled by agricultural rainmaker lineages; Kayonza and Kinkiizi were ruled by Bakiga clans from the south. Rujumbura during Bashambo rule, a pastoral lineage, was the exception; it was border land between Ankole and the mountains. It had been ruled by local clans until the area was annexed by the Bashambo of Mpororo, though its lineage became independent soon after Mpororo's fall in the late 18th century. The reason that it didn't become part of Ankole colonial district in the early 20th C was financial.

While the rulers of Kayonza and Kinkiizi came from separate clans with differing origin stories, they had many cultural similarities, such as the name of the royal drum, Bakaka clan members officiated at burials, and the belief that the dead king transmogrified into a leopard. This indicates that they either had similar origins or that rainmaker lineages had similar cultural beliefs and practices in this part of Africa.

## Kayonza

### Dynastic Genealogies

The ruling dynasty of Kayonza was the Barengya for whom there are a number of genealogies. The official version, published by the last king Rwankwema in 1972, begins with Karengye who was succeeded by Ndaruhebera, Nyakarasi I, Yeye, Muhayerwa, Karamira, Komuramuko, Byabagambi I, Rwengabo, Rwisima Rutairuka, Nyakarari II, Muginga (aka Byabagambi II) and Rwankwena.

However the Bakongwe have a different genealogy that goes Karengye, Kakonga, Muhandorwa, Rutwa, Baraziguruka, Kandore, Tabaaro, Rutairuke, Nyakarasi, Muginga and Rwankwema. A third version by Fr. Geraud has Nduraha (the founder), Kubaire, Rwirima, Kamuramuko, Yeye, Kubaire II, Byabagambi, Rwirima II, Rutaruka, Nyakarasi, Muginga and Rwankwema. However, Rwisima Rutairuka and his successors is agreed by all and may reflect when this lineage came to power.

### Other Clan Origins

The original 'important' inhabitants of Kayonza were all migrants, the Bunguru, Bashendwa (from Irima), Banyaarushuri and Bajigyi (both from 'Rwanda'). Given its proximity to Bwindi forest, originally called Kayonza forest, it appears that this area had been recently cleared to make agricultural land and that these clearers and later migrants now claimed control of the forest. At their most powerful the Barengye ruled over the Batimba from Ndorwa, Bazhingwe from Nyamabara, Bayebe (Baheka) from Kiyebe, Bazhara from Mubale, Banyonzi, Banyabusano and Banyamasizi from Mprororo, Bahunde from Bwitwa and Batwa from Rwanda.

According to Rwankwema it was Karengye who first settled in Kayonza after discovering that it “was good country with few forests”; they collected their cattle from Rushambye where they were being looked after by the Bungura clan and settled in Injangizo. Karengye was then elected king and judge over all the clans; whether there were hidden political manoeuvres is unknown. It is reported to be by agreement and consent, no doubt as the Barengye were rainmakers.

However Karengye instructed that the royal tombs of Musherorero be respected, but if he was first king than it implies there was a previous ruling dynasty that may have been supplanted but whose burial grounds were utilised.

The Bakongwe believe that it was Rutairuke who migrated from Kishanje to Kayonza during the Kaitanchakara famine and his lineage became kings of Kayonza. Fr. Geraud gives a legend that Nduraha, Kaganza and Nyinamukari went hunting but got lost in Bwindi; Nyinamukari sacrificied himself to save the others who then became chiefs of Kayonza and Baganza

respectively. At that time Kayonza was inhabited by the Banyarushuri one of whom discovered the royal drum in a swamp and they had to be instructed in its use and importance.

Succession Struggles

Succession was smooth at first but during the reign of Nyakarasi I a power struggle broke out between his sons Ndahura, Muhayirwa, Kaseta and Rwebiraro. Kasete plucked out one of Ndahura's eyes, which rendered him unfit to become king and in retaliation Nyakarasi I forced Kaseta to eat mutton “as proof he was no longer one of the royal family”. It was later decided the incident was caused by carelessness rather than malicious intent; he was rehabilitated, given a spear as a gift and Mpungu to rule. Muhayirwa became king instead.

In the next reign the succession was disputed between Karamira and his full brothers, Karutwa, Kyomukara and Banturaki. Karamira received military support from King Kahindiro of Nduga and thus won. He was succeeded by his eldest son who had to fight off his uncle Rwebiraro and spent some time in exile in Ifumbira in Kinkiizi. He attracted Bahima settlers but had to defend against Bishobire who attempted to take over Rugando and Kyeshero.

Rwirima's succession was disputed by Rutereka who gained the support of Muhozi of Rujumbura who in the guise of a friendly invitation imprisoned Rwirima, his son-in-law and servant; his followers were beaten and sent home. However they escaped and Rubango was instructed not to send the ransom of cattle. He then followed a circuitous route home visiting various clans and gaining allies and was acclaimed king on arrival.

He then went to Rwanda for unclear reasons and settled in Nchunge under the protection of the Bihira, though they later fell out. He then had problems with his brother, Rubano, who disputed the succession but was rejected by the elders. There followed conflict and Rutureka was killed, Rubano died later, and Rwirima, who died young, sometime after.

He must have had continued problems because his son Nyakisari II had to restore order in the country; “He saved many people and also killed many”. His reign was free of succession disputes. He was military active as he had to suppress a Basinga rebellion in Rushambya; avenge the murder of his brother, Kanyampaka, killed by the Barima of Kinkiizi; conquer the Bishobere of Buganza; and deal with the Bashambo dynasty of Rujumbura.

During his reign the relationship between Kayonza and Kinkiizi deteriorated with more conflict and less intermarriage. Meanwhile the Belgians arrived and complicated the situation by kidnapping him, but after a ransom of cattle was paid he was killed while returning home by Belgian soldier assassins hired by Buganza.

Muginga and Mukobore

His son, Muginga, got revenge when he killed large numbers of Banyiginya, probably part of a Rwandan invasion force that made an attempt to conquer Kayonza and Kinkiizi in the 1880s. The Belgians returned and he was forced to seek refuge with Makobore of Rujumbura to whom he entrusted his cattle. However Makobore refused to return them, when asked, because he was apparently afraid of a Belgian ambush. The case went to the Mugabe of Ankole who ruled for Makobore. Muginga then changed sides as he enlisted the help of the Belgians to regain his

cattle; however many had died and the Belgians pressed Makobore for compensation but he refused.

This resulted in conflict that began with the desertion of Kafenwe (a Buseta) and Kagyyimbi who was killed while spying. Makobore then offered 200 cattle to one Musiryangabo to assassinate Muginga; he enlisted as soldier and, one day while on guard duty, threw a spear at Muginga who was relaxing in the sun, missed and was immediately put to death.

He then defeated an invasion force sent by Mukobore, it was reported that there were so many corpses at Mburambo, Ruberera and Kahindi they could not be buried, the hills were covered with teeth, River Kabindi ran red with blood and crops couldn't be harvested because of the stink.

Mukobore then lent some Karagwe soldiers, who had firearms, to Katengwa, a Kayonza army officer who was easily defeated. There was also an attack on the Baganza who had murdered his father. Otherwise he developed a close alliance with Nyindo with whom he made a blood-brotherhood pact and continued tributes of ivory to Rwanda.

Colonial Transition

When the English took over Kayonza they amalgamated it with Kinkiizi. Muginga was relegated to gombolola chief, under Ruhayana, with which he was not happy. He was then believed to have assisted Nyindo on rebellion. They were arrested together and exiled to Masindi. While interned they were allowed privileges due to their rank, received their salaries and continued fathering children. He was allowed to return in 1920, which led to a noticeable improvement in Kayonza as the people there did not support colonial agents.

However he then had problems with his Bagandan agent, Sulimani Ntangamara and successor, Namunye, which developed into a feud. In 1927 it was alleged by them that his mother was a Nyabingi medium so a search was made of his residence and some ritual items were found that the DC interpreted as being proof positive and she was imprisoned for nine months. This was unlikely as Muginga was no friend of Nyabingi as he and his father had persecuted them; suspected Nyabingi villages were destroyed. Mugirwa Kachweibaba, Butuyu and Mukoruringa were flogged and a fourth, Kajapari, had his residence burnt eight times.

He was transferred to Kabale and dismissed nine months later, he eventually returned home for the last five years of life; he died in 1947. His son succeeded him as one of the newly educated who ultimately replaced the Baganda agents. He had unspecified problems as a petition by local elders was sent to the Chairman of the Appointments Board in 1961 requesting that he be allowed return home.

The Royal Drum

The royal drum was called Nyakahoza (Kinkiizi's royal drum had the same name but came from Rwanda), its wife Nyamurihura; they are said to have been given to Karengye by Kayaha, king of Mpororo, though whether these two individuals lived at the same time is an open question. It was as powerful as the king; it united and blessed the kingdom and protected it against enemies.

There were two associated drums, Karemera, which was given to his brother Kaganza to rule in Buganza, and Muhabora.

The crown drum could only be remade from a Mushugangoma tree by a king who had the same name as the previous drum maker of the Bazigaaba clan. There were various rituals; first the Bazigaaba married off two young teenagers and the boy began the making eight days after their first sexual intercourse with special axes manufactured by the Banyakishegere clan. A white sheep was sacrificed at the tree before it was cut down and a white bull from the king's maternal uncles was later killed and its hide used in the inauguration.

When it was made, the king called a feast for the first day of spring after the new moon. The drum makers arrived with the new drums while beating others that had been made at the same time. Everybody cheered and danced except the king and queen. The new drums were placed gently on the skin of the white sheep draped across new chairs made from an Ekiko tree. A Muyondo took the king to the new drum but first the king took some honey beer though a straw and spat it in front of the drum. The king then addressed it:

“Keep the country in peace as it was in the time of my ancestors who produced us to give honour to you Rugaba Myamuhanga who gives you and me power to rule this country and its people in peace”

A Basingo boy was then sacrificed by the king's advisor while the king recited

“This is the blood of Basingo. Conquer everybody who fight us, defeat those who rebel against you”.

He then beat the drum with the original drumstick nine times. An iron axe was placed on the drum while the king regained his seat amidst cheers led by Nkoke's family of Bayundo. Presents were brought beginning with the king, with a cow and another white sheep, followed by clan leaders and then everybody else. Finally the drum and its wife were laid on a bed in a newly constructed house with the gifts except the livestock that were put in a kraal.

Annual gifts were made in thanksgiving and it received a dowry of a cow whenever a Barengye girl married. The house never closed, fires were never lit, women were not allowed to spend the night there and drunkenness was forbidden; only the king and his favourites were allowed to drink there. After battle the limbs of slain enemies covered the drum.

Death of the King

Many rituals surrounded the death of a king. His body was first smeared and tended by trusted courtiers and wrapped with the hide of a specially slaughtered bull, sheep skins and bark cloth. After eight days the corpse was carried to the burial site by a Mukaka (Babaziki lineage) who first ate meat, married and had intercourse with his new wife; this was witnessed to make sure it is done properly.

He, dressed in leaves, and his clansmen put the corpse on a litter made from engozi bushes, rams were sacrificed, drums beaten and they carried it to a specially built funeral house at Mushorero

and placed it on a bed. The Mukaka was left alone and he opened the belly of the king with an axe made by the Bakimbiri of Kishegere to let the leopard out, a large one if the king is old and a small one if he died young; it escaped into the bush where other leopards were noisily awaiting. The body was then attended for another eight days and then buried, while new houses for further burials of the royal family were constructed.

Meanwhile the Mukaka returned home, attacked the girl he ritually married and had intercourse with her in public. He and his assistants then took refuge in an isolated place to be ritually cleansed. The king's wives also ritually purified themselves while his cattle were washed and white-washed and one selected as a present for the king's eldest daughter. In the meantime a regent was appointed who ruled for a year after which the heir would be crowned at Isingiro surrounded by many rituals, ceremonies and gifts.

This was very different to the burial customs of everybody else. A Muira was buried in his shamba while a Muhima was buried in his cattle's dung heap and some livestock slaughtered for the ceremonies.

## Kinkiizi

### Introduction

Kinkiizi was made up of the modern sub-counties of Kambuga, Kirima, Rugyeyo, Kinaaba and Kihiihi to which Kayonza was added by the English soon after conquest. In historic times it was divided into three geographical areas: the Kinaaba and Kinkiizi highlands, and Kihiihi lowlands.

Kinkiizi, 1,220-1,830m altitude, was the core area of the kingdom and suitable for agriculture. Kinaaba, 1,830-2,670m, was never extensively settled due to poor soils and inclement weather. Kihiihi, which stretches to the shores of Lake Edward, was mostly bush and forest inhabited by elephants, buffalo lions and numerous wildlife; inhabitants were vulnerable to malaria and tsetse and wasn't settled until the 1940s as a result of extensive spraying schemes combined with forestry and wildlife clearances. Currently population percentages are Kambuga 25%, Kirima 18%, Rugyeyo 11%, Kinaaba 6%, Kihiihi 26% and Kayonza 15%.

### Dynastic Origins

The ruling clan of Kinkiizi was the Babaanda who traditionally came from Kyangwe of Mbiribiri, west of Lake Edward, though there is debate as to the route. Some argue that they first migrated to Mubari and Nduga and then north, though more direct routes are also possible. A legend of the first known king, Hiihi, makes him a rain maker who engineered a coup against the local lineage in Nduga (possibly Barengye who then migrated north) and captured the local royal drum Nyakahoza.

He apparently received help from other local people as they, the Bayondo, Bacacu and Bakoora, share the same mythical ancestor, Kagahe. This appears to have happened in the late 16th century. However they were soon overthrown by the Banyiginya (Rwandan lineage) and migrated north. The local consensus is that the Babaanda acquired kingship and its associated symbols from Rwanda; they accepted its kings as their overlords and paid tribute.

The lineage begins with Hiihi who was succeeded by son Kintu and grandson Bwire. Bwire's sons, Kagohe and Kacacu, were apparently killed by Mirangye who became the new king. He was succeeded by Nyamutema, Kabondo, Kirihare, Kariboobo, Mimbi, Kajura, Muheezi, Mwezi, Nampaho, Misheroko (killed by King Rwabugiri when he invaded Kinkiizi in 1886), Kakwaya, Mubingwa and Ruhayana, the last king when it was conquered by the English.

Those who argue for a direct route from Kyangwe suggest they migrated due to power struggles there in the mid 18th century due to migrating Bahunde clans. They first settled in Rwanga, eastern Lake Edward, but left soon after, possibly due to tsetse, settling in Kihembe and then Burime, around Kinkiizi Hill, which became the capital.

The majority opinion is of a migration from Rwanda; the suggested route is via Lake Bunyoni, where some still live, in the late 16th century and then northwards through Rwindi bwa Nyinamukali (land of Nyinamukali) where they split, one to Kayonza by 1700 and another to Kabandama, Rubanda, and then to Kinkiizi under King Mimbi.

Whether these Congolese and Rwandan origin stories are contradictory is unclear and it is possible that both are correct but relate to different migrations at periods by clans who, then or later, associated themselves with the Babaande.

Other Clan Origins

The Bayondo, who are also found settled around Lake Bunyoni, were the drum keepers and did not intermarry with the Babaanda. The Bakoora are also thought to have originally come from the Congo and settled in Kijubwe, Kambuga and Rujumbura. The Bacacu are mostly found around Nyakishenyi. Other clans who moved to Kinkiizi were the warlike Bahunde from the Congo who were noted elephant hunters and paid ivory tributes to the Babaanda kings though may have depended on Batwa for the tracking and hunting.

The Bahingo and Bacimbiriri came from Rwanda and settled in Masya, the Bajingwe and Basaasira came from Nyakishenyi and settled in Rugyeyo and Bazoobiki came from Nyarushanje and settled in Kitijo. The Basingora, a blacksmith clan, settled in Rwanga then spread to Kirima. There, some quarrelled with the Bakuba, another migrant clan, and moved to Rukiga. In the 1946 settlement schemes an estimated 20,000 moved from southern Kigezi to Kihiihi and Kambuga.

Govermnent

Government was organised through the king and clan elders. The role of the king included the control of the weather to ensure crop fertility and yields, presiding over festivals, declaring war and organising armies, touring the kingdom and ensuring good relationships with neighbouring kingdoms. The kingdoms of Kayonza and Rujumbura were treated as equals while Ibinja, Kikombe and Kuvumbu were junior in status.

The clan elder council increased over time due to clan migrations and expansion of the kingdom; they were responsible for tribute, reporting of serious crimes, settling local disputes and crimes, and welcoming the king when he visited their area. The favourite elder, omuyobokye, was the

most powerful; he was allowed private audiences and received most gifts from the king. It was highly sought after.

Around 1910 the elders, according to Ngologoza, were Rwenduuru, son of Kyakagina, in Katete; Katamwira, son of Kenyabwemi, in Kebisoni; Matane, son of Bagirwa (perhaps a title as it is a term for a Nyabingi medium), in Kihembe; Kijwara, son of Kinena, in Rugyeyo; Busizoore, son of Taamazo (a Mugabire) in Murambo and Mashenya; Muhimbi, son of Muhigi, in Kateera Mpungu; Kahiigwa, son of Bwana, in Nyarurembo; Ruhigana in Kitibiri; Kahundami in Buyundo; Mikiiko, son of Kumanya, in Kiziba; Kagumya in Migyera; Karaamanye, son of Mwanga, in Kijubwe; and Murwani in Burema.

Other officials were hereditary. The chief priest was consulted before any major event or plan. The drum keeper of Nyakahoza who lived at Bwanja (7km south of Kirima palace), the last was Bamuhayira, son of Kazahura, grandson of Rwoma. The secondary drum keeper held 20 drums that were played at festivals, the last, Kahigimo son of Nyamwikara, lived at Kirima.

The fire-maker was the king's favoured courtier and was responsible for lighting the king's pipe even on tour; his most important role was to light the new king's pipe on his coronation. This was a hereditary role of the Batwa, i.e. at Kaita's coronation Kyameleku, a Mutwa, was fire maker. The bell-wearer wore a bell around his waist and was the king's dancer, sang war-songs and recited heroic sagas and tales. All acted as the king's messengers.

The Royal Drum

The royal drum, Nyakahoza, had its own house, which it shared with a smaller drum, its wife Kalibaabo, and drumsticks made of elephant tusks or hippo teeth; it was decorated with shells and beads. There were annual feasts in its honour in March for a week when the people would celebrate and make offerings. A sheep was sacrificed and its blood spilled over the drum, other sacrifices included a bull for women's spirits and a goat for men's spirits. During bad droughts or heavy rains offerings were brought to improve the weather. Kayonza's royal drum was also named Nyakahoza.

In the 1940s the drums were handed over by Balakole clan members in controversial circumstances to Dr. Len Sharp, who told them they would be cleansed, purified and returned; however he donated them to the Uganda Museum instead. Many elders regretted their loss, seeing it as a betrayal, while Balokole members were happy to be rid of pagan symbols; others thought that even though they had become Christian there was no need to throw away their cultural inheritance and part of their identity. Some believe the drum spirits have had revenge through death, injury and loss of influence of Kinkiizi's royal lineage in the modern day.

Tribute

Tribute was paid mostly annually and consisted of millet, peas, beans and honey; livestock owners paid cows, goats or sheep; and blacksmiths paid hoes, spears and knives. On the appointed day the youth assembled at their elder's home and then paraded, led by the elder, to the king's palace where they gave the tribute to the king.

He thanked his subjects and blessed their land and crops, though if he thought it not enough he might cause a drought or storms to punish them. From the forest came tributes of ivory that were traded with Bahaya and Barunganwa merchants for cloth, bracelets and beads; some of which were sent to the Rujumbura kings.

Death of the King

When the king died a regent was appointed to oversee the burial arrangements and coronation. The report of his death to Kayonza and Rujumbura was accompanied by a cow; mourning gifts, usually cattle were returned. After three days in state the body was wrapped in a cow hide topped with a sheep skin. No members of the royal family attended the rites that were carried out by a Mukaka with two assistants at Nyarurembo, the traditional burial site east of Bwanja palace.

An enclosure was built and the body was placed on a rack and roasted for three days under a strong fire. When scratching was heard from inside the corpse on the seventh day the Mukaka broke the collarbone with an axe to allow the leopard escape, whereupon the three men would flee for their lives without looking back and went to Ishasha river to purify themselves. The leopard then terrorised the neighbouring areas.

By tradition the Mukaka died within a year; maybe from post-traumatic stress, because it was expected of him or perhaps murdered to keep the myth alive. This is why nobody volunteered but if ordered to do so they complied as it was the traditional duty of the Bukaka clan.

The Rites of Coronation

Kingship was hereditary and usually went to the eldest son, though he was supposed to be born with pumpkin seeds, rope (for tethering cows) and a bow and arrow in his tiny hands to ensure legitimacy; the information was however a secret between the midwives and the king.

The heir toured the kingdom accompanied by a virgin Mukimbiri who became queen and senior wife. He observed complete silence at this time while his excreta was collected and buried secretly to avoid bewitchment. Presents were brought from his subjects. In the meantime neighbouring kings were invited to the coronation and camped nearby, perhaps as security or because it was taboo or etiquette that only one king could sleep in the palace.

The coronation ceremony started at Masya, where the heir's junior wives lived, and lasted for three days. It began with the regent being ordered off the old royal stool and he was given a cow, calf and white sheep. He then gave the heir a new stool, made by the Bakoora clan, where he was invested with a crown decorated with cowries and a hare's tail, a white sheepskin placed over his shoulders and a double-headed spear placed in his right hand.

He then drank a pot of milk, leaving some for a favoured elder to finish. The Mutwa fire-maker made a new fire, using the traditional Batwa method of two fire sticks, and lit the king's pipe; he received a sheep as a reward. Presentation of gifts, dancing and feasting followed.

On the fourth day the king and queen went to Bwanja, residence of the royal drum, where a cow, goat and sheep were sacrificed and the drum keeper carried out various rites. The king then beat the drum and the people celebrated for another three days.

The royal couple then went to the main palace at Kirima and were greeted by his mother and from that time he could speak again. Feasting continued for another three days after which he would dispense gifts to his guest kings or their representatives, elders and other favourites. That ended the official coronation though some subjects might continue celebrating for another month.

Kuvumbu

Little has been written of the minor chiefdoms of north Kigezi, with the minor exception of Kuvumbu. Originally it was sparsely inhabited due to sleeping sickness. The inhabitant's primary livelihood was the salt trade; salt was traded for food supplemented by hunting and fishing. It was ruled by a Baitira clan, who originated in Kahingo, and possessed a royal drum called Katukura and other symbols of authority.

Their ruling genealogy goes: Katabirora, Marusya, Karara, Rubaata, Byabagambi and Ndabahwerize, though from the 3rd ruler the succession was disputed. The main clans were Banybatumbi found all around Lake Edward. Kuvumbu was conquered by Muhoozi during the reign of Rubaata and an uncle Ruskikasikye was made governor; his sole job was to collect tribute of carpets, hides and salt.

During the colonial period it was made a parish within Ruhinda sub-county and then into a sub-county in its own right when the last claimant, Ndabahwerize, was appointed chief in 1923. Before this the population was evacuated to Kihihi and Nyakageme so sleeping sickness vectors could be burned; it was later declared habitable and the people returned.

Rujumbura

Introduction

The inhabitants of Rujumbura are called the Bahororo nowadays after the kingdom of Mpororo, though they called themselves Banyarujumbura. The original names of the Bahororo were Banyarujumbura, Banyakajara or Banybutaye depending where they lived.

The earliest inhabitants are unknown but when the Baishekatwa and Banyabusano arrived they found Baitara at Mariba, Bakooko at Rushasha and the Bazigaaba (from Mubari) widely spread. The Bazigaaba included two related clans, the Bagahe from Rwanda and the Basingo though the latter are much older and associated with Ankole and Bunyoro, which maybe their points of origin. The Baitira are believed by all to be the oldest settlers but even they were migrants from Ankole who may have come from Karagwe, like their clan cousins the Bahinda.

Baishekatwa Rulers

The Baishekatwa were the first known pastoral rulers and may have been of the same clan, Bene Muhondoogwa, as the first kings of Mpororo before the Bashambo; they were largely independent. They mostly lived on the grazing lands of south-central Rujumbura surrounded by crop farmer clans except to the east inhabited by the Banybusano whose social and political culture was similar. The environment was well-watered and suitable for cattle and crops; it was originally savannah interspersed with trees in the valleys and rain forest.

Mpororo was conquered by a Bashambo lineage around 1700; after the last Baisheketwa monarch, Kitami, died. Traditionally Kayaha, the last major Bashambo king, visited the area around 1800 and recommended to his son, Kirenzi, that he settle in Rujumbura, but it was Kirenzi's son, Rwebiraaro, who did and became king. Kayaha may have been the first tourist as he is said to have enjoyed Lake Bunyoni and was always requesting funds and supplies for his travels. Rwebiraaro was succeeded by Nyinamonyonyi, Ruhengye (who did not rule, he disappeared on a peace mission in Rwanda before his father died), Muhoozi, Makoobore and Keregesya.

Bashambo Rule

Rwebiraaro first settled in Nyakayaga with his herds, wives, children, dependants and property. It was an ideal location, secure on a high mountain ridge, access to grazing and mineral springs, conducive to the health and fertility of the cattle. Disputes with the Baishekatwa arose over access to mineral springs but the real political conflict was who should rule, this developed into feuds and raids on kraals.

The Baishekatwa lost out and, while some stayed, the majority resettled in Igare, Butumbi, Ankole and Toro. The Bashambo took control and Nyinamonyonyi, Rwebiraaro's successor, moved to Katunga, while his brothers took control of other areas. Muhoozi was son of Ruhengye, next in line, and Karage (a Mugahe) but when the Ruhengye disappeared in Rwanda she was married off to Nyinamonyonyi, who is sometimes thought of as the father.

The Bashambo lineage did not have the symbols of royal power associated with rainmaker clans; his symbol of power was a spear, representing his military strength and ability. The role of drums in the exercise of royal power was minimal.

Muhoozi

Muhoozi had a privileged upbringing, his own personal guard and a leisurely life of hunting and aristocratic pleasures. He apparently developed a passion, if not obsession, with beautiful cattle and would go to any length to gain possession; he even dressed as a shepherd and went spying for information. Such was his reputation as a ruler that, among the Bashambo, he earned the title of Rwitamahanga, Conqueror of Nations; the conquered had a different definition, Mubura, The Depriver.

His early rule was rife with the usual sibling rivalry that led to feuds and military raids that left his opponents scattered and defeated. He invaded the Banyabusano who were defeated; they submitted while others fled to Kayonza and Ankole. He had a long, but unsuccessful, involvement with the politics of Kayonza.

Eventually he was wounded by a poisoned arrow while on expedition and lived out the rest of his life in relative peace, undisturbed by his relatives and only the occasional Banyarwanda raids. He had many wives but only two are named, Nyabuhoro (a Muitira), mother of Makobore, and Oriomubandi, mother of Ntimbira who married Ntare V, and king of Ankole.

A power behind the throne was his formidable mother, Kaharagi, who had the reputation of being a powerful spirit medium, who 'raised her art to the level of a profession'. Before each military expedition she magically prepared millet bread, milk and beer; the millet was sown, harvested, ground and baked the previous day while the milk and beer had been blessed by cattle.

Makobore

Makobore's succession as eldest son was untroubled, his uncles and brothers happily accepted him. He had a sheltered upbringing under Kaharagi (Nyabuhoro died soon after his birth) who was a decisive influence during his reign. He was a good-natured man who ruled over a disparate group of clans.

His main court was at Kanunga, though he had minor residences at Kabuga, Nyakibare and Nyamizi. His compound was a large enclosed area with small houses surrounding his residence, in which lived his wives, legal children (he is said have been sterile), other household members (relatives, concubines, and servants) and visitors.

In later life Makobore grew very large, he was over 2m in height and 21 stone (140 kilos) in weight and supported himself with a spear as he grew older as he was a bit unsteady on his feet. On long journeys he was carried by eight men, instead of the usual four, in a specially built litter.

His daily routine consisted of inspecting the cattle in the morning; holding court, sitting on a very large and strong stool, giving decisions and orders, granting favours and listening to appeals against unfavourable judgements around midday; watering the cattle in the afternoon; rounded off by gossiping and drinking beer in the evening.

Makobore's Government

Courtiers lived elsewhere and fell into three categories, Bambari, Batware and Bashongore. The Bambari were Bairu responsible for the overall maintenance of the compound and did most of the practical work with a little bit warfare and keeping the peace while also cooking, making beer, going on errands or whatever needed doing. Some became famous warriors and were gifted with guns, others were medicine men and blacksmiths. The Batware were responsible for the cattle kraals and in some cases the de facto husband of the wife whose cattle they belonged to. They could be rewarded for good management with generous gifts and become wealthy and powerful in their own right.

The Bashongore were minor aristocracy, either through hereditary inheritance or by proving ones worth in battle, who were lords of small cattle estates as a reward or to keep them quiet. The court was competitive, as youth strove to prove they were competent and thus gain rewards of cattle or service; it was also a place of security. On the negative side rumour-mongering was common, which caused the ruin of reputations, lack of trust and an inability to tell truth from falsehood. Generally social mobility between the various classes was weak and tended to greater caste divides.

Various brothers and other close relatives held power locally and as the administrative duties were light; these area chiefs mainly led a life of luxury. Some were noted for their cruelty and brutality while others were kind and liberal. They included Kinyiina, son of Rusikasikye, in

Ruhinda; Rureebwa in Buhungu and Kyaruyenje; Rukaari, son of Rwakicunganwa (same clan as Makobore), in Buyanja; and Rwemisiisiro, son of Bashorome, in Kambuga.

Guns, Ivory and Salt

The economy was simple though enlivened by traders who were Swahili or more local. However these were primarily interested in ivory and so went further west through Kayonza and into the Congo. The traders' swopped ivory for guns; the new weapon that changed the nature of warfare, particularly by those who knew how to use them for maximum effect, i.e. the Europeans. Guns in Rujumbura were a royal monopoly, only the king could gift a weapon and it could be demanded back at any time.

The demand for ivory was an important factor in conflict between Rujumbura and Kayonza and other territories inhabited by elephants from the mid 19th century. Kayonza was raided six times and from other conquered territories to the north-west he extracted tribute in ivory or sent hunters in to kill elephants using guns rather than more traditional methods. The hunter took one tusk while the king got the other. Kayonza was also the source of iron ore, an indispensable material for the many tools and weapons required by Rujumbura society.

The salt trade was also important. This was mined around Katwe and transported from there to the eastern shore of Lake Edward by the people of Kuvumbu where it was exchanged for food, mostly millet. Rujumbura people made this trek, dangerous for for its wild animals and outlaws, in large groups of 20-50 and stayed in safe houses where there was a blood brotherhood pact.

Some of the salt was consumed locally but most was traded for goats from Rwanda, iron ore and tools from Kayonza, skins and dairy products from the neighbours and luxury goods from far away places. Rujumbura became a crossroads of trade. The overall trade was under Banyabatumbi control.

Rujumbura Conquests

Makobore was not personally warlike and deputised the leadership of his numerous raids to relatives or courtiers. A favourite target was the Banyabutumbi who were rich in livestock and other wealth but had few soldiers for defence; they were easy. Raids were made at dawn and young men, women, animals, hides, hoes, knives and carpets were carried off.

If the village had prior knowledge they either hid with their property or defended themselves, sometimes successfully. However the increased use of firearms in the late 19th century made it easier to intimidate and ensure plunder. He took over part of Bumbuti in Kinkiizi from King Ruhayana and Rwanga in Kihiihi from King Rubaata (a Mwitira, son of Karara).

Most of his military success can be attributed to Miranda (A Muira, son of Rwaibabiro and grandson of Rukiikaire), who became his chief officer through success at raiding, wisdom and commons sense and became indispensable. He went raiding in Kara, Katanda, Nyabaya, Kibibi, Bukonjo, among the Bakiga after the rinderpest epidemic and in Ibinja, Congo, for concubines

His was a brilliant mind, quick to grasp the requirements of a situation and act decisively. He became rich with his own court and courtiers with three wives from the Basyaba clan and many children. A daughter, Merabu, married Festo Kivengere.

The 1890s saw three major series of events that fundamentally changed society in Rujumbura, war with Ankole, famine and disease, and the arrival of the Europeans. The war with Ankole came from Ntare's wish to conquer Rujumbura coupled with a need to replenish his cattle after rinderpest decimated his herds. Arguments between princesses Magwende and Ntimbire in Ankole were also a factor. Around 1890 Ntare invaded with a force of 3,000 divided into a central force and two flanks, while Miranda led 2,000. Hand to hand fighting lasted for a day at Kagogo with high casualties on both sides, it was said that corpses filled three valleys.

Eventually Miranda retreated to Kambuga under cover of rain while the invaders left with whatever cattle they had captured. Rinderpest then arrived with famine, smallpox, jiggers and locusts. Reconstruction was slow and many died of disease, starvation and related illnesses. A small number of Bakiga migrated to Rujumbura to escape the famine, which appears to have been worse further south.

The European Arrive

The first Europeans, English based in Ankole, arrived around 1900 to investigate an alleged attack near Nyakishenyi of a Swahili caravan coming from Butumbi. Soon after Belgians arrived demanding food and tribute, killing all who refused and raping local women; they settled for short times in Buharambo and Nyakagyezi. They also murdered King Nyakarasi of Kayonza, Makobore's brother, Rugembe, and some cousins.

Fearing the worst Makobore fled with his cattle and spent some time in hiding. The country was bereft of leadership and soon he emerged and negotiated with the English who were seen to be friendlier and less rapacious than the Belgians. The English originally planned to merge Rujumbura with Ankole; this he resisted though it was lack of funds and manpower that prevented it and kept it in Kigezi district, where he was appointed saza chief in 1912.

Makobore's Relationship with the English

His relationship with the English was difficult; he attempted to keep his power and privileges against colonial usurpation while they called him un-progressive and uncooperative because he resisted the work of Farasisko Kiwanuka, the Bubanda agent sent to 'assist' him in his new duties. Suspicion and recriminations mounted as they argued over their respective roles and administration of power.

Traditional authority declined as Kiwanuka took more power with colonial support, DC Sullivan accused Makobore of “neglecting his duties, being shifty and unreliable”; his legitimacy to rule was questioned and he was threatened with deportation. The English saw the district as the most difficult to govern, complicated by World War I, rebellions further south and Ntokiibiri. Missionaries were a little more charitable, “Old Makobole, a fine old heathen, but a foe to all that is new.”

Finally, he was forced to retire in 1920 and died in 1952 “still held in veneration by his people for his benevolence and nobility of character”. Makobore emerges as a good ruler; he is remembered as being kind, liberal and just. He helped all in need, courtiers came from all clans and he punished criminals. When asked how he, being apparently soft-hearted, kept control, one informant said that “He was gifted and knew how to rule”. He kept his people happy with generosity and justice.

He was replaced by Edward Sulimani Karagyesa, his son born around 1885, having served as muraka and gombolola chief. A daughter, Barungi, married Ntzisira, a Kyahi noble, whose son was Festo Kivengere who became an internationally renowned evangelist and Bishop of Kigezi. A grandson, F. Kitaburaaza, was Deputy Minister of Animal Industry, Game and Fisheries in the mid 1960s.

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Chapter 2.7

## Society on the Cusp of European Invasion

### Introduction

To summarise the events of 1870-1910 is not easy as there were many forces in action but they can be usefully divided into northern and southern with southern Kigezi in the middle.

In general the factors include: Rwandan politics, invasions and succession struggles; increased warfare between the northern kingdoms; disease and famine; and the emergence of independent leaders with political ambitions of conquest.

The combination of these factors created an unstable society and weakened it so such that it was easy pickings for European invaders.

## Politics in Rwanda

From the south there was the continued expansion of Rwanda under King Rwabugiri from1865. He, and his ancestors, had successfully conquered those small kingdoms that are now in northern Rwanda, which had been ruled by pastoral and rainmaker crop clans and lineages; many of these migrated northwards. He then invaded Kigezi and led several military expeditions in the 1870s and 1880s. His success was mixed.

His overall aim of conquest failed except for Bufumbira, which had been held intermittently in historic times and his success here mostly depended on the Batwa who knew the area well. Ndorwa, Rubanda and Rukiga resisted and while he won battles he never was able to hold for any length of time.

Many of the settled clans here had come from the south, migrating away after having unsuccessfully resisted earlier Rwandan conquest and were very motivated in repelling Rwabugiri this time. He went as far north as Kayonza and Kinkiizi and claimed success though northern sources tell of easily repelling Banyrwanda raiders as a minor inconvenience. Plunder must have been good as he was able to keep his armies on campaign for several years at a time.

One consequence was the migration of the Basigi who moved north in large numbers c. 1875-80. An ill-advised attempt by a local Bashambo ruler to raid one clan's cattle sparked off what has been called the Basigi uprising; they went on the rampage around Kabale and as far north as Kinkiizi. The result was the overthrow of local Bashambo rainmaker rulers and dissolution of clan networks and relationships. In the resulting power struggle the Basigi ended up with significant territories but inter-clan warfare predominated as various clans sought supremacy. In these petty conflicts experienced Batwa mercenaries were a good investment.

Rwandan invasions came to an end in 1895 when Rwabugiri died of smallpox, a European introduction. There followed a succession dispute that was won by Musinga's Beega family (he wasn't the nominated heir and was only 15 years old) whose claim was contested by the north and who, no doubt, also saw the confusion as a good time to regain independence.

Enter Muhumuza, Basebye and Katuregye who were the main focus of resistance and military expansion in the late 1890s. The first was a wife of the late Rwabugiri who claimed the throne on behalf of her son and who attempted to unite resistance through Nyabingi. The second was a Batwa leader of mixed parentage who appears to have wanted to carve out a territory for himself and his people in Bufumbira. The third was a Bakongwe leader from Lake Bunyoni who began his campaigns of conquest and cattle plunder in surrounding territories around 1895 and was also inspired by Nyabingi. All three mixed the political broth as it bubbled in the rising instability.

## Politics in the Northern Kingdoms

Meanwhile in the north there was an increase of hostilities between Kayonza, Kinkiizi and Rujumbura from the 1850s. There were a number of causes. Muhoozi, king of Rujumbura, was an expansionist; he was Bashambo, the others were Bakiga rainmaker kings.

From the 1870s a new factor came into play, the guns for ivory trade. This was as lucrative as the slave trade. The latter had little impact in southern Kigezi – it was an area slave traders did not visit and guns in southern Kigezi only became common later in the early 20th century.

Trade was mostly run by merchant clans protected through networks of blood brotherhood; some were Swahili, others middlemen from around Lake Victoria and some Europeans (Charles Henry Stokes was the most notorious). There was a growing demand for ivory in Europe on top of the steady demand from the Middle East and Africa became a competitive alternative to Asia.

However not everywhere was blessed with elephants and one of the main motivations behind Rujumbura expansion was to control the ivory trade and distribution of arms and so they made various attempts to plunder, take over or destabilise their two neighbours with little long term success.

Kayonza, in particular, had to defend itself vigorously at this time. Arms increased local military capacity and were useful in intimidation and extraction of tribute and plunder. However guns were controlled by the king who kept tight access over this gift to a favoured soldier courtier or elephant hunter.

Disease

Then rinderpest arrived in the late 1880s. This virulent cattle disease was introduced into Africa by the English when they imported diseased cattle from India into Egypt. Interestingly countless rinderpest-free cattle were imported from India by Swahili merchants over the previous 1,000 years. As African cattle had no resistance it spread quickly; there was a 95% mortality rate and the first wave is estimated to have killed 250 million cattle in Africa up to 1895. It spread rapidly down the Nile and around the Horn arriving in Uganda around 1890 where it spread south.

The first impact in Kigezi was when King Ntare of Ankole invaded Rujumbura to conquer but also to replenish his herds that had been decimated. The resulting battle was a stalemate, but he returned home with cattle plunder. Then it arrived in Rujumbura and they started raiding south in Bakiga lands for cattle; previously they usually left this area alone.

Then the Bakiga clans had a new reason to raid each other; one of the most powerful and dangerous was Katuregye and his Batwa allies. Healthy cattle were in short supply and people took greater risks by raiding more, success came from being militarily strong.

The rinderpest not only affected cattle, it also spread into the forests and decimated the wildlife. This affected carnivores and the Batwa who depended on wild game for food and had consequences for both. Carnivores started hunting livestock but finding that they were usually well guarded turned their attentions to humans and there was a major increase in man-eating carnivores.

Leopards were the main threat in Kigezi; there were two types, typical spotted and a larger black leopard of the Virunga Mountains, which was far more aggressive and dangerous. There were reports of man-eating hyenas in the Virungas and lions patrolled the open country between mountain and lowlands.

The Batwa also turned their attentions to cattle and there was a noticeable increase of Batwa raids on Bakiga compounds and villages. The growing population of semi-independent Batwa with military experience and developing political aspirations were another ingredient to the instability, and they have never been forgiven for it since!

Famine

Next were two drought-induced famines in 1895 and 1905 when harvests failed that were very serious as they came on top of food shortages due to the mass death of livestock and the increased raiding for food. It is reported that people went to many extremes in search of food, which included cannibalism, sale of children, eating earth, etc. It disrupted families through death, disease and abandonment and traditional clan networks of assistance were lost though the seriousness of no food.

The second famine was called Mushorongo after the lines of corpses that lay along the paths. Famine and malnutrition caused a decline in immunity and left people open to various infectious diseases and this was on top of other European introductions, such as smallpox, venereal diseases and jiggers, to which Africans had no immunity as well as new strains of old diseases, such as typhoid and cholera.

Overall in southern Kigezi the effects were catastrophic, the combination of Rwabugiri's invasions followed by the political fallout from his disputed succession, increased military activity in the north as it became integrated into the ivory-arms trade networks, epidemic diseases and famines, disrupted society and caused internal tensions to flare resulting in inter-clan conflicts and two attempts to set up new kingdoms. This all contributed to a further weakening of society as the strong dominated the weak in competition for diminishing food supplies.

Invasion

Finally, enter the European invaders who find a society in chaos. They thought it normal and used it to their advantage in gaining control assisted by superior military force and greater access to resources. They chose not to realise that they were also adding to the ferment. African leaders in the beginning probably thought them to be a growing nuisance; but soon had to come to terms before eventually losing power. Because borders were not agreed until 1910 there were various Belgians, Germans and English in Kigezi from the late 1890s. The first to have an impact were the English by proxy since it was they who introduced rinderpest to Africa.

The Germans took over Rwanda in 1897 and supported Musinga by the forceful repression of anti-Beega clans. They made official expeditions to plant boundary markers and general exploration around Bufumbira; there was sometimes resistance, conflicts arose from lack of hospitality and bad beer. The Germans and their askaris weren't loath to shoot the Bakiga and they gained a bad reputation because of it. This was the real aim of Captain von Beringe's mission, shooting two mountain gorillas was incidental.

The Belgians first had an impact in the north through kidnap for ransom and general extortion. They were replaced by Belgian military officials who erected outposts and tried to exert control.

Next came the English, with their own dubious claims, and the fate of Kigezi then lay in the political manoeuvres of European power mongers.

Conquest

Though, perhaps the enforced peace of the English gave many a sigh of relief after the suffering they had been through over the previous 30 years; it gave them a chance to rebuild their lives. For the next ten years the Bakiga were caught between the conflicting desires of a quiet life and independence as Nyabingi and rebel leaders fought a patchy rearguard action that ultimately was unsuccessful.

Kigezi

The impression one gets of South Kigezi around 1910-20 was that is was pretty wild. The land and forests were wild; man, livestock and crop-eating wildlife abounded. The Bakiga and Bafumbira were wild and the Batwa were wilder. This is understandable, society had become increasingly chaotic from the 1870s and, in that time, it made the transition from a relatively peaceful small-scale structured society to every clan for itself where hero warrior raiders were lauded in long epics.

Strangers were regularly killed if they strayed from their clan lands without protection; murder was common. “The present antagonism was born in blood” defined the Basigi – Bakongwe relationship of the 1970s. Even now other Ugandans are wary of the blood-brotherhood Bakiga; they have a reputation.

But it should not be assumed that all clans were totally wild. It is likely that there were losers too, inoffensive clans who were used to a quiet life in a structured society. They were finding life difficult and probably trying to keep a low profile by not getting involved in the dangerous jostling for power. They were at a disadvantage as their weakness made them vulnerable to more aggressive clans and Batwa. They're the ones who moaned and complained most about the Batwa. Wild Bakiga were proud, fearless and not afraid of a few Batwa; they were more likely to be allies.

It was the meek, timid and powerless clans who benefited most from English conquest since they now had opportunities for acceptance, power and advancement. They were probably so happy and grateful to be at 'rest' (as one new chief put it) that they were especially willing to assist colonial government and Christian missionaries.

[BOX] BAD BATWA

One can picture the scene, a small insignificant bedraggeled woebegone native approaches English Colonial Official. “Hello Mr. Englisman, how are you? Fine, may you have many children. Those Bad Batwa, they have stolen my three cows (long description of each ommitted) my honey beer, honey and sorghum; they burnt my shamba and stole my spears.” He pauses, “Ay! That’s right”, he turns to go, “Eeeeh! I nearly forgot; my three wives also.”

Mr. Important Colonial Official clucks in sympathy, appoints him as a parish chief, and dutifully writes it all up in a report thus adding to the mythology of the Bad Batwa.

Meanwhile Mr. Newly Important Local, realising he's on a winner, decides to become Protestant, though that is nearly a step too far when Constance Hornby came looking to send his daughters to school..
[END BOX]

This was unlike the more strong-willed rebellious clans who had little respect for usurper authority and no time for missionaries, inspired, as they were, by fierce, proud and powerful Nyabingi. Eventually the colonials put (English) manners on the wild ones and, then, their children too joined the competitive race up the Christian colonial ladder.

Kigezi was a tough nut to crack for the English as their previous experience in southern Uganda was with large kingdoms with established hierarchies and authorities, communication channels and castes that were easy to adapt to colonial rule.

In Kigezi it was different; difficult to get to, no established central or traditional authority, clans at war with each other, no infrastructure and ambiguities regarding the loyalty of Bafumbira leaders. The district had to be pacified piecemeal and it took twenty years from 1908 when the last rebellion suffered a rapid fate. Kigezi therefore gets more colonial coverage than its neighbours and that is useful to researchers, regardless of academic discipline.

One small caveat, Kigezi also includes the northern successful Bakiga kingdoms of Kayonza and Kinkiizi but their conquest and demotion to county status relegated them to the backwaters. This area was little visited and there are far fewer sources with reasonable descriptions. When authors talk about the anarchistic Bakiga they ignore or don't know that these two existed. In fact the Bakiga were just as capable as anyone else in founding and managing kingdoms. It can be supposed that over time these would have emerged in the south if it wasn't for European conquest which put an end to the most dangerous military leaders.

But was it really so wild? No foreigners were ever killed here so it seems that being white was its own protection. Rev. John Roscoe (aged nearly 60) made a bicycle safari here in 1919-20 and didn't feel any sense of danger notwithstanding the occasional belligerent native, even the hills and wildlife didn't bother him overly. Though night guards were supplied by local chiefs, he was quite happy to tackle a day's journey solo and was mostly free of 'tiresome' delays owing to the quality of his bicycle.

Constance Hornby frequently walked the district in the 1920s only accompanied by clan guards who passed her from clan to clan at each boundary. There, they stuck a spear in the ground saying, "Muntu yeita" – "This is your person". The colonial officials were horrified and insisted she have a guard. But he became drunk on her next safari and was removed by a local chief; then, she continued on as before.

Transformation

The stage was set for the transformation of society as it adapted to European ways and methods of governance, doing business and administering justice. Christianity was absorbed enthusiastically with unpredictable results. Early Christian missionaries would never have predicted Balokole, Pentecostal pop music, Legion of Mary or the Kanungu Tragedy.

The transformation is ongoing. While political power has, as usual, been the most ephemeral; cultural evolution induced by literacy, capitalism, European modes of thinking and globalisation are still changing the nature of African social structures and world-views, as it reforms and adapts anew to the profound shifts in global power, economy and culture that continue within a fast degrading environment and unpredictable climate.

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## Chapter 2.8

### Colonial Conquest

#### Introduction

The involvement of Belgian and German colonists was the thin edge of the wedge that put Kigezi at the mercy of European powers as they continued their quest of conquest and colonisation of this corner of Africa.

The British Uganda Protectorate became part of the English colonies that stretched from Egypt to South Africa, though it became smaller in the early 20th century as parts were transferred to Kenya and Sudan. The most ambitious English agenda was to gain control of the Nile basin, create a land corridor from Cairo to Cape Town, and develop economic relationships between England, Egypt, East Africa and India combined with control of the Indian Ocean and the southern Cape.

#### Boundary Disputes and Treaties

The fate of Kigezi was at the mercy of the complicated political relationship between the English, Belgian Congo and German East Africa (Rwanda “put themselves in the German's armpit” in 1897 as a 1998 Rwanda government history colourfully put it).

There were two issues, the first was the boundary between Belgian and German territories as defined by the either the Congolese Declaration of Neutrality, 1885, or the natural frontier of Ruzizi River and Lake Kivu. The second was the boundary dividing German and English territory in Bufumbira that was the result of land claimed by Henry Stanley (of “Dr. Livingstone, I presume” fame) and was reserved for the UK by the Anglo-German treaty of 1890.

There were conflicting claims by both sides deriving from the research and exploration of the German Dr. Richard Kandt, during 1895-1901, and the English Uganda-Congo boundary commission of 1907-8. According to Capt. Jack, who served on the commission, the meetings of English, Belgian and German military survey officers was full of bonhomie with festivities and dinner parties, no doubt with cigars and brandy, as they shared their common class and military cadre ideologies. His account is interspersed with completely irrelevant ‘amusing’ anecdotes.

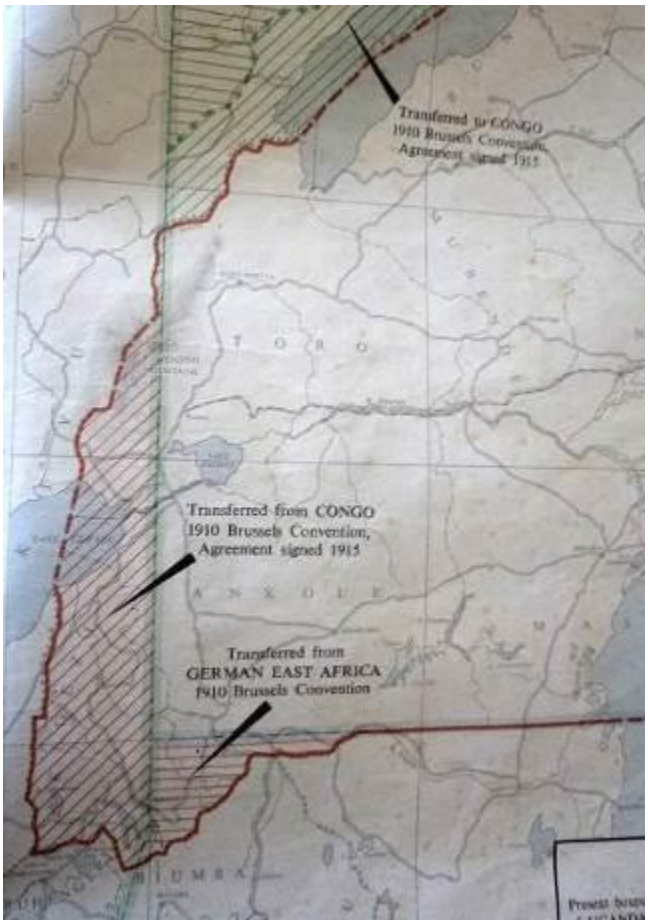

Figure 32 Disputed territories and their fates

Since the Berlin Conference of 1884-5 it was agreed that no European blood was to be shed over the division of Africa; it was to be solved diplomatically and, as a result, the UK got Bafumbira in 1909 in a trade off with Germany who got Helgoland in the German Bight. Ironically the desire not to shed blood fell by the wayside in Europe in 1914-18. The English may have had cause to regret that trade since they spent so much effort in bombing the naval facilities then and in 1939-45.

In the meantime due to the regime brutality of the Belgian king, Leopold II, the Congo was transferred from his private ownership to his government in 1908; it was reported that half the population had died through torture, starvation and overwork over 15 years. In 1916 Belgian forces captured Rwanda and, in 1918, the League of Nations (now United Nations) mandated Tanganyika to the UK and Burundi and Rwanda to Belgium, which ended German colonial involvement in East Africa. Rwanda stayed under Belgian military government until 1926.

In 1909 the English authorities sent the Kivu Mission to take control under the leadership of J. M. Coote and Captain De Courcy Ireland with detachments of Sikh soldiers and King's African Rifles. However they found German and Belgian military outposts in the region, which led to conflict on the ground between the Belgians and English, the former claimed the English were

invading Belgian territory; they arrested some English soldiers and held them at Rubona; a month later they escaped to Mbarara.

Coote described the four forced marches over difficult tracks he had to make and when he arrived he was ordered to leave by the Belgian military; he refused and they spent their time “glaring at each other”. In his free time he hunted 'pygmy elephants' around Mount Muhavura. Coote later asked his superiors why they were so interested and was told the area was first discovered by the English (Speke) and that Kampala planned it to be a summer station for colonial officers; he was not impressed.

In fact the nearest Speke came to Kigezi was Karagwe in 1861 where he collected travellers' tales. From these he made a map and drawing of Lake Bunyoni with Mt. Muhavura in the background. Unfortunately he didn't realise that the Virunga and Rwenzori mountains were different; i.e. he describes salt works and copper mines at the base of the Virunga range instead of Rwenzori; they can be identified as Katwe and Kasese/Kilembe.

Figure 33 "View of Mt. Mfumbiro and drainage system of the Lunar mountains taken from a height of 5500 feet”. An imaginary landscape based on native travellers’ reports in Speke (1861)

At this time the Belgians and Germans were not getting on; there were border disputes and competition over the ivory trade. The German's claimed that the summary military execution of Charles Stokes was over this issue, which was hotly denied by the Belgians who saw Stokes as a criminal. Both lobbied the English government on this issue much to the annoyance of the Foreign Office who preferred it under the carpet rather than in the full glare of the newspapers who were outraged at this treatment of a UK citizen, even if he was a dubious and colourful guns for ivory merchant.

After protracted negotiations they, finally, held joint boundary commissions that fixed their respective boundaries in 1910 and 1911.

There was final episode to the boundary saga. During WWI the English and Belgians agreed the Milner-Ortz convention, 1915, which allocated a slice of eastern Rwanda to the UK. It was part of an English long-term plan to build a railway from Cairo to Cape Town and has been dubbed the 'Lunatic Express'. This was ratified in the 1922 Peace Conference when English took control. However the plan was abandoned the following year and the territory returned to Belgium.

This territorial slicing was done without consultation with local people but while resistance continued until the 1930s there were differences in that it was the peaceful Bakiga and Bahutu who generally accepted English rule, with the exception of more unruly border clans. Some Batutsi chiefs led rebellions, assisted by Batwa warriors; others sided with the colonial authorities.

Early Resistance before WWI

The Banyagabo of Burare led by Rubungo were early resisters but fled across the border to Rwanda when attacked by a force under Ssebalija. They eventually returned in surrender and offered no further physical resistance but strenuously avoided tax, forced portage and labour obligations; they stayed semi-independent until enough police could be stationed there from around 1920.

In 1913 locals of Nyakasiru and Kabondo began to resist, which led to deaths, imprisonment and a rebellion at Kyobo where locals attacked houses, cut communications and barricaded themselves at Kyobo pass but were forced to withdraw to Rwanda in the face of colonial forces. The Bakara of Kabira reacted strongly to tax and forced labour but were easily put down as they had no effective leadership. Then the Karunjanga of Butare rose but were defeated through superior firearms; their cattle were confiscated and they retreated to Rwanda, later returning and surrendering.

Meanwhile Muhumuza, Ndungutse(s) and Basebye were still active in resistance but around 1911-12 their forces were defeated and they were captured or killed. Basebye was summarily executed by the Germans while the various leaders named Ndungutse had differing fates. As for Muhumuza, according to Jack

“On our boundary commission of 1908 we had some experience of this particular lady; she made herself most obnoxious in one way or another. The wretched Bakiga were in the greatest distress and fled in hundreds to Kumba”

Muhumuza was captured after a battle in 1911 that lasted six hours when a force, under Captain Reid and Sebalijja, made a surprise attack on her encampment in Ihanga Hill. Reid was apparently surprised he succeeded; it was diversionary until the main force that included Belgian military arrived. She was deported to Kampala with four servants and cows where she lived until her death in 1945. The authorities and local chiefs were afraid to release her as she would act a focal point for further rebellion and unrest. A report that she was to be released in 1926 was cause for preparations for a victory celebration.

English rule was through resident District Commissioners who appointed local chiefs to wield power. The first such chief was Hagumakamwe, a Batutsi chief of Busanza, who remained loyal during the anti-colonial resistance of later years. One uncooperative chief was Nyindo who is said to have been related to King Musinga of Rwanda who appointed him chief of Bafumbira; his appointment was confirmed by the English but they imposed a Buganda agent Abdulla Namunye to run the saza as per English methods.

Conflicts of Interest in Bufumbira

Conflicts of interest caused divided loyalties among Batutsi chiefs in Bufumbira whose first loyalty was to Musinga; Nyindo was typical. King Musinga of Rwanda by this time was completely pro-German, which resulted in WWI anti-English resistance. Originally appointed to rule Bufumbira, Nyindo ended up as saza chief under the English. He was unhappy with his diminution of power and was fined 50 cows for his role of the kidnap and murder of a CMS teacher Kalemarima in Rwanda in 1913. In 1914 he received a message from King Musinga, probably under German orders, not to co-operate with the English.

This led to conflict, first with Namunye and then with colonial forces; he had seen that the European war could be turned to his advantage. Nyindo and his forces, including Batwa, attacked colonial settlements and clans who had accepted colonial rule with considerable early success.

World War I

During WWI the area was polarised between the Germans and Anglo-Belgian coalition. Both Belgians and Germans had large military forces that were there as a result of previous border disputes while the English were relatively light on the ground. There was some small scale military conflict between the two sides, 1912-4, but German forces were usually defeated due to their small numbers. As a result the area was given over to the Belgians who set up their headquarters at Lake Chahafi. This caused problems of jurisdiction, in 1915, the DC wrote:

“The district is still under military control and up to a recent date has been entirely occupied by the Belgians, which has at times been a source of considerable embarrassment to the local Administration. Offences committed by Belgian troops against British natives are not punishable by British Courts... It is not surprising that the natives have begun to wonder to whom the country now belongs.”

In the meantime the English were exacting tax and labour to supply the war effort, which was unpopular and let to a general resistance coupled with a resurgence of Nyabingi as an ideological focus, though not always, as some rebels were purely anti-colonial. A revolt at Kyoga of Bahororo in December 1914 claimed the death of one chief who went to collect porters and messengers sent to investigate were driven away. A punitive force sent to punish them discovered that most inhabitants had fled though 400-500 stayed in defence; about 40 were killed and their livestock captured and confiscated as a fine.

Katuregye Revolts

Next was Katuregye (Nyindo was an ally), a Bakongwe chief of Bufundi. He had inherited the chiefdom of Bufundi and, since 1895, had been expanding by conquest of neighbouring clans.

His kingdom was dismantled and power severely curtailed by the new boundaries and colonial rule that limited his rule to his own Bakongwe territory.

The last straw was the death of his mother Changandusi (a Nyabingi mugirwa), returning home from a year's internment in Mbarara in 1915. This lady in her mid-sixties had been arrested in a dawn raid on her village by the English who were afraid of her anti-colonial Nyabingi attitudes and possible links to the Germans. He was based in Echuya forest and Bwama Island where his army attacked military convoys travelling on the Kabale-Kisoro road and conducted raids around Lake Bunyoni where he confiscated and sank all the canoes.

Such was their impact that an English expedition, under the leadership of Major Lawrence, conducted a campaign of destruction and confiscation. He used maximum force to crush resistance by burning Batwa villages and confiscating their cattle in late 1914 that eventually quelled the rebellion. Katuregye was wounded in a military engagement in Echuya forest in 1915 when he was betrayed at Kyeruwas, he later died at Kyevu. His brother Mugengi succeeded him as chief of Bufundi. Up to 1920 the lake Batwa were still raiding neighbouring clans and retreating into Rwanda.

Nyindo Revolts

Finally Nyindo chose to fight with the Germans and attacked forces under Namunye, near Miserero, when he had gone to collect forced labour. These raids continued when one group, under Semana (later sentenced to five years), burnt nearly all Mushakamba's villages and about twenty other villages of loyal chiefs, Mutesi and Abdulla's Boma in October 1914 and looted their livestock.

Nyindo defeated colonial forces at Kisoro; they were forced to retreat to their headquarters at Ikumba. They then attacked Ikumba and looted cattle. More bloody battles followed with the war-cry that they were going to drive the Europeans out of the country. A further engagement took place on Kigezi Hill that lasted four hours.

At the height of the rebellion Nyindo commanded over 1,200 rebels using various bases in Uganda and Rwanda. However a detachment of Belgian reinforcements moved to the border while the English set up a military outpost at Lake Chahafi. When he attacked again in 1915 he was defeated and further fruitless incursions continued until early 1916.

The Belgian conquest of Rwanda in 1916 eliminated his allies and refuges and forced him to escape to the Congo. He was captured on his return in 1916; his property confiscated and was exiled in Masindi and died when returning home, at Kayonza, in 1924.

Kayonza

Meanwhile Muginga, chief of Kayonza was alleged to be equally uncooperative and was accused of fomenting resistance; he was deposed as chief in 1911, reinstated and then arrested and exiled to Banyoro in 1917 for some time before returning when he was kept under house arrest in Mparo. However he may have been victim of a power struggle with Buganda agents who framed him with false evidence.

## Nyakishenyi Rebellion

In 1917 the Nyakishenyi rebellion erupted that comprised of local people who now had some experience of colonialism and was led by local chiefs assisted by four Nyabingi mediums, including Kaigirirwa, who had been previously interned in Mbarara, her husband Ruhamba (Luhamba) and various chiefs and lineage elders. In August they attacked the home of the Buganda agent, Abdulla Mwanika, destroying it and 64 neighbouring houses, the CMS School and mosque. Mwanika's life was saved by a Mukiga chief, Kisiagali.

Overall sixty three men, women and children were massacred by the insurgents, 15 men, women and children were wounded, some severely. The rebels also seized 64 cattle and 330 goats and property was looted or destroyed, including five poll tax registers, case books of the native court and five books of poll tax tickets. It was a very local rebellion as it was mostly a reaction to extortion by Mwanika and his suppression of traditional Bacucu clan elders. He freely used a kiboko (cane) to punish alienated locals.

In response colonial forces attacked Nyakishenyi and in five days, over 100 people were killed, including three chiefs. They captured 479 cattle, 764 goats and sheep and recovered a poll tax ticket book and two poll tax registers though were unable to capture any of the ringleaders. Colonial satisfaction regarding getting back their poll tax records begs the question as to what their priorities were. A round up of others continued for several months though many were never captured as they left the area permanently.

## Meanwhile in Butare

Four days earlier in Butare, another round of resistance of 'truculent farmers' led by Lwampomo forced the Buganda agent, Butale, to retreat when attempting to enforce tax and forced labour service. The authorities limited themselves to burning down their houses and rounding up and confiscating all their cattle since their focus was on Nyakishenyi.

## Ntokiibiri, Bahunde Rebel Leader and Mugirwa

Ntokiibiri was of Bahunde origin and the most influential of their resisters. His real name is unknown; Ntokiibiri is translated as 'Two Fingers' another nickname was 'Clouds roll by' in honour of his elusiveness.

He organised the Nyakishenyi attack as he had been an active leader since 1912. Due to his experience and knowledge of colonial methods he provided stiff resistance; he was also able to access arms from various sources in Kigezi, Rwanda and Congo. Nyabingi philosophy was the rebels' ideology and their sacred symbol was the white sheep of Ntokiibiri that was believed to have the power to drive out Europeans. The first engagement was when he, with Batwa warriors, attacked Busanza in April 1916 and though they were repulsed the English lost control of Bafumbira until 1919.

He attacked Lake Chahafi, the engagement lasted five hours with forces there defending themselves with machine-guns; it was unsuccessful though he captured a few guns. He was reported to have been wounded but this proved to be false. The next three years saw a series of guerrilla attacks on colonial forces and loyalist chiefs with various colonial campaigns, such as the combined Belgian/English expedition in early 1917 that was unsuccessful as the rebels could

not be found. They had moved to Rubanda where they planned to attack Kabale. Generally the English were at a disadvantage as the locality protected him and fed him information on troop movements, while the administration rarely knew what was happening.

DC Philipps reported:

“A viscous circle of spies surrounds the slightest movement of any military force. The elements of fanaticism in Nyabingi adherents and terrorism of those who are not renders every local native at least unreliable and provides a refuge for members of the cult.”

And after the Nyakishenyi revolt:

“As might be expected among unsophisticated savages the powers of superstition are enormous. This explains the influence of the local witchdoctors, who suitably combine their claims to supernatural powers with promises of liberation of the natives from European rule and restoration to their former condition of a) absence of obligations and b) freedom to plunder and loot their neighbours, a pastime much favoured by sections of the Bakiga.”

The authorities fell back on the time-honoured method of defeating agrarian rebellions that entailed a scorched earth military campaign where all villages, houses and crops were burnt in areas that had supported rebels and livestock confiscated, again under the leadership of Major Lawrence who now had experience in such methods. This deprived the rebels of security, food and resources and made it more difficult to maintain their activities. Families of known rebels were imprisoned and their property confiscated to put pressure on the leadership; it forced one Batwa leader, Kanyarwanda, to surrender, he was sentenced to four years and later exiled.

Colonial forces had another success when two officers, Bugamba and Bogorogoro, were captured in early 1918 and were publicly hanged in primitive circumstances in Kabale on February 1918 (public executions were discontinued in the UK in 1868 by Act of Parliament); the hanging is described by Ngologoza. Others were sentenced to 5-10 years imprisonment. Public executions continued; two men convicted of murder were 'launched into infinity' in 1921.

The end of the war in Europe and subsequent German loss of Rwanda then played into the English and Belgian hands as they were now able to focus all their energies on the rebellion. Rebels were now no longer able to exploit European conflicts locally and most pro-German Batutsi chiefs were either removed or captured and exiled.

There was lull in 1918 but in early 1919 there was an increase of passive resistance, Kabale was avoided by local people and court activity declined. At the time two serious epidemics of influenza and cerebrospinal meningitis were believed to have been caused by Europeans, blaming strangers for epidemics was nothing new.

“The extreme suddenness of death led numbers to attribute the scourges to alien influences”

The introduction of Luganda as the official language in Kigezi and subsequent control of the administration by Buganda officials led to increasing corruption and loss of power among Kigezi

inhabitants. Resistance became more extreme and an unnamed Nyabingi rebel with 300 followers made an unsuccessful attack of Lake Chahafi but was captured three days later and sentenced to one year in jail.

Ntokiibiri, Kaigwara, Ruhemba and other bagirwa resurfaced with armed soldiers and led to joint Anglo-Belgian operation combined with English offers large cash and livestock rewards and spies, some in 'plain clothes' (did they mean goat hides?), however this was unsuccessful as:

“He was held in terror by the native population and no one dares to denounce his gatherings from the additional fear of reprisals”

Sometime later Ntokiibiri, Ruhemba and Kaigiwara (Kaigirwa), who had just arrived in Kigezi, went secretly with a large force to Ruagara Hill, overlooking Kabale, where an attack was to signal a general uprising. However this force was discovered and defeated by the English. Kaigiwara attempted to continue the struggle but her forces were dispersed and she was killed in action either in 1919 or 1921, depending on the source.

Ntokiibiri's death

There are conflicting reports of Ntokiibiri's death. The first description comes from Ssebalija who says he was betrayed by Bikaku, chief of Rubanda in June 1919; when they arrived at his house demanding tribute he received them cordially, invited them to a meal and then sent messengers to the DC who sent askaris who surrounded the house and fired after he refused to surrender. Ntokiibiri died instantly while a confederate, Ruhemba, committed suicide rather than be captured; others were killed or captured.

A variant collected by Karwemere, 1972, is that he was captured alive but tortured to death at the scene to get the names of his collaborators, which was subsequently covered up by the perpetrators.

Another variant from Bessel says that he died during a military engagement in June 1919 at Ikumba where his band was wiped out. A messenger had been captured and revealed their location, which led to a night attack; they fought to last man and broke their rifles crying out that

“We will not look upon a white man: He shall not have our iron but a curse”

English Superstitions

However all agree that subsequently Ntokiibiri's right hand was cut off, it had only two fingers, dried and displayed on the DC Philipps's veranda to prove to the people that he was really dead. Later he was exhumed; his head cut off and sent to Kampala with the hand. The head was donated to the British Museum by Phillips, with 40 other items including Ntokiibiri's charm necklace, where it was still on display in the 1930s; it is currently in storage.

The sacred white sheep was also captured and burnt to ashes publicly in Kabale in June 1919 to instil fear and as a threat. All local chiefs were instructed to come and listen to a long harangue by the DC Philipps on the evils of Nyabingi and the benefits of English rule. It indicates how

seriously the authorities took Nyabingi and how afraid they were of defeat that they took this extreme action against a harmless animal. Historical sources don't say whether the sheep was alive or dead when placed upon the pyre though great care was taken that every scrap of flesh and bone was burnt completely.

English Reactions to Rebellious Natives

With Ntokiibiri's death rebellion was snuffed out though intermittent resistance continued for much of the 1920s. There were no major uprisings but small pockets of resistance that were easily repressed, leaders were usually captured and imprisoned or interned. However passive resistance continued against colonial exaction and many 'tributes' had to be abandoned as they were counter-productive.

Compulsory labour was abolished as there was no law that people refusing could be tried under, tax defaulter patrols became less common, poll tax was made less onerous; many exemptions were made and labour obligations could be commuted by cash.

In the meantime the authorities rounded up all those that were associated with Nyabingi and either interned or exiled them; the minimum sentence was six months imprisonment. Chiefs and other important leaders believed to have been sympathetic to anti-colonial activities were also given the same treatment plus they were fined or property confiscated. Loyalists were well rewarded with power, money and livestock.

The Final Rebellion, 1928

Finally in 1927-8, during a drought that caused a famine in Rwanda, Kagarama based Basigi, a Nyabingi stronghold, using the name of Muzaire (father, old man) and later Kasente (collection of money), started spreading anti-Christian and anti-colonial propaganda. Muzaire was described in classic Nyabingi terms as 'wind' and it was claimed he would drive away ghosts and heal barren women. Disciples would massage and anoint ill people to heal them and drive away the malevolent spirits causing the sickness. For these services they collected money.

The two main mediums were Ndemeere and Mweyahuzi, though they apparently spoke in Runyarwanda when relating Muzaire's messages. The main leader was Komunda who had previous run-ins with the authorities; he had been arrested by one local chief but released through lack of evidence. Later the chief's wife and son nearly died of an unspecified illness that was used as an example of Nyabingi's revenge.

A propaganda war followed and people were instructed to work on Sunday's but not Mondays or Tuesdays, Nyabingi days while the authorities warned the chiefs to be more vigilant in tracking down the leaders. These chiefs found this difficult as they did not want to lose their positions but neither did they want to alienate their people, some left the area to avoid being compromised. In early 1928 they became more anti-colonial and started preparing for war by practising in the hills of Kagarama to Bushuura. They attracted volunteers from Ankole and Rwanda and may have reached 1,000 by this time.

A similar group also set up over the border in Karujanga, Rwanda, where resistance developed faster and was more organised. People crossed from Uganda and joined forces, and murdered

local officials, burned villages, and threatened to burn the gombolola headquarters. They were reported to have killed 24 Belgian Police. Colonial authorities went on the offensive on both sides of the border; the Belgians deployed 100 police who subdued about 2,000 rebels and also burnt many villages, killing or injuring many people.

Even though plans were conducted in secret news eventually reached Joseph Senyange, gombolola chief of Kikungyere, who notified the DC. Askaris surrounded the area and captured most of the rebels. Bituura, father of the two mediums, later escaped from Kikungyere prison to Rwanda where he died while Ndemeere and Mweyahuzi were sentenced to five years, the latter died in Rujumbura prison. Even so the authorities found it difficult to get evidence as many refused to testify and had to be forced to attend court. The DC reported that had to be forcibly brought to Kabale on order to obtain their evidence:

"Which was given reluctantly in awe of the presence of accused, it was clear they were endeavouring to suppress incriminating evidence and had they not been brought in their evidence would not have been obtained."

The Kagarama community was also fined 75 cows for allowing the rebels space and refusing to testify as a warning to other communities. Meanwhile Komunda was still at large but was tracked down and arrested in Kayonza forest whose community were fined 50 cows.

In a separate unrelated incident the mother of the gombolola chief of Kayonza was arrested and convicted of being a Nyabingi mugirwa. Even though the evidence was circumstantial, he was dismissed as chief; he may have been framed by his Buganda agents. He returned after five years of exile in Masindi with Nyindo and took up the reins of local government much to the satisfaction of local people who did not get on with the agents.

By 1930 many deportation orders were allowed to lapse or were rescinded. William Biteyi, who was removed to Bunyoro in 1928, had his Deportation order rescinded in 1930, but delayed returning. The same year, the orders of another two were rescinded, Kaifulusha, who returned to Rujumbura, and Kaigwesibwa.

Within the decade most Kigezi people had accepted, however unwillingly, colonial rule and were learning to adapt and, in the case of the chiefs, prosper under the new regime. Given the instability of the previous generations many welcomed and thrived under the enforced Pax Britannia.

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Chapter 2.9

## Colonial Control and Local Politics

### Introduction

As previously noted the English arrived and told everyone they were taking over. This was unlike what happened in the Buganda, Ankole, Toro and Bunyoro kingdoms where treaties were negotiated and signed. The Buganda got the best deal as they were thought highly of by the English and managed to maintain most of their power through self-government and land ownership. They extended their influence outside their natural territories through annexation of adjacent districts and involvement in administration in areas like Kigezi and Bunyoro.

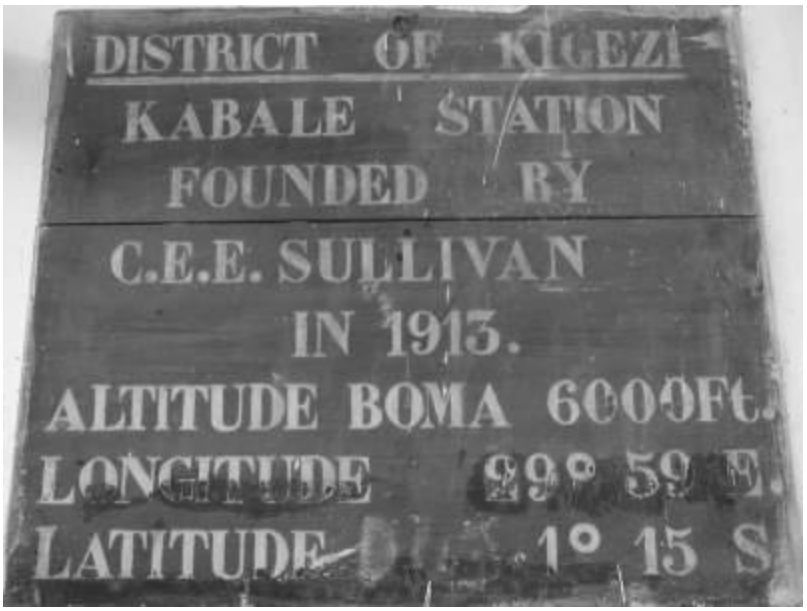

Figure 34 At entrance of Kabale District Offices

Poor Opinions of Local Rulers
Due to lack of finances, the Protectorate found that it did not have the manpower for administration so an offer by the Bugandans to act as tax collectors and compulsory labour organisers in Kigezi was accepted. The English believed that the Buganda were best placed to administer 'backward' areas where methods of colonial government were unknown. According the DC J. M. Coote, 1913:

“I wish to be clearly understood that...there are no persons in the district of sufficient intelligence to act as chiefs, in the sense of the word as used among uncivilised tribes elsewhere...”

A later DC, G. E. E. Sullivan, had a very poor opinion of some Kigezi people,

The Batutsi are of no economic value, their chief asset seems to be a remarkable attainment in the art of high-jumping.

The Bahororo generally are an unsatisfactory tribe of poor physique and little promise of improvement.

The industrious Bakiga were rarely criticised except for their alleged violent tendencies, particularly when drunk.

Colonial Methods
The English ruled directly with colonial officers and indirectly with Buganda chiefs and officials at higher levels and locals at lower levels. Administratively Kigezi was divided into counties (saza), sub-counties (gombolola), parishes (miluka) and sub-parishes (mukungu or mutongole). Chiefs were appointed at each level, each being directly accountable to his superior. The Native Authority Ordinance of 1919 set out their role and gave them executive and judicial powers; the

chiefs supervised tax collection and public works, and presided in the courts. The initial four saza were Rukiga, Bufumbira, Rujumbura and Kinkiizi.

[BOX] Ndorwa Saza and Makombe
Around 1929 Rukiga was split into Rukiga and Ndorwa at which time Bufundi was transferred from Bufumbira to Ndorwa. Its first chief was Makombe; according to the 1931 district report (he had previously been gombolola chief of Kirima in 1920):

"Of the county chiefs, Makombe holds the palm. In spite of a somewhat dull appearance, he has a sound head on his shoulders and is an excellent chief to have so near the Station."

He was much respected by Europeans and is the chief quoted by May Edel who wrote

"Another valued friend who widened my circle of contacts was Mukombe, a senior chief and a most intelligent and sympathetic man, with genuine intellectual curiosity, who was always interested and helpful."

Figure 35 Family Portrait

[END BOX]

Kigezi had high levels of English administrators. Prior to 1934 there was a District Commissioner, Assistant District Commissioner, and District Agricultural Officer. From then onwards staff levels increased continuously and the District Team included a District Veterinary Officer, District Medical Officer and five Assistant Agricultural Officers (one for each saza), who until 1954, were all Africans; their reports kept the DAO informed of all the agricultural news. In 1954 the Agricultural Productivity Committee recommended increased staffing levels for Kigezi, and some saza were allocated colonial officers, called Field Officers. The bureaucracy was the preserve of Goans from India.

According to Carswell:

"This relatively high level of administrative support, and the policy of working through chiefs as much as possible, can be seen as fundamental to the successful administration of the district"

This took time to achieve. An unexplored avenue of research is the different policies of various district commissioners and how they interacted with local leaders; their biographies could provide further insights into the colonial period and the evolution of its rule between conquest and independence.

The first European woman to be posted to Kigezi in 1921 was wife of DC W. G. Adams. She died in 1922 soon after childbirth and was "beloved by all who knew her".

Bugandan Imperialism

It turned out that the Bugandans were just as imperialist as the English and used their positions to their best advantage. They believed that they were culturally superior to the Kigezi peoples whom they looked down on. This was probably a traditional belief due to their very different way of life and methods of political organisation to kingdoms elsewhere but was probably enhanced through interactions with English imperialists.

The political role of the Buganda and their notions of superiority have been a major influence on the political development of Uganda before and after 1962 and continue; as witnessed by the traditional fractious relationship between them and the NRM government (though they might like to pretend otherwise).

From the beginning of English rule, the Government, through the chiefs, extended its control into a wide range of matters including private concerns such as bride wealth, famine reserves and cultivation methods. All chiefs (excluding the bukungu) were salaried employees of the Administration and became very powerful with the potential to enrich themselves through money and land, particularly since the line between executive and judicial power was not clear and often led to conflicts of interest.

Kigezi people had mixed feelings about the Buganda, on one level they looked up to them and copied their customs but also disliked them for their exploitation. However it was not always bad as they introduced bananas and new potato varieties and some Baganda, such as Yohana

Ssebaliia, who had overall responsibility over Kigezi chiefs in the early days, was well regarded by colonialists. In 1911 he published an autobiography Olutalo Olwari Mu Lukiga e Rwanda. However, he was seen to overestimate his powers and be too pro-Catholic. He was replaced by Edward Kagubla in 1920, an Anglican married to a Bakiga and seen to be more acceptable.

Mukungu chiefs, all were local, were responsible for ensuring that their subjects paid their taxes, registered births, marriages and deaths (introduced in 1927), obeyed veterinary, agricultural and sanitary regulations, performed communal labour, maintained famine reserves, etc.

Kigezi Reactions

Even to the 1930s the attitudes of the Kigezi people to colonial rule were traditional and not what the English expected, if they ever thought much about it. To local people the 'govamenti', a remote entity in far away Kampala was mysterious and arbitrary. It was seen to be similar to the powers wielded by spirits working through mediums and spirit doctors of recent times, though more powerful.

Taxes were seen as similar to Nyabingi exaction of livestock and food while public works was analogous to people being required to work for Nyabingi. When pressured they gave their children to schools but never expected them back; to them it was a tax or tribute. It was even rumoured that they'd be eaten.

Government rules concerning private life, such as cattle registration, bride price, forbidding anklets, banning honey beer and a miscellany of petty rules were seen as unwarranted interference while famine reserves were seen as for when the Europeans went back to war since locals could not access them during the annual pre-harvest shortages, even though they had grown and harvested them. The granaries were vulnerable to theft and corruption and treated with suspicion.

Mukombe, saza chief of Ndwora, told Edel that continued colonial suppression was necessary because otherwise “the people would quickly spoil” and return to traditional ways and start following the old religion, which would horrify colonial authorities and Christian missionaries.

Administration of Justice

In the early days the Buganda chiefs had no training, offices or equipment and little interest in justice. Ngologoza relates how they would play games and drink beer while a litigant was attempting to explain his complaint and would keep asking the litigant to repeat what he had just said so absorbed were they in their games. This did not improve much until Baziba clerks from Tanzania were brought in 1920 and Swahili replaced Luganda; by this time there were courthouses with chairs and desks.

Fees were payable by all, usually a hoe, which could be traded for goats (2-3 hoes bought a large goat) that were sent to Buganda. Hoes were then replaced by money, usually one rupee (two shillings). They did not distinguish between criminal and civil cases, all cases were treated as sources of income.

In minor criminal cases, if they knew that a guilty person had lots of cows, they would impose a very high fine, say 100 shillings, that could only be paid with a cow, maybe worth 300 shillings, since it was unlikely that the offender had access to this much money. In civil cases the same methods of extortion were used, cows or goats depending on wealth, and the livestock sent to Buganda where it got higher prices than Kigezi.

However, district reports indicate that the justice system was working reasonably well in the 1920s and 1930s; oversight of the Native Courts found no major complaints other than over-enthusiasm in passing sentence.

Gifts

Chiefs expected gifts of beer every time it was brewed and if it was not received all the beer would be confiscated. They also demanded hens and eggs, though the latter was not a problem since local people did not eat them considering them to be a type of excrement; it is not stated whether they were fertilised or unfertilised.

When chiefs went on safari to inspect their areas and they expected presents of livestock, hens, beer, honey, potatoes and legumes. Those that refused were fined and often ended up having to surrender the cow or goat they had initially refused to give. Thus the saza exploited the gombolola, the latter exploited the miluka who then exploited the mukungu; the chiefs and his retainers therefore always ate well while the livestock was sent to Buganda.

Taxation

Payment of poll tax (introduced 1915) was also a source of income, particularly when money was in short supply. The chiefs would demand goats instead, usually at a low rate, such as one goat for one rupee instead of three, and the taxpayer would be forced to maybe pay three goats and if they refused all goats were confiscated, sold, and they would return home with a tax receipt. Anyone who was unable to pay tax had to work on government projects the following year.

Ruharo or compulsory labour obligations (introduced 1912) on government projects took adult men 10 days a year but was then increased to 30. From 1924 obligations could be commuted by cash and in 1935 was extended to most people if they had already paid their taxes. It was earned through wage labour and the sale of hides and of livestock (mainly goats and sheep). The tax annual demand stimulated migration to other areas for employment.

Forced labour and taxation was used to finance and build basic infrastructure and by 1918 a road connected Rwentobo to Kabale. By the 1920s a network of roads had been built that were negotiable by motorbike, an essential mode of transport for administrators and missionaries. A telegraph line connected Mbarara to the Congo though local people discovered that copper wire made excellent armlets and anklets so theft was a continual problem. Prince William of Sweden said that:

“In this way each negro becomes a walking telegraph pole. The line is thus the jeweller's shop of the district and one cannot wonder if the wires go wrong and telegrams never arrive.”

Tax burden, 1915-53, in shillings

| * | Central | Local |
|---|---|---|
| 1915-27 | 6 | |
| 1928-34 | 7 | |
| 1935-38 | 8 | |
| 1938-45 | 8 | 5 |
| 1946-48 | 8 | 6 |
| 1949 | 6 | 10 |
| 1950-53 | 6 | 14 |

In 1954 graduated tax was introduced for central government though local tax remained unchanged. It also brought people previously exempt into the tax net.

Bugandan Exit

In 1929 there was a major change when Bugandan chiefs were replaced by Kigezi locals. According to Bisamunyu:

“One of the major reasons for Kigezi becoming a 'success story' from the British colonial point of view is that scapegoats (the Baganda) were found for the necessary harshness of the early years and were – between 1928 and 1930 – ritually exorcised”

and

“The accusation 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 universal embezzlement on the part of the lower level chiefs.”

They were all Bakiga since Baganda were forbidden maruka posts from before 1914, it being policy to train up local people. Prior to this the Kigezi people had been seen as not educated enough to take on leadership roles but education, particularly in Anglican schools, plus experience of how the system worked gave local people the knowledge and experience to take on these duties. In 1920 a school was founded by DC Philips at Rusiiza and, in 1922, was moved to Seseme to cater for the Bafumbira under Mr. Arkadi, a Mugoye, while a new one was founded in Kabira for Bakiga and Bahororo students.

The first Mukiga gombolola chief was Joseph Kalimalwaki, appointed to Kumba in 1922; the district report noted that the “result of the experiment is awaited with some interest”

Kigezi Chiefs

The switch had a positive effect in that local chiefs were less exploitative as they tended to be more concerned with the welfare of their subjects and had to achieve a workable balance between keeping both their subjects and superiors happy. It did change the traditional structure of society in that educated literate people now advanced at the expense of lineage and clan seniors and probably was a major incentive for attendance at colonial sponsored education.

In the late 1940s the headquarters and houses of all 31 gombolola chiefs were rebuilt by White Father-trained fundis. All makeshift buildings were replaced with semi-permanent tile-roofed structures of brick and plaster. Elspeth Huxley, 1948, was impressed:

"Here no permits or shortages throttle enterprise. The soil yields clay and limestone, the hills wattle poles; home-made lime mortar replaces imported cement – everything is local and to hand. With unskilled labour hired at 10/- a month, and semi-skilled labour at about three times that figure, costs are wonderfully low and progress wonderfully rapid. (The cost of tiles works out at about 12 for a shilling.) These gombolola headquarters are the most unpretentious and pleasant I have yet seen, and their surroundings magnificent."

Potential for Enrichment

However chiefs had the potential for enrichment through their access to judicial power and prior knowledge of colonial projects. For instance their grants from central government depended on population, in other words the higher the population the more money they received.

As a result chiefs had the policy of attracting as many people to their area to increase their income often at the expense of residents who might lose their land rights in the process; this happened particularly with fallow land that chiefs might arbitrarily declare to be abandoned, which gave them the right to allocate under colonial legislation. If this led to a court case the chief would argue that it was Crown Land to which the complainant had no rights.

Estate Distribution Enrichment

Another area of enrichment was access to estate and swamp land. While estate (Mailo) land was uncommon in the area the fate of the Kalengyere pyrethrum estate, as quoted by Carswell, is instructive. Briefly this land was leased to a European planter under a Temporary Occupation Licence in 1940 as the crop was an essential raw material for insecticides during WW2. However in 1950 the US released its stockpiles, rendering the Kalengyere estate uneconomic, it was abandoned and the license surrendered in 1954.

Prior to distribution in 1956 Mbuguzhe, the gombolola chief, allegedly took control by planting crops and grazing cattle while preventing others from doing so. Originally the land was to be divided into 10 acre plots to be given to 30 people but he allegedly ended up with at least 60 acres and used his knowledge of colonial policies to keep it. By the 1980s he allegedly had gained title to his holdings which allowed his family allegedly to hold onto the land when the Kalengyere Highland Crops Research Station was allocated the estate by the Ministry of Agriculture in 1988 and other land users were allegedly evicted without compensation.

Swamp Clearance Enrichment

Originally swamp land was communal and a source of many raw materials for those that lived nearby. Swamps were also used for sweet potatoes (Irish potatoes were unpopular) during droughts and was an important fail safe resource; it was presented as a colonial initiative but was traditional practise. In 1956 it was recommended that they be drained and developed and in the late 1950s and early 1960s this was done. However there was conflicting colonial objectives with debate over whether they be allocated as a famine resource or given to progressive farmers.

In practise allocation was the responsibility of saza and gombolola chiefs who claimed most of the land for personal use as 'progressive farmers' by using prior knowledge to clear the swamps privately before being officially allocated. Another method of claiming land was by planting trees, which was often done by non-locals who were connected to the chiefs.

As a result previous swamp land is now owned by a small number of individuals who specialise in dairy farming with non-native cattle. A similar process occurred in Rwanda where previous swamp land is now large-scale tea and sugar cane estates. In the 1970s Idi Amin's policy was for farmers to settle in wetlands to grow subsistence crops. Another consequence was the local extinction of the situtanga whose habitat was papyrus swamps.

However this is only happened in Kabale but not Kisoro where swamps are much smaller and face different problems. Currently many are vulnerable to degradation from over-harvesting of papyrus and clay extraction for brick manufacturing. In Gitundwe swamp there is now major plantations of Irish potatoes and other crops, which, combined with the growing use of inorganic fertilisers and pesticides, have major implications for access to raw materials for the poor, water quality and biodiversity.

Cattle are also common but as the area lacks infrastructure for milk production land ownership is probably more equitable since swamp clearances have happened at a slower rate over a longer period of time.

Political Developments

From the mid-1940s changes were introduced so that some of the chief's powers were handed over to councils of chiefs and elected members, the latter eventually forming the majority, though in some cases chiefs continued to dominate their councils. It was not until the mid-1950s that the power of the chiefs changed when the process of separating the judiciary from executive began to take place with the appointment of an independent chief magistrate in 1956 (Paul Ngologoza) followed by an assistant magistrate (Festo Rwamunaahe) and junior magistrates at the county level.

This was followed by changes in the Appointment Board in 1959 that had consisted of the District Commissioner and saza chiefs and now was made up by a chairman and five independent members. This led to conflict with the District Council who wished to nominate its own candidates, which resulted in the destruction of the property of Paul Ngologoza (he had relinquished his post as chief magistrate to become chairman but retired from public service in September the following year) and Habib Maguyso and attempts on their lives, according to Ngologoza. In 1960 the council got its way and a new board was appointed under John Bikangaga with six members.

Politics and Religion

Religion as a political weapon developed between the two communities for a number of reasons starting with the missionaries themselves and was similar to the problems between Roman Catholics, Anglicans and Muslims that beset Buganda in the 1880s until Lugard's Division of Power in the 1890s and Agreement in 1900.

Rumour became a political weapon, for example, the Anglican perception that Roman Catholics were soft on the Nyabingi cult led to the rumour that if one did not become Protestant, the religion of the government, one would be seen as a Nyabingi sympathiser and collaborator and would suffer summary imprisonment. The Catholics spread a counter-rumour that the PCWP had become Catholic and that they alone were able to communicate with him and would be the only ones to get civil service jobs, a claim that the DC was forced to deny.

In 1928 DC Philipps noted that:

“The majority of local 'notables' are now divided into violently opposing factions, Protestant and Catholic. This is a constant source of friction between indigenous chiefs intriguing for appointments of their co-religionists to posts of influence, irrespective of their merit and to the exclusion of others. This has manifested itself in attempts to influence and warp administration by insinuations and false-witnesses, filtered through European missionaries. It has in most occasions resulted in physical violence, among teachers and proselytes. These temporal and sectarian contortions of the followers of Christianity are as confusing as they are unedifying to pagans and Moslems.”

During the 1956 elections for district councils, people were instructed by their church leaders to vote along religious lines, if they did not, according to Ngologoza:

“They would no longer be recognised as honest members of their own religion.”

He concluded that elections of councillors by saza electoral divisions was a mistake and that

“Even the government came to realise this afterwards.”

He quotes the Governor's letter to the newly elected council where he made various references to religious strife and warned that

“If this continues the result will be the hindering of the development of Kigezi.”

However this appeal was unsuccessful. Ngologoza relates, that prior to the election by secret ballot of the Secretary General:

“The newly elected councillors were gnashing their teeth at each other”

This conflict continued until the 1960s affecting political life and became more important than clan, lineage and family. After 1960, while the race for converts continued, an informal agreement was arrived at by where no mission was allowed to build a church or school within a mile of another without each other's prior consent.

Meanwhile, the Democratic Party (DP) and Uganda Peoples Congress (UPC) were founded in the 1950s to represent Catholic and Anglican interests respectively, though they were formed through splits and amalgamations of various inexperienced interest groups with little mass

support or participation. Since 1986, when the NRM took power, religion theoretically plays no part in politics.

Bufumbira in the colonial period

After Nyindo's abortive rebellion and exile in 1915 Bufumbira was ruled by Abdulla Namunye, a Baganda agent, until 1920 when George Peter Nyirimbirima, a son of King Rwabugiri of Rwanda, was appointed as saza chief by DC Philipps. In 1923 he was accused of abetting witchcraft but, while there were grounds for suspicion, there wasn't sufficient evidence to warrant dismissal. District authorities thought that more investigation was needed but thought the charge was due to Bahutu and Batutsi politics, particularly in the aftermath of Luzirakuhunga's conviction.

Generally Bufumbira was a difficult county to administer. There were problems with the language, loyalties to Rwanda, refusal to accept English authority, reluctance to pay taxes and, with the new borders, smuggling. Taxation was difficult to collect and, in the early days, was usually only successful though coercion by army patrols (often with Belgian military), cattle confiscation and imprisonment. Murders and arson were said to be “very common” and Belgian territory gave “asylum to the offenders”. According to DC W. G. Adams:

“The Banyaruanda are mostly very untrustworthy, chiefs and peasants alike. The existing chiefs are none too good and there is little suitable material when replacements are necessary.”

The county clerks were mostly Belgian, they were deemed “unreliable” but it was difficult to find local literate candidates fluent in Runyaruanda.

In 1930-2 Bafumbira had to be completely re-organised due to corruption by the agent. Yeremie Kasaijjakana. Many petty chiefs had been ejected and new ones appointed; all came from Nyarusiza and were relatives of the Mtwale who had paid bribes. This was reversed and the old chiefs reinstated.

However corruption by all chiefs was endemic through the petty pilfering of fees; the only way to deal with the problem of reform was to uvivu (forget please) previous offences of minor offenders, the majority of minor chiefs. According to the 1932 district report:

“The policy in this county recently has been to put hereditary chiefs in posts outside their hereditary areas, with a view to checking the abuses of favouritism and nepotism and counteracting the tendency of bribery and corruption so common to all BanyaRuanda. The policy however cannot said to be an unqualified success as the interests of chiefs working away from their rightful suzerainties is inclined to be diminished.”

Nyirimbirima ruled until 1933 when he was dismissed for sending tribute to the Rwandan monarchy and being biased in their favour. It seems strange that the English waited so long when it must have been known about for years; a hidden motive may have been the real cause.

He was succeeded by James Gicamwa, a local man who gained a reputation of being the most oppressive. He ruled until 1941 when he was dismissed for a purely internal matter; he refused to

recruit soldiers for WW2 as there was a general local reluctance. He was interned at Tororo recruiting station for a short period and then returned demoted to gombolola chief. It was said that his dismissal was greeted with great relief by the Bafumbira.

Paulo Rukeribuga was promoted from gombolola chief of Bubare to saza chief; he had served there from 1933 and had previously been an askari from 1929. He gained a reputation as a friendly, progressive and enlightened chief who was free from religious prejudice. He built many schools that taught Kiswahili, Agriculture, Health Education, Bible Studies, Mathematics, Reading and Writing, all skills necessary to work in the lower echelons of the colonial civil service. He also ran wildlife eradication programmes, primarily against wild pigs and hippopotamus that were ravaging crops, for which he was very popular; the latter were almost extinct by 1943.

In 1942 he allowed Banyarwanda to come during the Rudakangwimishanana famine in Rwanda, but it then spread to Bufumbira. Many people went to the Congo but died due to a dysentery epidemic there or brought the disease home causing the deaths of thousands. He died in office in 1961 much regretted by all. He missed independence by a few short months though had never been friendly with independence-minded people as he was of the colonial mould.

[BOX] Wages and Work in the late Colonial Period
A labourer's wages in 1939 was seven shillings a month and rose to 36 shillings by 1960. In the 1950s in Kilembe mines earnings were 36 shillings a month including food, while in Buganda workers could earn 60-80 shillings a month and could grow their own cotton, which compared well with local wages of 19-25 shillings a month.

Another source of income was military service. In the aftermath of WW2 many soldiers returned only to face reintegration into their communities. In Uganda training of ex-soldiers was done locally by where emphasis was on rough village rather than semi-skilled craftsmen. It was believed that they would have more local employment in the villages; over-skilling would force migration for appropriate work. Courses covered carpentry, tanning, tailoring and pottery and were taught by semi-skilled locals.

It was planned that potters would travel around the district in teams and make earthenware mugs, jugs and dishes as an alternative to gourds. They carried portable wheels, presumably the kiln construction and firing was done on the spot. Tanners were to replace the normally untanned lice-infested goat skins with tanned shorts using local materials: lime from the local tile works, wattle from plantations and castor oil from the shambas. They were also to be an alternative to expensive imported 'drill'.

However it was one thing to teach a skill but getting the European work ethic across was another. The manager of the 'reabsorption scheme', talking about the carpenters, said

“The trouble is that they'd rather sell one chair for 50/- and do nothing for the rest of the month, than turn out five chairs at for 10/- each.”
[END BOX]

## Colonial Conclusion

In the early 20th century the English proudly boasted that “The sun never set on the British Empire” (to which the cynical reply was “because God did not trust them in the dark”) but this only lasted 100 years in Africa before they were overthrown and their many colonies attained independence.

In general the 80 years of Ugandan colonial history followed the pattern of colonies everywhere. A small number of colonial officials would take over territory with the assistance of non-native military. This was easily done due to the simple organisation and low military technology of the societies they were conquering, though they usually had to deal with annoying and inconvenient rebellions from pesky natives who had the temerity to resist.

Then as society became more complex, due to the transformation of social and economic structures, it needed a bureaucracy to run it efficiently that necessitated the introduction of education to provide a literate army of clerks, technicians and teachers. This ultimately led to native professionals who were often educated in England so as to absorb, appreciate and defend imperialist philosophies and agendas.

However this did not work out as planned as many professionals became 'ungrateful' and started demanding greater political independence. In time they were joined by the newly rich and rising middle classes who also wanted greater access to power and the good things in life with alternatives to wage slavery. Finally, exploited urban workers, looking for employment, decent wages and job security, and equally exploited rural farmers, looking for freedom from oppression, fair prices and less tax, joined in.

Colonial authorities were loath to give up their power and usually alienated everybody by cracking down on protest movements before grudgingly granting some form of limited power to friendly elites that they unsuccessfully tried to control. Meanwhile civil disobedience movements increased often leading to armed insurrections, which led to military force and methods of repression that had been discontinued in the UK due to political resistance and growth of democracy there, i.e. parliamentary democracy was accepted in the UK (finally, after much political struggle) but not in the colonies.

Finally the UK, under pressure, would give up and, after some haphazard attempts to introduce European style democracy that needed time to implement and was rarely wanted by the impatient leaders-in-waiting, they would retreat and abandon the country to its fate with a face-saving fanfare and lots of flag waving by the celebrating liberated.

Only then did the real work of running the country by the newly independent people begin as they came to terms with their particular circumstances: inappropriate colonial structures, antiquated laws, a conservative rule-bound civil service, divisive boundaries and internal 'tribal' and 'class' tensions combined with fractious relationships with their neighbours, within a growing global economy and spread of, often neo-colonial, multinational economic and political entities. That is when the histories of newly independent nations diverge.

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## Chapter 2.10

### Aspects of Life in Colonial Times

Following on the colonial policy of developing a capitalistic economy, formally organised markets were necessary within a structured society. The shift was from a self-sufficient rural economy with regional trade to colonial urban-centred capitalist economies and interregional trade.

Within this setting, fees and licences went to the administration to cover costs, pay salaries and re-investment. Local government attempted to be self-sufficient with running costs but received grants from the centre for infrastructure such as roads, telegraph lines, hospitals and dispensaries etc. Local investment funds, called Lukiko, were set up in each gombolola for chiefs' houses, offices, dispensaries, lock-ups, etc.

Kabale district offices were a bit ramshackle; they were constantly falling down and rebuilt stronger than before until they fell down again. A reading room established for the “educated young native” as a “check on revolutionary tendencies” in 1921 was converted to the DC's office when his was declared unsafe the following year. Annual reports have regular updates on the colonial building woes. However, it was cheap to build; Albert Cook, who visited Kabale in 1931, noted that due to the cheap price of labour, three rupees a month – one-half of Kampala, wattle and daub houses with thatched roofs cost £130; bricks cost one cent each, one-third of Kampala.

Kabale, founded 1913, became the rural capital centre for Kigezi, markets were set up and licences introduced. The main items of trade were livestock, animal hides, salt and crafts, iron tools, baskets and rope. The highest volume of sales came from sheep and goats while other locally made products were mostly sold around Kabale. Blacksmiths and smelters (Bukumbiri) were already common in the area, so it was a small matter to reorient sales via colonial markets, particularly hoes and slashers. It became a hub for the sale of Katwe salt, which brought by Bahororo merchants and then sold on to Mbarara, Masaka, Kampala and south to Kigali.

In the early days local traders controlled the markets but by 1920 Asian merchants arrived and, over the next ten years, supplanted them. In 1921 four new plots were opened in Kabale bazaar with six Indian traders. They had the advantages of East African trade networks, transport and economies of scale. It wasn't so easy in the beginning when trade was slack. The district annual reports of the early 1920s noted that, due to low trade, Asians were in constant difficulties and many, including the oldest established, abandoned Kabale altogether.

By contrast, reports of the early 1930s discuss how Asians have taken over trade to the detriment of local merchants and tax receipts. They captured the salt trade, other imports and exports (from Belgian territories) and were able to avoid many of the sales and licence fees. Their monopoly of the salt trade (32 tons exported in 1931) had a knock on effect in that cash now paid for salt rather than goats and sheep, which resulted in a decline in livestock sales – the backbone of the local economy. There was increased competition between the Asians; some complained that others were using cheaper hawker's licences to set up semi-permanent shops in strategic places around Kabale rather then the main bazaar.

The bazaar infrastructure was the responsibility of the administration. In 1931 a new abattoir was built and new drains dug. The following year the 'night soil' service was reorganised and all dukas in Kabale were equipped with latrines and bucket system. The bazaar stalls were re-thatched with papyrus and one or two 'baudy' houses were pulled down in the vicinity. A trading centre at Nyamuganje was discontinued after two shops were used for 'shady purposes'. Meanwhile the first Muslim school, opened 1930, had 'bazaar-rabble' among its students, to the administrations approval.

A round trip for a porter convoy between Kabale and Kampala took six weeks. There was a weekly postal service to Mbarara, though often delayed since it didn't always connect with rail and boat to East Africa and onwards. Around 1930 a night van to and from Kampala was

introduced; it covered all government and other communications. The Kabale Post Office was run by Asians; the annual district report, 1932, noted that

“Kabale has been fortunate in its postmasters, and all the public speak highly of the tact and courtesy received at all times from Abas Khan and A. G. Patel.”

Telegraph lines were erected by 1920 but were constantly raided for their copper wire. This necessitated the erection of six guard huts along the line manned 24/7. This did not prevent occurrences; an armed gang cut the line at Kabaraga, injuring one guard and another four poles were cut near Bukinda. The administration knew that it was a very unpopular duty for soldiers but felt they had little choice. Over time the guard huts were reduced to four, though problems still existed around Lutobo Hill, and finally done away with.

One Fazal Ahmed ran an irregular lorry service to Kampala as well as transporting sand and stone for the new government hospital. By the 1940s buses were travelling between Kabale and Kampala. “Indifferent” accommodation was available, provided by Victor & Co., and it wasn't until 1935 when the Adamsons built the White Horse Inn that colonial standards were catered for.

The District Commissioners always lauded their civil servants in annual reports. These were always Asian, only Europeans occupied the top slots in administration. Asians at that time were divided into Indians and Goans; India included Pakistan and Bangladesh but not Goa, which, with Dieu, was a Portuguese colony. Goans provided the vast majority of civil servants, recognisable by their surnames; J. C. Fernandes and E. E. Lima were two in the 1920s, de Souza and Pinto were successors. Another, Barket Ali, was probably from north-west India. They were ably assisted by Joseph Senyange, a Muganda who spoke fluent Rukiga. He was to be considered for a permanent position when the Native Civil Service was introduced.

[BOX] Trade Control
Given their lack of success in cash crops the authorities turned their attention to control of food crops and introduced new marketing ordinances from 1940. Originally the first was the Native Food Ordinance of 1919 that was designed to ensure food security and control middlemen.

In 1943 it was forbidden to export or sell food outside the district as the authorities feared the knock on effects of the Rwandan famine at a time of bad weather; 30,000 people are estimated to have died there and there is no evidence that the English felt any need to assist in famine amelioration; in fact they banned migrants and refugees from Rwanda that year. Historically famines always appear to have been worse in Rwanda than Uganda; which acted as a refuge, sometimes permanently.

However price controls only affected traders and transporters who were mostly Asian. It was soon withdrawn and a system of permits and export licences was introduced. However this was largely unsuccessful as smuggling became the norm. Kigezi farmers were long accustomed to profiting from crop surpluses and petty rules that attempted to control trade and prices were ignored and subverted. In the 1950s the main smuggled items between Kisoro and Rwanda were cotton and clothing to Rwanda and Congo cigarettes to Uganda.

Smuggling is continuing to and from Uganda and the DRC and Rwanda. For example Uganda is a transit country for poached wildlife, gold, diamonds and other precious metals from the DRC while waragi (African gin) distilled in Kigezi goes to Rwanda.
[END BOX]

The White Horse Inn was unusual in that it didn't serve alcohol. It was commonly found in the district but usually home-made, murumba was a sorghum-based communal drink while waragi (African Gin) was found mostly in bars and exported. Alcohol control and related public offences was a headache for the administration particularly during the sorghum harvest when vast quantities were drunk and was largely responsible for the Bakiga's reputation.

The authorities tried various methods of control of drunkenness. The lock-up was used for overnight detentions but making the householder liable for offences seems to have worked best. In 1921 crime had decreased due to less public drunkenness; it was still rife during harvest but as far as the authorities were concerned if there was no Nyabingi or murders than there was no problem.

The arrival of the East African Revival caused a decline in alcohol use. This was lauded since drunkenness and law and order offences declined but it caused a major problem as there was also a drop in taxes by 20%. By this time there were certain expectations among all chiefs as to the amount of tax they had to pay to their superiors and, when this fell, they all felt under pressure.

They were also unhappy that unofficial beer 'tribute' fell though they couldn't argue against religion. They were reprimanded for low receipts and some tried to make it up by taxing 'beer bananas'. Some people paid for a peaceful life but then refused to accept receipts stating that they had paid beer tax; that, they believed, was corruption and therefore sinful. Appeals by missionaries to the district authorities worked in that nobody could be taxed or punished for refusing to brew alcohol.

Around 1920 there were c. 50 policemen on duty in the district. Reinforcements were sometimes imported for Nyabingi disturbances; in 1921, when Mr. Waters ASP arrived to take charge, there were ten from Fort Portal and five each from Masaka and Mbarara. They were a reasonably healthy lot; the newly arrived Indian 'compounder' examined all men at dispensary and noted a decline in venereal diseases; the main complaints were chest and fevers. He had the unfortunate experience of having his house burgled soon after arrival while waiting for doors and windows to be installed.

Discipline was somewhat lax but improved though several police in 1922 were found to have brought false charges of drunkenness against Kabale locals for not giving them beer. They were dismissed and jailed. By 1930 there were only 30 policemen.

Jails were not only for drunks, persistent tax-defaulters were locked up as well; or more accurately those that had never paid and continued refusing. There were a good many of those in the 1920s from the more isolated parts of the district; the area between Lake Chahafi and the frontier was notorious. It took a good many patrols, often jointly with the Belgians, before locals

there grudgingly paid up. Colonials measured success by how many new people were gathered into the tax net.

On average 40-70 prisoners were in Kabale jail at any one time for most of the 1920-30s of which the majority were tax-defaulters who paid off their liabilities through public works. There were also a good number of cattle thieves. The common sight of prisoners in yellow and faint grey stripes on public works comes from the colonial period, i.e. tree planting in Kikungiri and making 12,000 bricks for a new prison in 1923. There were also county lock-ups that held remand prisoners; these were upgraded in the 1930s to sentences less than six months. A very small minority were women, five or less, who were sentenced in the 1920s to six months imprisonment for being Nyabingi mediums; they cooked and made mats.

Figure 36 Waiting to start, Kisoro

A few were in jail for crimes of violence when they were caught; many escaped across the border. Murder was still common in the 1920s and capital punishment was meted out when necessary. Public hangings were conducted if the administration wanted to get a message across, otherwise they might be sent to Kampala for execution. An example of the former was when a Bahororo salt caravan was attacked and traders brutally murdered by Bakiga on the way to Kabale market in 1922. Sentences could be commuted and if there was any doubt regarding the sanity of the offender they received a psychiatric evaluation, such as when a woman killed her baby because it had a hare-lip.

The prison appears to have been a basic affair in the early days with six warders; after many pleas this was increased to twelve, including one lady who was responsible for female prisoners. In the garden plot prisoners grew the peas, beans and potatoes they ate. It was regularly inspected and passed but there must have been some embarrassment when 12 Banyaruanda on remand escaped by standing on a latrine bucket and climbing through the roof. There were a few escapees every year and, if they got a head start, were hard to catch since the border was so near.

Only serious crimes were tried in Kabale, the vast majority were held in local 'Native Courts'. In 1930 the introduction of a new Criminal Procedure Code was found to have made 'but little

improvement in justice'; there were five murder trials that year. Below are some statistics from the annual district reports.

Number of court cases in Kabale District, 1917-23

| * | 1917 | 1918 | 1919 | 1920 | 1921 | 1922 | 1923 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kabale criminal | 63 | 19 | 17 | 9 | 47 | 83 | 77 |
| Kabale civil | 1 | 18 | 7 | 2 | 7 | 20 | 31 |
| Native Courts | | | | | 1,045 | 884 | 904 |

| * | 1926 | 1927 | 1928 | 1929 | 1930 | 1931 | 1932 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kabale criminal | 192 | 142 | 49 | 19 | 66 | 137 | 90 |
| Kabale civil | 9 | 23 | 17 | 15 | 13 | 33 | 22 |
| Native Court criminal | 1743 | 1634 | 1917 | 4082 | 4297* | 5343 | 5437 |
| Native Court civil | 334 | 341 | 466 | 462 | 655 | 404 | 1045 |

The 1930* punishments in Native Courts were 332 imprisoned, 237 whipped, 3,876 fined. Oversight by colonial judicial authorities concluded that the system worked reasonably fairly, a small number were revised due to unnecessarily heavy sentences.

It would be useful to know why there were large numbers of convictions in Native Courts, the breakdown between serious and petty offences and the difference between civil and criminal. To what extent did the imposition of a new alien legal code create 'offenders' and 'criminals'? The impression given by many early authors of an anarchic 'lawless' society may partly be due to their different mind-sets of what constituted law and order.

The majority of people were law-abiding by their own standards, which included the payment of taxes, which was tribute to rulers under a different name. The difference was that it had to be paid with money most of which was raised through the sale of sheep, goats, agricultural produce and tools; cattle were rarely sold for this purpose.

In 1930, noting the decline in receipts from Kinkiizi and Rujumbura, the 1930 district report noted that 7,109 had paid, 604 were employed elsewhere, 1,158 were driven away by pigs and having to grow coffee, 2,468 were waiting for something to turn up and 175 were dead. Interestingly 95 Batwa were listed in the 1931 census; this major underestimate is due to the census focusing on tax-payer household-heads. It would be more accurate to say that there were 16-20 Batwa tax-payers based on the district average of 5-6 dependants per household. The 1921 census was conducted along the same lines and was deemed “sufficiently correct for development”.

For many, however, employment was the main way to raise money. The first major option in the 1920s was working as a porter and many were employed by local government, church organisations, Kabira hospital and traders on a semi-regular basis. District reports note that there was no problem in finding willing porters; the Bakiga had a good reputation as excellent and reliable workers.

Roscoe, 1919-20, wrote that new porters had to be recruited daily as they only worked one stage, which may be a result of previous inter-clan hostility. The district commissioners built transit camps for their porters on longer stages in Kisoro and elsewhere. Care needed to be taken as they were easily infested with ticks, which caused fatalities. They had to be burned down and rebuilt. In 1922 a camp with 17 bandas, built by DC Philipps, was burnt and a new camp constructed in another location; the new bandas were roofed with papyrus from the ground up.

In the meantime many locals paid off their tax obligations through tax labour. The dispensaries of Rukungiri, Kinkiizi and Kisoro were built by 1920 this way as well as other buildings and roads. Many workers volunteered for employment but there were often no funds.

An indication of the isolation of the Bakiga was that porters could not be used beyond Mbarara since they weren't used to the lower altitude and different climate around Lake Victoria. In 1920 the district reports noted that for every 100 porters sent to Mbarara one died. However they adapted easily since employment migration became a popular option, which supplanted portage as roads developed in the 1930s. In 1931 the administration noted that a “class of professional porters has emerged, similar to Wanya-Mwezi of old” who applied for more work than was available and described as 'an unusual and useful feature'.

[BOX] Porters and Integration
The sudden expansion of hundreds of porters criss-crossing Kigezi had a significant impact on inter-clan hostility. Given that porters only did one stage incomes were widely shared among all clans. It can be imagined that evenings round the fire eating posho and beans, while discussing their clients, work prospects and the new order from the 1920s, led to inter-clan friendship, respect and a decline in antagonism.
[END BOX]

By 1920 many young men went to Buganda and Bombo to work on the 'loco-tractor' line but others refused offer of work on European estates in Tooro. In the 1930s some refused to go to Ritshuru for work due to malaria. This was also a problem for those employed by the short-lived Central African Exploration Company where there was high mortality. The Administration insisted that quinine clauses be included in all work contracts.

During 1921 the main road to Kabale was used “several times” by cars but there were road problems in Kikungiri and Bukinda, In 1922 the road from Mbarara to Lutobo was good, an annual £30 was granted to headman and five villagers for roads and culverts maintenance, and another £36 for Rukiga roads, including the widening of the road to Kumba.

In 1922 a diversion on the Lutobo road was hampered by heavy rains; its swamp banks were raised by 4', more culverts added and new bridges constructed though the last bridge was held up for want of nails. The Butale road was finished and roads to Lushaloza and Lake Bunyoni were under way. The last was held up through headman's laziness; he was warned. In general forced labour was found to be undesirable but they hadn't sufficient funds for upkeep.

The main road construction in the 1930s was the road to Kisoro. An initial rough plan was submitted by Fr. Nicolet of Mutolere in 1931. Initial surveys decided it was possible but beyond

local resources and with little local benefit with the exception of a trade route to the Congo. Central funding must have been received as work commenced the following year under Mr. Came the supervisory engineer. The first main problems came around Muko when the infill of the Kashongo swamp was far more work than envisaged while blasting was needed for uncovered rocky outcrops. There were accidental drowning and other fatal accidents. By 1935 about half the route was complete.

Other road works, 1930-2, included planting lemon grass on the Lake Bunyoni road to prevent landslides and continuing the road from Chabahinga to the newly-constructed CMS boat house. A new bridge over the Minera River gave a more direct route between Rukiga and Rukungiri, A new road between Nyakabande and Rutshuru was now suitable for motor traffic. The Saza Chief of Rukungiri, Edward Sulimani Karagyesa, was now reported to have a car; he probably was the major factor in having a good road between Kabale and the saza. He also had the road upgraded when he bought a new car about ten years later.

Selected Sources
Kigezi District Annual Reports

* * *

Chapter 2.11

Health and Medicine

Introduction
From 1913, Kabale had a small basic government dispensary with a small ward that dealt mostly with outpatients. Government dispensaries were built in Rujumbura, Kinkiizi and Kisoro though labour tax by 1920 and were heavily attended. They were followed by Kabara and Mpalo. The three main epidemics were dysentery, influenza and cerebral spinal meningitis.

The two earliest known government doctors were Karim Dad who was replaced by Dr. Raja in 1923. There were also visiting specialists who assessed areas for sleeping sickness. In 1922 Dr. Carpenter recommended that Nakisanvu and Chikarara could be re-opened though this was delayed. In response there was a considerable influx of Congolese who waited at Kabwema to settle.

The arrival of CMS missionaries, Drs. Sharp and Smith, had a major impact on the development of medical services in the district. Dr. Sharp was appointed District Medical Officer, 1921, on arrival and he saw the need for a hospital based on the general heath needs of the population combined with the development of an education campaign to improve and enforce water purity, sanitation and cleanliness in all compounds through the newly introduced system of local administration, via the chiefs.

The original health conditions of Kigezi people were a major eye-opener for the two CMS doctors; they wrote that:

“Here was to be found a condition of filth, disease and degradation that shocked us. Every collection of huts was surrounded by patches of bushes or long grass which constituted the communal latrine: the stench and swarms of flies that greeted the visitor can be better imagined than described. It was not therefore surprising that dysentery was rife in those days.

A closer inspection of the people's homes revealed a most miserable condition of dirt and squalor. The healthy wives usually departed early in the morning to cultivate their crops or to fetch firewood, and the men disappeared to drink beer at a neighbour's hut, leaving the rest of the family in a parlous state. In one typical household we found the old people, half naked and ill-nourished, propped up against the side of the hut, seeking to gather a little heat from the sun.

A woman, too ill to go to the fields with the other wives, was sitting in the shade of a spirit-hut, trying in vain to keep the flies from an enormous ulcer on her leg, while she prepared a mixture of leaves and cow dung with which to cover it. The children were wandering aimlessly and painfully about, walking on the flat of their feet, their toes turned up and in a terrible state of infestation with boring jiggers and subsequent infection.

If there had been a beer-drink the night before, even the children would have been lying about drunk in the dusty courtyard among the goats and chickens.”

Medical Safaris

Medical safaris around Kigezi district were part of the District Medical Officer's duty prior to the setting up of local health clinics. These were self sufficient; they brought tents, bedding, towels, clothing, food and utensils, tables, chairs, tin bath, hurricane lamps, paraffin, medical supplies, instruments, anaesthetics, water containers, microscope and slides, mosquito nets, Gospels and other church literature. Safari porter loads were 50lb (22.7kg) and were weighed before departure.

Figure 37 The Sharps on Safari

A seven hour marching day was typical with several days at chiefs' residences to see patients, explain and enforce of public health measures, survey the incidence of diseases (i.e. dysentery, typhus, sleeping sickness, yaws and leprosy) and proselytise.

These trips included part of Lake Edward south of Kisenyi when twice a year they visited Bahundi fishing communities to check for tsetse-related diseases. They had survived a mass relocation of people from a 25-mile strip by the shore for the control of infectious diseases in 1908 as they lived solely on fish. Around 200,000 people are thought to have died from sleeping sickness around Lake Victoria, 1902-8. Government authorities aggressively fought the disease through forcible evacuations and resettlement.

According to Prince William injections of arsenic helped for a time, but then:

"The patient swells up more and more during the treatment, but he does not get better. Finally the last stage arrives inexorably and the patient becomes indifferent to everything and grows so thin that his body is literally a skeleton covered with a little shrunken skin. You can count every joint and bone. It is a ghastly sight and you would think that these poor skeletons would rather be allowed to die than be forced by artificial means to prolong a useless and painful life. For the disease may run for many years before it finally puts its victim to sleep for ever."

Safaris went via Kanungu, Kihihi and Ishasha through the Marambagambo forest; which had been allowed to revert to the wild – it is now Queen Elizabeth National Park. Bill Church described the route, which he took on motorbike in 1923. At Kihihi village the road ended and trails began. The bike had to be carried by 15 men down one rocky hillside and pushed up another by three. The descent from Soko Mountains (8,000' – 2,440m) to Lake Edward was by compass through swamps that often flooded the engine. He arrived at a fishing village where he was told that Sharp's camp was another 8 miles (12.5km); a guide ran ahead of bike to the lake-side spot where the whole Sharp family were camping. The journey took about 1½ days.

The doctors often shot game animals for meat for their porters but also as presents to chiefs. They also killed lions and leopards in self-protection and at the request of villages that were being terrorised by raiding predators. Buffalo, elephants and wild pigs often caused havoc in the fields. This was a dangerous business as clean kills were rare. Tracking wounded leopards, buffalo and elephants who risked all in one last charge could easily result in death or injury to the hunters.

In the meantime doctors tended those injured by wild animals in Kabire hospital or in the field; especially Bahima herdsmen who often had to protect their cattle from marauding lions often with no more than a stout branch. Local dispensaries made safaris redundant by 1935. Injuries declined with the destruction of forests, increase of farm and pasture land, and resettlement schemes from the 1940s; all of which resulted in major wildlife population declines.

Kabira Hospital

The CMS hospital at Kabira was built from scratch as there was no previous expertise in the area. All construction was preceded by training craftsmen and manufacture of building materials. Dr. Sharp started a sun-dried brick industry for hospital construction and collected papyrus for

the roof. The first building had 12 beds but then expanded to 50 when the hospital was officially opened in 1922. In 1923 there were 73 beds for men, 40 for women; in that year they had 705 inpatients and conducted 181 operations.

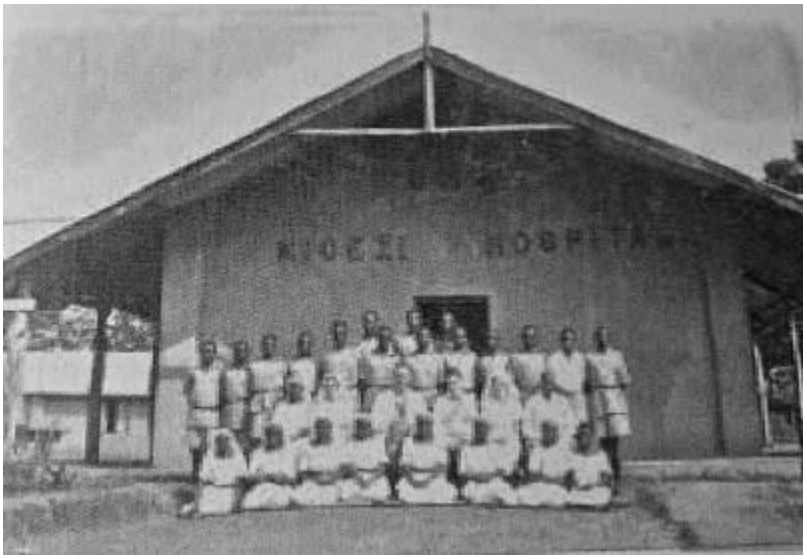

Figure 38 Hospital, 1932; the orderlies include Batwa

In 1925 disaster struck when the men's block was struck by lightning, which started a fire with flames 60' high. It was evacuated but, despite best efforts it spread to the 2nd ward with serious cases that had to be carried or crawled out. It cost £400-500 to repair and another £1000 to make whole hospital safe by replacing the papyrus roof with non-inflammable material.

In the late 1920s there were five blocks and smaller houses for nurses, patients and those with leprosy. The administration block had matron's room, consulting room, pathological laboratory, operating theatre and sterilising room. Wards were divided by gender; there were two male blocks while the women's block had a midwifery section. The Dispensary block dealt with outpatients, with food and drug stores. Overall it cost £1,500. By 1930 there were European and Indian wards, the latter were generously sponsored by the local Indian merchant community.

Figure 39 Ward, 1930s

Constance Watney, the first matron with 15 years experience in Mengo hospital, was forced to retire due to illness in 1923; she also assisted in the government dispensary. She was replaced by Beatrice Martin, who later went to Bwama Leprosy Settlement, and Constance Hornby. Most hospital staff were local with three nurses and women orderlies. The latter included Batwa; it seems to have been Dr. Sharp's specific policy, perhaps part of the colonial plan of Batwa pacification.

Erisa Mathias was the mainstay. A Bugandan ("You know for a Muganda to eat potatoes and feel the cold is a terrible thing"), he was originally a patient of Dr. Sharp in Mwanza, Tanganyika, in 1916. He trained in Mengo, was in the Uganda Native Medical Corps, joined Kabale Hospital soon after it opened and served for 20 years. He was the first medical dresser and later became acting matron when doctors were on safari; he gave anaesthetics, dispensed drugs and distributed food.

In 1933 the hospital's founders went to Rwanda and Burundi and there place was taken by Drs. T. Goodchild and L. Symonds. Many nurses came from England as assistants in the hospital, Bwama Island and the most important dispensaries. By 1932, 10,000 people had been treated as out-patients for either illness or injury; there were many casualties from lions, leopards and boars.

According to CMS philosophy missionary activities could be likened to a three-legged stool, evangelisation, health and education and that a proper balance needed to struck between them. During the Revival the emphasis changed to conversion. From the 1930s the primary purpose was the evangelisation of the 'heathen', via religious classes and literacy. In hospital the patients were a captive audience and regularly visited by local evangelicals. This wasn't easy as many rejected the teachings but may have been too wary of being thrown out of hospital for saying no directly.

Perhaps the following 'doubting Thomas', answering a question with a question, is typical (Ratcliffe, 1936):

It takes a good deal of time and patience teaching even the simplest principles. After a native instructor had told one of his patients for many days, at least a hundred times, that "Jesus died to save sinners", he asked his pupil
"Why did Jesus die?"
and was met by a blank stare and this answer
"How do we know?"

In 1930 the Protectorate opened their own hospital in Kabale and the CMS decided to close their own hospital and re-allocate their war-time restricted resources elsewhere. By 1940 it officially closed with the exception of outpatients and emergencies. This was an unpopular move and, under the direction of Dr. Sharp who had returned in 1941, a new location was sought and the abandoned flax factory at Kisiizi was chosen in 1955.

There followed three years of negotiations with the government who were first reluctant to hand it over; they preferred a viable employment-creation and tax-paying alternative. In 1958 the hospital was finally opened, with its own hydroelectric power from the 90' Omukinyata Falls, under Dr. John Sharp, the son of Dr. Leonard Sharp, who had grown up in the region.

Figure 40 Drs. Sharp, father and son, making the first measurements

In 1960, two wards with 24 beds was opened and later were added an operation theatre, labour ward, sterilising rooms, doctor's rooms and various support rooms. Unfortunately Dr. Sharp was diagnosed with a brain tumour in 1966 and died soon after in the UK. This was not the end of their problems; during the 2nd Obote presidency, he threatened to close the hospital as he claimed it was treating rebels. In 1985, when there was military action at Katonga Bridge, they were forced to get supplies from Rwanda.

In 1989 a primary school was opened and as a result of the spread of the HIV they started a child-sponsorship scheme in 1995 and an orphan sponsorship scheme in 1998. In the latter year a school of nursing was opened while partnerships with the Countess of Chester Hospital and Chester University were developed in 2008.

A rehab unit for children with cerebral palsy has also commenced. In the meantime the hydropower facility had been modernised and provides electricity to the hospital and surrounding areas since 2009 and it is planned to connect it to the national grid. A landslide damaged the system in May 2010, which has been since repaired.

The demand for electives by medical students and other health care professionals is high and should be booked one year in advance.

Kabale Hospital

In 1930 a new government hospital was completed with one ward block, out patients, administration, dressers and nurse’s quarters, laundry, kitchen and post mortem room. Statistics for the hospital, dispensaries and CMS hospital are regularly given in the district annual reports.

| 1930 | New Inpatients | New Outpatients | Returnees |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kabale Hospital | 688 | 7,292 | 14,943 |
| Mpalo | 502 | 2,788 | 2,580 |
| Rukungiri | 393 | 1,479 | 2,483 |
| Kinkiizi | 458 | 2,016 | 6,042 |
| Kisoro | 308 | 2,020 | 7,190 |
| CMS | 859 | 12,179 | |

The CMS conducted 315 operations.

| 1931 | New Inpatients | Total | Daily Average |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kabale Hospital | 809 | 34,788 | 120 |
| Mpalo | | 19,775 | 54 |
| Rukungiri | | 19,560 | 54 |
| Kinkiizi | | 15,979 | 44 |
| Kisoro | | 21,328 | 59 |

CMS statistics were cured 807, improved 185, unimproved 29, died 20, new outpatients 6,350, returning outpatients 4,065, major operations 131 and minor operations 205.

The most common problems in the government hospital were tertiary syphilis, respiratory complaints, rheumatism, scabies and injuries. Tick fever was uncommon but needed control due to three deaths.

St. Francis hospital, Mutolere, Kisoro
The hospital was founded by the Roman Catholic Franciscan sisters of Breda in 1957. The first doctor was Dr. Rochus, Germany; he was followed by Drs. Ruppen, Moll, Boot, Ndagijimana, Neijzen, Houghton, Eichhorn, Rodermond and Kamuzinzi over the two decades. Originally there was only a dispensary and convent. Over the next 10 years a theatre, x-ray block, main hospital building, staff hostels, maternity unit, laundry and workshop were built.

During Idi Amin's rule, when there was total breakdown in health care delivery and other social services, the hospital continued to expand with construction of more staff hostels, extension of the laundry and construction of the mortuary. By 1983, the hospital had 181 beds and offered a wide range of services. Today (2012) it has 210 beds and offers curative, preventive and health promotion services. It offers the Uganda National Minimum Health Care Package as per the Health Sector Strategic Plan II.

Though graded as a general hospital Mutolere offers referral and specialised services for the district and beyond, including neighbouring Rwanda and the DR Congo. In 1994, the hospital management was transferred to a team of senior members of staff. It belongs to the Registered Trustees of Kabale Diocese. The Board of Governors is the policy making body and is answerable to the Board of Trustees, answerable to the Bishop of Kabale.

Selected Sources
Kigezi District Annual Reports

CMS publications
Kisiizi and Mutolere Hospital websites

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Chapter 2.12

## Migration and Resettlement

### Migration in Colonial Times

The Kigezi people have been migrating since the arrival of the English when the district was incorporated into the Protectorate; they probably continued previous migratory practices. The main influence in the early 20th C was the need to pay tax but as the value of money was appreciated it was also used for bride price, land purchase and rentals, livestock and agricultural inputs and tools, school fees and remittances.

In the 1920s there were many opportunities in Buganda and central Uganda on cotton plantations, government contracts and mines in Ankole. A road count in Buganda in 1924 showed that 65% were from the Western Province and a survey of Kitozho in 1939 noted that 22% of males interviewed had worked in Buganda and this increased to 37% if those then away were included. The majority were away from between six months to three years.

In the 1940s and 1950s the most common places of work were cotton and coffee farms in Buganda, sugar plantations in Busoga, tea plantations and copper mines in Kilembe, Toro. It appears that migration was heavy, between 40-50% of the total male population, 30,000-40,000 people every year. Informal migration was the most common but the government set up a recruiting agency in Kabale in 1946 when 1,000 people were recruited for Busoga sugar plantations. They expanded to other sectors and peaked at 16,000 in 1955 before declining to 8-10,000 in the late 1950s.

It became an important rite of passage for many young men and while there are no estimates of the money brought back it was generally invested in land, livestock and marriage with the aim of setting up independent households. In the late 1960s it was estimated that 60,000 left annually for employment to the tea estates of Igara in Ankole and 2,000 in Toro tea estates, coffee, cotton, sugar estates in Buganda, Jinja industries. There were 3,000 in Kilembe copper mines (1957-79), according to mine management 99% of the workforce were Bakiga. The gender difference in Kigezi in the 1960s and 1970s was 87:100 and hasn't changed since.

[BOX] Post-War Wages and Work
A labourer's wages in 1939 was seven shillings a month and rose to 36 shillings a month by 1960. In the 1950s in Kilembe mines earnings were 36 shillings a month including food, while in

Buganda workers could earn 60-80 shillings a month and were able to grow their own cotton, which compared well with local wages of 19-25 shillings a month.

Another source of income was military service. In the aftermath of WW2 many soldiers returned only to face reintegration into their communities. In Uganda training of ex-soldiers was done locally by where emphasis was on rough village rather than semi-skilled craftsmen. It was believed that they would have more local employment in the villages; over-skilling would force migration for appropriate work. Courses covered carpentry, tanning, tailoring and pottery and were taught by semi-skilled locals.

It was planned that potters would travel around the district in teams and make earthenware mugs, jugs and dishes as an alternative to gourds. They carried portable wheels, presumably the kiln construction and firing was done on the spot. Tanners were to replace the normally untanned lice-infested goat skins with tanned shorts using local materials, lime from the local tile works, wattle from plantations and castor oil from the shambas. They were also to be an alternative to expensive imported 'drill'.

However it was one thing to teach a skill but getting the European work ethic across was another. The manager of the 'reabsorption scheme', talking about the carpenters, said

The trouble is that they'd rather sell one chair for 50/- and do nothing for the rest of the month, than turn out five chairs at for 10/- each.
[END BOX]

Modern Migration
After independence, the numbers of migrants declined particularly during the political instability of 1965-1986. Growing urban centres have since become a source of labour employment, particularly in newly formed district centres such as Kisoro and Kanungu where the construction of district offices, hospitals and other infrastructure is required. The planned division of Kabale into Kabale, Rukiga and Rubanda in 2013 will also create local employment, should the division go ahead; it depends on investment, grant-aid and support by central government.

Another factor is central government investment into the regions and districts, assisted by donor funding that provides various employment opportunities in infrastructural development. Rural-urban employment is now common as the divide between them has blurred within commuting distance of urban centres.

However labour migration has remained a popular option though little research of current trends has been carried out. The 2002 census returns for Kisoro and Kabale show they have the highest gender imbalance in Uganda, less than 90 men for every 100 women, but this only reflects the net amount of male migrants rather than the combined migration of men and women. Kampala no doubt is a major destination, while international employment combined with scholarships, in East and South Africa, Europe, North America and the Middle East is now an option.

The role of remittances also appear to have changed as small scale surveys indicate they are now mostly used for subsistence and running expenses rather than investment and is mostly sent by

the landless, seeking opportunities away from home. Obviously households of older people and headed by women receive more remittances but they are not necessarily the primary source of income. Among wealthier households, migrants tend to keep earnings for themselves.

## Resettlement

### The Plan

Due to fears of overpopulation in Kigezi in the 1940s schemes were developed to resettle local people in under-populated areas. The main influence was Purseglove who suggested that 20,000 (one-third of the population) should be resettled. He was supported by local chiefs and, in 1945, DC Mathias received a letter from Mr. Mukombe, saza chief of Ndwora, who suggested that there should be resettlement in 'vacant' places, malarial areas be sanitised and forest reserves be cleared to allow settlement. Not mentioned were land grants made to Europeans of estates for pyrethrum, though the government had planned that these should revert to local control after seven years.

Committees of chiefs and colonial officials, Mathias and Purseglove, made several visits in 1945 in north Kigezi and Ankole searching for suitable areas. After rejecting places that were unsuitable for highlanders they found an uninhabited area on an escarpment overlooking Lake Edward. It had been unsettled due to wildlife and its reputation of evil spirits. According to Elspeth Huxley who visited the area in 1946 and interviewed Purseglove and settlers:

“Game scouts shot buffalo for a meat dinner, and several parties looked out over the promised land from the shelter of a lone tree standing on a spur of a hill and called 'the dancing floor of the virgins'.”

However conflict arose between the chiefs and DC as the former wanted to settle in north Kigezi first while the DC preferred Ankole. Finally, after much debate, the Governor, Sir John Hall, found for the chiefs.

It was agreed that all settlement should be voluntary but be limited to those who were serious. Transport and food for six months was provided, no taxes were to be paid for two years, and the government would build houses, hospitals, schools, roads and bore holes. Finally those who left were able to leave their lands with relatives but were forbidden to sell land to non-Kigezi people.

There was considerable resistance in the beginning as people did not want to move plus there was rumours and misinformation that made people wary. However continuing public meetings extolling the scheme's virtues over the next year and restating the problems that people faced with overpopulation and decline in agricultural productivity finally convinced 100 people to visit Kinkiizi and Rujumbura in April 1946 when 51 obtained land followed by a further two visits in June when a further 52 and 89 people claimed land.

The settlers were cautious and implemented their own test for the area's suitability, according to Huxley:

“The first action of the pioneers was to build a small round cage in the bush for their chickens. These folk use poultry as a man exploring underground will use a flame: if the birds flourish all is well, but if they die it means that malign forces are about.

“It was extremely lucky for us,” said Mr. Purseglove, “that those chickens did well. If anything happened to them, the whole scheme might have flopped.”

The good news spread and by 1949 about 1,500 people had migrated to Kambuga and Bugangari at a cost of £2,000. This settlement became known as New Rukiga instead of Rwanga and Butumbi (what happened to the original Banyabatumbi is unknown since the original inhabitants are rarely referred to) but was then replaced by Kihiihi; other local place names have also made a comeback.

The Claims

The process of claiming land was ad hoc; a settler would mark a tree with his initials and date while clearing some bush and building a hut. They were assisted by local Banyasi chiefs who would ensure previously occupied land was not interfered with.

Originally the government built huts for the new settlers until they had built their own, fed them until the first harvests, provided free transport and employed scouts to shoot buffalo and pigs. Locals were at first cautious and made chicken cages and waited to see if they thrived or died due to malign spirits, the latter would have caused abandonment of the plots and collapse of the scheme. According to Purseglove

“If we had bothered them with a lot of rules and regulations they would have turned against the scheme. So we made only two rules: that they must cultivate along the contour, and that they must dig pit latrines. The rest can follow later: next year strip cropping will be brought in.”

Settlers interviewed by Huxley in 1946 were positive:

“They were pleased, they said, with the land. Work was hard but you could see the profit, and there was plenty of firewood and good clear springs; but they missed their cattle and feared lest their children get malaria. Cattle cannot be brought in because the gulleys are full of tsetse, but when the bush is cleared they are expected to go. The game has already gone to the plains below.

Walking back to the car we passed a party of young men preparing for a wild pig hunt with spears, knives and a rabble of sad-looking dogs. Everyone was friendly and in high spirits, but an English-speaking ex-teacher who has been put in charge of this resettlement inquired: “Is this for the benefit for the African or European?” The answer seemed obvious and I said so. The young man looked dubious, and added: “The people know this is their country, and they do not want anyone to take it from them”.

Plot sizes varied and, while 12 acres was recommended, there was no real control and that, in 1951, they were found to be over 25 acres on average. It appears that some chiefs used the opportunity to claim land, including Ngologoza who freely admits obtaining land in Ruhinda and yet there is no evidence that he or any others ever settled there. In 1951 the PAO noted that the

amount of land available was reduced due to “land grabbing by people of influence” and Purseglove noted a problem with absentee landlords. From 1955 colonial authorities tried to limit plots to 10 acres but this was resisted.

There is a small amount of evidence to suggest that some of the migration may have been involuntary and that pressure was applied by chiefs and some family heads. Some chiefs were told to “instruct people who have less than 10-20 shambas” settle; however there is only one recorded complaint surviving from one farmer who already had local land. There may have also been a policy among chiefs to send people with criminal records to be resettled and the DC ordered that nobody with a record should be sent without prior approval of the chiefs of resettlement areas.

Meanwhile many migrants moved without government assistance, an estimated 2,500 by 1946. Cash crops, tea, coffee and tobacco, were introduced and became successful and led to a tobacco factory in Bugangari in 1953 and a tea factory in Kayonza by 1960; the latter is still going strong.

Settler Problems

Settlers faced a number of problems. Firstly wild animals had to be cleared and askaris were sent to kill the elephants, deer, monkeys and wild pigs that were threatening crops. Later the numbers of game guards increased and wild animals were killed in 'great numbers' and game reserves were made over to settlement. The government also faced problems in providing food aid, one district official complained in 1949 that he only received money for seven tons for one month but he needed three tons a week.

Because people were now living at lower altitudes they were more vulnerable to malaria and many died as a result and others were forced to abandon their settlements due to constant fevers. Barrenness among women became a problem and new born suffered from various ailments including protruding stomachs and pneumonia.

Resettlement was suspended for most of 1948. The government sent DDT spraying teams in 1959-60 (who sprayed twice a year thereafter) that also killed snakes, rats, insects plus animals that ate dead bodies but how long it took for the mosquitoes to develop resistance and the people to develop immunities is not known. DDT was still being tested in Kigezi and Mbarara in the mid-1960s and has made a controversial comeback in northern Uganda in recent years.

Ankole and Toro

Notwithstanding various teething problems, such was the popularity of the scheme, that people were then settled in Ankole from 1950 primarily in Bisheshe, Kati (including Nyakyera, Bukari, Bigodi and Nyabubaare yo Muhungye bordering the Imaramagambo forest where more rhinoceros, elephants, deer, monkeys and wild pigs were killed in large numbers), Bugambe and Kikagati.

The latter two areas later attracted large numbers of free settlers who claimed land in the north and east while a settlement was also founded in nearby Gayaza. Other areas included Bahweju, Mitooma, Ibanda, Bunyaruguru, Shema, Kashaari, and Rubaya. They had the support of the

Omugabe of Ankole who appreciated the large numbers of new settlers because they developed new land and increased tax revenues.

Next the Toro kingdom, with the full support of the Omukama of Toro, was settled from 1955 primarily in Bigodi and Nkongora in Kibare County, it also received a number of free settlers north of the main settlement area.

With regards to total immigration until 1960, Ngologoza's figures are contradictory but he says that 59,605 received assistance in north Kigezi (this may include unassisted settlers) and that 42,108 migrants were taken in government trucks in and outside Kigezi. The total cost of resettlement, 1946-60, was £181,556. The total amount of settlers to north Kigezi, Ankole and Toro has never been calculated but may have been three to four times the original target of 20,000.

Post Independence Resettlement

Resettlement schemes continued after independence when the district governments of Kigezi and Bunyoro and the national government agreed upon the Kagadi or Ruteete Resettlement Scheme in 1973, when 100 square miles was set aside for unemployed Bakiga tea workers from Toro in Buyaga County. Similarly, in 1992 Bakiga squatters from Kabaraole district were resettled on 100 square miles in Bugangaizi County. In both cases the settlers encouraged relatives from Kigezi to migrate north in order to buy and settle land in Kibaale.

The result of this ongoing migration of Bakiga to Kibaale over the course of the 1990s meant that the population increased from 220,300 to 413,000 between 1991 and 2002, an average annual increase of nearly 6%. Originally, the resettlement schemes were welcomed by both parties. The Bakiga were happy to receive land, while the Banyoro were happy to allow the Bakiga to settle in between them and bush forest areas, thereby protecting Banyoro farms from wild animals (no doubt to the detriment of the wildlife who had survived previous mass culls).

Kibaale was then under-populated and under-developed during the colonial period due to the large numbers of Banyoro killed in the war between Bunyoro and the English in the late 19th century and its isolation from major transportation and commercial hubs. It was ideally suited for new settlers.

Their Impact

The overall effect of these schemes is debatable. In the beginning it was seen as a safety valve, i.e. if it had not had happened, according to Ngologoza,

“The people would have been in great trouble, killing one another for food, failing to find land for cash crops, unable to pay taxes or school fees, and too poor to build good houses or wear good clothes.”

However others disagree especially given the fact that population has increased significantly since then and no apocalyptic famine or disaster has (so far) happened in Kigezi. It is also argued that the schemes encouraged continued population growth.

While from the Bakiga perspective these schemes were successful in that they now had more land than they would ever have had at home there have been several unintended negative consequences that are ongoing. The first is the relationship between them and their host communities due to the common problem of cultural identity versus integration and the second reflected the changing situation of women within the new settlement areas.

This developed into a major problem in Kibaale where the local Banyoro and Batoro resented the fact that the Bakiga received land and other incentives when they didn't. Relationships between the two groups were at first cordial but problems arose in the political arena when Robert Kakooza, a Mukiga, was elected MP for Buyaga County in 1996; he was replaced by Ignatius Musisira, a Munyoro, in the 2001 election.

Actual conflict began with the election of Fred Ruremera, a Mukiga, as District Chairman (the most important political office in the district and source of local patronage) over the incumbent Munyoro Sebastian Ssekitolekko in early 2002. The Mubende Banyoro Committee (founded in 1921 to resist Bugandan rule), which was reactivated in response to Ruremera's campaign the previous year, launched a campaign that reportedly included hate speech on local radio.

Violence broke out after the election; several Bakiga were murdered by Banyoro extremists and others were threatened with expulsion from the district; Anti-riot police had to be deployed. President Museveni responded with his first-ever use of clause 202 of the 1995 Constitution of Uganda, which allowed him to take over a district in exceptional circumstances, and replaced Ruremera with George Namyaka, a compromise candidate and native Munyoro, in order to calm the situation. Meanwhile the extremists went unpunished.

This was not limited to Kibaale as the resettlement of Bakiga in Ankole in the 1950s was unpopular with some local leaders, who at one point threatened to block any further immigration from the south-west. Later there were reported rising tensions between Banyoro and Bakiga living around Kibaale National Park in Kabarole district.

In Hoima district a number of Bakiga migrants were evicted from their land in 2002; some 160 of these later camped outside the Uganda Parliament in protest before being settled temporarily in a sports stadium in Kampala. When the government then attempted to permanently resettle them in Kiboga district violent protests there led to the decision to relocate them in Mubende district.

In another development several thousand Bakiga who had settled in Mpokya forest reserve, Kamwenge, were evicted and resettled in Kibaale in 1992. A court found the eviction to be illegal in 1999 and awarded Ush13million @ 6% annual interest. Payments were halted in 2009 by Museveni and it was alleged that this was due to Mable Bakeine incorrectly advising Museveni; however he refuted this saying it was due to the fact that the fund was being administered by Rudayimera Ruranga of the FDC, which they denied. Another court case regarding 3,000 Bakiga, not part of the original court award, is currently going through the system.

In the 2006 general election, when two Bakiga MPs, Mable Bakaine and Barnabas Tinkasilimire, were elected, three Bakiga were murdered and houses were burnt in the Bakiga village of Kasenyi; though there was violence from extremists of both sides that led to the arrest of 24 persons. Some Banyoro activists demanded the MPs resign saying they did not wish to be represented by Bakiga but they refused stating it was their constitutional right to be MPs. A reconciliation committee under Tinkasilimire was subsequently set up.

In late 2010 there was a complete reorganisation of constituencies, districts, counties and parishes, which seems to have solved the problem for the moment, no doubt assisted by extra riot police assigned to Kibaale. There was no violence during the 2011 elections; it was a clean sweep by the NRM. In the meantime George Namyaka was re-elected LC5 chairman in 2006 and 2011; his latter victory was disputed unsuccessfully by the loser, Bert. Besisira.

Current Issues

It is worth noting that these ethnic groups had no previous history of conflict but the resentment built up over the preferential treatment of the Bakiga appears to have led to the problems. Though it has to be added that the Bakiga have the reputation of being hard fighters and their neighbours were very suspicious of and reluctant to enter into relationships that involved blood brotherhood and mutual defence pacts.

The New Vision newspaper, commenting on the situation, wrote:

“The problem in Kibaale represents the challenge of nationhood in many African countries where nationality and citizenship is still influenced by nativism. It is an irony that a Ugandan who leaves his or her native district becomes a foreigner in a neighbouring district.”

The issue of how a Ugandan becomes a foreigner in his own country is complex but revolves around tribal (Uganda and Kenya) versus national (Tanzania) philosophies, both of which are colonial legacies, see Mahmood Mandami's lecture to the East African Legislative Assembly, June 30th 2011 for a detailed analysis. The Bakiga were equated with the Buganda who had been granted these areas as a result of colonial politics (returned to the Banyoro in a 1964 referendum, though Buganda landlords still own significant amounts of land). According to Green:

“The shift to a residence-based system of rights (via eligibility to vote in elections) has merely meant that ethnic conflicts have been reframed rather than removed: whereas in the past rural political contestation took place between groups distinguished by tribe or ethnicity, it now takes place between groups claiming indigeneity over local political jurisdictions.”

Issues of Migrant Women

The second issue of the impact of resettlement on the lives of women has been marked. In the traditional compound (orugo) all the houses (enju) of the various wives in polygamous households were together. In the new schemes it was the practice for a farmer to only move with one wife to one plot and the other wives he already had or subsequently married would reside on plots in different locations.

This could cause fragmentation of relationships and increased insecurity among women who were isolated from their own traditional family and social networks. They tended to become more reliant on outside organisations of which, among the Catholics, the church and Legion of Mary was most common in the early days though others such as the Pentecostal churches and Movement for the Restoration of the Ten Commandments of God (MRTC) became popular; the latter became notorious due to its responsibility for the Kanungu tragedy in 2000.

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Chapter 2.13

## Independence

### Uganda from Independence in 1962

It is not the purpose here to explore the events between independence in 1962 (Uganda became a republic in 1963) and 1986 within the local context; much of it is still too close for any objective analysis.

Due to its particular circumstances Uganda did not have a strong man or charismatic leader such as Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya or Julius Nyere of Tanzania but from the 1960s onwards was dominated by sectarian and ethnic divisions that led to dictatorship, loss of democracy and major abuses of civil rights particularly under Idi Amin.

Peace finally came to southern Uganda in 1986 (but not the north where the LRA fought a merciless war of resistance till the mid 1990s) with the victory of the NRA and subsequent rule of the NRM, though, the often divisive debate, of the best methods of political organisation and governance continue.

What follows is an eclectic mix of topics: Politics and Government in the late 1960s, Local Government issues from the mid-1980s, an analysis of the most recent 2002 census and current population issues.

## Politics up to the late 1960s

In 1946 Kigezi District Council was set up, its first chairman was Mukimbe, saza chief of Ndorwa. It originally had 46 members but grew to 61 by 1952 and they were chosen by the DC in consultation with the saza chiefs. In 1959 it was decided to set up an Appointments Board who would be responsible for the appointment of chiefs, clerks and askaris.

## Local Government

The Council demanded the right to elect the Board's leadership and thus gain control over it. This led to conflict, arson, and bad feeling but they got their way in 1960. In the meantime local politics became factional, council elections were sometimes fraught with violence such as in Maziba and Kashambya, and the religious-political divide between Anglicans and Catholics became more pronounced.

The post of Secretary General was instituted in 1946 and Paul Ngologoza was chosen by the DC in consultation with the Saza chiefs and local government and was reappointed in 1952. In 1956 it became an elective office chosen by the district councillors and F. Kitaburaza, saza chief of Rujumbura, was elected. In 1961 the system changed again and the Appointments Board chose the new Secretary, K. Kikiira.

After Independence the power was given back to the District Council who elected Mr. Bitwari in 1964. He was succeeded Mr. Mukombe Mpambaara in 1965 but due to a factional dispute over the appointment of an Administrative Secretary, he was transferred by promotion to chair the National Trading Corporation. He was replaced by J. Bitunguramye who was elected in 1969.

Meanwhile the chair of the District Council was also disputed between H. Bitakaramire, the Minister of Regional Affair's choice, and J. W. Rwagalla, the councillor's choice. It ended in a farcical situation where the two competed for the actual chair while the council members prayed for guidance. The former won while the Rwagalla, a large and heavy man, ended up sitting on his lap. As neither gave way the DC and OC, respecting the Minister's choice, forcibly ejected Rwagalla; this caused a riot and one councillor, Mr. Zendeire, was arrested.

There were further complicated political manoeuvres and the councillors then appealed to President who abided by their choice and Rwagalla replaced Bitakaramire six months later. However due to new legislation that barred teachers being involved in politics Rwagalla resigned in 1967.

## The Shield of Kigezi

In late 1964 a new position was created, Rutakirwa Engabo Ya Kigezi (The Shield of Kigezi), which was a constitutional role as head of the district but only lasted until 1968, when changes in the constitution abolished kings, kingdoms and other such roles came into effect.

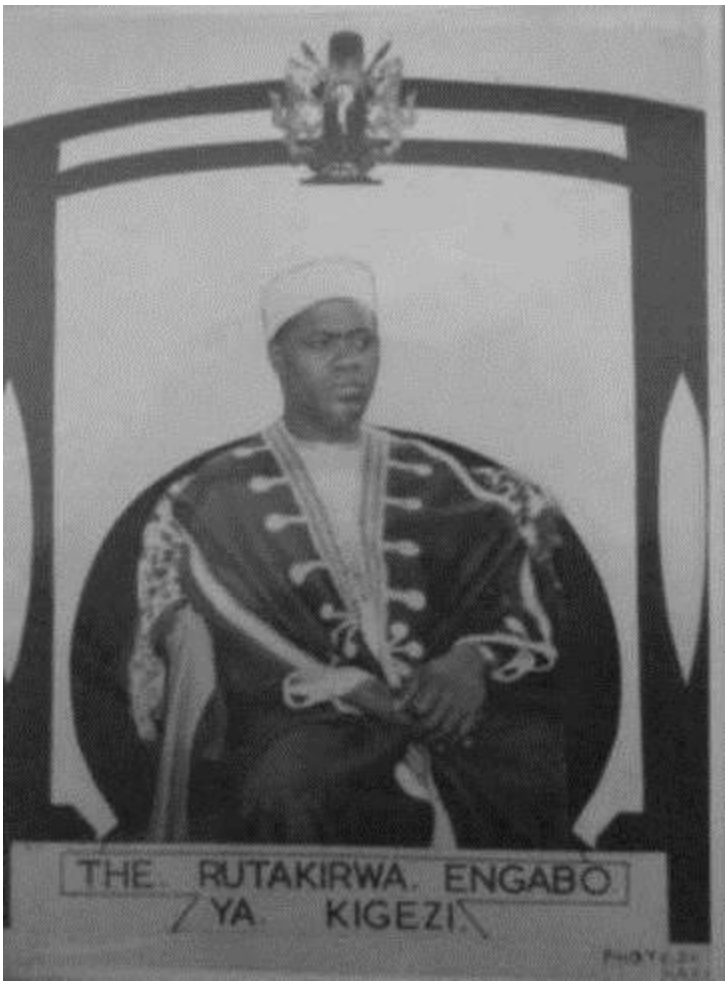

Figure 41 John Bikangaga: Shield of Kigezi

The first and only holder of this office was John Bikangaga, a school teacher, headmaster of Kigezi High School, backbencher of the Legislative Council of Uganda, Chairman of the Appointments Board and Deputy Chairman of Public Service Commission. He said he did not know why the Bakiga wanted him to rule when they had always been 'republicans' and more independently minded than those Ugandans who had kings; however he accepted the challenges.

He was widely respected for his impartiality but the honeymoon came to an end when he decided to run as Regional Chairman of the UPC. The other candidate was John W. Lwamafa, who had been acting headmaster when Bikangaga had been in England for further studies, the outgoing regional chairman and a government minister of Regional Administration. This led to considerable factional disputes with the UPC Youth Wing being firmly on Bikangaga's side.

Complicating the issue was the election of Mr. Bitware as Secretary General; he was associated with the Lwamefe faction. His celebrations did not go down well as they were seen as insulting to Bikangaga by the Youth Wing who wrote a strong letter of protest. A rejoinder came from J. B. Kwesiga, student of politics in Makerere that was largely ignored. A widely circulated anonymous circular of early 1965 criticised the Lwamefe faction for among other things that

they had slaughtered a cow that belonged to the Rutakirwa, they thus became nicknamed Banyama (meat eaters) while their opponents became the Baboga (vegetable eaters).

These events are covered in detail by Kabuga in A History of Kigezi. What is interesting that its publication in 1972 was just after the Idi Amin coup against Obote when Ugandan people were still hopeful that it was a change for the better; Kabuga wrote:

“It can therefore be argued that the ushering in of the Second Republic saved Kigezi from immanent bitterness. The coup cooled the heat of election fever.”

Unfortunately these hopes were dashed as the country was dragged into the mire of Amin's dictatorship.

A Historian in the 1970s

One sidelight on the problems of the historian in the 1970s comes from Benoni Turyahikayo-Rugyema (a Mukiga) who relates that a car he had purchased to conduct research interviews was commandeered by the army during the invasion of Mbarara in September 1972 and subsequently wrecked.

He was unable to conduct as many interviews as he wished due to the suspicion that he was a government agent out to collect incriminating evidence. Many Christians refused to talk about the Emandwa and Nyabingi as they were from the 'pagan' past.

Local Government from the mid-1980s

One of the most successful methods of governance under the NRA/NRM was the introduction of Revolutionary Councils before 1986, formalised in 1986, and renamed Local Councils in the 1995 Constitution that brought democracy to the grassroots. However it is not working as designed because elections should be held every four years but the last elections for levels one and two were held nine years ago, and, as a result, local councils have lost many members through death and retirement and are undermanned and ineffective.

Councils traditionally were responsible for village security, land disputes, domestic and family problems and other local issues; these are now handled by the police. Elections are expensive as colour photos of all candidates on the voting papers for all councils have to be printed and, so far, Central Government has not allocated funds though a budget proposal for elections in 2012 is to be considered. Some government ministers believe that the money would be better spent on development.

A previous government proposal to elect councils, using a cheaper merit system, was blocked by the courts, on application by opposition parties, as it reflected earlier Movement no-party instead of multiparty political organisation. A further complication is the continuous creation of new districts, the number has doubled since 1986 and three new districts in Kigezi, Rukiga, Runanda and Kihiihi, are in the pipeline.

Meanwhile level three and upwards are functioning normally though there are some legal problems relating to elected individuals who later crossed party lines or became independent

without first resigning. Central government is to investigate whether levels two or four should be abolished due to its belief that they are ineffective and redundant. Most work is being done by levels one and five according to the Minister for Local Government of the previous administration, though it is argued by the opposition that this is due to lack of adequate funding.

Local council leaders also argue that they are still relevant as they create employment, assist in mobilisation and reconciliation, offer an appeal process, prevent illegal land grabbing and offer grassroots leadership and democracy. The debate concerning the role, funding and central governmental support of these local democratic institutions has some way to go.

Another specifically Ugandan problem is that newly elected councillors and chairpersons feel the need to completely refurnish their offices and use witch doctors to purify their work space. This is due to the practice of leaving items of ill-luck and evil, provided by other witch doctors, hidden in the furniture by defeated candidates. It was a popular media story after the 2011 election.

Kigezi Population Issues in Current Times

The most recent statistics come from 2002 census district reports, now 10 years out of date, and recent local government publications.

Ethnic Identities

Comparative Percentages of Ethnic Identification in Kabale, Kisoro, Kanungu, Rukengiri and Ntungamo according to the 2002 district census returns

| Ethnicity | Kab | Kis | Kan | Ruk | Ntu |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bakiga | 96 | 11 | 88 | 46 | 12 |
| Bafumbira | 1 | 87 | 6 | - | - |
| Banyankole | 1 | - | - | 5 | 83 |
| Bahororo | 1 | - | 4 | 48 | 1 |
| Banyrwanda | 1 | - | - | - | 2 |
| Others | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |

African Migration

The numbers from other African countries is very small, between over 200 and less than 1,700 per district. The following gives the percentage breakdown by nationality in each district. Note that migrants from the DR Congo and Rwanda have fluctuated considerably over the last 20 years due to wars in those two countries, creating many refugees. The latest cycle of warfare in the DR Congo has resulted in a new wave of refugees with 10,000 in camps in Kisoro and Mbarara by mid 2012.

| Nationality | Kab | Kis | Kan | Ruk | Ntu |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DRC | 4 | 41 | 84 | 47 | 5 |
| Rwanda | 83 | 56 | 11 | 42 | 71 |
| Tanzania | 4 | - | - | - | 12 |
| Others | 9 | 3 | 5 | 11 | 13 |

Population density
Changes in Population Density (PD) in Kigezi, 1921-2002 (persons/km2) from Bolwig 2002

| Year | PD in Kigezi District | PD in Kigezi Highlands | PD in Uganda |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1921 | 39 | NA | |
| 1931 | 43 | NA | |
| 1948 | 76 | 139 | |
| 1959 | 94 | NA | |
| 1969 | 122 | 164 | 48 |
| 1980 | 141 | 185 | 64 |
| 1991 | 187 | 246 | 85 |
| 2002 | 295 | 392 | 114 |
| 2010 | 386 | 518 | 138 (projected) |

Census Issues
Note that recorded gender differences maybe skewed due to high levels of male migrant workers between the ages of 20 and 50. This difference dates back to the 1920s when men migrated for work to pay taxes and has been a factor since; for instance in 1969 there were 87 men for every 100 women in Kigezi district. Some of the census figures are over-simplistic, for instance the percentage of those dependent on subsistence farming is high but does not refer to other household incomes.

The marital status percentages are also ambiguous as it not clear whether informal unions (okweshagara) that have not been registered, usually because they are cheaper and don't involve bride price, are included. Sometimes a man has one formal marriage (okuhingira) but one, or more, wife (wives) or girlfriend(s); sometimes these women are in different locations (i.e. town and country wives) and don't necessarily know of each other's existence. Many do; during the 2011 inauguration of councillors in neighbouring Ntungamo, one took his oath of office accompanied by eight celebrating wives (It was locally believed that if he could look after eight wives he could look after them and so he topped the poll and became chairman).

The Ugandan Context
Worth noting is the high level of population increase in Uganda. According to a 2011 East African conference entitled Repositioning Family Planning and Reproductive Health held in Munyonyo, Kenya, only 24% of the Ugandan population use family planning compared to 50% in East Africa; the unmet need is calculated at 41%. Currently the government only supports family planning in urban areas but 85% of the population is rural. Before the introduction of the 1995 Population Policy only married women could obtain contraceptives and only with permission of their husband.

There has been no change in the fertility rate of c. 7.0 between 1969 and 2002; a different calculation has 187:1,000 in 1962 when the population was 6.845 million. Uganda has the 3rd highest growth rate worldwide, the current population projection for 2050 is 93 million. The maternal mortality rate is 435:100,000 (506 in 1995) or 6,000 women every year (14 a day) are dying from pregnancy-related causes. About 80% of women have home births and the midwife shortfall is 2,000. Child mortality (under 5) is 130:1,000 with malaria the main cause of death at

80,000 a year. On independence in 1962 child mortality was estimated at 160:1,000, so not much change since then.

This is believed to be due to inadequate funding, religious prohibitions, traditional beliefs in large families and lack of political will. With regards the last there appears to be some contradictions in the NRM, President Museveni has consistently supported population growth, welcoming the news in 2005 that Uganda's population had doubled since he came to power twenty years ago:

"Among the Banyankore (his ethnic group), when you praise somebody you say 'I wish you many children', I am happy that I have implemented the Banyankore philosophy."

The conference noted that every dollar invested in family planning saves three on health and education, which could be invested in infrastructure, implementation of the MDGs and generally improving the quality of life.

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## Chapter 2.14

## Modern Land Issues

### Introduction

According to Mahmood Mamdani (East African Legislative Assembly, 30th June 2011) there are two conflicting methods of land ownership and land use rights, freehold and customary tenure. Freehold is of European origin and treats land as a commodity but ignores security of tenure of existing farmers who may have tilled the land for generations. Farm workers became commodities and, when not needed, went to unsettled land in the colonies or urban centres.

Freehold land ownership in Europe became the prerogative of the wealthy urban elite by where small minorities (c. 5%) gained control of most of the land. The most important document recognised by legal systems was the ownership title, which tended to disenfranchise subsistence farmers who were often illiterate and without the resources to challenge legal decisions or elite-controlled courts. Land registration offices solidified the process but over time have become (theoretically) available to all.

Customary Tenure

By contrast in Uganda, and other parts of Africa, customary tenure is the prevailing system of land ownership by where land and land use is vested in the community, however described. It is a colonial introduction that formalised existing land rights and gave security of tenure and prevented farmers being evicted. This has led to less migration to urban areas and allowed greater investment by rural communities into wealth creation through cash crops.

On the negative side this land receives less investment, a concern of agribusiness multinationals who wish to invest: though with mixed results for traditional land holders depending on whether profit or ethics are the main organisational ideology. Fragmentation also is a constraint. In general it is believed to encourage tribalism, which can have negative consequences for nation-building but there is no evidence of this in Kigezi.

After Independence, crown land was converted into public land though this had little local impact. The Public Lands Act, 1969, provided that no customary tenants could be evicted without consent and compensation was to be paid. The 1975 Land Reform Decree that primarily affected mailo land and abolished freehold, converting them into leaseholds, was never fully implemented.

The most significant legislation since has been the 1998 Land Act that seeks to transfer customary tenure to a uniform system of land tenure across the country. To this purpose each district should have a District Land Board, each parish a Land Committee and each sub-county a Land Tribunal. However this has proved to be overly ambitious as the administrative machinery and levels of qualified staff required investment that is far beyond reach of the Ugandan economy. The few government agencies that have been set up are over-ambitious, under-funded and under-staffed.

International Organisations and Land Law in Flux

There are conflicting governmental policies because they wish to maintain land security but are under pressure from international organisations (World Bank and IMF) to introduce freehold tenure. Mandami's arguments concerning the general situation in East Africa tend to be theoretical, but what happened in Kigezi did or does not follow the over-simplistic division of freehold and customary tenure. Now there is a mix of freehold and customary tenure with conflicting market forces, changeable legal interpretations and problems of implementation.

Partial funding for large-scale land reform was an inappropriate piece of aid by international donors. Far better to set up a few small pilot projects in different parts of Uganda to see what worked and what didn't work in different cultures. It would have been far more sensible to

develop an organisation on this basis rather than set up a complicated organisation that is underfunded, understaffed and has no legal or cultural framework. Administrators are forced to adopt top-down approaches by virtue of their job description and international ideological pressure, which are not necessarily appropriate.

In 2011 the media reported that the lands registry had two people to work on over 400,000 files from all over Uganda, while the valuation offices had four chairs and one computer for eight people. The files were in disorder and many have lost vital information, about 4,000 files were missing. Another evergreen issue is corruption by where officials connive with land-grabbers to dispose people of their land through the issue of fraudulent land titles. Another fraud is for officials to issue land ownership documents in others' names, often with mortgages and other liens removed.

In conclusion, to fundamentally change the structure of a country's property law without any study of Customary Law, its practices, applications and cultural variations in Uganda shows that neither the IMF, WB and other international institutions or the legislators and permanent secretaries of Uganda have thought the issues through.

The impacts of the complex legal situation, as it has evolved during the colonial period, and the resulting legal quagmire, chaos and confusion can be seen in Carswell's descriptions of the changes of ownership of swamp land and Kalengyere pyrethrum estate and Rutanda's article, Agrarian Struggles in the Judicial Domain, all of which deal with Kabale district, as well as the continuous newspaper coverage of property-related court cases.

A succinct conclusion comes from Judge Remy Kasule (New Vision 20th July 2011) who noted that:

“Therefore by neglecting the study, research, formulation and application of our Customary Laws we are depriving ourselves of deep knowledge of our social, cultural, economic and political origins, our values, norms and practices, the very foundation of our societies as Ugandans. The result is chaos.”

Traditional Land Practices in Kigezi

There were a number of traditional methods of getting land use rights, which primarily consisted of inheritance, but marriage into a family, blood brotherhood and working for a family for access were also important. This changed under colonialism with the ownership of rights becoming more legal and inheritance, sales and rents became more common, while blood brotherhood and working for access disappeared.

As a result chiefs supplanted lineages and clans in power for access to land. The increase of this process has diminished women's land rights as laws specifically only ever referred to men. Even though women can and do win court cases the implementation of judgements has been a problem in that men usually have greater power on the ground.

Rutanga has argued that land disputes, fraudulent land sales and trespass have become more common and reflect a basic disharmony and class struggle in Kigezi society, which, he states has the highest level of disputes and related homicides than anywhere else in Uganda.

The poor are at a major disadvantage due to the ability of the wealthy to bribe court officials and women, particularly from polygamous households, are at a disadvantage if their husbands attempt to throw them of their land or take their cattle. This is a major change; in pre-colonial Kigezi a husband could not dispossess a wife of her home. He theoretically wasn't allowed to take her cattle either but she had little redress if he did so without grown sons to protect her and their bride-price.

In the past the fragmented land holdings and use of customary law was the subject of unsuccessful colonial initiatives when they attempted to grant land titles and consolidate holdings. Fragmentation was seen as a function of inheritance patterns but was due to the wish of farmers to have a mix of properties of different soil types, altitudes and micro-climates to ensure the household's food security; their primary concern.

However the amount of investment nowadays, in terms of time and money, varies with the plots nearest to home receiving the most inputs while those further away were more likely to be fallow and, in extreme cases, abandoned. The introduction of land titles was a failure due to a lack of interest among farmers and the non-existence of investment in surveying, which was necessary to delineate property boundaries.

Rugarama, a Case Study

The recent land history of Rugarama is an example of settlement change and composition, typical of Kigezi.

An analysis of land holdings in Rugarama, just north of Kabale, in 1969 by Kururagire gives an insight to land-use change since 1900. It was first inhabited in the late 18th century by Basigi, Bahaka, Bajara and Barunga clans who were followed in the early 19th century by the Beitira lineage of the Bangura clan; they all came from the uplands around Lake Bunyoni. In the late 19th century the south-west corner was settled by Banyrwanda who made up 5% of the population around 1900. The Beitira were 15% and the balance was Bakiga.

By 1960 the Banyrwanda made up 20% while the Basigi dropped to 60% due to 55 families moving to Ankole and Toro in the resettlement schemes and general migration. Intermarriage since 1900 have blurred clan divisions and prevented feuds.

Both Catholic and Anglican missions were given large plots of land in the 1920s while the colonial administration put two plots aside for black wattle plantations, the latter were returned to local people after 1962. By the 1960s a village had developed at Kabanyoro, three miles from Kabale, and then had a concentration of butchers, beer shops and sand quarries.

When lands were held by a specific lineage settlement was nucleated; families lived in close proximity and clan inheritance kept the land as a unit. Since then, the transition from lineage to family created family units where land is divided out on inheritance. These then became the sites

of new houses and the result is dispersed settlement. It also led to fragmentation of land holdings where dispersed plots are now the norm, which has the advantages of having a variety of sustainable environments for crops but these plots take time to visit and are unsuitable for any improvement investment opportunities.

Soil erosion prevention policies in the 1940s of bunds and contour strip plots also influenced plot size and location while land sales facilitated fragmentation. In the late 1960s 70% of the land was under cultivation including recent swamp drainage adjacent to the Kiruma River. The main crops were sweet potatoes and sorghum followed by maize and beans. Vegetables grown on converted swamp were sold through a Kabale co-operative.

Coffee was the main cash crop but was dispersed over 25 acres of which eight were grown on church land. Tobacco was grown but needed a lot of work, was difficult to transport and vulnerable to hail. There was no grazing land and livestock fed on fallow, plot boundaries and waste land.

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## Chapter 3.1

## Batwa History

### In the Beginning – A Theoretical Hypothesis

Two thousand years ago the highland rain forest enveloped the hills. Large sections were closed canopy while open areas with secondary growth abounded. In the valleys and by the lakes swamps predominated. The foresters (an archaic English term meaning person of the forest), after many centuries, were probably close to their population limit as defined by the carrying capacity of loosely defined territories in which they circulated.

The first farmers were a small minority who cleared small sections on the lower hill slopes. There probably was a good relationship overall with exchanges of products, knowledge, culture and women. When times were bad for farmers many may have become hunter-gatherers while

crops and livestock may have become essential when wild vegetables and game were scarce. Some forest families probably made the transition to farming and within three generations were likely to be indistinguishable from their agricultural neighbours.

Intermarriage was probably common; polygamous farmers needed more women. As a result the two populations blended, sharing their genes. Physical characteristics began to be shared, i.e. foresters got bigger and farmers became smaller.

Over time migration of farmers and their natural increase made major inroads converting forests to cropland. By 1600 the forest was in three sections, now called Echuya, Bwindi (previously called Kayonza) and Virunga. The balance of power had shifted to the farmers and they no doubt made use of it.

What then was happening to the foresters? They had tough choices, either retreat into the forest, which may have resulted in problems with competition over land use, or stay and adapt to the new circumstances. The latter meant a mixed lifestyle of farming and foresting. As the forests became smaller then the farming component grew. As a result they became members of the clans they joined.

As the forests became smaller more and more found themselves on the forest margins never knowing when the next migrant farmers would clear the forest behind them. After 1600 the migrant clans became larger and more self-contained; many were exiles, displaced clan leaders who seem to have migrated on masse to be followed by more distantly related clan members. These appear to have had little sympathy for the rights of the foresters so the relationships between them were constrained and, depending on the migrant’s attitudes, full of tension.

Some Early White Traveller's Perspectives

All travellers’ descriptions say that the Batwa are different to the Congo Ituri pygmy in terms of size and settlement; they were taller and lived on the forest margins. They used terms such as 'semi-pygmy', 'more divergent semi-pygmy' 'one remove from some pure-blooded pygmy tribe' and 'marginal forest tribe'.

Reliable historical references are uncommon and need to be tested. For instance, Hoefler (1926) heard a story from Bantu living in Gumbari. adjacent to the Ituri Forest Congo, that long before the Bantu entered the Congo basin there was a race of pygmies called the Batwa who had light brown skins and curly hair. They had once a small kingdom near Lake Tanganyika of which traces then remained. He added that those Batwa had a tribal organisation similar to the South African Bushmen but does not give his source.

Pitman, Game Warden for the Protectorate, described the department’s regular guides of the 1920-40s in Kayonza as Wambutte. This was their own definition; they claimed relationship with the Ituri but denied any relationship with the Batwa of the volcanoes. They also claimed that Kishasha valley was the origin of the pygmies, including those of Ituri forest, who migrated. While recognizing the impossibility of confirming these claims of this small group of nine adults, he says

“The little folk are, in splendid isolation, constuting an interesting anthropoligical puzzle.”

Recent Relationships

By the 19th century the forests had become so small that most foresters ended up in economic and strategic relationships and alliances with their neighbours. Where possible they chose alliances that were in their best self-interest. In Uganda these were as follows:

Kinkiizi Kingdom

The king’s pipe lighter was a Mutwa from Kayonza forest; it was a hereditary role and one of the top five positions in the king's court. He lit the new king’s pipe on accession. If there was one holding such an important position in the king’s court then there probably were others lower down the hierarchy.

Kayonza Kingdom

No information available. Kayonza kings received tributes of ivory from the forest, which implies a relationship with the Batwa. Given that the forest was called Kayonza implies that they claimed it as part of their drum-land. The kingdom may have extended further south in earlier periods when they had links with Rwanda.

Rift Valley – bordering Belgian Congo

The Batwa were allied with the Bahunde but, as little is known about the latter's history, their relationship is difficult to reconstruct. The Bahunde appear were centred west of Lake Kivu but forced north and east by migrant clans. Kayonza kings treated them with respect to keep the peace. It is known that one Bahunde dynasty always married a forest woman on accession.

The Bahunde were noted elephant hunters, blacksmiths and Nyabingi devotees. They may have been part of the lucrative ‘Arms for Ivory’ trade that lasted until colonial conquest when it became the ‘Ivory for Money’ trade and subject of a minor trade war between Belgium and Germany. They hunted elephants together but how rewards were divided is unknown.

Bafumbira

In the 19th century the Rwandan kingdom expanded through the conquest of small chiefdoms in what is now northern Rwanda. The relationship with the monarchy probably began when their territories were adjacent. Many migrated to the Rwandan court and served as personal bodyguards, soldiers, entertainers and servants though it is not known what the proportion of men and women were.

The relationship was somewhat contradictory. On one side there was a variant of the milk calabash myth that promotes pastoral supremacy and the report that, according to Feierman, (1994)

“The ritual codes of Rwanda's court, destructive and deadly floods could only be prevented if the king's ritualists captured a Twa woman without breasts, one who originated in Kigezi. They would sacrifice her beyond the northern limits of the kingdom... After her blood flowed on foreign soil Rwanda itself, the kingdom proper, would prosper.”

However it is also reported that the relationship between monarch and his elite soldiers was very friendly and that they were well treated and rewarded. One major advantage to the king was that they were loyal to him personally and would have stood aloof from court politics. They assisted in the conquest of Bafumbira and control of it and other territories.

Through this temporary migration the Virunga foresters became experienced soldiers, rulers and administrators of Bafumbira. They, no doubt, retired well-off completely at home in the various cultures they lived in. Intermarriage and children of mixed heritage was probably not uncommon.

Echuya Forest and Lake Bunyoni

Echuya Forest was unfeasible as a sole livelihood resource probably sometime 1700-1800. It is possible that the last forest families moved to lakeside villages around that time. It is also likely that they had villages in this fertile attractive place from a much earlier date given the long links they had with farming clans and Bashambo rulers. One village name is Kabatwa, which appears to be at least 400 years old when it became the chief residence of the recently arrived Banyoni clan. In the mid-19th century they allied with the Bakongwe who were recent immigrants and in the process of expansion.

Batwa Histories 1870-1920

The years 1870 to 1920 were chaotic. Rwabugiri's campaigns of conquest were unsuccessful with the exception of Bafumbira, which was only successfully conquered and maintained with Batwa warriors.

Figure 42 Batwa Warriors, Rwanda, 1920s

A knock-on effect was the Basigi uprising of the late 1870s that resulted in the overthrow of local Bashambo rulers; traditional clan networks and relationships dissolved and inter-clan warfare became common. Traditional relationships between Batwa and Bakiga clans were thrown into flux as Bakiga clans fought for dominance.

These clan fights sometimes incorporated Batwa mercenaries, which was a good investment since many had military experience gained in the Rwanda court. Whether Batwa fought against

Batwa in these situations is not recorded. It may be that the Lake Bunyoni Batwa had a working relationship with the Banyoni before 1870 and, when they were forced to Kahama, had a more personal grudge against the Basigi.

Rinderpest arrived in 1890 and devastated cattle and forest ungulate populations, which forced them into cattle raiding. Large predators became more dangerous as their prey became rare forcing them to turn to humans.

The combination of forest loss, political chaos and rampant epidemics was a tipping point that led inexorably to a fight for survival and ways of life. No doubt they were proactive regarding the political opportunities using their military skills to best advantage. This may explain the sudden explosion of Batwa military activity from the last decade of the 19th century.

Unfortunately all their alliances failed due to the developing political situation after 1905 in Rwanda and 1910 in Uganda when European invaders arrived. The result was small Batwa populations in three separate countries making it difficult to create alliances among themselves. From one small minority they became three even smaller minorities.

In Kinkiizi their positions became irrelevant when the English reorganised the kingdom into a county and brought in chiefs monitored by Baganda agents. Kayonza lost out and was amalgamated with Kinkiizi county, later Kanungu district. There is no record of Batwa military activity in these kingdoms.

The Bahunde and Batwa, in alliance, were prominent resisters to colonial conquest until about 1918 when the Bahunde disappear from the scene. There are few references to them after that date and many may have gone, or returned, to the Belgian Congo with its extensive forests and little control.

The Rwandan situation was more complicated. Rwabugiri's death in 1895 led to a succession split with north against south. Basebye led Batwa in an attempt to become independent but was captured and executed by the Germans. The Batwa then came to an agreement with Musinga and they, in Bufumbira, served under Nyindo.

Nyindo was caught in a loyalty divide to his German-backed king and the English. During WWI he rose in rebellion against the English with his Batwa allies but was defeated within two years. He had been initially supported by the Germans but this came to an end when Belgians from the Congo invaded Rwanda and captured Kigali in 1916.

Katuregye and the Batwa

It is thought that the Bakongwe first settled around Lake Bunyoni in the early 19th century. The Echuya Batwa, who may have already settled in villages around the lake, became allied as soldiers, servants and cattle herders. The alliance came to fruition from 1895 when Katuregye began his campaigns of conquest that continued until the arrival of the Europeans.

Typical was this attack against the Basigi of Kabaya (Rwabihigi, 1972, one wonders if that was their order of importance and preference)

“Immediately his Batwa allies were put into action and completely destroyed the area, grabbing anything they could lay their hands on, especially cattle, honey, food and women”.

Katuregye on seizing conquering a clan then built a 'palace' and married one of their women. He ended up with 40, an indication of his success. No doubt some his wives were Batwa.

The arrival of the Europeans put an end to local military leadership. Katuregye lost his southern conquests to the Germans while the English constrained him to his ancestral lands, as none of the neighbouring clans wanted him as their leader. His rebellion in 1914 failed and the English destroyed the lake Batwa economy through burning villages and cattle confiscation. It is often said that Batwa did not know what to do with cattle, except kill and eat them, but this is unlikely, they were probably experienced cattle keepers with land use rights by this time.

Nyindo

Nyindo was in an ambiguous position as ruler of Bafumbira. He was appointed by Musinga, to whom he owed his primary loyalty, but ended up as saza chief of a British territory. During WWI he threw his lot in with the Germans and controlled the area until the Belgians conquered Rwanda in 1914 when he was defeated and surrendered.

During one English campaign against him, it was reported that

“The Batwa seem to have no respect for rifle fire and are adept at taking cover, crawling from mound to mound, wriggling like snakes, firing arrows and crawling away again; hence they are difficult to hit. Luckily they do not adopt rush tactics. One constable was wounded, an arrow piercing his leather shoulder strap and entering his chest. The arrow was fired at a distance of over 120 yards, which will give some idea of what skilled bowmen the Batwa are.”

Other Perspectives

Most Bakiga clans have stories concerning Batwa raids and they were rightly feared, even though raiding wasn't practised by all. Colonial literature reflects this fear, most of which have some references to Batwa, such as Jack, 1908,

“Hereabouts, and especially near the southern end of the lovely Lake Bunyoni, live the Batwa. This race of fierce and savage pygmies is held in great terror by its neighbours. They live by the chase, and on such food as they steal from the villages of less warlike tribes, whose land we were told, they were constantly raiding.”


Figure 43 Batwa Hunter (Martin De Depories)

Independent Batwa military action and raids appear to have mostly ceased by the mid-1920s. Apart from the English reprisals against the Lake Batwa there is no recorded action against them in the forests. It seems that pacification came from two reasons, firstly there was now little point, farmers had learnt self-protection and were backed by askaris and secondly there were negotiations and agreements between the Batwa and English administrators. According to Prince William, 1923, who does not differentiate between different Batwa

“They are a shy race who live by hunting or when that fails by stealing. Formerly it happened regularly that the tribe lay in ambush and shot at all passing safaris with their poisoned arrows, killed or frightened away the escort and then took what they needed of its goods. To pursue and punish these evildoers was not to be thought of. They disappear in the forests, where, with their highly developed local knowledge, they find a thousand hiding places which a white man could never discover.”

Nowadays they are comparatively respectable, thanks to the personal influence of Philipps (then ADC of Kigezi). He has, after patient labour, succeeded in bringing about peaceful intercourse with the tribe. One of the chiefs used to even come and visit him in Kabale, though always at night so as not to attract attention.

Obviously some had seen that military activity was no longer feasible and kept a low profile. Others were still raiding up to 1920, according to Roscoe, who was in the area then

“I found the pygmies had driven them (Bakiga) back from one part of their country bordering on the Congo

It was my desire to see something of the pygmies in Kigezi, but I found they had left and, having crossed into Belgian territory, were out of reach. I had been told that they had formed a camp in Kigezi, and I had hoped to spend a few days with them to learn something of their habits by actual observation of their life. It was regrettable to find them gone and not to learn where they had encamped. There were traces of their presence in the shape of large devastated areas, from which the people had fled in fear of the pugnaciousness and rapacity of these pygmies."

Their military and court skills declined in the following years as they reverted to traditional occupations and livelihoods. From then on they learnt to adapt to the fast-changing world in their own way. One undocumented but likely scenario from that time is the village going to hunt a man-eating leopard that was terrorising them. These hid out in mountains, forests and caves so Batwa guides were probably essential in tracking them down and would have assisted in the kill with their poison arrows.

Language

Perhaps by around 1600 Bantu language(s) supplanted forest language(s). Our knowledge of what their language(s) might have been is non-existent. Most early travellers say that there is little or no evidence of forester languages in Bantu linguistic areas in Central Africa. It will be difficult to reconstruct what they might have spoken because while an unknown number of descriptive nouns have survived, grammar probably hasn't.

The Bantu world-view predominated then among the foresters who lived in the transition zones between forest and cropland. Whenever it happened, it is a sign of permanent farming dominance. Given the fact that the Batwa define themselves with a Bantu term and that most of their mythology has been forgotten this transition must have happened at least several hundred of years ago.

When foresters began to be defined as Batwa is an interesting question. Twa has its origin as a Bantu word, translated as a foreigner, and is analogous to the English words 'foreigner' and 'forest', both of which derive from the Latin foris (originally fores or door) translated as 'outside'.

Batwa has since come to be used by Bantu farmers to describe people other than themselves, usually pejoratively in much the same way that English nationals, talking about any non-native, historically used the word 'foreigner' or 'stranger'. It is interesting that the original people are called Batwa and not the farmers who were the original outsiders. Only in Burundi, DR Congo, Rwanda and Uganda do people of forest origin now define themselves as Batwa.

A Runyarwanda variant is Bayanda, which has been rejected by some Batwa and most academic researchers. Like the term Batwa, its historical origins, meanings and contexts have not been researched but could throw some light on changing relationships, particularly between Rwanda and Bafumbira.

Livelihoods

Trade of forest and agricultural products, including harvesting rights, is ancient. It is also clear that craft specialisation were not uncommon. Animal hides were tanned by professionals before

being exchanged. This was a standard craft that disappeared as cloth replaced hides a clothing of choice. In Kisoro and Kabale by 1960 only older traditional farming women still dressed in hides. Some were good blacksmiths.

Kabara hospital, Kabale, employed Batwa as orderlies from the early 1920s; this may have been part of agreements between Batwa leaders and colonial officials, but no further information is known. The fact that census returns showed Batwa indicates that they were tax-payers and somehow integrated into the colonial economy. Census numbers are clear underestimates but the ratio is unknown.

In the southern Virungas pottery was made, using fine river clays neck size varied with simple harmonious colour schemes. They also made appreciated models of birds and animals. According to Prince William, 1923, describing Kwijwij Island, Lake Kivu; perhaps reflecting popular European opinion of aesthetic appreciation mixed with artistic paternalism.

“They make simple and beautiful vessels of clay, showing a developed though unconscious trend to towards the artistic.”

Europeans had only recently come to appreciate non-European art but were still heavily influenced by classical art philosophies.

There was ivory trade from perhaps AD1000, which primarily went east to the Arab Swahili coast. The tusks of forest elephants were preferred by ivory carvers. Demand for ivory grew in the 19th century with the increasing economic growth of Europe and North America; there was a minor trade war between Belgium and Germany in the late 19th century. The Batwa were major suppliers in the highlands though how the economic relationship worked in practice is unknown; it is possible that they only supplied to middlemen or local chiefs but had no direct contact with Swahili merchants and their agents.

Figure 44 M'Gulu, Akeley's guide on both expeditions

From the late 19th century they developed a new specialisation, guiding. Originally they guided for hunters, then museum collectors and later scientists and tourists with especial reference to the mountain gorilla.

Pitman (1931) said that they:

“are unquestionably the people most conversant with the ways and habits of this ape”

He added

“Batwa frankly regard this great ape with reverence, and though not objecting to act as guides through the mountain fastnesses known only to them, they endeavour to spare themselves the spectacle of the death of what to them is practically one of their own kin. No greater insult could be offered the Batwa than to suggest such an act (eat gorilla flesh); to them it would savour of cannibalism. Professional tanners will not even touch the hides, much less prepare and dress them.”

Discussing his Wambutte guides in Kayonza Forest he says

“The adjective indispensible is no distortion of fact, for without their whole-hearted co-operation and assistance not a gorilla is one likely to get. The Wambutte, who have every respect for, though are not frightened of, are therefore their best guardians ... They know the regulations and are happy to enforce them and refuse pleas from unauthorised persons. They can’t be coerced”.

They are also references of similar date that Batwa treated chimpanzee with the same respect, wherever they shared habitats. Pitman only questioned their opinions once regarding average troop size; they said 15-20 while Belgian scientists said 13. Modern research accepts both figures; sizes are variable due to gorilla group dynamics.

There are many references to Batwa guides by miscellaneous hunters and scientists up to the early 1960s; Baumgartel's use of a Bahutu gorilla guide was an exception. However post-independence political instability and civil war ended this livelihood when tourism and science became too dangerous and ended.

There is little information on them until 1984 when Thomas Butynski surveyed Bwindi Forest and included the following. (Kingdon is author of The Kingdon Field Guide to African Mammals, 2001)

“There is little information available on the Batwa of south-western Uganda. For this reason, and because there is a close association between many of the remaining Batwa and the Impenetrable Forest, I will present some general information on the Batwa living near the Impenetrable. This information is taken from the notes of Mr. Jonathan Kingdon. They were gathered during his visit to the Impenetrable Forest in June, 1984.

1. Batwa are distributed around the edges of the Impenetrable Forest, with major concentrations at Buhoma and Rubuguli. Some also live at Kitahurira and Mashoho. Probably no Batwa live within the Reserve boundaries.

2. There are about thirty to fifty Batwa families associated with the Impenetrable. Average family size is near seven. The number of children ranges from one to ten. The total number of Batwa here is likely not in excess of three hundred.

3. While formal marriage alliances between the Batwa and the Bakiga are almost unheard of, there are clandestine associations which are blurring genetic distinctions more and more.

4. Many Batwa retain a semi-feudal dependence on specific Bakiga patrons but most are relatively independent.

5. The present Batwa community consists of hunters, guides, gold diggers, pit-sawyers, porters, builders, farmers, craftsmen and gatherers of forest produce, particularly honey. The Batwa are being absorbed into the dominant Bakiga culture.

6. The Batwa are generally recognized as being the source of virtually all knowledge about the forest. They have achieved an intimate and valuable knowledge of the Impenetrable Forest and the natural products it contains. This knowledge has considerable scientific and economic potential."

Regarding point six, these same largely holds true today with the exception of UWA guides and researchers who get to know one specific aspect of the forest and wildlife but from the outside.

Villages
Schaller has a good description of a Batwa village in 1959, which is similar to shorter descriptions of earlier travel authors.

"High on the slopes of the rift, north and west of Bukavu, we visited a Batwa village with Christiaensen, a former coffee planter who was employed by a local research station to buy any interesting animals the Batwa have killed. The village huddled in a clearing on a steep slope surrounded by forest. Below and far away the hills flatten out in the misty expanse of the Congo basin.

Eleven huts, only six feet high, stood in to rows like a series of beaver lodges. They were simple structures, transitory, of bent saplings tied to a central pole and covered with layers of grass. Inside, along the wall farthest from the door the family slept on bed of grass. A fireplace with a few cracked and black rocks was near the central pole. Various pots and baskets filled with beans, manioc and other produce was piled near the entrance.

Outside, on a horizontal pole supported between two huts, hung two dappled bush buck hides; two others and that of a duiker were pegged out to dry on the hard-packed soil. Several men had left to scour the forest for game, which, when caught, would be eaten by the villagers or traded to

the Bantu for agricultural products. Three men cut apart the hind quarter of a forest pig. They squatted by the red meat on its mat of green ferns while a woman kindled a fire.

There were seven women in the village; tiny creatures, in looks not full grown yet complete. They wore sarongs of coloured cloth and from their wrists and ankles dangled copper bracelets. Each had a blue line tattooed on the forehead, running down to the tip of their nose; various notches and crosses were burned or engraved into their cheeks, upper arms and breasts. One woman had a broad colourless tattoo burned like a necklace around her neck.

The Batwa are nomads, rarely living longer than a year in a place. When the game grows scarce and shy, they move on. The undergrowth, which has stood in wait at the edge of the village, retakes the ground, the houses rot and the history of the people returns to the soil."

Note that the women were wearing cloth and not animal hides like many older agricultural women at this time.

Conclusion

The division between forest and farm people is blurred through intermarriage over the last 2,000 years. The division is based more on people's cultural beliefs rather than any specific difference given the genetic mixing. The term Batwa is descriptive of a way of life, not a race. A genetic sampling of foresters and farmers would be of interest since it may give some clues as to levels of intermarriage and children of different origins, i.e. foresters, early farmer migrants and recent farmer migrants. Similarly, testing for lactose tolerance and persistence, and sickle cell may be informative.

Issues of Batwa history

All Batwa history has been written by the 'other' and mostly describes the Batwa as a composite people and does not recognise individuality. It is all about the Batwa are this, the Batwa did that, the Batwa did something else, etc. but rarely are individuals, their families or their place of origin named. This is not always easily known; during a raid the last thing a farmer will do is ask these questions for posterity. Overall there is no sense that different people had different histories.

The Batwa also need to be seen in their specific historical context, i.e. within the overall fast-changing political dynamics of which they were part, as actors and reactors to the consequences of forces outside of their control, such as intense migration-related forest clearance and infectious diseases.

Source biases have to be seen and understood. There is much misinformation from earliest times, at the dawn of literacy, in descriptions written about foreign lands; the further the land the more fantastic the story. The question is how observant was the author? The earliest probable reference to the Batwa specifically is Speke who collected traveller's tales about the Virunga and Rwenzori mountains while in Karagwe in 1861. He heard that:

"In Ruanda there existed pygmies who lived in trees, but occasionally came down at night, and, listening at the hut doors of men, would wait until they heard the name of one of its inmates,

when they would call him out, and, firing an arrow into his heart, disappear again in the same way as they came."

Such misinformation was not restricted to pygmies; he also heard about mountain gorillas that:

"More formidable were monsters who could not converse with men and never showed themselves unless they saw a woman pass by; then, in voluptuous excitement, they squeezed them to death."

Bantus had some strange beliefs about gorillas and women, especially. In Kisoro they believed that gorillas built huts with roofs, lit fires, stole women and ate children. Another legend has it that when a gorilla realises it has been spotted, it pretends to run away, staggers about, falls down, covers itself with vegetation and lies still. The intruder, puzzled, goes forward to investigate, thinking it dead, when up leaps the cunning beast and kills him. In Gabon, it was believed that gorillas kidnapped beautiful young women but whether this was before or after they defeated an elephant in single combat is, alas, not related.

Back in Kisoro some believed that if one threw a spear at a gorilla it would catch it and throw it back. Batwa cheerfully admitted that they made that fable up to frighten the Bantu (Schaller, 1964). One wonders what else they invented for their amusement.

Back to the main point, Batwa history is mostly top-down and written by outsiders – the 'other'. What is needed is a bottom up perspective that starts with the individual and works up through family, community and communities. It is only by understanding dynamics at the most basic level that properly reflects the power of the individual that the society can be properly understood in a balanced way.

A good historical approach would be to survey and map all communities and collect all surviving historical information. Start with genealogy and family history, work backwards and collect a database of individual biographies. Key people can be researched thoroughly. Using the biographical database as a primary source, the histories of families and communities can be built up.

Then it will be possible to put the history of the Twa peoples into their regional contexts with a proper understanding of their past roles in society and how they adapted to changing political, economic and environmental conditions to the present day.

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Appendix:

Batwa Biographical Notes
This draft may serve as an example of how a biographical database could be organised. It is not in alphabetical order but has three sections; more can be added when found.

1. A few biographical notes. There is far more information on Basebye but little on the others
2. A list of warriors (Rwabihigi D. Z, 1972). As more information is found they can have there own biographical section
3. One named gorilla guide and local Batwa chief (Schaller George B.1964).

Basebye
Basebye (son of Nkeko and Nyirantwari of Rugyeri), rebel leader, is well documented. He rose in rebellion after marriage proposals for Batwa leader Kanyaruanda were rejected. However the fallout from the succession dispute after Rwabugiri's death in 1895 was an important factor in the Batwa's political struggle for independence.

Between 1896 and 1910 he became the most powerful leader of Bafumbira raiding far and wide exacting tribute and plunder. The Batwa attacked the Bakiga and while they were defeated Senzoga, a Bakiga warrior leader, was killed. An attempt by Rwandan Queen Nyirayuhi in 1906 to defeat them failed and resulted in the deaths of many Tutsi warriors, including Mahiryoli, a warrior hero.

The Rwandan monarchy were then assisted by Belgian and German colonial administrations who also wished to defeat the Batwa as they were a barrier to colonisation and political control. Finally Basebye was betrayed by a Tutsi named Rwabusisi in Rwanda who, under the guise of a friendly invitation, captured him in 1912 and handed him over to the German authorities. He was transported to Nyanza where he was prosecuted, convicted and executed on the same day on the 13th May by a German military tribunal.

Kiroha

Kiroha was a famous Batwa chief and Nyabingi mugirwa who lived in Kiringa on the slopes of Mt. Muhavura; he was known as King of the Pygmies and was an ally of Basebye and Katuregye.

Kanyaruanda

Kanyaruanda was son of Nyirakote, Batwa leader of Mururembwe; she sought a marriage alliance of a Tutsi princess for him from Birahira, a Tutsi chief of Nyarusiza, and Nyindo, a Rwandan Tutsi prince. Their refusal sparked off the Basebye rebellion. Later Kanyruanda was an ally of Basebye, Katuregye and Nyindo. He surrendered when the English took his family hostage in 1916, imprisoned, deported and disappears without trace.

Other Warriors

Names of famous Batwa military heroes and their nicknames around Karuregye's time (Rwabihigi 1972): The first seven may have been chiefs and leaders and the rest warriors.

1. Semandwa (Ruyogooza rwa Ndebiika), son of Ndebiika
2. Mabyigihene,
3. Karerabaana,
4. Majegye (Echyanwa Kyenzirabwora, for his valour in battle),
5. Rubondo (Enduhuura Abaziiki),
6. Kataryeba (Igabuzakubi rya Mutarambirwa),
7. Muragi,
8. Muhoozi,
9. Kaberuka,
10. Rutozi,
11. Mabyigihere,
12. Ngurube,
13. Rwabibi,
14. Mikobanyo,
15. Rwamuhuta,
16. Ndangizi,
17. Mirinzi,
18. Senzoga, son of Nyiramuhinyora, killed on raid of Bukimbiri
19. Gichamakara,
20. Ndenzi,
21. Mpumuje,
22. Majigiri,
23. Madooga

Gorilla Guides
Bishumu
"Bishumu, the chief of the Batwa, trotted ahead. His kinky hair was white and beard scraggly. The skin over his knees was wrinkled like that of an elephant, and his old, frail body was wrapped in a torn khaki jacket. Like all Batwa he carried two spears in one hand and a machete in the other.

(When asked to get into a car) Bishamu only shook his head, a proud, erect old man afraid of the alien civilisation that so recently encroached on his home. Suddenly he sat down in the road with his back to us. We had to leave him there. When I looked back, he sat motionless, a small brown figure alone on the yellow road, with the green forest all round him" (Schaller, 1968)

* * *

## Chapter 3.2

## Batwa Culture

### Cultural Background

A 1984 survey of Bwindi Forest by Butysnki noted that "There is little information available on the Batwa of south-western Uganda." Little has changed in the meantime; no serious sustained in-depth study has been made of their culture or history compared with their farming neighbours. Today, the main research focus is on their present situation.

In discussions concerning Batwa culture it is sometimes difficult to know who is being talked about. Early travel literature is very definite: Pygmies and Batwa were different; the former lived in the forests and were primarily hunter gatherers with a little bit of trade and tourism, they adapted quickly to the latter. The Batwa, on the other hand, lived at the forest margins with a mix of hunting, gathering, exchange and trade, and guiding and tracking.

The pygmies were an iconic must-see for the serious traveller of the early 20th century, the Batwa were not; their expertise was mostly used by hunters, scientists and photographers. Experienced travel writers tend to be more informative but it is unlikely that the division between Batwa and Pygmy was necessarily as clear cut as they described.

In Uganda today the Batwa are perceived as a homogenous group with no distinctions between families, clans or residences. It is true that they currently share the same plight but this does not reflect their respectives histories or cultural variations. The discussion below on their culture is general; it includes some aspects of pygmy culture and is open to major revisions.

### Introduction

Batwa are currently found in Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda and east DRC; in 2000, their population was c. 80,000. Until recent times they were also found on Kwijwij Island on Lake Kivu where they specialised in pottery and clay animals.

They were never culturally homogenous and there are minor differences between them. Northern bands were associated with the DRC Batwa while southern bands were associated with Rwandan Batwa; this may date from when Bwindi and Virunga forests were split around 500 years ago. Early English colonistists tended to see the Batwa heartland as Rwanda.

They are not directly related to the Basua, a branch of the Bambuti, who migrated from the DRC to Mt. Rwenzori between 1900 and 1920. There are also hunter gatherers in Angola, Namibia, Zambia and Botswana living in swamps and deserts far from forests; these are little studied so it is unknown, though unlikely, if there are any genetic or cultural connections between them and Central and East African populations.

Origin Myth

Unfortunately no reliable Batwa myths survive. Most of what passes for Batwa mythology is in fact learnt from farming and pastoral culrtures. Their original myths and legends have disappeared, supplanted by those of their dominant neighbours. The following origin myth is one example.

God tested three brothers, Gutwa, Guhutu and Gututsi, with a calabash of milk each and told them they could not drink it for one night. Gutwa drank his share immediately, Guhutu did not drink it but fell asleep and spilled half of it, while Gututsi successfully passed the test. As a result God gave him dominion over cattle, he gave the Guhutu the next best, dominion over farming, and banished Gutwa to the forest.

This myth is obviously of pastoral origin and is a Rwandan version. Other versions elsewhere in Uganda (i.e. Ankole and Baganda) have the founder of the ruling dynasty as winners, other pastoral clans second and the humble farmer last of all. It has passed into Batwa culture, even though they have never drank much milk having little or no lactose tolerance (though this needs to be researched), as one of their own. It is said that it reflects their understanding of fate, to which they are submissive. This is questionable; they certainly weren't submissive to their fate 100 years ago; whether they were any more or less submissive than agriculturalists is debatable.

Variants of this story and other such myths can be understood as cultural propaganda extolling pastoral superiority. If it had been written from a hunter gatherer perspective then Gutwa would have been the winner as he rejected a useless food and was rewarded with the forest's bounty while cattle and crop farmers were punished by having to work for their food.

Social Structure

Many early 20th century European travellers' descriptions of Pygmy life and society say that their way of life was under serious threat and unlikely to survive, Much of what has been since written is a reconstruction of their social life with a bias towards pygmy rather than Batwa modes of life.

It is said that, originally, forest hunter gatherers were egalitarian with no one person or band being more powerful than another. Traditionally they were divided into bands (smaller than clan but larger than a nuclear family) who were territorially separate; there was no land ownership only land use rights. The situation among the Batwa is less clear cut and depended on their specific relationships in and outside the forests. By the 19th century, if not earlier, Batwa leaders had emerged and played their part in the politics and power plays of that time and later.

Hunting

They hunted all types of game for food, medicine, clothing and ritual purposes with traps and by hunting with spears and bows and arrows; arrow poison was made from tree bark and stinging ants. The main prey was pigs, antelopes, monkeys (but not apes east of the Rift Valley), birds and carnivores. Hunting dogs had the same status as cattle among farmers and an attack on a dog was the same as attacking its owner; a serious offence. It was also recorded that bush pigs attacked the dogs when they heard the bells when hunters in ambush would promptly spear them.

The Batutsi name for the Virunga Mountains was the Domain of Bells after the bells that dogs wore; the owner followed the dogs that were following the prey's scent. This practise was not confined to the Batwa; according to Speke, Rwandan villagers had such dogs for leopard hunting. Prince William also recorded it around Kisoro in the early 1920s.

Hunting expeditions were a group activity; communication was by hand signals and bird-like whistles. Sometimes expeditions would last a week or more, when animals were skinned and dried before being brought home for ease of carrying. There were strict rules for sharing game among the hunters and their families. Typically, meat was about 25% of their diet.

Figure 45 Batwa ambush re-enactment for the tourist, 1930s

In the late 19th century times elephant tracking and hunting became common as the demand for ivory grew in Arab and European markets. The favoured method was to cut an elephant's hamstrings so that it collapsed and could not walk; then groups of men would repeatedly spear the elephant until it died. This led to a raw meat orgy while the tusks were traded or used as tribute. While the Bahunde were noted elephant hunters in the late 19th century it is possible that it was the Batwa and other foresters who did the tracking and killing.

## Gathering

Wild food included (in Rukiga) ebitokye fruit, ebitakuri root, muhogo root, ebitekere tuber, ebihaza fruit, ebyozi fruit, ebicoori stem, omugusha stem (sorghum family), oburo stem (millet family), ebihimba stem leaf & pod, obusaza stem, ebinyobwa stem, empokya stem, emiyembe fruit, ebitonganwa fruit, enshari fruit, ekifenensii fruit, entutu fruit, amayonza fruit, amapera fruit, eshenda fruit and ebinyagasani rhizome. Fungi included ebinyansha, obunyantabo, enkuku, empefa, entyabiria and obutuzi.

Wild yams belong to the Dioscorea family of species; they are either annual or perennial climbing plants with large tubers whose stems are often called lianas. The Batwa identify four species in Bwindi, called ebizirahi, ebihama, ebikwa and amatugu in Rukiga, though the second and third are thought to be the same species by botanists. They are commonly found in on hill tops, degraded forest and near rivers, but are less likely in mature forest and forest savannah boundaries.

Yams are often associated with other wild vegetables and honey and can be an indication of historic settlement centres. They were collected at different times during the year but care needed to be taken with ebizirahis due to its toxicity. It has to be boiled four times and the water thrown away each time to draw out the toxins.

Yams were of cultural importance to the Batwa and used in marriage ceremonies, festivities, social exchange and spiritual offerings (empande). Its traditional cultural value supported its sustainability. They were an important trade item between forest peoples and neighbouring farmers.

Their favourite food was honey, which they treated as a special gift from God. They collected honey from several types of bees who had either hives in trees or underground, the latter were stingless. Honey was categorised by sweetness and ease of collection; some caused illness if eaten in large quantities. When found everything but the comb was eaten. Hunting wild hives was well developed; a Mutwa could from the trajectory and timing of a bee visiting a flower patch could identify the hive's location. One of Rwanda's pre-colonial taxes was honey, which must have encouraged collection and trade, but there is no record that the Batwa became apiarists.

Fire for cooking and smoking out bees was made with the traditional two stick method by where one stick with a small hollow was put on the ground and held by the foot while the second was rotated between the two hands in the hollow until the dried grass or other tinder was set alight.

## Religion

Batwa forest religion is not well-known and was heavily influenced by farming beliefs. Their name for the Supreme Being and creator is Imana (Nagasan), who gave children, food and protection, is a Rukiga term. They are associated with Nyabingi worship but this is difficult to reconstruct since there would have been differences originally between wild forests and managed agricultural female fertility. Batwa associated with the Rwandan court followed military Ryangombe rituals.

Traditionally clan members were trained through their oral traditions in medicine and rain making. These skills could also be inherited. Rain-makers used various rituals to ward off thunderstorms and bring rain in times of drought; one was always invited to ceremonies to prevent evil. Pipes carved from a lightning struck tree were used to communicate with rain spirits.

Sacrifices of meat, drink and blood were offered in special huts called indaro (a Rukiga term) to animal spirits. Hunters were infused with an animal's spirit when they were killed, especially if it was accompanied with some strange sign in the animal when it was being dissected. Meat, blood and other food and drink was used for sacrifice but there is no evidence that they practised human sacrifice or cannibalism as has sometimes been alleged.

The rainbow was treated with dread as it is associated with lightning and thunderstorms, which Imana used to punish people. The chameleon was treated as sacred as it climbed the highest trees and came closest to God. Ancestral spirits were part of life but do not appear to be malevolent as among farmers.

Birth, Marriage and Death

In some families a new born baby had a miniature bow and arrows placed in its hand for protection. Infants were breast-fed for a long time, a proxy for birth control. The education of children was traditional, ritualistic and a collective responsibility; boys and girls learnt from adult activities of hunting, gathering and homemaking.

They were primarily monogamous, except when a woman was barren and informal love marriages were the most common. The ceremonies were simple; the father introduced the bride to the family spirits on marriage.

Bride purchase was not practised as it was believed to promote discord between families, though gifts of honey and wild animal meat was expected, nowadays goats are common. The most popular wild animal was the Darby’s flying squirrel (ntenza) who lived in tree holes and could only be captured with fronds when coming out, a very difficult task. The meat was highly prized and often reserved for elders, on marriage it was given to the future mother-in-law. Adultery was forbidden.

Cremation or burial of the deceased in huts was the norm, thereafter the place was avoided. Other traditional places of burial included caves and rock crevices. Afterwards a medicine man would anoint the hearth and distribute medicine to the bereaved to prevent the deceased from causing disturbance. Inheritance rules were practically non-existent since they had very few possessions; these were usually given to members of the family.

Currently burial of family members has become a problem since they do not have access to burial grounds and are forced to bury their dead within their very small plots and continue living there. Anti-pollution rituals that they have learnt from the Bakiga are not always acceptable.

Suicide was a major taboo because it disturbed the balance.

Houses and Crafts

They lived in simple circular huts made from branches with grass for the roof and walls. Their economy was and continues to be based on barter and they were self-sufficient until recent times. Land was communally controlled by each clan but they had no titles, which put them at disadvantage when later farmers colonised and cleared the forests and subsequent governments took control.

Barter with outside groups was based on wild food, honey, animal hides, baskets and pots for cattle and tillage products, iron weapons and alcohol. The making of pottery in Rwanda is an important social activity but this is dying out due to cheap mass-produced products and the loss of their traditional clay pits to agricultural expansion.

Some specialised in the tanning of animal hides, Pitman describes them as “professional tanners”. They were experienced in most animals but apes were totally taboo.

Some had a rudimentary knowledge of smelting but they preferred better quality iron tools of their neighbours. In Kayonza kingdom they probably traded ivory for spear heads and other metal weaponry.

Pottery was an established skill particularly at the clay beds on the southern flanks of the Virunga Mountains. It is primarily a woman’s craft and the economic mainstay until the arrival of cheap mass-produced and loss of land to farmers and agribusiness.

Figure 46 Batwa pot, Uganda Museum


Figure 47 Batwa potter, n.d. Uganda Museum

Music and Entertainment

They used their voices to celebrate their social harmony and most music was spontaneous; they often used water as a drum and beat out the harmony. Their musical instruments were whatever they found and could take the form of harps, drums, horns, grass pipes and whistles but were often disposable. Among some drums were made from hollowed out trees covered on one side with a split down the centre.

There were more permanent instruments, Schaller, while gorilla tracking in Bwindi, records

"At night from the cozy warmth of my sleeping bag I heard the Batwa talking intermittently. They slept a few hours, then stirred to share a joke, laugh, only to slumber again. Once a Batwa played his likembe, a flat hollow instrument which produces a simple series of sounds when the parallel iron bars on it are vibrated with the thumbs. It was a remote, haunting tune that seemed to come from another sphere."

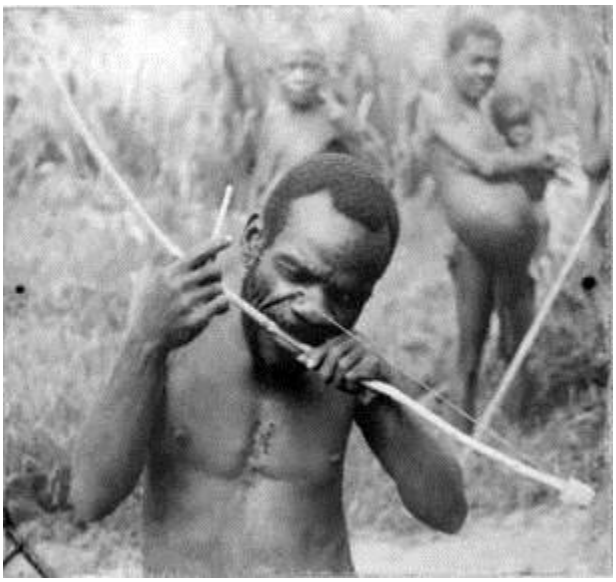
Figure 48 Batwa musician, n.d. Uganda Museum

They did not have formal dances but would often dance and mime spontaneously; even children could accurately copy the concentrated expression of a drunken farmer dancing. They were the music makers at their neighbour's ceremonies and such was their ability they became court entertainers to the Rwandan monarchy, a tradition that has continued as they have entertained presidents Milton Obote, Idi Amin and Yowari Musaveni.

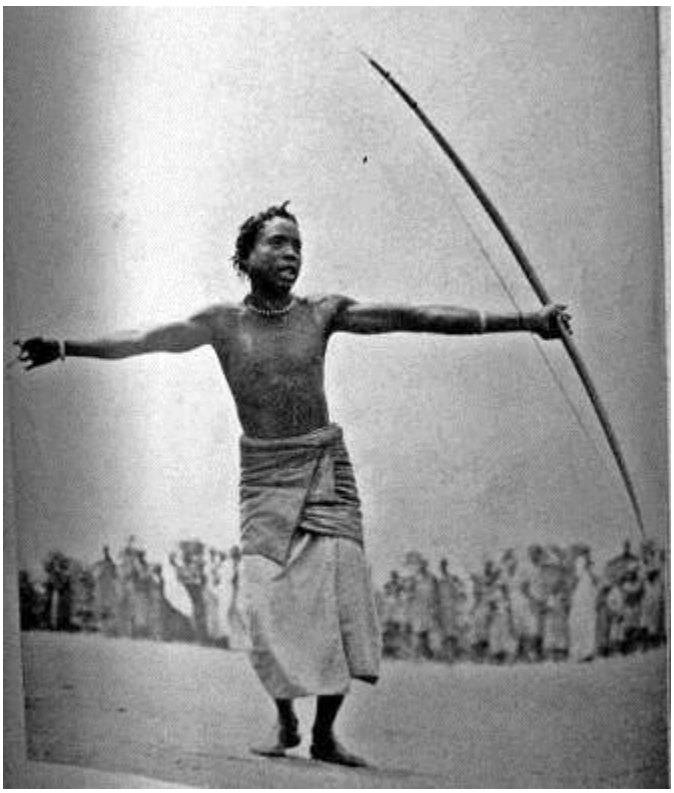
Figure 49,  Batwa hunting dance re-enactment, 1930s

They played football, tug-of-war, hunting and hide-and-seek using arrows as prizes and stakes. They were fond of smoking and cultivated Injaga (cannabis, sometimes incorrectly called an opiate) around their huts; they had clay pipes for personal use and water pipes for communal sharing; the rib of a banana leaf was sometimes used as a pipe stem for a cool smoke. Tobacco was a favoured trade item.

Relationships with Farmers

Relationships with their neighbours were complex, are difficult to reconstruct, and developed over time. In Kigezi they developed extensive exchange links with pastoralists usually on a family to family/band basis, though in some cases farmers now believe they 'own' specific Batwa families on the basis of previous relationships. Farmers utilised the forests for food, construction materials, and medicinal herbs; they also hunted, while panning for gold was a modern occupation, now banned in Bwindi NP.

There was barter, coexistence and conflict. However the bad relationship that developed between them and Bahutu and Bakiga is probably of more recent origin and came from political alignments and competition for land. On the other hand they absorbed many aspects of neighbouring cultures including Bantu languages, the Batwa of Mgahinga and southern Bwindi speak Rufumbira, while the Batwa of northern Bwindi NP and Kabale speak Rukiga; it is not known when or in what circumstances they lost their original language, though the status and survival of Rutwa has yet to be researched.

Colonial Perceptions

European scientists had many strange ideas about pygmies and Batwa and some considered them inferior to farmers, even if they accepted them as fully human. Early anthropological thinking (Social Darwinism), now discredited, saw the evolution of society from hunter/gatherers to pastoralists to agriculturalists to city states to empires, the apex of civilisation as represented by them.

In contrast colonials had little problem in this regard but generally ignored them – probably because they mostly weren't tax payers and kept a low profile after pacification after 1920. In some cases they were treated as unteachable children/savages and told to become civilised by their dominant neighbours.

Since 1990 they are mostly seen as a tourist attraction and while there have been promised improvements by various governments little has happened on the ground, with the exception of 'cultural' entertainment but no real employment creation or major improvements in health and education.

Serious concern and action by the development community is of recent origin and post-dates their ejection from the forests and subsequent loss of livelihoods. Traditional knowledge is being lost and we are mostly left with interpretations of others. For instance Imana and Nagasan are Bantu words for God and may reflect later Christian missionary attempts to integrate Batwa beliefs into Christian theology, though since pre-Christian farmers and herders believed in an all-powerful God it is likely the Batwa shared the same belief.

The belief that they are Caretakers of the Forest may also be of Christian origin. Some Batwa apparently believe that it was a woman who brought sin, suffering and death to the world, her sin was that she disobeyed God by searching for him, which was forbidden; but this sounds like a reworking of the Christian Genesis. In fact little is known about pre-colonial Batwa culture and spiritual beliefs in Kigezi. Analogies, which may or may not be relevant, are usually drawn with various forest peoples of the DRC, where they have more independence.

Batwa Today

Introduction
They were evicted after Bwindi and Mgahinga parks were gazetted in the 1990s and Bwindi became a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1994. Much of this negative philosophy derived from earlier conservation philosophy of man versus wildlife and believed that all forest-dwelling indigenous people should be evicted from their homes without any consideration about their future.

Batwa Pessimism of the Future (Houser, 2007):

“Since were expelled from our lands, death is following us. The village is becoming empty. We are heading towards extinction. Now the old people have died. Our culture is dying too.”

and

Most of us have suffered, including our children up till now... Even if we go to our beds, we keep thinking, what shall our children eat? What is the future of our children? What is our future? We are very sad, we are isolated. We find we don't belong anywhere.

Results of Eviction
As a result they lost access to their primary source of food and barter products. The policy of the Belgian Park authorities since foundation was reversed and evictions started in Rwanda in the 1970s and continued until the 1990s, though they continued accessing the forests as source of food, medicine and raw materials to more recent times. Some were allegedly used as poachers due to their knowledge of the forests though any serious money was made by middlemen. Another negative influence was Dian Fossey who detested them and treated them all as evil poachers.

Only two Batwa from Mgahinga NP and none from Bwindi NP received compensation for their eviction unlike farmers who were well compensated. This philosophy was revised somewhat in the late 1980s when schemes were introduced to benefit local communities who were allowed to access the parks for specific sustainable resources, though again it is the non-Batwa, rather than the Batwa, who have most benefited.

While they never hunted gorillas it was believed that they were a possible threat due to infectious diseases. This theory has never been tested and is probably incorrect given that they have shared the same environment for millennia and almost certainly share the same immunities.

Transboundary disease transmission is more likely to come from outsiders such as tourists and thus infect local people and then other primates.

Modern Conservation Theory

More recently conservation philosophy has shifted to seeing man and environment as inseparable and interdependent and acts to integrate them into conservation management, given the problems they have faced in agricultural communities without land or agricultural knowledge and training.

Figure 50 “The Batwa (Pigmy), The most interesting of primitive peoples, will be left undisturbed in the Parc National Albert in his ancestral way of living” Mary Jobe Akeley (1930s, photo by Prof. Derscheid)

According to the management plan for the Bwindi and Mgahinga Conservation Area (2001-2011) the situation of the Batwa is specifically recognised and sets out objectives to help meet their demands such as access to their cultural and religious sites and employment within the parks notwithstanding the requirement that they be fluent English speakers, which is to be set aside.

However in practise this has not been followed up and the current UWA park managers do not show any inclination to integrate the Batwa into park management, conservation or development. This may change a little, judging by pronouncements made by the Minister of Tourism and UWA officials during the 3rd official launch of the Batwa Trail in June 2012. But whether these are token or substantive remains to be seen.

Currently the Batwa Trail is a cultural superficial pastiche with designer animal hides that bear little resemblance to anything the Batwa ever wore. In fact it insults them since Batwa women were wearing clothing at least as early as the earliest farmers from the 1930s.

Conservation Refugees

In Uganda, as elsewhere, they class themselves as 'conservation refugees'. They are mostly now landless squatters living in poverty, those that have been given land usually have very small

isolated, infertile plots and they have never received training on animal husbandry or crop management.

They have no involvement in park management though they have recently started to run tours in Mgahinga but are still dependent on the activities of NGOs and Church organisations who are lobbying on their behalf to solve issues of land rights, education, health and livelihoods.

Figure 51 Mgahinga NP Batwa Trail guides in clothes they never traditionally wore; a mix of the hopelessly inappropriate with modern.

While cultural eco-tourism may be of some commercial benefit, their dances and crafts are divorced from their original lifestyle and culture and have become superficial entertainment that tourists may find degrading since the Batwa are often exploited by higher authorities and commercial organisations whose explanations of Batwa life are often full of misinformation and inaccuracies; there are even reports of tourist guides confiscating money given to the Batwa by tourists.

The United Organisation for Batwa Development in Uganda

The United Organisation for Batwa Development in Uganda (UOBDU) is national NGO, registered in 2001, which was formed by Batwa with the support of Forest Peoples Project (FPP). All Batwa are eligible to join and its governing board is made up of Batwa from three districts of South West Uganda.

Through consultation UOBDU identified four key areas it hopes to address through its new work plan, including: Land and Housing, Education and Adult Literacy, Income Generation including Agriculture and Forest Access, and Benefit-Sharing. Of these priority areas, securing rights to land and forest resources are an integral part of Batwa's own strategy to build more secure

livelihoods, since their landlessness and restricted access to forests have contributed significantly to their persistent social and economic marginalisation in Southwest Uganda.

According to a 2004 report:

“Over the past three years (since 2001) there have been significant changes to NGO and donor programmes, with most now accepting the need to design and implement special measures to help Batwa overcome their poverty, landlessness and socio-economic marginalisation.”

UOBDU is now working hard to ensure that Batwa communities across the region are able to participate fully in the design, planning, implementation and evaluation of new initiatives targeting them, in addition to its ongoing work to help Ugandan Batwa overcome the negative impacts on their communities stemming from projects already underway, including conservation projects such as Mgahinga and Bwindi National Parks, which overlay traditional forests upon which Batwa livelihoods have relied.

A survey by Kabananukye and Wily in 1996 stated that it is difficult to do a Batwa census as their high infant mortality made them reluctant to be counted. This is based on the traditional belief that it will lead to death because the wrath of their ancestors is provoked by being counted, a belief shared by other local ethnic groups.

They also hate censuses because they associate them with taxation, even though internationally they are exempt from tax. They don't understand its purpose and fear they may be made do work they believe cannot manage, such as military service. However it is likely that the UOBDU census is reasonably accurate as it was conducted by a Batwa NGO.

Access to Traditional Medicines and Health Services

Before the Batwa used forest medicinal herbs but now are forbidden from entering the forest and finance is an obvious problem as they cannot afford prescriptions, as a result when they are ill they are unable to access either traditional or pharmaceutical medication. There are also many stories by Batwa who are turned away from health centres as local nursing staff refuse to treat them because they say they are “dirty”.

Figure 52 Buhoma Hospital Sign

On the plus side Bwindi Community Hospital of Kanungu in conjunction with the International Medical Foundation launched an e-quality scheme in early 2010 whose aim is to promote affordable quality health services to disadvantaged people. The hospital was founded in 2000 to serve the health needs of the Batwa but now serves all residents adjacent to Bwindi Impenetrable NP. It is funded through international donations and community contributions; each person in the scheme pays Ush9,000 per year and can access all the hospital's services. It has c. 17,000 members as of September, 2011. However it is not clear what the take up rate of this new service is among the Batwa.

Marginalisation and Discrimination

Currently they are marginalised and discriminated against by local people and their plight has been ignored by successive national and local governments. They now resort to casual insecure manual work and begging. Typical of such communities worldwide alcoholism, petty crime, prostitution associated with HIV, high infant mortality rates, low life expectancy, illiteracy and low educational achievements and other social problems have started to become common, which causes further cycles of discrimination and marginalisation.

On a local level they find it impossible to get justice for crimes such as rape and murder as the local police are unlikely to favour complaints from people they look down on against the communities they come from; this pattern is not unique to the Batwa but is found worldwide among marginal minorities. Regarding rape many farmers believe that sex with a Batwa will cure them of backaches and, in more recent times, as a cure for AIDS though generally rapists don't need any excuse for their crimes.

UOBDU Census, 2007

According to an UOBDU census in 2007 they now make up 1% of the Kigezi population and totalled c. 2,550 in 2004 and 3,135 in 2007. Of these 50% live in Kisoro district, 25% in Kabale District, 21% in Kanungu District with the balance in Mbarara, Ntungamo and Katovu districts.

There were 821 households in 2007, or 3.82 persons per household (compared with 4.5 among the non-Batwa); of these 20% were headed by women or children. About 51% are landless though this varies by district, 51% in Kisoro, 61% in Kabale, 21% in Kanungu and 100% in other districts.

In 2007 school attendance was 532 of which 56% were boys and 44% girls. About 75% were in P1 and P2 while only 25% were in P3-7. The high dropout rate is attributed to early marriages, lack of food, inability to pay school fees, lack of school success, harassment by teachers and pupils, marginalisation and parental ignorance of the benefits of education. In other words the UPE has been of little benefit to them. Only nine students were in secondary (six were girls) and four in vocational training (three were girls). Overall literacy rates are very low, 10% among men and 6% among women.

Only 13% of houses have CGI roofs, the majority are made up of pole frames, with mud walls and grass thatched roofs, while 36% have latrines and a further 9% use public latrines but management of the latter is an issue. They access water from a variety of sources, 41% from wells, 32% from springs and the balance get water from a mix of bore holes, harvesting rainwater, rivers, lakes and taps. However most of these sources do not provide clean water and they have not learnt the benefits of boiling water before use.

Child mortality (eight and under) is mostly as a result of malaria (65%) while other causes include kafura, pneumonia, kwashiorkor, measles, demons and dysentery. Batwa women suffer childhood mortality of 2.1 children on average compared to the regional average of 0.8 children.

In 2000, a medical team found that amongst the Batwa there was a 40% mortality rate of children under the age of five compared to the local average of 20%. A follow up study in 2004 found that after four years of intervention by a Missionary Medical Team, who provided free health care, the rate had fallen to 18% but also found that among the landless, it was 59%.

Government Ignorance

Referring to the Batwa in 2006 during question time in the Ugandan Parliament, the then Energy Minister, Mr. Migereko, blamed ‘Pygmies’ for the delay in bringing electricity to their district. The Daily Monitor (July 13th) reported that the Minister informed Parliament, that:

“Bundibugyo has taken long to be connected to the national grid because of the issues of pygmies... These people enjoy climbing trees and they can climb electrical poles and die... Those who have stayed with the pygmies say they don’t like staying in houses. They prefer sleeping in trees.”

The minister thus showed his ignorance concerning the Batwa, the pace of rural electrification (and tried to blame 1% of the population for the slow pace of electrification and failure to attract private sector investment) and that illegal connections (described by the UMEME as rampant) are made by farmers and entrepreneurs who already have their homes and businesses wired. Given that number of Kisoro district households with electricity connections was only 1.5% in 2002, it could be argued that telegraph poles are rarer than Batwa.

Geofrey Inzito, a Batwa representative of Bundibugyo, responded (Daily Monitor, July 20th),

“How many Batwa has [the Energy Minister] seen climbing poles?

We don’t climb electricity poles but like any other person, we climb trees, which have edible fruits. Do electricity poles have fruits or firewood? Hasn’t [the Energy Minister] climbed a tree in his village for a fruit? That was an abuse to us and he should come here personally and apologise.”

Worth noting is that Batwa were soldiers in the NRA and the NRM's Ten Point programme (1986) states that:

“One's religion, colour, sex or height is not considered when welcoming new members into NRM”

Finally Article 37 of the Constitution (1995) states:

“Every person has a right as applicable, to belong to, enjoy, practice, profess, maintain and promote any culture, cultural institution, language, tradition, creed, or religion in community with others.”

The Wider Context

During the Rwandan Genocide of 1994 the Batwa were targeted because they didn't take sides. An estimated 30% (1% of the total population) of them were murdered compared to c. 18% of the combined Hutu and Tutsi population. Even now little recognition is given to their past suffering.

According to Wikipedia, during the First and Second Congolese Wars (1996-2003), pygmies in the DRC were hunted down like game animals and eaten. Many mercenaries regarded them as 'subhuman' and believe Batwa flesh confers magical powers. UN human rights activists reported in 2003 that rebels had carried out acts of cannibalism. In North Kivu province there was cannibalism by a group known as Les Effaceurs (The Erasers) who also wanted to clear the land to open it up for mineral exploitation.

According to Minority Rights Group International there is much evidence of mass killings, cannibalism and rape of pygmies and have urged the International Criminal Court to investigate this extermination campaign. Sinafasi Makelo, a representative of Mbuti pygmies, has recently asked the UN Security Council to recognise cannibalism as a crime against humanity and an act of genocide. Although, they were targeted by virtually all armed groups, much of the violence against pygmies is attributed to the rebel group, the Movement for the Liberation of Congo, which is part of the transitional government and still controls much of the north, and their allies.

In the recent upsurge of violence, 2012, there have been further atrocities whose details are only coming known but are depressingly familiar.

The Batwa Mapping of Bwindi

In May-June 2011 a fascinating project, that recreated Bwindi Impenetrable and Mgahinga national parks from the Batwa perspective, was run by UOBDU in conjunction with the Forest Peoples Project (FPP) who have field programmes in South America, Central Africa and South and South-East Asia and carry out national and international advocacy focused on policy-making related to forests and human rights and work collaboratively with many NGOs and environmental and human rights networks to help co-ordinate NGO positions on international forest policy and related intergovernmental and private sector initiatives, Environmental Research, Mapping and Information Systems in Africa (ERMIS), a regional NGO based in Kenya and the Institute of Tropical Forest Conservation (ITFC), a conservation-oriented research institute located on the edge of BINP.

Originally the project was planned for the Virunga also but due to constraints only Bwindi was attempted. The mapping process involved the training of Batwa community representatives, eight members from about five clans. These clan groups were composed of equal numbers of male and female participants to allow for the production of gender sensitive models as well as a balance between youth and elder representatives to allow for the transmission of traditional knowledge across the age ranges.

Figure 53 Mapping exercise

Young children participated to help create the model in the initial stages before the traditional knowledge was applied to the model. It is envisaged that all sections of the Batwa communities will be represented in the mapping process to produce the best possible models and to ensure that the process is as representative as possible. This allowed the Batwa complete ownership of the final mapping product.

The first stage was to create a contour model of Bwindi forest and surrounding areas with roads and rivers added. On this they plotted sacred sites and areas, burial sites, and resources such as wild honey, wild yams (but not by species), other edible plants (though the species were not identified), fish, medicinal plants, weaving materials, hot springs, caves, gold and resource boundaries within the park as well as houses, schools and health centres outside.

In the centre under Kibiru hill and Hihiku river they plotted three Itaama (sacred zones) one of which was never used and two others that were used sparingly with many prayers to the guardian spirits. There were other sacred and burial sites on hill tops but were not always together.

The expected outcomes are: Enhanced conservation of the Mountain Gorillas in the greater Virunga Area through the application and integration of Batwa traditional knowledge; Increased integration of Batwa communities, their traditional knowledge, and their needs and wishes, within protected area management; Reduced conflicts between Batwa communities and protected areas in the region; Greater involvement of Batwa communities in the targeting, planning and facilitation of development interventions; Increased capacity amongst the Batwa to advocate on their issues relating to conservation and development interventions which affect their lives; and Increased capacity of Batwa communities to maintain their traditional knowledge in culturally appropriate ways through processes which they manage and control.

The results have been widely reported and maybe seen on stakeholder websites. UOBDU don't have a website so their advocacy has limited circulation.

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Chapter 3.3

# Bakiga

## Introduction

There are many complicated explanations as the origins of the Bakiga, which tend to treat them as one people or tribe. The simplest explanation, given that clans before 1900 never used the term, is that it is a colonial description of the inhabitants of Rukiga (confusingly, the language is also called Rukiga) who differed from the Mpororo to the north and Banyrwanda, including the Bafumbira, from the west and south. Rukiga, as a place name was in use in the early 1800s when the Bigyeyo were ruling in Bushengyera.

While Bakiga does not appear to have much historical validity as an identity it is a useful description of the mountain peoples and their cultures. The Bakiga of the hills share the same migration histories as the Bafumbira of the volcanoes. Some ways of life and aspects of culture are also the same; the main differences are in language and political history.

[BOX] Complicated Origin Theories

According to Nzita and Niwampa there are different traditions about the origins of the Bakiga. The first is that they originally lived in Karagwe (they are related to the Banyambo of Tanzania) having migrated from Bunyoro during the Luo Invasion and are associated with the Banyambo of Tanzania.

Another tradition says that the cradle of the Bakiga was in Buganza in Rwanda. They migrated from there in search of fertile land and to escape political conflict. From Rwanda, they are said to have migrated to Bwisa, to Bugoyi, then to Rutchuru, all in DRC, and finally settled in Kigezi. It is also possible that they were of Bantu origin and migrated from the Congo region, through Bunyoro, Karagwe, Rwanda and eastern DR Congo to finally settle in Kigezi.

There are other theories; one states that they are called after Kakiga (defender), the son of Mbogo, from Bumbogo (Rwanda) and of the Baitira (Bungura) clan. One oral tradition is that Kiga was originally Kinga, translated as 'Of the Earth'. Another is that it is a nickname derived from Ebiga (Runyarwanda), which is translated as cracks and scars on the body caused by not washing. Finally Munkiga is a place in south Buberuka, Rwanda.

According to Ngologoza there were five major Bakiga clan groups: 1) Bamungwe (Bazigaaba, Banyangabo, Bagabira, Basaakuru, Baruru and Batendura) who came from Mubari (associated with Rwihura, son of Kabaizi); 2) Bakinyagiro (Bayundo, Batendura, and Babanda) who came from Mugyera, Kishanje (Rwanda); 3) Bamusigi (Basigi, Bahimba and Bakimbiri), the first came from Bukamba, via Lake Burera, and settled first in Kitojo and Karambo before spreading to other areas in Kigezi while the latter two came from Mpimbi (Muganza) and settled in Rubuzibwamahano, Bukimbiri; 4) Bakorobwa (Barihira) who migrated via Kindi and Ruhunde; and 5) Bamuhutu (Bainika, Baitira, and Bungura) who came from Mpimbi (Muganza) and lived

in Kishanje before settling in Nyarwanu and Mariba; from there one group went to Mashuure Karorwa, Bukinda, while most Baitira went to Ankole.

The most comprehensive analysis was compiled by Turyahikayo-Rugyema in the early 1970s. In general, he says that the Bazigaaba came from Mubari to Kigezi from the 17th century. The Babanda and Barengye went to Kayonza and Kinkiizi in 17th but some settled near Lake Bunyonyi under rain maker leaders. Older Lake Bunyonyi residents were the Baitira and Baishekatwa pastoralists, Bazigaaba, Basinga/Bagahe (the latter included Banyonyi pastoralists and rain makers of the early 18th century who became agriculturalists). The Bakongwe were also resident having come from Kayonza and maybe the Baheesi before them who may have come from the Congo.

About 95% of the population of Kabale District currently call themselves Bakiga.
[END BOX]

Later Migrations
The collapse of the Mpororo kingdom at the end of the 18th century led to a power vacuum in south Kigezi that resulted in unopposed migrations from the south. Bakiga migrations of mid 19th century northwards displaced the Bashambo from Mpororo and was then renamed Rukiga. Bazigaaba and Bashengera pastoralists went north to Rujumbura after the Basigi influx in the 1880s.

At the end of the 19th century there were also conflicts between the Basigi, Bakongwe and the Batwa west of Lake Bunyonyi combined with famines and land shortages as the fertile lands around the lake were much sought after. Each clan was ruled by leaders who were rain makers, medicine men, warriors or wise elders; meanwhile Nyabingi grew in power.

In the north around Kinkiizi there were many Bakiga migrants though they faced opposition from the Congolese Bahunde from 18th century who were significant there and Kayonza up to the time of Ntokibiiri, the last great Bahunde leader. In Rujumbura there were few Bakiga as it was under the control of local Bahororo leaders who maintained independence through aggressive raiding of their neighbours after the fall of the Mpororo kingdom until the arrival of the English. The current Bakiga population elsewhere in Uganda is a result of resettlement schemes of the 1940s and later migrations.

In Bufumbira the Bazigaaba arrived in the 16th century and the 1840s. The Bagahe came from Gisake arrived and the Bagiri from Rwanda around 1700. The Basigi arrived in the 19th century and were followed by the Bagara, Barihira and Bungura, all agriculturalists. Various Batutsi chiefs came to rule but were resisted by Basebye, leader of the Batwa allied with the Bazigaaba, Bungura and Batongo of Kanaba Gap who fought against them and their Basinga pastoral allies.

May Edel and John Roscoe, Anthropologists
One of the main sources for the Bakiga is May Edel who was in Kigezi for one year in 1932-3 and therefore reflects anthropological philosophies and methodologies of that period. She chose Uganda because she had worked with Ernest Kalibala (who was translating a work of Sir Apolo Kagwa, previously PM and regent of the Baganda, based on work by Rev. John Roscoe) and

Kigezi as it was the least Europeanised with the exception of the impact of government taxation and Christian missionaries.

She spent all her time with the Bajura lineage of Bafuga, on the shores of Lake Bunyoni; they were part of the Bayunda clan, though the Bajura had at that time broken down into various sub-lineages, Bahabga, Batora, Bahirane and Bazigate; all were descended from Nkuba, grandson of Kayundu from whom other Bayundu descend.

While as a snapshot it is an excellent description, there is little comparative research so it is unclear how representative it is of other Bakiga clans and lineages of that time. Her comparisons with other African societies are general. While the minutiae of small differences may not seem important, plotting them geographically can show the distribution and spread of cultural influences and helps place a society within its regional context.

Other problems include her lack of historical analysis, essential for understanding Kigezi society. To understand why things the way they are an understanding of the ways things were is essential. There is no mention of the 1928 rebellion based not 5km from where she lived, no references to the Batwa, Bakongwe or other lake neighbours, including the Bwama Island Leprosy Settlement set up two years previously.

She doesn't refer to Roscoe's writings on the Bakiga, the first anthropological descriptions of 1919/20. Her choice of location was not isolated; she was only 1km from Kabahinga rest station and ferry point, a busy stage on the Kabale to Kisoro route (prior to the road). She may have underestimated the amount of acculturation to colonialism; while daily life had little changed, the fundamental structure of society was shifting as epitomised by her conversations with Mukombe, the saza chief of Ndorwa.

While much of the below is based on her work, Roscoe quoted elsewhere, is also worth reading. His methodology was different, since the agenda of the Mackie Ethnological Expedition, 1919/20, was to record fast disappearing cultures in the Protectorate. He also assumes the Bakiga are a tribe but spent many hours in conversations with many different clan representatives, mostly male. However he only spent a very short time in the area.

Roscoe was an anthropologist and Uganda resident for over 25 years, who has largely been forgotten. He had extensive knowledge about Uganda based from his extensive travels around the Protectorate. For instance he was struck by the similarities between the (unrelated) Bakiga and Basegu of Mount Elgon. His perspective in comparing the mountain clans of Elgon, Kigezi and Rwenzori has not been since explored.

He discussed his findings in 1924 and also wrote The Soul of Africa, where he describes his bicycle safari around eastern Kigezi; he came from Ankole and then went to Lake Edward before heading north along the Rift Valley.

Structure of Society

Politically the Bakiga of southern Kigezi were a one class society that did not have a kingdom but was based on clans, lineages and households, unlike the Bakiga kingdoms of Kayonza and Kinkiizi.

They were typical of mountain people in that there were networks of clans, some leaders and others with specialised skills, roles and tributes. Unlike kingdoms around them there were no caste differences (with the exception of slaves); these types of society are found elsewhere in Africa where pastoral kingdoms never gained a foothold.

Edel described them as a 'structured anarchy', which seems contradictory but may be explained by changes in the meaning of anarchy. However, much of this anarchy was due to the specific political circumstances of the previous eighty years. It also does not take into account the Bakiga kingdoms further north.

Figure 54 Bakiga Group, 1930s

Clans were not static units but always in the process of fission and sub-division and, at any one time, were in temporary equilibrium. While clan leaders would sometimes meet and publicly discuss issues of wider importance, local politics between clans and lineages predominated.

Inter-clan conflict was not uncommon with feuds between family's sometimes lasting generations. These could be solved through blood-brotherhood oaths or exchange of gifts. They were, according to Edel:

"A people united only in their common disunity; a group of homogeneous culture, divided into independent clans, which are related through a network of intermarriages, but are also engaged in constant feuds."

Crimes committed in a group could only be solved with in the group with the exception of one accused of murder by witchcraft who would be stoned to death by everybody. Informal judges and juries would try cases and act as arbiters; trial by ordeal was a last resort.

Historical Background

The collapse of the Mpororo kingdom at the end of the 18th century led to a power vacuum in south Kigezi that resulted in unopposed migrations from the south. Bakiga migrations of mid 19th century northwards displaced the Bashambo from Mpororo and was then renamed Rukiga. Bazigaaba and Bashengera pastoralists went north to Rujumbura after the Basigi influx in the 1880s. There were also conflicts between the Basigi, Bakongwe and the Batwa west of Lake Bunyoni combined with famines and land shortages as the fertile lands around the lake were much sought after. Each clan was ruled by leaders who were rain makers, medicine men, warriors or wise elders; meanwhile Nyabingi grew in power.

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By and large this view has held sway to the present day but only reflects what was happening in southern Kigezi in the early 20th century. Prior to the 1870s and the Basigi Uprising the area was typically ruled by small Bashambo rainmaker clans; these were found between the kingdoms of Ankole, Rwanda and Toro. There were established clan relationships, each with their own functions and specialities, i.e. drum makers or iron smiths. Furthermore north of Bwindi there were two successful Bakiga dynasties in Kayonza and Kinkiizi, which lasted until conquered by the English.

Clan Structures and Relationships

The clans were not static units but always in the process of fission and sub-division and, at any one time, were in temporary equilibrium. While clan leaders would sometimes meet and publicly discuss issues of wider importance, local politics between clans and lineages predominated.

They were known to be fierce warriors, a necessary attribute as they had to defend themselves against Rwandan expansionism in the 19th century and cattle raids by neighbouring peoples including the Batwa who were known for their hit and run raids and who could never be found in their forest hide-outs, though they were often allied with Rwandan, Bakongwe and other Bakiga clans.

Inter-clan conflict was not uncommon with feuds between families' sometimes lasting generations. These could be solved through blood-brotherhood oaths or exchange of gifts.

Justice

Justice within the community served as the mediator of relationships between unrelated people and was similar across all clans. Normally, family heads and elders would settle and arbitrate local cases. Thieves and wizards were despised; they would be beaten or speared to death if they were caught. A woman who poisoned a person to death would be given poison to drink. Crimes committed in a group could only be solved within the group with the exception of one accused of murder by witchcraft who would be stoned to death by everybody. Informal judges and juries would try cases and act as arbiters; trial by ordeal was a last resort.

Whenever there was a fight in the family and it could end in divorce, the case would be taken to elders. If the husband was proved guilty, he would offer a pot of beer and a goat to the woman's family to redeem his wife. If the woman was found guilty, she was verbally disciplined. No fine was levied on her in case it caused trouble in the family. Conflicts and fights between men were treated lightly, but fighting among women was frowned upon.

For an another perspective Roscoe, 1924, discussing immigrant clans wrote:

"Some tribes such as the Bakyga and Basegu are of unfriendly disposition within the tribe. And there is much strife of clan against clan, but at seasons of harvest there is peace and both men and women can go from village to village to drink beer and form marriage alliances. At such times weapons are laid aside and men of different clans intermingle without fear, but at other time men who wish to enter the district of another clan go in small parties, well armed.

Clothing, if any was worn, consisted of an animal skin roughly dressed and tied, in the case of a woman around the waist, and in the case of the man, round the neck leaving one side exposed. Instead of the skin dress women sometimes make themselves skirts of grass, but unmarried women seldom wear any clothing, and dress is a sign of marriage. There are certain strict rules of morality, and no man would violate any girl of his own clan.

We find among them no idea of a common ruler and no recognition of a chief of a district. Each small group of huts contain five or six families who do not accept the authority of any other group. Seldom do the villages exceed ten huts, because the young men are apt to break away and seek new ground on which to settle.

This may well be accounted for by the desire to avoid friction in settlements where there is no ruler, and the only law is the word of the oldest member or of the man chosen by common consent to be the 'father' of the village. His word is generally upheld by other members of the village, and any disturbance is punished by fine, which is as a rule the heaviest punishment imposed. In cases of murder among the Bakyga, where tempers are uncertain, the culprit, where discovered, is buried alive with his victim. In other crimes a fine is deemed sufficient, though sometimes the culprit is also driven from the village, his goods being confiscated by the elders."

Musical Instruments
Typical instruments included the following:

Figure 55 Likembe, Rattles and other instruments, Uganda Museum

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Chapter 3.4

## Bafumbira

### Introduction

The Bafumbira are usually treated as being different to the Bakiga but this is not quite accurate; in fact they share the same clan origins. However, it is one area where, due to Rwandan influence and conquest, the terms Bahutu and Batutsi are used. There are not particularly relevant except in a general way as clan histories and culture are similar to the Bakiga. The main difference is in language; the Bakiga speak Rukiga and the Bafumbira speak Rufumbira (very similar to Runyaruanda). The timings and reasons for this differentiation are not known.

It is worth noting that Bafumbira only came into being as a colonial classification of the many clans with similar cultures that they found on conquest. Clans did not call themselves Bafumbira before then. Local people thus learned to call themselves Bafumbira during the colonial period and it became a source of identity and pride after independence. About 87% of Kisoro District currently call themselves Bafumbira, while nnother 11% call themselves Bakiga, mostly from the north around Bwindi.

With regards to the origins of Bafumbira Bishop Shalita reviewed four possibilities given by Ngologoza but thought that a fifth that translates ifumbira as fertility was the most likely. It certainly fits as a description of the volcanic soils, which normally are very fertile, plus some of the volcanoes were associated with pre-Christian fertility rituals and beliefs. As with the Bakiga nothing is known of the original inhabitants prior to the clan migrations from the 17th century.

### Bahutu and Batutsi

It is thought that crop farmers (Bahutu) arrived first in the 1500s and were followed by the pastoral (Batutsi) migration of different clans continued thereafter until 1900. Their social and political interactions have been complex due to their different ethnic origins and livelihoods that have been subject to various, often biased, historical interpretations.

However Uganda escaped the Hutu and Tutsi genocide that afflicted Burundi and Rwanda since they gained independence. As agricultural practices have developed in the 20th century many have migrated to areas more suited to cattle farming, such as Ankole, Toro, and northern Uganda. Batutsi in Kisoro were easily recognised as different up to the 1960s but not any longer.

Bahutu
The first migrants are believed to be the Bazigaaba who were expelled or escaped from Byumba (northern Rwanda) during the reign king Yuhi II Gahima (died c. 1578). They are currently the majority ethnic group in Kisoro.

Batutsi
According to Denoon, the first to arrive was one Murenganchuro, son of Yuhi Gahima, during the reign of King Ndahiro around 1550. They were a minority in Bafumbira until the late 19th century. After Rwandan conquest the monarchy increased their presence as aristocracy with their followers. They declined after the colonial take over and either migrated or became mixed farmers. The head of the government was the hereditary king, Umwami. He was assisted by land and cattle or grass chiefs. The land chief was in turn assisted by subordinate chiefs. The King had a standing army (intore) which consisted of professional Batutsi, Bahutu and Batwa warriors.

Generally each clan had its own village and rulers, though intermarriage, blood brotherhood and clan alliances ensured good relations between these eight major clans.

Traditional Magic in Bufumbira
Olukago was when a bull calf was trained to run, jump and be noisy thus preventing cattle theft. Oruguriko was when an object stolen stuck to the thief and he would be immobilised until discovered. This included adultery where the couple would be found stuck together and could only be separated when he provided a good quality goat when the medium would free the couple through a ceremony called Orugisha; though what happened the goat is not explained. Okushambya was when the medium found people drinking beer and they refused to give him any; he would then cause the drinkers to descend into a brawl, or, if it was only one person, paralyse him. Another spell caused grinding stones or granary roofs from different households to fight one another.

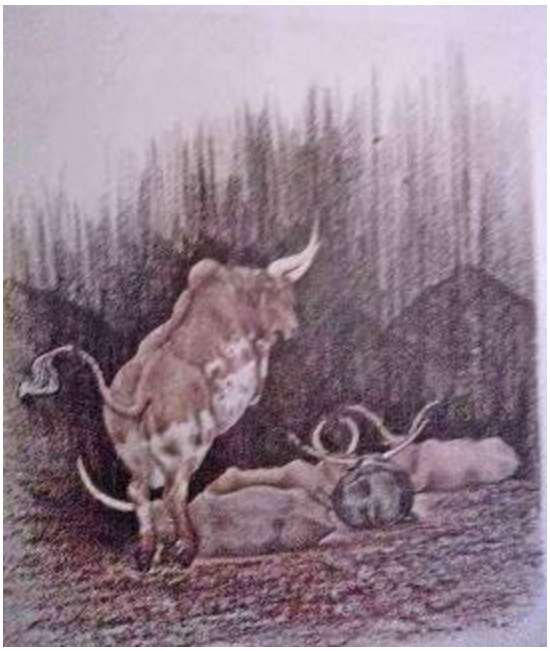
Figure 56 Mad cow magic (Martin De Depories)

A Prophetess
A noted fortune teller was Nyiramiryango, originally from Mpimbi (Congo), who was very tall and dark and wore bead decorations on her head. At a beer party at Balekye's compound around 1900 she arrived asking for food, then, according to Rwandusya,

After two mouthfuls she looked up as if she was choking. She said:

Haa! Look at our king Rugaju, the holy one is crossing from the other side of the lake.

Fixing her eyes 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 has passed. The snake is so long 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 granary full of people, also following the path of the snake.

We looked around anxiously but saw nothing. Suddenly she looked up and said

Look at the boat floating in the air carrying jubilant girls.

Many people assumed that she was mad and averted their eyes. Despairingly she concluded

Aiyee! Alas, I shall die before I see these things.

He continued:

In the same year she died. In 1910 we saw the English, Germans and Belgians and their askaris carrying guns on their shoulders. This reminded us of Nyiramiryango. Her prophecy might be interpreted as follows: king Rugaju represented the Europeans, the bundles of hoes the guns, the infinite snake the road system, the children's wheels the bicycles, the granary the motor car, and the boat in the air the aeroplane, whose engine noise might sound like jubilant girls.

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## Chapter 3.5

## Clan Histories

### Introduction

African people since ancient time have identified themselves as members of families, lineages and clans, which gave them their place and role in society. Social and political processes; climate and environmental change; and the vagaries of fate have determined their appearance and disappearance, their rise and fall.

Over time, as population increased, the most successful clans split forming sub-clans that often migrated in search of new land or independence if under pressure of other more aggressive clans in search of conquest and tribute. These sub clans sometimes became known as clans in their own right but then split starting the process again.

Clan histories in Kigezi are examples of these processes. The first main point is that no clan histories from before 1500 have survived. In other words they have been written out of history, forgotten, even though pollen evidence shows there has been settlement here from at least 2,000 years ago. For instance there were Bajeje and Batomi clans about whom nothing is known.

The current collection of clans all came from elsewhere, mostly from what is now northern Rwanda, originally a group of independent territories. Some of their origin myths and stories indicate that a few came from the Congo and Karagwe in modern-day Tanzania. In other words they migrated, settled, split: some stayed and others moved on; a restless society.

In the colonial period some White Fathers compiled clan histories that have disappeared or are languishing in European archives while, in the 1970s, local historians attempted to collect what was known then. However there still is much research to be done to fully understand clan migration, settlement and their interactions in Kigezi.

What follows is a précis of the major clans taken from Turyahikayo-Rugyema's thesis. . Further details can be found there and in various specific theses written around the same time; all of which are in Makerere University.

In A History of Kigezi there are two lists of settlement founders around Kigezi and clan villages in Bufumbira, now Kisoro District, both from the late 1960s. The first was collected by Festo Karwemere, a local historian of Kabale who corrected the original transcript in 2012 but made no additions, and the second by Z. Rwandusya, a retired chief, since deceased.

Babanda
Originally from Kyangwe, west of Lake Edward, (related to the Bahunde) they went to Nduga, Rwanda, in the 16th century as rain makers and local dynasts, they won Nyakahoza drum from the Barengye. They were later forced out by the Banyiginya (Rwandan dynasty), during the reign of Yuhi 11 Gahima, and Kasegyura raids.

They settled by Lake Bunyoni in the 17th century, but did not stay long as Banyoni rain makers controlled this area. Others migrated north through Rubanda in the 17th and early 18th centuries northwards through Kayonza into Kyangwe east to Kinkiizi (1700) to Kihiihi and Kabandama to Kayonza in the mid 18th. They are now mainly found in Kinkiizi. A sub-clan, the Bacucu, settled in Rubanda in the late 19th century when Katuregye forced them north to Nyakishnyi after 1860s.

Bakonjo
There are two theories, the first is that they originated from around Mt. Elgon, spread west to Lake Victoria and fled from the emerging Buganda around 1644-74. The second is that they are the original inhabitants of the Mt. Rwenzori where they have a long history of independence and the Kasese area and spread south to Kigezi.

They were mostly crop farmers of matooke, yams, potatoes, cassava and beans with some goats, sheep and fowl. They have strong hunting traditions, as individuals or groups of up 30 persons, and kept dogs. Communication was through whistling, low pitched but penetrating.

Banrengye
They were rain makers and pastoralists who intermarried with the Rwandan monarchy in the 17th century. Subsequently they migrated from Nduga after the arrival of the Babaande in the 16th and 17th centuries to Kayonza, They include the sub clans of the Bashaaru, Bakoma,

Bagoro and Batabarwa. Tradition is that a mother with sons Karengye, Kaganza, Kaanza, daughter Nyinamukari and medicine man Kasigi left Nduga.

There are legends they were blocked by an impassable swamp en route to Kayonza and that Nyinamukari sacrificed herself and created a passage or that she was forced to marry a wretched old man who showed them the route. Other variants have also been collected.

Others say they came via Bufundi and Bukongwe. They became chiefs in Kayonza and Busanza (DR Congo) This area was already populated by the Abanyarushuri, Bakiga basket weavers. They then moved south to Kyangwe founding six Banyangoma states: Kikombe, Ibinja, Rwana, Kayonza, Kinkiizi and Rwambara though Kinkiizi was then under the Babanda.

Bazigaaba
They were renowned iron workers who originated in Mubari, which had been conquered by Rwanda. Between 1580 and 1630 they migrated to South Kigezi, Bufumbira, Rujumbura and Nkore that forced Bashambo, Baishekatwa, Banyonyi and Bashangera pastoralists from Kigezi to Mpororo. Legend states that Banyiginya pastoralists (ancestors of the Rwandan dynasty) arrived in Mubari in the 16th century or earlier, were welcomed and they intermarried.

Some moved to Basukuru in Bafumbira in the 16th century while a later migration to Mulindi and Rushaki, Bafumbira, around 1750 was due to Rwandan pressure when Ndorwa was conquered. They were famous magicians, of which Nyangabo was best known, they were also later associated with Nyabingi. The Rwandan monarchy, who wished to control religion through the state, disliked them as they threatened royal power and were active in attacking and destroying any independent religious leaders and clans.

Other clan lineages went to Irima, west Lake Bunyoni and Rukiga then settled by Bahima and Bashambo pastoralists. Conflicts arose over land use but the Bazigaaba with the Basingooro, Bakoko and Basigi drove the Bahima and Bashambo out. The latter moved to Rujumbura but were than forced out from there by the Bahiiga of the Basiiga. Bazigaaba migration ceased by the mid 19th but started again in 1880s due to King Rwabugiri's military campaigns.

Basingoora
They maybe related to the Bazigaaba. Originally from Butumbi they moved to Mubari, where they had many children but were forced out by disease and land shortage. They went to Kinkiizi, Mpungu and Kirima and settled in Rukiga between Mparo and Nyakarambi and Kandago. They were well-known blacksmiths who taught the Babuka and Bakoza. They forced the Bahima from Rukiga where bark cloth trees mark former kraals on hilltops.

Bakimbiri
They were from Bumbogo, Rwanda, and Mubari, but were not indigenous to Rwanda. They are concentrated in Bufumbira and are related to the Bahinda and Banyiginya. The Bagiri settled in Bufumbira (Muganza), Kigezi (Rubanda from Muganza, Nangaaro, Bugini and Kakore), Ankole and the Congo. The Bahimba went to Rubanda and had many clashes with the Basigi.

In 1905 the Bakongwe and Katuregye defeated the Bahimba who fled to Nyakishenyi and Rujumbura but returned during the post colonial period. Ruyoka rwa Maganya ya Nkunda ya Rukumba was one of their famous military leaders who died in the 1880s during a clash with the Bajingwe over grazing land; there are many stories, folk tales and sagas about him. It is also said that the Bakimbiri, Bahimba, Bajingwe, Bagini and Beega are of the Bamugiri settled in Muhanga, Bufumbira.

Bakinyagiro
Bacucu and Bayundo were from Mugyera gwa Bebwa by Lake Bunyonyi but originally were either from Rwanda or the Congo who had come via Rubanda. Bacucu migrated to the Nyakishenyi marcher zone between south Kigezi, Bahororo and Bahima in the 1860s.

At that time Nyakishenyi was inhabited by Basigi, Bajingwa, Basharu, Bakimbiri, (settled around 1870) Basasira (originally Basharu), Banungu, Bataya, Bazobiki, Bahumbu, Bahingo, Bashaki, Bakimbiri and Basasira. It was originally settled by Bashura who moved to Kahama, via Lake Bunyoni, from Rwanda around 1810.

Nengo was almost deserted at that time, including area bordering Kinkiizi and Rujumbura. The Bashura refused to settle there as they believed the land to be inauspicious. However the Nengo caves have some unspecified archaeology and had wild bananas indicating settlement and abandonment at some previous period.

The Banungu may be either Bakiga or Bahororo, they speak a dialect of latter, and were peaceful but powerful sorcerers who were anti-Nyabingi. They came from Kyangwa kya Mbiribiri near Lake Edward, some went to Nyakishenyi, by 1875, and others to Rubanda but they fell out with the Basigi.

The Bahumbu have a similar history as the Banungu, searching for new land but enduring conflicts in Nyakishenyi, Kisya and Kabaranga. The Bahumbu were also similar; they came from Mpimbi za Muganza, on the border of Kigezi and Congo and migrated to Bufumbira, Kinkiizi, Kiganda, Nyakishenyi and Rubanda.

The Bashaki came from Rubanda to Nyakishenyi and Buchundura. Around 1870-80 Bataya pastoralists were forced out from Rukiga due to increasing competition for land and went north to Nyakishenyi. At that time Mpororo was collapsing and stories of good land, sweet potatoes, millet and bananas in Nyakishenyi but not yet Mpororo were attractive.

The Bacacu had no king cult but worshipped Nyakituro who was unmarried lady who died young and was buried under a ekiko tree, when they made offerings to her before embarking on their frequent skirmishes with others tribes, she was their superior emandwa spirit. Previously they had lost most of these skirmishes until advised by a medium to make offerings to Nyakituro before each battle; this led to greater success.

They formed an alliance with the Basigi and by 1890 got control of two-thirds of Nyakishenyi. However a drought in 1890 caused famine and migrations to Nkore, Rujumbura and Kinkiizi, when they brought livestock to barter for millet and maize in Rujumbura but due to the bad

relationships (the latter frequently raided Nyakishenyi) there was considerable exploitation. The area became deserted, but was slowly resettled later. Bacucu, Bajingwa and Basigi chiefs led the 1917 Nyakishenyi rebellion.

Barihira
They were from Mpimbi, north-west Lake Kivu and their mythical origin is Ibumbya. They may be related to the Basinga and Bungura. They settled in Bwisha, Rwanda, migrated to southern Ndorwa in the late 18th century and, after 1800, went to Rukiga.

Bakongwe
They settled around Lake Bunyoni perhaps around the 18th century but may have started migrating in the 16th and 17th centuries. They are a branch of the Barengye who went to Bufundi in the early 19th century. At the same time the Basigi, Baheesi, Bainika, Basaakra and Bungura were also arriving and some may have been forced to migrate to Kagarama.

A later migration in the late 19th century went to Kayonza and south Kigezi. The Bazigaaba, whose bark cloth trees (for kraals) were still found east of Lake Bunyoni in the 1970s, may have been forced to move by the exodus of Basigi into Kagarama and Bubara.

A folk tale relates that Kambari from Murandi (Bufundi) was a noted ritual leader and may have been a Nyabingi priest. He received offerings of beer, livestock for protection against drought, famine, flood and disease and also received young Banyrwanda girls who worked voluntarily and often married him or others without bride price. He died in 1885 aged 131; his great age was due to a diet of good food from different places.

Bagyesera
They were from south Ndorwa and Gisaka who went to Kigezi around 1800. Another branch, the Batimbo, went to Mwisi near Kabale.

Basigi
The theory that they from Bunyoro or Ethiopia is unlikely; they were known to have been in Busigi, Ndorwa, a long time before their migrations to Kigezi. They are also found around Lake Bunyoni since as early as the 1600s. In the aftermath of Rwanda expansion many clans migrated north; once of the side-effects was the displacement of Bashambo leaders from the 1870s, such as the Bashengera and Bayebe to move to Rujumbura and Ankole and the Bunyoni to Kahama.

They migrated to Kitweigo 1850-60, Heisesro on Lake Bunyoni in the late 1850s and Kagarama and Karambo in 1875. In the 1880s during King Rwabugiri's campaigns they moved en-masse (sometimes called the Basigi uprising) into Rukiga and ousted the Bashambo at Maziba. They were scattered like many other clans from Lake Bunyoni in the 1890s by Katuregye.

Selected Sources
Turyahikayo-Rugyema Benoni, The History of the Bakiga in Southwestern Uganda and Northern Rwanda, CA 1500-1930, University of Michigan, 1974

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Chapter 3.6

Birth to Death

Rites of Passage and Relationships
While many aspects of relationships are similar across East Africa there are many minor variations that are difficult to plot and the reasons why one set of people should follow any particular set of practises can only be understood through intense study of their culture and comparisons with their neighbours, a difficult task given the major changes that have taken place over the last 100 years. The subjects covered here are birth, marriage and death with some notes on blood brotherhood.

Birth
The arrival of a new baby was always a cause of celebration, particularly if it was the first born. Pregnancy and birth was surrounded by numerous taboos and rituals that had to be followed to ensure the infant's survival though no special preparations were made for the birth, which could happen anywhere. The mother often had the child alone, squatting or kneeling, and sometimes with the assistance of other women, co-wives or mother-in-law who give praise at the safe arrival.

For the first four days she remained in seclusion, her husband by her side, and her neighbours brought gifts of drink, food and firewood. When the remains of the umbilical cord fell off, the placenta was buried near the gateway. In the meantime the father announced the birth by building a fire using the gateposts and by placing a bow (among the Bakiga) or bow, arrows and shield (among the Bafumbira) in the infant boy's hand to make it brave and ready to defend the family. If the infant was a girl grass was used as a symbol that the house will be kept clean and neat.

Mother and child now made their first public appearance when relatives and friends admired the baby; whose head is shaved usually after 4-8 days. The reception was a time of celebration among the community. Around this time the child was named usually by consensus among the participants, sometimes it was called after a recent local event, the place where it was born or with some reference to God and his attributes. A child who died before being named had no status.

She also visited her parents with a small gift of gruel and maybe some beer to make an offering at her paternal grandmother's indaro (shrine), as she had helped her conceive. In return the grandparents may have given some land or a goat if it is a firstborn. Afterwards the mother resumed her life with the baby tied on her back and breastfed as required. The appearance of the first teeth was celebrated by various rituals such as placing pumpkin leaves with gruel or sorghum drink into the child's mouth and shared with the adults and is called 'eating the teeth' or

'eating maize'. However if the upper teeth came first, they are extracted as it was believed to be a bad omen.

Twins were a mixed blessing. Among the Bakiga they were considered special, but their placentas were considered dangerous and buried in a marked spot that all would avoid preventing leprosy. They were treated alike, given gifts together, punished together, and girls married off together. Parents had various taboos and restrictions, some temporary, some permanent. However, among the Bafumbira twins were a matter of concern and a medicine man would come to administer herbs as palliative against the bad omen. In the meantime the husband would go to the house top until his wife called him, saying she has cleared out all the evils. From this time she was allowed to call him by his name, which was normally taboo.

Marriage

Marriage was a major right of passage for young females as it marked the transition from adolescence in their parental home to the responsibilities of children and work in their husband's home. It was when a girl became a woman and a boy became a man; unmarried males are usually called boys regardless of age, which is also the practice in Asia. Polygamy was standard in sub-Saharan Africa though their were variations, hunter gatherers were primarily monogamous, and pastoralists tended to marry less wives than crop farmers.

Role of Marriage

These practices were a function of way of life, work load and status. For hunter gatherers one wife was the most effective except when she was barren. Among pastoralists many wives was unnecessary as most of the livestock work and defence was done by men and it did not need many women to process milk products, they just had to guarantee enough sons to continue the lineage. Cows had greater status than women.

Among crop and mixed farmers the number of wives was important and they played many roles. First there was women-power; they did the majority of work in the fields. Their role as child bearers was crucial as a large number of children, given high infant and maternal mortality rates, guaranteed the continuation of the lineage and provided defence security against raiders and wild animals.

When compounds became overpopulated with large numbers of men, each with their own set of wives, they split and the younger men set up new compounds nearby, which provided in depth defence and gave greater power and status to the clans that developed over generations.

Finally, a large number of wives became a status symbol that gave the lineage elder(s) power and prestige in his community. The long term result was the exponential spread of crop farmers to every corner of Africa through continual splitting combined with small and large scale migrations in search of new land.

Marriage was a family affair that took into consideration family ties, economic status, reputation and the potential benefits of the new alliance. It was rarely ever decided by the prospective bride and groom, which is a modern innovation, even in Europe arranged marriages were the norm in most traditional agricultural communities until fairly recently.

It was desirable for a girl to marry within a few years of attaining puberty, too soon was seen as an act of desperation (pre-puberty marriages were disapproved of) and too late interfered with her chances, as prospective husbands preferred young wives – a Bakiga proverb is: “Vegetables are sweet to eat while they are young".

Negotiations

There were various steps to the process: the negotiations, engagement announcement, wedding and dowry ceremonies and post-wedding obligations, each of which varied depending on communal practises and traditions. Negotiations, which could last a year and involved the advice of many family members, were usually conducted through a matchmaker who would assist in the choice of couple and then the gifts (called bride price, bride wealth and dowry) to be paid by the fathers of both sides, there were always reciprocal payments.

This was followed by a formal visit by the boy's family to the girl's family where the reason would be announced, which would lead to final dowry negotiations and was a social affair and an art, status was important as it was better to be seen as generous and open-hearted than to be concerned with value.

At the height of inter-clan hostility it was rare that the bride and bridegroom met before marriage; everything was by negotiation under truce. The most prospective marriage partners knew was from family gossip. In some cases it was only after all the negotiations were complete that the couple met for the first time for the ceremony. At this stage the prospective bride could take one look at her proposed future husband and refuse by turning on her heel at the gateway of his compound and walking away.

Bakiga Marriage Ceremonies

The marriage ceremonies were always complicated affairs, full of ritual, which often took days as the prospective bride made the transition to her new home.

The marriage ceremony among the Bakiga consisted of bringing the dowry of cows and goats and the bride who would ritually cry. The elders from the bridegroom's compound killed the goats for the feast and the wedding party would begin and last until midnight. The following morning at cock-crow a hoe, tied with various grasses, would be presented to the bride's mother by a brother of the bridegroom, and then to the bride, who was ritually washed, nails cut and a parting shaved in her hair.

She said farewell to her parents by sitting on their laps and then her brothers carried her out of the compound to the bridegroom's household; it was good form for her to resist. Outside his compound they would rest and he would emerge and tapped her on her arm saying:

“You may speak once, but I shall speak twice, if you speak twice I shall beat you.”

She then went to his mother's house. This started a new round of feasting, drinking and dancing until midnight.

The next morning the groom and his brothers urinated on a stool in a house room and the groom would wait with his hands in the urine. The bride was stripped naked and placed on his hands in the urine where he tested that she was a virgin. An epic was then recited and an aunt of the bride would tie a skirt with a belt on the bride with many complicated knots that had to be untied before the marriage could be consummated.

Afterwards children collected water in a calabash that was thrown over the bride, who would then throw the gourd and water over her husband. She then returned to the bedroom and her escort returned home but first smearing their bodies with butter; on the way home the men collected firewood and the women grass to be presented to the bride's mother.

Later the bridegroom's sisters prepared millet gruel that was eaten and the rest of the day was spent by the husband trying to remove his wife's skirt and belt, which involved a lot of wresting but after this ritual defence the marriage was consummated. After four days she returned home or to the place of an unrelated clan to 'finish the butter' and her girdle was placed at the foot of the bed where she would urinate, eat some porridge and return to her husband's house.

For the next few months she remained in seclusion doing household chores. The coming out was the next stage and was a prestigious event. Miscellaneous presents were sent by her father including meat, beer and sorghum to her house and she returned to her father's compound where there was more feasting and dancing with her old friends until late at night.

Figure 57 Bakiga used their leather clothes as drums during marriage festivities

The next morning she and her friends and their clothes were smeared with butter infused with aromatic herbs, her husband and party arrive, there was further exchanges of gifts and more feasting for a few days before she returned to her husband's home. At this time, or at a later social occasion, her father would insert a hoe into a handle; give it to her with the instruction to:

“Go and dig”.

Her relationships with the in-laws was constrained by various ritual prohibitions and it was not until she bore her first child that she had her own household though this could only be done with the blessing of her father-in-law and there followed another beer party when he would declare

his son an adult, though the new couple still had to provide them with meals, firewood, meat and first fruits of the harvest.

Bafumbira Marriage

Descriptions of the marriage ceremony among the Bakiga is gone into considerable detail by Edel and Ngologoza, but there are only general descriptions for the Bafumbira and the Bahororo, Ngologoza says “the Banyrwanda have so many customs I have not been able to record them all”. The best description of the Bafumbira comes from Shalita;

The initial negotiations were similar to the Bakiga. First was the initial dowry payments of a cow or goats with plenty of beer, without which no celebrations were complete, that took place after the sorghum harvest at the bride's home. This was accompanied by recitals of poetry, ululations by the women and was followed by singing and dancing till nightfall. Finally the groom's family returned home to organise the final arrangements.

Just before the wedding the groom's parents brought a sheep to her parent’s compound to guard against evil spirits who might affect her fertility. On the day itself they sent a small pot of beer that indicated that the day has arrived and she must come.

That evening she was taken to his house and welcomed at the gate by the groom and his mother. He then placed his right thigh against hers and said:

“If my right leg does not bring you a cow it will bring you a bride”

and added:

“Always speak once and I speak twice, if you refuse I will cut off your ear.”

To which her companions replied:

“If you cut off her ears she will beat you on the head with a club.”

This sounds slightly more gender-equal than the Bakiga. The future mother-in-law then handed her a gourd used for skimming milk that she immediately returned and then went to his mother's house where she spent the night awake and fasting.

At midnight the groom spat milk between her breasts and said:

“Give me praise, I have married”

This was the equivalent of the European practice of exchange of rings and was the binding part of the ceremony. She immediately started ritual crying and was comforted by her companions, which is when she received gifts to console her.

This continued through the following morning as she demanded various more gifts before she accepted food from her mother-in-law; a fine balance had to struck between being seen to be too

greedy or not persistent enough. Accepting food and eating was a sign that she had accepted her husband and her new life. During this time there was dancing and ululating interspersed with story telling. Women danced in pairs while men formed large groups called intore.

Four days later she returned to her parent's home for a day accompanied by two children where she was given beer, a sheep and cooked food while the children also received gifts. For the next three months she did household and farm work for her mother-in-law while completely avoiding her father-in-law. After that period he then gives the couple some food crops, property and land to set up an independent household; she gave part of her the first meal in her new house to her parents-in-law. She finally revisited her parents who give her food crops and two hoes.

Role of Virginity

Given the complicated marriage system and rituals it follows that virginity was very important. The extreme punishment of death for a pre-marital pregnancy could be meted out; she could be taken to a forest, tied to a tree and left to the mercy of wild animals, abandoned on Akampene Island on Lake Bunyoni, or thrown over a cliff at Kisiizi Falls or Nyabugoto caves. How often this happened in practice is unknown; Ngologoza says that she was first beaten to reveal the name of the father. If he was of the same clan he had to escape or be killed and usually joined another clan while she was married off. If he was from another clan they were forced to marry.

When she visited her parent's home afterwards, she entered by a side entrance backwards bringing a sheep as a gift. When she was forgiven the bride price was paid. Among the Bafumbira the man was not punished unless her family decided to exact revenge. Even if she was abandoned in the forest she might be rescued by a Mutwa who might marry her or if on Akampene Island a poor man could rescue and marry her if he did not mind the stigma. Equally a slave from an unrelated lineage, who might otherwise find it difficult to find a wife, could marry her.

Missionaries in the 1920s related a story of how some newly-converted rescued a young woman from a swamp where she was dying of hunger and exposure. Medical examination showed she had a stomach tumour.

Elopement

Elopement was not uncommon though not approved of since it happened without the family's input or exchange of gifts. It could happen because of a love-match, her father might not want her to marry, or because she did not like her proposed husband; he could be old, ugly and crippled but probably not impotent unless an aged man was only looking for a housekeeper, a women's happiness was rarely relevant.

Roscoe record that due to inter-clan hostilities before 1920 when there was no chance of negotiation, kidnapping was common. The man lay in wait, hiding, for a specific girl who might be working alone in a field or on a message, grab her and take her away. Then he put together the bride-price and left it in a neutral place while sending messengers to the girl's father. If he accepted than the marriage was concluded; if not further negotiations, under truce, took place.

In Bufumbira this was called gufata, a boy would conspire to kidnap a girl (maybe with her connivance) for marriage, or ukwijana, where the girl (sometimes pregnant) would sneak away to marry. Both were socially acceptable but frowned upon. A widow might sometimes elope rather than marry somebody else from her late husband's household. However her children belonged to her father if no dowry was paid and this could cause many complications with inheritance or marriages of her daughters.

Marital Problems

Marriages were stable as the complications of returning dowry gifts were avoided where possible, tallies were kept should it be necessary, plus it was a matter of pride. Marriage disputes were usually short-term and a wife might return to her family or visit a neighbour for a ritual separation though not taking any personal property as this might cause her husband to die. If the marriage broke down irretrievably then she returned to her parents who would then decide whether to side with her or her husband. The first move was always hers as no man had the right to eject his wife if she refused to leave.

As might be expected marriages could be harmonious or full of quarrels, magic and counter-magic, running away and returning, wife-beating and, in exceptional cases, husband-beating. If a divorce went ahead it meant that there were protracted negotiations concerning cow repayments that were never simple, as some of the cows may have died.

If there were children they belonged to her husband though women usually left with their infants. This put them at risk since her new husband, if she married again – she was usually under pressure to do so from her father as the new bride price was needed to repay her first husband – might kill them 'accidentally', especially sons. Nowadays they become homeless street children.

Barrenness, including frequent miscarriages, among women was feared. It was usually believed to be the result of evil spirits that were unhappy about something, such as the marriage ceremony, the relationships between the husband and wife or with other wives, or she may have broken some taboo. Usually a spirit doctor is visited to diagnose the cause. If there was a problem with the marriage ceremony than the whole ceremony must be repeated.

For malevolent spirits various rituals and sacrifices made, particularly to her paternal grandmother's spirit, and herbs prescribed. The family might visit a Nyabingi medium though this was believed to be a last resort in the colonial period. A childless woman had no status and often had major problems in her compound (orugo), though sometimes she would be able to adopt a child that she would raise as her own. She could sometimes act as foster mother, breast feeding an infant whose mother had died, or even take over the deceased mother's house and children though it was considered unlucky. In many cases there was little friendship or communication between them.

Marriage and Property

The whole system of gift exchange could create tensions within the orugo, particularly when conflicts arose concerning the property rights of husband and wives. The head (nyaneke) often had no property, land or livestock, which he managed personally. This was the wives'

responsibility but he was in total control, of all property and it was he who decided how much property would be exchanged when his children married.

He was the sole recipient of marriage gifts, which he allocated how he wished, though in practice these were given to the wife who had control over the property, particularly livestock, of her enju (household). Furthermore he also controlled all redistribution of property for marriages of sons and daughters as time went on.

The wife expected that the property, livestock and land, she managed would only benefit her enju and children and not those of other wives. She also expected that her livestock that she received personally or for her daughter's marriages would be used solely for her sons' marriages and that these sons would be the sole inheritors. However, given the fact that all his cattle were under his wives' management, where did he get cattle from if he wished to take another wife?

He would have to take the cattle from his wives. If his land was allocated to his previous wives he would have to take parts to give his new wife land to work or take his other wives' cows to buy land. There were variations, older wives with children were less likely to have their cattle taken especially if they had grown sons to protect the property of the enju, fathers and sons could come to blows and the father ejected if he went too far, though they might have little redress if he went behind their backs. A young wife, particularly if she had no children yet, was the most vulnerable to having her cattle taken.

In earlier times the system worked reasonably well as social control and peer pressure within the lineage and clans meant that neither husband nor wife overstepped the mark. Nowadays this control has transferred to outside agencies of councils and courts and has become less effective, allowing greater abuse of the nyaneke with regards to his wives' property. The decline in blood brotherhood type of friendships now gives fewer opportunities to raise cattle forcing a greater dependence on wives' cattle.

Inheritance

In cases of inheritance the eldest son acted as executor and distributor of the family property that was divided equally excluding the specific shares that belong to the enju of particular wives. Widows were take care of by their sons and their property stayed with them, though she may have to remarry another man in the orugo; her new husband has no theoretical claim to her property but held it in trust for her sons until they married. When a wife died her property remained in her enju for her children subject to the wishes of the nyaneke. In reality, given the executor's power over property, abuse was possible and there was no redress if he wished to take cattle from his father's widow(s) to marry or for another purpose.

Kigezi Marriages Patterns in the 1960s

According to research carried out by Mushanga in Kigezi in the late 1960s there were 50,972 (48%) women in polygamous marriages and 55,227 (52%) in monogamous marriages. Of the men; 55,227 were married to one wife, 13,529 to two, 4,253 to three, 1,662 to four, 643 to five, 149 to six, 32 to seven, 9 to eight, 8 to none, 3 to ten or more wives.

There were 686 divorced women; the main reasons were barrenness, incompatibility and laziness. 1,931 couples were married with no bride wealth paid, The breakdown of type of marriage was 1,167 Roman Catholic, 1,008 Church of Uganda, 30 Islam, 3,386 (61%) by Customary Law.

Other statistics collected were that 701 women were pregnant before marriage and that of 98 homicides, 14 were infanticide. In the 1960s it was concluded that the higher the bride price the more stable and permanent the marriage.

Marriage Today

Two major changes are that the men and women usually choose their own partner(s) and marriages now take place during daylight as part of Christian practices that is suspicious of night ceremonies. Gifts now reflect modern needs and are much less agricultural while the final dowry payments is made the day before and is the most important family and community celebration.

While dowries have always been disapproved of since colonial times it still is a major part of the marriage and no law or religious prohibitions have succeeded in halting its practice or popularity. Nowadays, it has become traditional for the bride not to smile or make eye contact until the wedding reception is over. This is not the case for couples who have lived together for some time through a traditional marriage and have chosen to marry in church.

Nowadays official marriages take place in churches and are registered; if the churches are themselves registered. However because of the costs of the ceremony and reception informal marriages (okutaasya) among poorer people is common particularly in times of austerity. Usually one, or more, parts of the traditional ceremony is carried out but payments of bride price is deferred until the birth of the first child, the couple can get formally married, or, perhaps never. Formal marriage is preferred by all and may happen later when a couple who were informally married can afford it.

Death

When the head of the household died his body was buried with various rituals. Death was a calamity and misfortune that needed strong action to protect the living. The concept of a natural dignified death was alien to traditional culture. Among the Bakiga, in preparation for burial the body was shaved and all clothes and ornaments removed; the grave was dug and the body buried as quickly as possible, the grave of the nyeneke was in the courtyard but others were outside the orugo. Women and children were usually forbidden to attend the burial but are involved in the mourning, which entailed weeping, wailing and their heads were shaved and in some clans they smeared ashes on their bodies.

Post Death Rituals

Purification rituals conducted by a spirit doctor lasted four days and were carried out to protect the household, particularly grandchildren, from negative influences. For the nyeneke a fire was built where he used to sit using grass from his bed during this time and was extinguished by a spirit doctor. No farm work was done at this time and all cooked food was thrown away.

After four days the hearth stones were removed and the house was torn down and rebuilt in a new location, though if a wife died this was unnecessary. After four days normal life resumed though the grave was watched to ensure that a witch did not steal body parts for nefarious reasons. The widow however stayed in mourning for several months thereafter and a watch was kept on her as, in exceptional cases, she may attempt suicide.

Among the Bafumbira sexual intercourse was forbidden for a ritual period except when an infant had died when it was obligatory; the husband would say “We have overcome death”. The other exception was when one of the wife's parents died with the similar purpose of throwing away the effects of death.

Blood Brotherhood

Blood Brotherhood was a way of developing relationships outside ones lineage and clan and involved the two parties, always male, sharing blood to cement the tie. The ceremony was overseen by friends and witnesses and involved each cutting their abdomen and putting the blood on some food for the other to eat. Strong binding oaths of friendship were sworn and gifts of equal value exchanged.

Thereafter their relationship was one of reciprocal mutual assistance and defence and often involved the two families intermarrying. This relationship was often stronger than between natal brothers and sometimes involved one blood-brother conspiring against his family, i.e. to steal cattle, to benefit his partner and afterwards share in the spoils. One could even theoretically kill one's natal brother for attacking your blood brother and it wouldn't be considered fratricide.

The purpose of blood brotherhood was to have trustworthy friends in parts of the country where they had no relations. In terms of assistance it provided and extra safety net to cover the various misfortunes that could afflict a brother or his family; each would help the other when required and was a major source of cattle at times of dearth, marriage or when paying fees to spirit doctors or Nyabingi mediums.

Defence was also mutual and involved each protecting the other no matter where or for what reason. These relationships were never between family members or with people of other ethnic origins such as the Banyoro or Banyankole who were reluctant to form such relationships for fear that they would be drawn into endless quarrels and fights, such was Kigezi's reputation.

In modern times this practice has almost died out for a number of reasons. The sharing of blood has been discontinued due to increasing knowledge concerning the spread of the HIV. The necessity to have such relationships has declined through the spread of modernisation and friendships from school and work now take its place. The migration of Kigezi people has also diluted its practice due to the reluctance of their new neighbours. The Christian Churches have disapproved of the practice as it conflicts with the doctrine of the Eucharist.

Relationships in General

Relationships between the various people in the orugo, lineage and clan were bound by many formal rights and prohibitions. Elders got the most respect and younger generations always

deferred to them and made many small offerings of food and other services daily to ensure their comfort and happiness.

Wives' relationships with their in-laws were strictly bound by rules; i.e. they were not allowed to say their names or even their husband's name, consciously doing this was a cause for scandal. A father demanded respect and obedience from his children while the mother tended to have a much closer relationship, particularly in polygamous marriages.

When disagreements occurred between husband and wife, her grownup children often sided with her. There were no special rules regarding siblings; their relationships developed as like siblings anywhere. Other relationships between uncles, aunts, nephews, nieces, cousins and in-laws also had rules. Typical of people everywhere, grandparents and grandchildren had the freest and closest bonds. When an elder died the children were not allowed to touch any of the deceased's possessions, which would be hidden away lest the child break the taboo inadvertently.

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Chapter 6

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Chapter 4.1

## Traditional Religion

### Introduction

In the 19th century Christians had the completely inaccurate belief that Africans had no religion, worshipped false idols and wallowed in superstition and therefore needed to be saved from paganism and all its attendant evils. In reality there was a deep understanding of religion and spirituality and Kigezi was typical of sub-Saharan Africa in its beliefs. However spiritual belief was not static, cults superseded and absorbed others as they evolved to fit the needs of changing societies and world views.

The role of spirits and magic was, and still is, an intrinsic part of African religious belief and mediators such as spirit doctors, diviners and mediums an essential part of religious practice. However religion in Africa was not a specific set of hierarchies, doctrines and beliefs but an oral continuum between cultures over time. Generally literacy is necessary to produce structured

religious organisations where theological differences are mediated through legal mindsets and solutions found by consensus or war.

## World Views

To understand the culture it is necessary to view the world as perceived by pre-colonial Africans. As they sought to understand their environment they attributed personalities to the forces of nature. Over time they developed knowledge concerning the seasons and short term climate change caused by El Nino and El Nina cycles though understanding long term patterns was beyond them as among modern climatologists.

The early world view was to take everything that went wrong personally, when misfortune and afflictions came, be it crop failure and famine or disease and death, it was the work of evil spirits or unhappy dead ancestors who needed to be propitiated with offerings and sacrifices. When things went well it meant that these supernatural forces were appeased but not that there was beneficial energies working on their behalf.

It is not clear if there is a bias in understanding here in that academics speak of healers of individuals and society, and 'cults of affliction'. In other words there is a focus on all the things that can go wrong while not exploring the positive aspects. There is a need to explore how societies celebrated and affirmed the harmonies of fertility intrinsic in the land and its power.

## Spiritual Power

There are two sides to spiritual power, female and male; both reflect different aspects of fertility. There was a difference between hunter gatherers and farmers in that the former related to wild fertility while farmers, be they farmers or herders, related to managed fertility. Their world views and relationships with fertility power must have differed. However this must have taken time to evolve given the millennia it must have taken for agriculture to become sustainable and there probably was no strict division between the two. Further divisions occurred when farmers began to specialise in either crops or livestock.

It has been argued that female centred societies predate male centred societies and that the latter took over as political leaders and demoted women into secondary positions in society. This is debatable and impossible to prove but the gender divide did affect society.

As such there are no female histories that follow the chronological narratives of male dynasties; it is more fragmented, but reflects female perceptions of fertility in all its aspects and is therefore impossible to understand from an empirical literary world view. The main point is that fertility, the source of life and well-being, is of fundamental importance in understanding African society.

## Medicine

The other important aspect was the development of medical knowledge. Unfortunately for pharmaceutical scientists our ancestors did not go round with clipboards conducting null hypothesis experiments with two degrees of confidence and comparative analyses with placebos, having first experimented on rats and primates. They gained their knowledge through individuals who learnt how to divine medicinal plants and their uses through spirit guides or their innate

spiritual talents and are called witch doctors in Africa, shamans in Asia and medicine men in the Americas.

There was probably a good deal of trial and error but, over time, a corpus of knowledge was built up that became the foundation of modern medical knowledge. There is considerable antipathy towards them by modern scientists though this is starting to change with a growing appreciation of the value of biodiversity and the healing properties of plants. However debate as to ownership between indigenous people and pharmaceutical companies are a continual source of conflict that includes ownership of pharmaceutical knowledge and plant DNA.

Roles of Spiritual Mediators

Fertility in all aspects was of key importance to communities in terms of the continued success, reproduction and health of lineages and clans. The spirit doctor usually combined spiritual forces and healing and to divide them into separate categories is artificial though specialists in one or the other were also found such as herbalists who did not practise magic or magicians who did not use herbs but relied solely on their spirits.

They played a dual role in society as mediators to individuals and families and in a wider social role to communities. They were involved in women's infertility, childhood illnesses and preservation of health while in communities they could be involved in advising clans on cattle migrations, grazing and resources, locusts and politics, though such knowledge was found at all levels of society.

Their relationship within kingdoms varied between being strongly associated with royal power to being outside and acting as a complementary source of power that checked royal ambitions. Political power was never an absolute but was debated, critiqued and, where necessary, ways of life defended against inappropriate behaviour by leaders and elites. However, this anthropological perspective can be politically naïve and underplay the role of military power.

Spirit mediums also played an important role in redistribution. Certainly they demanded fees and were not always cheap but these fees were of agricultural produce with short life spans so there was no real possibility of accumulation. While cattle are an exception there was a limit to the amount that could be managed in terms of access to land and manpower.

While greed could be of short-term benefit such mediums would rapidly find that nobody would use their services. In general a reputation for generosity was a major status symbol. Redistribution was an essential part of ensuring overall survival particularly when famine or epidemics struck.

The impact of colonialism was to legislate and punish mediums that played a communal role since they tended to be anti-colonial. Originally all mediums were seen as 'bad' and anti-Christian but this changed to seeing emandwa who were individual practitioners as 'good', or at least harmless, and Nyabingi, and equivalents elsewhere, as 'bad'.

Mediums and Kingdoms

The development of kingdoms from the 16th century, if not earlier, influenced the role of spirit mediums in society as the dynasties attempted to integrate them into royal power; a worldwide phenomena known in medieval Europe as the Divine Right of Kings and also found in the Americas and Asia. It is found in the Banyoro kingdom where the Chwezi priesthood developed but is only found there. Banyoro kings became divine and associated with supernatural other-world kingdoms.

Similarly in Rwanda the Ryangombe (Kiranga) cult is strongly associated with that ruling dynasty as was Kintu in the nascent Buganda kingdom on the shore of Lake Victoria. This complicated the relationship with spiritual practitioners as some joined and served dynasties while others stayed outside and acted as a counter force or played a more ambiguous role, sometimes for and sometimes against depending on the particular people and circumstances at any one time.

Drums

An interesting crossover is the use of drums (ngoma) by healers and royal rainmaker dynasties. In the former case drums were an essential art of public healing and festivals where people danced in celebration and affirmed their identities, danced for health, fertility and prosperity, danced to exorcise malevolent spirits and were healed, danced to ensure protection against natural and supernatural disasters and evil people – be they witches or kings. This has been their primary role in sub-Saharan Africa for thousands of years.

For reasons that are unclear drums became the most important symbol of royal power. This may be a carry-over of earlier lineage and clan traditions or an assimilation of the power of drums into royal authority. Certainly every dynasty had a royal drum and to lose it in battle or otherwise was the gravest misfortune as without it a king lost his right to rule. In some cases it was believed that the drum was the primary ruler and the king was secondary, i.e. Drum-land rather than clan-land.

Figure 58 Karagwe court musicians (Speke, 1861)

Drums were not as important in pastoral kingdoms, i.e. in Rujumbura the main symbol of royal power was the spear, indicating military might.

## Traditional Religion in Kigezi

The main hierarchical divisions were an infinite God, who had various attributes, the cults of Nyabingi and Ryangombe, emandwa, which refers both to spirits and their mediums, and ancestral spirits.

## God the Creator

In terms of their general beliefs the peoples of Kigezi believed firstly in a God who was the creator of all things and the source of life. He is now called Ruhanga (also the mythical founder of the Batembuzi), Imana or Nagasan whose various attributes were defined and named and included Nyagasani (everlasting), Mwimanyi (bestows blessings), Rugaba (provider), Kazooba (of the sun) and Nyamuragira (protector).

Of these names Kazooba (eizooba, the sun) was the most important and the primary pre-Christian definition. It was abandoned due to Christian influence; among older Kigezi inhabitants Kazooba is the 'Old God' while Ruhanga is the 'New God'. However no offerings were made or rituals practised; since God is benevolent and cannot be bribed these were unnecessary. However there were spiritual relationships between individuals and the infinite, as is found in all religions, but is not codified.

The main difference is that Africans believed God to be transcendent while Christianity believes God to be immanent  This led to many Christians to argue that African belief was 'primitive', even though there is no 'proof' either way; there's no reliable historical evidence for this Christian belief.

## Ancestral Spirits

A common early myth in Africa was that death originally was not final and that people always resurrected but that, and here traditions differ, due to a particular event (women are usually the protagonists) in the dim and distant past the dead stayed dead. Thereafter the world became populated with ancestral spirits who could be malevolent or beneficial.

Among the Bakiga, grandmothers' ghosts were beneficial and brothers' ghosts the most malevolent. Malevolence was not personal or a punishment but was based on the whim of the ancestor as a kind of revenge for being dead. One of the roles of indaro was as a place to make offerings and sacrifices of beer and goats to placate ghosts but would only be built if the ghost of a recently deceased person was causing trouble and affliction to people, crops or livestock.

In Bafumbira ghosts are only around for five generations when they go to live with Nyamuragira in the volcano named after him in the Virungas where his wife, Nyiracannyi keeps fires burning to keep the ancestral spirits warm.

All Kigezi peoples believed that a family member must be buried in his home place by the family otherwise the deceased ghost may cause havoc. For this reason families will go to great lengths to bring a body home. The relatives of those who died in the Kanungu tragedy complained of dream visitations due to the police's decision to bury all the victims in one place and not release any bodies due to the problems of identification.

Emandwa

The emandwa are a group of spirits who are usually associated with an individual or lineage; it is also the name of the spirit doctors who use them. Among the Bakiga these are of two types, the most common was esiriba that involved the use of magical powers for socially acceptable purposes and the second was the emandwa of women, a fertility cult that dealt with all types of women's afflictions but died out by the mid to late 19th century, apparently replaced by Nyabingi. According to Denoon:

“The distinction that scholars tend to draw between Nyabingi and Emandwa is largely an arbitrary one; neither was a single cult with a uniform doctrine, neither ever had a single organisation, and each merged into the other in practice.”

The esiriba was used by local spirit doctors, who acted as community consultants, for cures and protective charms against malevolent spirits, evildoers and their curses and was often supplemented by herbal remedies. They are often associated with snakes and to see them could be a portent of a coming misfortune. Esiriba were usually kept in sheep's horns and were given small offerings as gifts. These were passed down from father to son or apprentice.


Figure 59 Esiriba, Uganda Museum

There were specialists among the magicians, mostly men, which included diviners, exorcists, healers and rainmakers. Rain was sacred, a matter of life and death, as a result rainmakers became powerful and often became clan leaders or chiefs. Some common emandwa were Mugasha, (protected food crops) Kasente (protected prosperity and harvested food) and Muhima, (welfare of livestock). Others included Karonda, Businde, Mpangi and Karisimbi (the last from Kayonza ensured hunting success), while Nyinakomya, Kariisa, Rutwa, Nyarunfunjo looked after cattle welfare.

In Bafumbira umuhuzi were those who combined magic with herbs while diviners were of two types, the umushora and umupfuma. The former were responsible for assessing guilt or

innocence in cases and usually conducted various sorts of trials by ordeal such as taking butter out of a pot of boiling water without being burnt or drinking various concoctions. The latter was more of a fortune and future teller but could either bring good or bad news and so was used sparingly. They were also known as diviners whose job was to discover the source of problems and advise on remedies.

Not all magicians were benevolent and those that the community decided were evil were hunted down and killed; in Bafumbira these included the abarozi (male) who targeted people and families with illnesses and spirit attacks and the umurozi (female) who caused barrenness and poisoned women and children out of hatred. If they escaped they were outcasts and outlaws (outside the law), though if they had not caused harm to the community they were just avoided.

In the case of lineages, emandwa were often associated with an ancestor so that there is no clear division between honouring an ancestor or ancestor's emandwa. Public emandwa celebrations were usually held during harvest festivals in thanksgiving for previous help and to avert future problems.

Ryangombe

Ryangombe was a warrior cult (complementary to the female Nyabingi cult) found in Rwanda and adjoining districts and associated with the Rwandan monarchy though he is said to be of the Bakimbiri clan. According to myth he was the son of Babinga and Bajumba and one day wanted to go hunting but his mother forbade him. He evaded her ban and when his party found a buffalo he wished to kill it himself, however the buffalo turned on him, caught him in his horns, threw him up and so he died.

His family, companions and servants subsequently became emandwa spirits. Ceremonies of remembrance are called kabundwa and are social occasions though are also used in times of famine by where offerings are collected and redistributed to the needy. During the ceremony the emandwa are acted out by the living and prayers, songs, dances and mock hunts are performed and offerings of beer and bread are made. Finally all the cattle and houses are blessed.

No discussion of pre-Christian religion is complete without Nyabingi, the most powerful of cults, and is dealt with next.

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Chapter 4.2

Nyabingi Histories

Introduction
The Nyabingi (in Rukiga, Nyabinshi in Bufumbira, Nyavingi in eastern DRC, Nyabongi and Nyandingi in Sudan, etc.) cult is an elusive phenomena that has been subject of many studies by authors with different perspectives and has gone through various interpretations as a result of the political circumstances of the times and the cultural perspectives of her interpreters.

The quicksilver nature of Nyabingi's meanings and roles makes any interpretation partial and it is with trepidation that this author (to mix Nyabingi metaphors) dips a toe into the rippling waters, where many mediums disappeared into the underworld, tries to catch the wind and not be burnt by fire.

By definition Mugirwa is a Nyabingi medium and Bagirwa is plural.

Interpretations
An important point is that nobody associated with Nyabingi has ever written anything so we are dependant on secondary sources. Chronologically the first sources are traveller's tales from the 19th century that can contain errors and misunderstandings. The second main source is colonial documents and literature that is primarily concerned with the political consequences of resistance and is imbued with European Christian ideology and notions of superiority. This literature became the main source of colonial histories to the 1960s. After independence the perspective shifted to 'Black Power' and focused on the anti-imperialist struggles of native people but was still political. A third source is religious literature, which, by its nature, is antagonistic.

In more recent time attention has shifted to the pre-colonial period when Nyabingi was an intrinsic part of fertility and healing in African society and how this affected its relationship with native kingdoms and colonial conquest and rule. The last is more interdisciplinary as it incorporates oral traditions and linguistic analysis but places less emphasis on political narratives and strict chronologies. Supplementary to these are collections of memories of Kigezi people who had contact or were clients of Nyabingi.

Ultimately what we mostly have is what literate people think that Nyabingi was rather than what its practitioners and followers believed it to be. One result is that there are many differences in detail but it is unclear whether these are due to local and regional variants, differing practices of various Nyabingi mediums, different interpretations and/or misunderstandings of respondents and historians or a combination of these.

Generally it is a mistake to view it as a homogenous set of beliefs and practices or a specific cult with a hierarchy of leader mediums, officers and disciples though these may have existed within specific lineages and during rebellion periods. The relationship between Nyabingi and its practitioners varied with the person and his or her social circumstances, and could focus on health, spirituality or military conquest.

Examples of the problems of interpretation is whether commentators are analysing a system of beliefs and rituals about fertility and healing or its name because while the former is of ancient origin the name can be traced in historic sources of the last 300 years. But then if Nyabingi can be identified with particular persons is the cult named after that person or vice versa?

Is the conjunction of name and system because of a queen of that name, who maybe a real or mythical person, who incorporated the system into her rule? Given that the history of the name appears to originate c. 1700 is this because of political change and the advent of pastoral kingdoms or does it reflect cultural change of deeper significance? There are no strong myths, legends or sagas relating to any particular person but a plethora of confusing possibilities as to her historical identity.

Perspectives

As a general point, Nyabingi (translated as one who has or brings wealth) belongs to female earth energy concerned with fertility (in its widest sense, but covering women, livestock and crops), health, prosperity and success. It complements and is interdependent with male earth energy that is concerned with the forces of nature and power (in its widest sense, but later focused on the political power of divine kingship). There are two possible reactions. The first is a purely rational, empirical, mechanist approach that states that this world view is a matter of belief but does not accept the existence of these energies on the basis that they cannot be proven.

The second is a more transcendental perspective that accepts these energies exist and can be perceived and communicated with by people who have natural talents. Fertility beliefs and rituals were common in pre-literate societies worldwide and were widely condemned as pagan superstitions up to recent times but have now received acceptance from some in the scientific community in the Gaia hypothesis. Acceptance of existence does not necessarily mean an acceptance of any specific interpretations that are derived from specific cultural world views.

There are various theories as to the source of the name and cult and it likely to be a confluence of influences that created her modern manifestations. There are various historical threads that can be found in Mpororo, Ndorwa, Kigezi and the Congo, though the relationships between them are little known. It is generally accepted that the cult grew among subject people in times of political instability and natural disasters as they sought redress and stability during chaotic times. The cult

challenged the status quo of established priesthood, and the ruling dynasties they represented, in the pre-colonial period and European forces thereafter.

A review of historic evidence from Kigezi follows. There is overlap between the four sections, particularly Ndorwa and Kigezi, due to the movements of the Bagirwa as they spread the cult and reacted to various political developments and related persecution.

Mpororo

In Mpororo the cult possibly derives from ancestral worship of Queen Kitami who died in the early-18th century. Mpororo had no central leadership in the late 19th century but a number of pastoral lineages who were being squeezed between the ambitions of neighbouring kingdoms. Centres of Nyabingi worship were common in the area in the late 19th century.

According to one source Queen Kitami, the daughter of Nyaheru, was fat and dull. Her nickname was okutama, (to disgust) from the amount of milk she drank. She was also very timid and easily frightened which induced her to vomit easily. As her health grew worse a medicine man, Kainamura Muganga from Butumbi was brought in. Her health improved wonderfully under his care and she gave birth to his son. He was sent away, handsomely rewarded, but she died soon after from a carpenter bee sting. A cult grew after her death and Kitami became known as Nyabingi.

Other authors dismiss these 'disgusting' stories as propaganda designed to denigrate particular people and dynasties. There were other ladies of the same name, one was daughter of Nyanju, and was a later queen of Mpororo who was alive after Kayaha's death. Her grandson was Murari II, first Bashambo king who succeeded the Baishekatwa and possessor of their royal drum Murorwa. He was anti-Nyabingi so it became an anti-Bashambo movement. His son was Kayaha who ruled around 1750.

Emin Pasha

According to Emin Pasha, who travelled through the area in 1891, one mugirwa claimed to be queen and called herself Nyabingi but:

“The whole of Mpororo has fallen into a complete state of lawlessness, owing to the circumstances that the Queen has no authority whatever, and there is no protection whatever for the subjects.”

She apparently invited Pasha to remain and:

“Set the country in order, so that Njavingi might rule again.”

He was told that he could:

“Pillage wherever I liked, seize people and confiscate cattle.”

This was her favourite bribe as she also invited King Ntale of Ankole at various times to raid and pillage as a way of punishing rebellious chiefs and gaining their homage. He described her thus:

“The Queen of Mpororo... has been seen by none; not even her 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 of bewitching and blessing people.”

He also noted that Nyabingi was in decline in areas under Bashambo control, such as Kajara.

Von Stummer

Lt. Col. von Stummer writing in the Deutsche Colonialblatt (New York Times, 5th November 1905) said that he had met a mugirwa named Kiakutuma in Tungamu village, Mprororo. She had attempted to impose a road tax on his unit. He forced his way into her shrine where she then attacked him with a long iron pole that had to be forcibly removed. She had little choice but to become friendly:

“Like all Mtusi, she was rather tall, of light complexion, with large eyes shadowed by deep eyelashes, a sharp nose, small mouth, the head combed in Mtusi style. She was dressed in a red hide, which was covered with white figures. The oval face indicated shrewdness and forces; her neck was graceful, her bust well formed, arms slender.”

She had been married previously to a local chief but had been inducted as a priestess. She explained that:

“Nyaningi has disappeared in the clouds. I am only her servant, whom the Sultana has commanded to speak in her name. I am her mouth: through me the people learn the will of Nyaningi when she goes away.”

He was very taken by her and complemented her by saying that Nyaningi had chosen a very good-looking servant, which broke the ice between them and they began flirting. He believed that there once had been a personage named Nyaningi around whom an ancestral cult had developed after her death.

Czekanowski

In 1907-8 Jan Czekanowski, a Polish-German anthropologist who travelled through Central Africa, reported that Nyabingi bagirwa were scattered over all Mpororo, which included Ubwera, Ruhama, Butaye, Murarwa, Bwishikatwa, Ruhama, Rujumbura and Mutara. He noted that in Kibiza and other parts of Bunyoro:

“Women are sacred to the spirits; these priestesses do not come to political power, their duties consist of serving the spirit sacred to those concerned. They make sacrifices or make offerings of food and take care that the forgotten and neglected have their needs attended to.”

In Mpororo Nyabingi was seen as the most powerful of ancestral spirits of deceased royalty but also more powerful than secular rulers. This was considered recent; it may have been due to the decline of the local dynasty and resulting instability. He also referred to Muhumuza and Kyakatuma as Nyabingi leaders and suggested that their role is the same as Kibiza mediums

except for the fact that they had political power but admitted that he could find little information on them.

The conclusion is that the Nyabingi cult was well established in the area by the end of the 19th century but it is not clear what happened afterwards. They don't appear in colonial documents as resisters or rebels and they may have declined after the introduction of Christianity though this is speculative.

Ndorwa

One of the few instances where Nyabingi is the name of an actual person is in Ndorwa. She was a daughter of Nyakajunga one of the last Bashambo rulers of Ndorwa in late 18th century and sister to Murari who ruled in the early 19th century but was killed at Bukire by Bagina, allies of the Rwandans, who wished to prevent any resurgence of Bashambo power in Ndorwa.

She is said to have gone to Kagarama and may have been killed with Gayaha, son of Murari, by the Bagina, another tradition says she attempted to become queen of Ndorwa, on the death of her father. Her servants are given as Rutagirakijuna, Rutindangyezi, Gahu, Nyiranjeru, Nyirabuganza and Cyangwamunda who became bagirwa (see below). At Nyiragahaya, near Bukire, there is a sacred spring that was a place of pilgrimage for Banyarwanda and Bakiga until recent times. There are a number of confusing and contradictory stories concerning her.

The Bashambo were generally anti-Nyabingi when in power but it was in Ndorwa that it became powerful as a reaction to Rwandan expansion, particularly in the late 19th century. While the association of Nyabingi to the cult is not clear, it appears to have been another ancestral worship cult that became the focus of rebellion and attempts to reassert traditional kingship in Ndorwa, which at the height of its power extended to Lake Bunyoni and north of Kabale. While the Rwandan dynasty successfully conquered southern Ndorwa, the north never came under their control notwithstanding Rwabugiri's campaigns of the 1870s and 1880s.

A Rwandan Royal Myth

Shalita records one origin myth of another Nyabinshi from the reign of King Ruganza Ndoli of Rwanda. He was engaged in a civil war when he was forced to flee with his sacred drum Kalinga to the home of his aunt, Nyabunyana, and sister, Nyabinshi, who were married to Ruhinda, king of Karagwe. As a result the throne was usurped by Rwaka but shortly afterwards a major drought and famine struck the country and Ruganza regained the throne when Rwaka was forced to resign.

Nyabinshi, who had separated from her husband because of her barrenness, was bestowed the territory of Ndorwa and promised that neither he nor his heirs would ever dispossess her. She set up in Kagarama and became a powerful priestess queen who gained power and wealth through the control of marriages and bride price.

When she died she was succeeded by second-in-command, Nyiramukiga who is said to have had a virgin birth and bore a daughter Kanzanira who married Rubuzi, a palace official. Nyiramukiga left Kagarama to her daughter and moved to Murongozi. Then King Rwabugiri of Rwanda,

ignoring the previous promise, decided to conquer Ndorwa and sent soldiers who cut off Nyiramukiga's head and brought it to the king and thus ended the cult.

However this should not be taken literally since Ruganza was a 16th century monarch while Rwabugiri died in 1895 and Ndorwa was conquered previously. A common variant states that when the soldiers returned the head spoke and reprimanded the king for his action. He was so frightened he executed the soldiers and abandoned any plans of conquest. The former may be a later justification story to explain why Rwanda had the right to rule Ndorwa, while the variant is another that explains why Ndorwa should be independent.

Apparently Rwabugiri changed his mind regarding the dangers of Nyabingi and ordered their deaths so when a priestess, Kahukaiguru, went to welcome his forces as brothers when they arrived at Kikore she was unexpectedly beaten to death on the spot. Another, Nyakwezi kwa Karujanga (Basigi), fled to Bukora but was killed there. Meanwhile the Bashambo of Ndorwa were always against, they killed Bitwoko and Katonkwe. There were mixed reactions from some of the older clans of Bushengera, according to one:

“We got our cows at Ntaraga from Katonka ka Mushabandaro's courtyard. He trusted his Nyabingi, the ghost of the pillar, but we had confidence in the bows of Bene Muhutu.”

Other Variants
Ngologoza has another vaguer variant that says 'long ago' Nyabingi was a 'usurper' of the Bakongwe and lived in Mukyante in Bufundi. She was a noted rainmaker but was killed by Baibayi (father of Buuki, a Rwandan prince) and it was her followers who started the cult, trading on her fame and power.

Ntoki I, a Bakongwe leader is said to have introduced Nyabingi into the area in the early 1800s However Bakongwe sources state that it was Katuregye's grandfather, Musekure, who went to Mbimbi to learn the secrets of Nyabingi but was assassinated there. His son, Ngorye, survived and returned and introduced Nyabingi to Lake Bunyonyi, see below under Kigezi.

Another story says that Muhinda (of the Banyiginya and ancestor of the Bagabe and Bahinda) who fled from Rwanda after being accused of plotting. He married a lady called Nyabingi, who ruled the Bugyesera in Nkore. He eventually killed her and became king, though this maybe Rwanda political propaganda. Then due to her intercession during a drought her cult spread.

Another collected by Bessel says that in c. 1860, Kahaya of Murali on his death bed gave his will to his sons but that his daughter, Kanzanrina, hid to listen, was discovered, tied to tree in the forest but escaped and returned home. She was then burnt alive by his Batwa subjects and proceeded to haunt him till he gave her Ndorwa. She then met Rutajira Kijuna with two children; one was Katondwe, who had been expelled from home. Kanzanrina fed her and Rutajira Kijuna was possessed with Nyabingi. She thus became famous and received so many gifts that her father had to build extra granaries.

Temples were built in Kagarama (Basigi), Rwamiringa and Kikore kya Balihira, Mpororo. Her original name meant 'She who lacks support' but was changed to Rutatangirwa omu Muhanda -

'She who cannot be stopped'. However the tradition maybe much older; the motif of a daughter hiding and in some cases attempting to succeed as queen is found in other legends from different times and locations. Karagwe appears in some of these stories, sometimes associated with Mpororo, but appears to have only been peripheral to Nyabingi worship.

Congo

The Bahunde of the Congo were famed as drum makers for Nyabingi mediums and ceremonies and were strong supporters of Nyabingi but the circumstances and dates are unknown. It is possible that they learnt the practices from neighbouring migrant clans in Bafumbira, Kayonza and Kinkiizi sometime in the 19th century, which spread back to their core territory west of Lake Kivu; they were autonomous but subject to the Rwandan monarchy.

It maybe that the source was the Babaande, clan cousins also from the same area, who had migrated to Nduga in the 16th century where they became local dynasts and were subsequently forced north by Rwandan expansion; they migrated to Kihiihi, Kabandama and then to Kayonza in the mid 18th century.

Other traditions say that it was introduced into Kigezi by Ntoki I, a leader of the Bakongwe, from Mpimbi (and variants, it appears in many origin traditions) in the DRC or that the Bakongwe brought it during the solar eclipse of 1830. Three well known Bahunde Nyabingi mediums, Kayaha III, Mushandabaro and Katonkwa (a son of Rutagirakijune?), were killed by the Bashambo of Ndorwa, while Kayaha ka Ruguru, who attempted to become king of Ndorwa and killed by the Bagina in 1863, was another Bahunde.

Their role during Rwandan expansion and power struggles relating to the succession of Musinga are not clear but it is likely that they were resisters. This later developed into anti-colonial resistance; the most famous leader was Ntokiibiri, active until his death in 1919. He was a Nyabingi military leader who specialised in guerrilla warfare but whose overall political motives, with the exception of the forcible removal of colonists, were never clear. He certainly indulged in the traditional raiding of clans who did not support him though they were not necessarily pro-English. Other notable Bahunde Nyabingi leaders at this time were Kaigirirwa and her husband Rumhemba (Luhemba).

Freedman collected another tradition that says Nyabingi came from the Congo to Rwanda and Kigezi during the reign of King Rwabugiri and is associated with Rutagirakijune who came from Mpimbi and she initiated Kanzanira (who also appears in Shalita's collection as daughter of Nyiramukiga), Gahu and Ruhara into Nyabingi lore. There were many Gahu associated with Nyabingi. One was an early 18th century Mpororo queen, one died in 1931 in northern Rwanda and another was still alive in the 1970s, living near Byumba in northern Rwanda.

The Bashu of Mitumba

While Nyabingi in Buhunde has not been researched there is some interesting information from the Bashu of the Mitumba Mountains further north in eastern DRC. These mixed farmers (millet, plantain, beans, cassava, poultry and goats) are part of the Babaande in the Congo and Babunjo of Uganda and descended from the Basongeera (local spelling) who migrated around 1800 to Mitumba from Kigezi/Rwanda. The rulers of Mitumba were the Babito (Bunyoro) lineage.

In 1885 Karakwenzi, a Nyabingi mugirwa and 'son of Nyabingi', arrived in the area with followers from Ndorwa, though he may have been a Bahunde from west Lake Kivu originally. They first settled in the Seyliki valley and a few years later on the plains to the west where he set up a small kingdom that was funded and defended through the sale of ivory for firearms from Charles Henry Stokes, ivory and arms trader (an ex-CMS missionary, he helped Lugard in Kampala in 1889-9). In 1886-97 the area suffered from droughts, raids of Nyoro from Katwe, Manyemi ivory traders and other local rivals, and a plague of jiggers for which there was no cure.

The Babito king, Vyogho, learnt Nyavingi rituals and as a result the rains returned, jiggers disappeared (they thrive in dry weather) and raids declined (more likely due to colonial control) from 1897. He made Nyavingi the primary ancestral religion in his court and the Babito elite; he being the most important and powerful medium.

Vyogho died in 1923 and was succeeded by his son Kikaviti who died in 1925 without being ritually enthroned. There followed a chaotic period between the Belgian colonists and the Babito as who should be the next monarch, which coincided with forced resettlement (the Belgians were trying to control sleeping sickness), wildlife crop predation, dysentery, plague and, in 1935, a locust invasion with famines up to the 1940s.

Various imposed rulers could not integrate the conflicting demands of ritual kingship with the Belgian demands for tax, forced labour, etc. The overall result was the decline of the Babito and the rise of minor Babito and non-Babito clan lineage elders who became Nyavingi mediums in the 1930s and 1940s. From the 1950s the numbers of bagirwa spread to all classes of society and increased particularly in the 1970s and are presumably still thriving.

Nyavingi was never anti-authority or anti-colonial here (with the possible exception of Kawese Vehambe in the 1950s) but her role changed from being an elite ancestral spirit who was responsible for the welfare of society to become a spirit for individual health and welfare. She changed from being a highly regarded figure to another spirit who lives in the bush with other emandwa.

Local mukumu (emandwa) are specialist mediums to spirits of the land, spirits of the people and friendly ancestors as well as being rainmakers; the main emandwa are Nyavingi, Muhima and Mulumbi. However such are the demands on her that a Bashu respondent, in the late 1970s, said:

“Today Nyavingi is like a man who has many wives and then tries to please them all, buying one a new coat, another a new pot, and a third a radio. When he is done he is unable to feed his children.”

Kigezi

In Kigezi (previously northern Ndorwa) it was believed that Nyabingi was a recent arrival. Philipps, colonial DC of Kigezi, wrote such in 1919. In 1928, Edel said that it replaced a female emandwa cult in living memory and Vokes says that it replaced a local fertility goddess at Nyabugota Cave (near Kanungu) in the mid-19th century. Shalita says that Bafumbira elders

believed that Nyabingi was unknown there until the Rwandan conquest and would have remained in Ndorwa if King Rwabugiri had not killed Nyiramukiga. Jack wrote, 1911, in what maybe the earliest English description:

“Among the Batusi the usual religion seems to be Nabingwe-worship. Large huts are built in her honour and are divided into compartments, in the outer of which live priests and priestesses, and in the inner a bed is made and food placed for the convenience of Nabingwe. The duty of the priests and priestesses is to receive the personal instructions of Nabingwe, and transmit them to the laity. The divine will often expresses in this way the desire for a cow, which is then eaten by those acting as her mouthpiece.”

However the evidence suggests that it was widespread in Rwanda and Kigezi as far north as Kayonza, much earlier. Its distribution may have varied depending on clan migration and settlement but after the 1880s became widespread.

Bakongwe

Early traditions state that a Mukongwe brought Nyabingi to Lake Bunyonyi after the solar eclipse of 1820. Bakongwe tradition is more specific; Musekura, leader of the Bahorondorwa lineage and grandfather of Katuregye, heard a voice one day at his home in Kishaasha instructing him and his son, Ngoroye, to go to Mumpimbi (za Muganza ya Rubuzibwamahano) near Changwe Cha Mbiribiri, in the lands of the Bahunde in Banyabutumbi. There they would meet the Imaana-Nyagasani (the creator of all things) who would change their lives for ever.

After a dangerous journey hazarding wildlife and outlaws the party arrived safely and made blood brotherhood pacts with local leaders while explaining their mission. They heard a voice who told them they would achieve great things and that the voice would stay with them. At this point Musekura was killed by some Bahunde for an unknown reason but Ngoyore survived the attack and the journey home. Another variant is that Musekura was murdered when returning home.

The voice then instructed Ngoyore's brother, Rwamushwa, to become a priest of this new belief that said it was the God of all things with the power of life and death. It added that people must worship it and threatened those who refused with severe punishment. The Batwa were apparently the first to support it enthusiastically, and profited through cattle plunder, while others complied through fear. It became the leadership ideology of the Bakongwe and further fuelled their territorial expansions that had began much earlier. Nyabingi to the Bakongwe was a leadership elite and military manifestation.

Rwamushwa and his wife, Chandungutse, became very powerful with many visitors with intercessions, offerings and sacrifices. They developed links with Kanzarina, leader of the Kyante Nyabingi, and there was intermarriage and friendship between the two families. Rwamushwa then became impotent and was told that he was to die from smallpox and be succeeded by his son and wife, Magyenge and Barebebuuza.

So powerful was Chandungutse's reputation that the English felt impelled to arrest (by a dawn raid) and intern for a year a woman in her mid-sixties in Mbarara. In the meantime Nyabingi

started communicating with junior brothers Katuregya and Kiribata in a purely military vein. Katuregya was to become a warrior and never be defeated for Nyabingi would advise his campaigns and Kiribata was also to become a warrior and become a supreme bowman.

The role of the Batwa is interesting and little is known of their general involvement or how Nyabingi became important to them. It may have resonated with their own wild fertility female spirits leading to a fusion of beliefs and practices. It may have only been popular in southern Kigezi as there is no evidence of Batwa Nyabingi further north. While the Bakongwe were probably an important influence there must have been others. For instance Kiroha of Kiringa (Mt. Muhavura), known as King of the Pygmies and an ally of Katuregya and Nyindo, was a mugirwa.

Kagarama

Kagarama was an important centre though from what date is unknown, Shalita adds that it was the 'original' centre, mediums who were initiated there were 'superior' to those elsewhere. It appears to have become important when Rutaginakijuna, a noted Nyabingi medium, moved there. She came from Mulera, moved to Nyamiringa, near Kabale, and then to Kagarama where she initiated Mahinga, a popular Basigi leader, who was an ancestor of the Musaire Kasente rebellion leaders of 1928.

She then moved to Murandi, by Lake Bunyoni, where she initiated Karisa and then to Kabona Hill where she settled until executed by Bayabai on the orders of King Rwabugiri, though he later repented and persuaded her muzimu to return to Ndorwa. Nyiramukiga appears to be an alternative name (or title) as the stories around them are roughly the same and both had a daughter named Kanzanira.

According to Turyahikayo-Rugyema the succession splits between Katonkwa, a son, who settled at Kyante Rutaye (near the present Uganda – Rwanda border), then to Mbogo, Ruikaga, and finally to Kibanda. Kanzanira was the mother of Ruhara, a famous bagirwa of Mulera and father of Mafene and grandson of Ngayabarezi.

Shalita says the cult was revived by the children of Kanzanira, the oldest of whom was Ruhara who inherited the leadership from his father. He was succeeded by Mafene who died in 1961 and by his grandson Ngayabarezi who died in 1969. However, Turyahikayo-Rugyema says that Mafene was killed by Germans in the early part of the 20th century; Shalita say 1961 (see above).

Other Bagirwa

There were many other noted bagirwa, many with Kagarama connections. Nyagahima had various residences at Rubaya and Kaniga, Rwanda, and Karujanga, Bukware and Kagarama in Kigezi but was executed by being thrown over cliff at Ntarabana for stealing a cow called Inyambo from King Rwabugiri. He was succeeded by an unnamed son who died at Kikore kya Barihira.

Nyirarwonga, also known as Gahu, was very famous and said to be a birth daughter of Nyabingi, sister of Murari, last Bashambo king. She had originally been at Kagarama but had been burnt

out of her house by the Bagina. This only increased her popularity and she fled to Rwanda where she initiated Bahira, Mutereri of Cyumba, near Byumba (where she died of dysentery in 1931) and Kanyandekwe of Kibali, Kijoro and Nkubito. The last became Gahu's main exponent and claimed she was still alive but invisible.

There was another Gahu who lived at Kikore kya Barihira but was killed by Rwanyonga, a Rwandan soldier. Before she died she is reported to have climbed on the roof of her hut shouting

"Leave me alone! I am Gahu, daughter of Nyabingi."

Hence her nickname Gahu ko hejuru – Gahu from above. She was also called Kahukeiguru – Controller of the firmament.

Other Centres

Other famous bagirwa and centres around 1900 were Katonkwa ka Muhozi (father of Bitura, a Musigi) at Kihanda Hill, Bukinda; Rucebure rwa Karyaija (father of Karisa, a Mukongwe) at Kishanje, south of Lake Bunyoni; Mandwa ya Birantana at Kibare, by Lake Bunyonyi (his widow Mukeiganira was a mugirwa at Nyarushanje); Rukaka (father of Mukonya, a Musigi) at Kitijo, near Kabale; Ruhara (father of Kanzanira, a Mukongwe) at Kyante; Bitenderere (father of Rukiika, a Musigi) at Kitanga.

There were many others; in Bafumbira a clan consisting of the Rujagi, Kaguriro and Ngomayombi families of Nyabwishenya were deemed the best and the Rwanzogera family, servants of the Rujagi, were less powerful. It also spread to Mabungo where Nyindo's mother became involved and thus to all of Bafumbira after Nyindo (a Rwandan noble and later rebel) was appointed as chief in Bafumbira. However it is not clear why it became popular among the nobility when the Rwandan monarchy was so against Nyabingi.

Reconciling Confusing Traditions

The traditions are confusing, for instance is Kanzanira the spiritual mother of Rutajirakijuna, her birth daughter or an alternative name? There are likely to be other possibilities and variants as to her origins. It is worth considering that Nyabingi does not have one specific place of origin but her manifestation is the result of a confluence of beliefs and rituals that took place in south western Uganda, eastern Congo and northern Rwanda, which resulted in a many local variations that evolved over time due to migration and dynastic power struggles.

Nyabingi in earlier times appears to be associated with royal power, though that may be a bias of the histories, but the history of its role among the people is not well known due to lack of documentation. Because Nyabingi focused on mediums and their networks rather than an organisation her role in society was how any one medium interpreted it.

European Impact

When Europeans arrived with their mission of conquest and colonisation it was Nyabingi in her social role and inspiration for resistance that the invaders had to deal with. Nyabingi originally provided the main resistance to Rwandan expansion until Rwanda was taken over by the Germans in 1897. Thereafter resistance switched to being anti-colonial, which is when Nyabingi

was transformed to become a more political resistance movement ideology under many rebel leaders, male and female. However resistance was primarily clan-based and never became a coordinated movement.

By 1930 its power as a focus for resistance had collapsed but remained underground as a religious force. It was primarily was used by families to solve individual problems up to the 1950s. Interestingly the Nyabingi site at Kagarama was built over by the Church of Uganda but people were initially afraid to attend services as they feared being struck by lightning cast by a vengeful Nyabingi.

It has been argued that Nyabingi was never part of Bakiga culture but was taken up during the early colonial period as an ideology of resistance. However the evidence suggests that there were many mediums in Kigezi and was part of the general emandwa tradition; however, some clans have no history of Nyabingi. Its spread in the 18th and 19th centuries was haphazard and depended on clan migrations and migrant bagirwa, particularly women who found it easier and safer to travel in pre-colonial times.

An Ideology of Resistance

What was new in Kigezi, c. 1900, was its use in resistance and rebellion, which spread from the recently conquered areas of Rwanda north with clan migrations. Because the English saw Nyabingi as an anti-monarchical movement they thought it anti-colonial, which resulted in its heavy-handed approach with the Anti-witchcraft laws of 1912 and 1921 revision that were used as a political weapon with a judicial veneer.

Under this law mediums could be imprisoned for up to a year. In 1921 it was raised the sentence to five years and also made possession on witchcraft materials an offence, liable to six months. In the 1920s there were usually 5-6 women serving six months in Kabale Jail.

Colonial authorities believed Nyabingi to be a secret society with a hierarchy and that if they got rid of its leaders than its 'deluded' followers would come over to the colonial side. However they were using their experience of European secret societies to make this judgement, which by and large, was incorrect, as there was little in common between resistance movements in Europe and Africa.

The notion of a secret society, as defined by Europeans, did not exist in pre-colonial Africa. The Bagirwa did not form any organisations and were generally independent of each another being originally clan and village based.

Noting a decline in reported Nyabingi activities in 1922 the district report wrote that

“Discrediting is probably due to normal progress and spread of outside ideas. The failure of the matama (sorghum) crop and consequent shortage of beer is perhaps another factor.”

They associated many Nyabingi activities with sorghum harvest festivities. By the 1930s, the Administration believed that Nyabingi was no more and conveniently argued that all witchcraft cases were spurious:

That it has considerable influence is apparent from the large number of alleged 'witchcraft' cases submitted by Native Courts, but that:

“On inquiry, it is generally found that they are not genuine cases of witchcraft, but mere charlatanism on the part of impostors who are well aware of the fear inspired in the credulous, and who play upon their fears for their own personal gain...”

This was an illusion as Nyabingi mediums were active for far longer as individual healers.

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Chapter 4.3

## Nyabingi Practices

### Introduction

From earliest times mediums and spirit doctors were called either emandwa (or kubwanda) and is found under these names in all Bantu languages of the Rift Valley; specialisations then arose that

covered various aspects of spiritual power. Spirit doctors had a dual role in society as consultants and healers of individuals and society; in the latter case they advised leaders about overall health and wealth issues.

According to Fieirman:

"Rendille pastoralists of northern Kenya, whose diviners dealt with the infertility of individual women and illnesses of individual children, but they also advised on how large-scale cattle movements could be undertaken without losing cattle to trypanosomiasis; they told people which dry-season grasses were likely to be the richest in any given year, and they advised on threats of armed invasion. In Tanzania, Pare diviners of the Hbaga lineage travelled widely, dispensing medicines to prevent the damaging effects of locust invasions. Chwezi mediums in Uganda and Nyabingi mediums in Rwanda played double roles, treating individual illnesses, but also commenting on the use of natural resources, and on the quality of royal rule as bringing life, health, and prosperity or death, disease, and famine."

Problem Solvers

In their individual capacity Nyabingi mediums solved problems that could not be resolved by emandwa mediums. The procedure was that a supplicant would approach a Bagirwa and explain their problem and would be told what to bring as offerings. Then the medium would retire to a private space and speak to the supplicant in the voice of Nyabingi giving the solution.

The main issues were barrenness among women, childhood illnesses, cattle mortality, crop failures and problems with malevolent spirits and ancestors. While they were common in the 19th century, in the 20th century they were used infrequently and somewhat reluctantly judging by accounts recorded by Vokes from the mid-20th century. Then it was regarded as dangerous and only used as a last resort in times of extreme crisis; afterwards most people would have "Nothing more to do with the thing."

Fees

They were expensive and demanded high fees for their services including livestock, food, honey beer, young girls, labour and other services. It has been argued variously that these fees were reciprocal as when some disaster or misfortune occurred these were redistributed to those who suffered the worst, while others have described it as exploitation.

Examples of the former come from general literature regarding healing, Fieirman and Schoenbrun, while the latter examples come from Rutanda, Ngologoza and many colonial and missionary authors, i.e. Geraud said

"That by the end of the 19th century the cult had become a public nuisance being a slave making business".

The truth probably is somewhere in-between, in terms of their high fees a modern analogy would be lawyers, specialist doctors and professionals who also expensive but also offer pro-bono services depending on their personalities and circumstances.

From the clients' perspective the final judgement is based on results; if a medium or modern professional does not deliver, he or she ends up with a bad reputation and no customers. It was and is in the interest of Nyabingi mediums and modern professionals to be effective and reasonably affordable.

Selection

According to Rutanda, though he does state his source and it is not clear how representative these were, there were very specific rituals by which women were chosen for service:

“Selection of young females into the ranks of Nyabingi religion was highly secretive, mysterious and frightening. This process always took place at night. The sign for the selected girl was a metallic rod or spear which would be placed in-between the thighs of a chosen girl. In the morning, it would be clearly known and spread among the peasants how Nyabingi had selected so-and-so into its service. No one would object or contradict this choice. Peasants would begin to respect and fear such girls...

Before carrying out that mission, the Omugirwa would first carry out a secret survey of the house, how the residents slept, their sleeping time and habits, and the positions of sleeping of different individuals in the house. In the night of selection of the girl, the Omugirwa would sneak into the house in the dark, place the rod between the thighs of the girl that would have been singled out. This metallic rod symbolised her being chosen as Nyabingi's defender...

In this case, the chosen girl would then go into the service of Nyabingi under senior Abagirwa. The economic implication was that such girls would no longer engage in material production, nor would they get married in the traditional way to bring in wealth as livestock in form of bride price... Okutweija divorced those girls from the honour of women, which was through marriage and reproduction of children...

Furthermore, such females could marry by the high priest giving them freely to a man that Nyabingi wanted to reward. The chosen girl(s) would be initiated into its secrets and defence. This allowed them the chance to hold instruments of coercion: the spear, the machete etc. Nyabingi institution ruled that everyone in its service had to use these weapons for its defence. While this seemed to alleviate these females from the direct oppression and exploitation of Nyineka, they had now come under the direct control of the High priests/priestesses and the strict discipline of Nyabingi institution.”

However, Rutanda's uses a Marxist dialectical and historical materialist approach. His opinion is that all relationships in pre-colonial sub-Saharan Africa were based on exploitation, mothers exploited children, senior wives exploited junior wives, men exploited women, older brothers exploited younger brothers, fathers exploited wives and children, men exploited women, pastoralists exploited crop farmers, leaders exploited followers, etc. He does not discuss the role of exchange and reciprocal relationships and there is no peace, harmony, love or friendship in his analysis.

Furthermore while the Bagirwa were exploiters

“Nyabingi religion depended on coercion, intimidation, curses and threats... to inflict mysterious diseases and deaths”.

in the 19th century; they become heroic freedom fighters in the 20th

“It was the Nyabingi religion which identified with the oppressed peoples, preached emancipation from oppression and exploitation. It provided a foundation for solidarity, courage and action against oppressors....”

Hereditary Succession

The most common form of initiation was hereditary by where a parent, in the presence of clan elders, would crown his child with a cultic crown (ekisingo) as a sign of power and blessing. Another method was through choice or by vocation where an individual would proclaim that he or she was now a medium; it was a more popular method among women, Muhumuza is the most famous example. The latter were not as acceptable as those who had been ritually initiated and had to prove themselves and be formally accepted by senior mediums and clans.

The ceremony was usually conducted under an omurinzi tree where the initiate swallowed a small white pebble as a symbol of their vow. The elders wore their clothes inside-out and there was feasting on the roast meat of a cow; the stomach, heart, liver, kidneys and one leg were first offered to Nyabingi accompanied with honey beer. The ceremony was similar to the initiation of an emandwa. It is doubtful whether such orderly initiations were as common during the chaotic period at the turn of the 20th century and the armed resistance thereafter when Nyabingi leaders arose in response to the death and imprisonment of previous leaders.

Dress and Implements

Their clothing was distinctive; Pauwels described Gahu's (died 1931) dress as:

“In the manner of young Bahororo girls of Ndorwa, she wore her hair 'en bisage', that is, locks and hair coated with rancid butter and ornamented with pearls and pendants made of iron or copper. She wore on one wrist and one leg numerous bracelets made of cowrie shells. She wore large bangles around her waist. Like all women she was dressed in cow hide. In order to cover her blind eye, the burns on her cheek and her chest she covered herself with a piece of cloth to which were attached several tiny bells.”

She had typical Nyabingi implements, an iron walking rod, spears and knives. Generally the knives had no handles and were called orunana and nicknamed katemabagome (literal translation 'to cut rebels') used to cut offerings of meat. The iron walking stick, about 1m long, had a bell shaped handle while the opposite end tapered to a point like a spear head; it sometimes had leather thongs, copper rings or bells attached. There were also shorter iron rods, swords and drums.

Drums were usually made by the Bahunde; when new they were taken on a journey of introduction around the clan area accompanied by gifts. There were also small pots with two spouts for drinking beer in company. Some remained in seclusion and were only seen in their

indaro and travelled in litters shrouded in bark cloth or with their faces veiled. These were common ways among royalty of maintaining distance, indicating that they were as important and no doubt, was one reason that royalty disliked them as a potential threat to their power.

Roles in Traditional Society

There were a variety of services, which could be voluntary or compulsory, the former involved offerings often of first fruits in thanksgiving for good harvests or other positive events. The latter entailed the offering of sacrifices in supplication and tribute to offset bad harvests or other disasters of either clan or family.

There were also social occasions where the elders would gather and drink beer at the invitation of one of their number in honour of Nyabingi and fellowship feasts that were family events where all members attended including married daughters living elsewhere, which entailed everybody contributing food; a bull was slaughtered, prayers were offered and the serious business of feasting and celebrating began.

Public worship on important occasions was another time of offerings and celebrations. During the day the medium stayed indoors all day consuming the gifts of food and drink on behalf of Nyabingi and in the evening the hut would shake and all would fall to their knees and pray. Typical prayers might go:

“May you succeed, May you live for ever, You, the moulder of the land the owner of the land, The one who lives on earth, land and above, Come to us with peace” or “Lady of the Great Spirit, come, save, cure your people, Save us from evil, from sickness, from the Europeans, from the Batutsi.”

Private supplication was also common and if a Bakiga was found talking to himself he was often asked

“Noterecerera? – Are you supplicating?”

The methods of divination were the same throughout. They would speak in Nyabingi's voice behind bark cloth curtains in their indaro and often shook the hut to indicate her presence. According to Pauwels a typical conversation went:

Attendant: A visitor has arrived; he has a pot of beer on his head
Mugirwa: Who is it?
Attendant: It is so-and-so
Mugirwa: Has he brought anything?
Attendant: Yes, some beer
Mugirwa Is that all? Tell him to bring a sheep, he can take his beer home

The visitor would insist on leaving the beer and the following day bring a reluctant sheep. The mugirwa would then ask the reason for the visit and when that was explained he would moan and groan, the hut would shake and he would, in the voice of Nyabingi demand a further offering to solve the supplicant's problem and a translation if Nyabingi spoke in Runyarwanda. If the

mugirwa was a woman Nyabingi's voice would be deep and if a man the voice was falsetto. Sometimes the medium used a hollow stem of a tree or bamboo to relay Nyabingi's voice while interpreting in a normal voice.

Gender Issues

The complex nature of gender and the role of women in African society, both practically and symbolically, is much debated; here are two examples. As to its origins Rutanda states that:

“Nyabingi was presented to its followers as having been created in the form of woman: a female spirit which lived under the earth but which often appeared to people, with rapid transformative powers into feminine personalities. It was assumed that it could transform into different forms of destitution, for example like that of a desperate, poor old woman, etc. It was interpreted that Nyabingi would do so to punish whoever mistreated her or scorned her or refused to welcome her or denied her food, shelter etc. People feared that Nyabingi would punish them through diseases, failure for a woman to get a husband, death etc.

It was assumed that she would reward those who treated it well. The moral lessons from this included discipline and reforms, enforced humanity, generosity and, humility among the oppressed. All these feminine imaginations about Nyabingi and its being created in a feminine form, and the dominance of selecting females into its service leads us to conclude that it was likely to have been created by the dominated, oppressed females.”

According to Fieirman:

“The archetypical bringer of death and famine was the woman whose flow was blocked: the small old woman or the young woman whose breasts did not flow with milk. People explained to missionaries in Kigezi that 'women without breasts' were sources of barrenness, presumably because their milk could not flow. These women would never marry and informants claimed that they would at times be killed in order to preserve the fertility of others around them.

According to the ritual codes of Rwanda's court, destructive and deadly floods could only be prevented if the king's ritualists captured a Twa woman without breasts, one who originated in Kigezi. They would sacrifice her beyond the northern limits of the kingdom, in the area that came to be called Kigezi. After her blood flowed on foreign soil Rwanda itself, the kingdom proper, would prosper.”

He does not explain why it had to be a Mutwa and begs the question as to why a forest woman was the victim.

Pre and Post Colonial Changes

In the 19th century Nyabingi indaro were in a central place in the settlement. A fire was continually tended where people gathered to worship, a pot of honey beer was kept full (apparently Nyabingi did not like sorghum beer). There was an inner shrine where only the medium was allowed to go and had a papyrus woven basket for offerings, pot with two spouts and an iron bar that was Nyabingi's walking stick.

Everybody knew where the Nyabingi mediums lived but due to colonial repression in the 20th century it went underground. In the 1930s consultation had become secretive, mediums did not publicise their activities and all transactions, which appear to have become more expensive as a result, were done under cover so that the colonial and religious authorities were kept in ignorance.

If they were discovered it often led to a court case but as the colonial administration wrote that Nyabingi was no longer active; the mediums were charlatans, intent on defrauding hapless superstitious victims. The colonial attitude was very contradictory as it allowed emandwa to operate freely especially if they were chiefs. By the 1940s they seem to have disappeared as a result of the spread of Christianity but it is also likely that they just stopped using the name and are known as the more socially acceptable emandwa.

Current Legal Situation

Current legislation is the 1957 Witchcraft Act though convictions in the late 1990s were overturned as unconstitutional under the 1995 Constitution. The maximum penalty for using witchcraft to harm people or property is ten years imprisonment. The Constitution now guarantees freedom of religion; however no known Nyabingi mediums have publicly reclaimed this right.

Today alleged witchcraft cases appear in court usually at the behest of disgruntled clients while some independent Christian pastors offer protection against witchcraft. In the aftermath of the last local council elections in early 2011 some new appointees found mysterious packages hidden in the furniture that were believed to be spell casts while others refused to use the offices or furniture of their predecessors for fear of witchcraft.

A recent indication of Nyabingi power was seen on the Facebook Studio Edirisa page. When it published a copy of a 1911 photo of Muhumuza, a noted Nyabingi Tutsi aristocrat and queen of Rwanda, in August 2012, there were over 40,000 hits within ten days thereafter declining to 30,000.

Nyabingi and the Rastafarian Movement

Nyabingi has never died out completely as she became a heroine of the nascent Rastifarian movement in the 1930s. How revolutionaries in Jamaica heard of Nyabingi and incorporated her into the new philosophy of independence is not explored here. It appears that some of what they learnt came from the Babylonian English media, which would account for misconceptions. There is no evidence that any visited Muhumuza in Kampala; she and Marcus Garvey were contemporaries.

It is obvious that they saw Nyabingi and Muhumuza as anti-colonial and anti-capitalist heroines who fought against colonialism and white supremacy but were defeated through conquest and domination. The two are sometimes confused in Rasta literature.

After 1937 some Rasta began to call themselves Nyahbinghi or 'Nya-men,' while Rasta forums of solidarity and the drums played at them were also called Nyahbinghi. They also associated Nyahbinghi with Haile Salassi (Ras Tafari) as lion king. Nowadays the Nyahbinghi Order is the

oldest of the Rastafarian mansions; one translation of unknown origin is ‘black victory’ (nyah = black and bhingi = victory).

It can be argued that Nyabingi has been taken out of its spriritual, cultural and historical context as a traditional East African fertility and healing medium and the focus is primarily on its political aspects and Selassi, a Coptic Christian, probably never heard of Nyabingi. Nyabhinghi Order websites show that their beliefs are an Afro-Caribbean interpretation of Judaeo-Christian monotheism, with little reference to traditional African spirituality, beliefs and practices.

Rastafarian feminists, such as Terisa Turner, point out that early Rasta philosophy was male-centred (the 'male deal') and that Nyabingi should represent gender equality in revolutionary struggles. She argues that in the transition to modern life women lost power over clan politics and land rights and became subsidiary family members supporting male wage earners, while the women-centred character of Nyabingi was lost in the transfer.

Since the 1970s Rasta culture has become international and more gender sensitive though to what extent Nyabingi or Nyahbinghi is part and parcel of its philosophy in the Americas, Africa, Asia and Europe has yet to be explored. However Nyabingi is probably not complaining having found a new role as an international heroine and goddess within a growing alternative philosophy with a complimentary role as an alternative manifestation of the Virgin Mary.

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Chapter 4.4

# Christian Histories

## Introduction

The process by where the peoples of Kigezi were converted by Anglican and Roman Catholic catechists and missionaries was somewhat different due to dissimilar methods of conversion. In Kigezi early missionary work was facilitated by language similarities; Rukiga/Runyankole and Rufumbira/Rwandan.

In general Kigezi was converted much later than central Uganda due its uncertain political status and resistance to colonisation; in comparison Buganda had Anglican missionaries from at least 1880 due to links between English explorers and the Bugandan monarchy; the Tooro monarchy converted soon after. This delay meant that Kigezi avoided the vicious religious infighting that beset Buganda in the last two decades of 19th century. In Kigezi the first missionaries were Africans who arrived from Buganda, escaping the religious wars there in the 1880s.

## The Sources

There is a significant difference between the output of Catholics and Protestant missionaries in Kigezi. The former were very involved with clan history research and many parish priests did researched their parishes and beyond; they were part of a network that included Rwanda and the Congo. Much of this is in French and can be difficult to find. The Protestants focus heavily on church affairs and the successes of their missions in terms of evangelisation, health and education.

As a result, Bakiga culture and history has been well documented by Catholic clerics though much less is known about the history of the Catholic Church in Kigezi compared with the Church of Uganda, whose writings are heavily imbued with Revivalism and have little or no time for traditional culture and religion or history.

Another fundamental difference is their respective native languages and cultural orientation. The Protestants were English who shared the same cultural identities and philosophies as colonial officials. They had considerable correspondence with their families, friends, supporters and donors. Their personal papers are likely to have survived and in the possession of their families or since lodged in an archive. The fact that they are in English makes them accessible to English-speaking historians and biographers.

A number of books chronicling the history of the church, mission and lives of the most important have been published over the years by authors who share the same evangelical beliefs. However they are limited to CMS affairs with little attention paid to the wider context, government and Catholicism. They also don't credit early Ugandan missionaries or many of the dedicated English and Ugandan support staff who gave their lives in service.

The situation with Catholics was different as their native language was French and official language was Latin; English was only used in dealings with colonial officials. The White Fathers were a very European organisation whose headquarters are in Rome. They recruited missionaries from 5-6 countries with as many different native languages. They had no links with the UK Catholic Church, as none of their personnel were native English speakers, at least in their early days in Uganda. However all priests serving in Uganda spoke fluent English by necessity, which is probably why most early priests were Dutch or Flemish, judging by their surnames.

Until the 1970s the order mainly published in French and rarely in English, mostly translations; exceptions were Frs. Geraud and Nicolet. White Father publications included Chronique Trimestrielles and Rapport Annuell but these had limited circulation within the order. When English became more common as an international language, they were no longer in Kigezi. The transfer of control, administration and recruitment to Anglophone clergy in Uganda has disconnected the current Church from its origins. A result is that the history of the Catholic Church in Kigezi is largely unknown.

In Kigezi the early period has some information regarding White Father and Church Missionary Society personnel and the foundation of parishes, schools and hospitals; but after 1930 there is very little. It is difficult to ascertain the actual processes, numbers and dates by where the majority of Kigezi people converted to Christianity.

Other problems are a lack of parish histories, or exploration of the transition from missionary to Ugandan clergy after independence and the changing relationship of Church and State as it was experienced in Kigezi before and after independence. Minority Christian religions include the Baptist, Seventh Day Adventist and, in more recent times, Pentecostal churches; other minority faiths are Islam and Hinduism. None of these have attracted any local histories.

Comparative Anglican and Catholic Success Rates

In the 1931 Census Returns (Kigezi District Annual Report) there were 232,603 followers of traditional religion, 9,186 Catholics and 5,067 Anglicans. In other words 95% of the population was non-Christian. In the 1950s there were still enough non-Christians to swing elections. However, by the 1990s their numbers had declined to less than 1% and the Catholic-Anglican breakdown was roughly 45/55%.

Given that this period, until the mid-1960s, was peaceful why and when did the majority convert and why did the Anglicans overtake the Catholics? In terms of student numbers in the early 1930s Protestant enrolment hovered around 400-700 but trebled to over 20,000 by 1960. In the early period Catholics had about 75% of enrolment and while, by 1960, the Anglicans had improved to 44%, Catholics were still in the majority at that time.

It maybe because of the control of education by the Churches where conversion was probably a requirement, to gain power and patronage within the colonial administration one needed to be an educated Christian. It is possible that the current majority of Church of Uganda comes from the fact that colonial administration and early independence governments were primarily Anglican (questionable given student enrolment in 1960), the CMS may have had more manpower and

parishes. A knock-on effect of the Protestant insistence on literacy as essential for reading and understanding the Bible was that students were employable.

The Roman Catholic requirement of clerical celibacy, which runs completely counter to African sexual mores, may be a barrier to local recruitment as its refusal to countenance women clerics compared to the Church of Uganda who, in Kigezi, had women deacons from 1979 and priests from 1983.

The East African Revival (Balokole movement) was significant in kick starting conversions in the 1930s and 1940s particularly after the alliance between traditional religion and politics fell apart after the Musaire Kasente rebellion of 1928 but does not explain the current membership of the two main churches. Perhaps the attractions of Christian doctrines regarding the Resurrection were more attractive than traditional after-death beliefs.

Until there is detailed research these speculations will remain untested and unproven. It may be simply a matter of the geography of Temporary Occupation Licences (TOL). In the 1930s the Catholic/Protestant breakdown of TOL was 45-47%/55-53%. In other words both converted to their capacity.

Roman Catholic

Early Missionaries

The first visit by Roman Catholic missionaries was in 1903 when a group of White Fathers, led by Fr. Dufays, passed through to found a mission in Rwanda (they were established there in 1900). The first recorded Roman Catholic missionary was a Muganda, Yowana Kitegana (1858-1939), who arrived in 1911 and first settled in Rukiga where a Catholic Muganda chief, Yowana Ssebalijja, was established. He founded the first church at Rusharoza; it became the diocesan headquarters of Kigezi.

He was assisted by Auguste Kapere, Rapheal Kabakure and Yohan Rutimbirauyo and Athanase Nalugumbula. The last was a carpenter who was offered gombolola chieftainships three times but refused, he taught literacy to soldiers and chiefs' sons, he died 1969. He described one journey he made to Kigezi around 1915 when he had to spend an afternoon, night and early morning up a tree surrounded by 14 lions near Bukanka. They were assisted by returning Bakiga who had fled the 1904-6 famine and studied in Kitabi. The impression they had of the Bakiga was

“That suffering never discouraged them, hard blows never frightened them, death did not trouble them.”

White Fathers

In 1914 the colonial administration invited the WFM and the CMS to select sites for their respective headquarters around Kabale that led to various delegations from both. The first mission chose sites at Rusharoza, Zoroma at Kinkiizi, Bukinda, Nyakigugwe and Kahota. They were promised 20 sub-plots but by 1920 there was no land to be given out and it was a major problem to reconcile the earlier grant with provincial policy. While a permanent mission had

been planned since 1914 it wasn't until 1923 that Fr. Laane, Fr. Nicolet and Br. Theofile arrived. The land grant issue was sorted out without any problems and they set up missions through the TOL system and, by 1930, had 229 mission plots.

Prior to their arrival, the Mbarare WFM sent occasional missions to administer sacraments, preach and give advice. It is estimated that there were under 1,000 converts and at least as many catechumens, which rose to 9,186 (4% of the population) by 1930. While the administration were well informed about CMS activities they didn't know much about the Catholics before 1923 bar the occasional conference with visiting missionaries. In 1923 CMS plots were inspected (and passed) but not Catholic plots as there were no Europeans.

Of these first priests, Fr. Nicolet was the most influential and founded many churches including Chihe, Kinanira, Busengo, Muramba and Mutolere in Bafumbira. He was also involved in the original survey of the current Kabale to Kisoro road, built in the 1930s. The Mutolere mission had been originally been founded in 1924 at Kadwa, Lake Mutanda, by Kitagana and Kapere but moved to Mutolere in 1929. Bafumbira was tough going in the beginning as the people

“Were indifferent, lacked curiosity, were slow to decide and lacked perseverance.”

It is likely, given their history of conquest and resistance, highly suspicious but Kitigana's personality, combined with hard work, charity to orphans and needy (probably very many, they helped in the fields) and medical treatment for all, turned people around.

In terms of school attendance in 1930 they had 230 students, 1931, 285 students; 1933, 525 students; and in 1960, 11,398 students. However there were often disputes between farmers and the White Fathers regarding school fees. In one case Ruhara's three children were expelled from school for failing to pay church dues but had paid school fees. The authorities accused them of misusing school fees for the church purposes. After a lot of correspondence, they concluded that:

“Schools must not be used as instruments for enforcing Church discipline against children or parents, especially when it appears to be only a matter of tithe payments.”

The colonial administration believed that the White Fathers were 'sounder' with higher standards; they had less plots but more Europeans, which was more efficient. For example, Nyakibale mission in 1930 was recorded as developing well with food planting and trees. Overall they preferred the White Father's mission organisation as better supervised and more accountable but thought the CMS had the better and more appropriate curriculum.

Fr. Laane was succeeded by Fr. F. X. Lacoursiere in 1927 who became bishop of Mbarara in 1932. Other early White Fathers were Frs. P. Brianguier and Van Ertrijk who founded Nyakibare, Rujumbura in 1929, Fr. U. Toreli who founded Kitanga in 1935, Mgr. B. Wamala and Fr. Paul Mischler. Priests associated with Rushorooza school were Fr. P. Spaandonk from 1931, Fr. J. M. Letohie from 1932 (he died 1939) and Fr. H. Witbroek. Other priests were Fr. Etchevery 1893-1988 who was part of a mission to Kigezi in 1913 and Fr. Le Tohic, 1873-1939, both died in Kabale,

## Transition to Ugandan Clergy

The White Fathers continued to supply priests to Kigezi parishes until fairly recently. Their decline was due to the transition to Ugandan clergy combined with the general decline of vocations in Europe that has resulted in the White Fathers policy change to focus on missionary work.

This has led to a decline in support services as many European priests also ran orphanages, social services and agricultural programmes using international sources of funding that were outside the reach of early local clergy. Many parishioners noted the disappearance of these services when a White Father parish priest retired and was succeeded by a Ugandan. In recent times local clergy have developed links within the international church and NGOs and many community social service partnerships have developed in line with the modern structures of international development aid.

## Churches of England and Uganda

### Early Missionaries

The first recorded Anglican missionary was Zakariah Balaba, who founded a church firstly at Kikungiri in 1912 and then, as he had built without permission, to Rugarama, two miles from Kabale. He was killed in 1912 while on a visit to Bafumbira during the Nyindo rebellion, he apparently wanted to personally record events; he was buried on Gisoro (Kisoro) Hill. He stayed with Abdulla Mamumye, a fellow Muganda, rather than in Nyindo's court.

This association doomed his ministry as he was a Muganda, an umuryankoko (a chicken eater, he ate other taboo foods such as eggs, fish and onions that were associated with divination) and because of Batutsi and Buganda cultural disharmony. Other problems were that he was circumcised plus there was the association of literacy with magic. He apparently had few missionary gifts.

In 1912 a mission under Nyaruhungu went to Rujumbura but failed totally. They camped at Rwenshaka, Kanyima, at chief Ruhinda's residence but lightning struck the camp killing one, this was seen as a bad omen and Makobore ordered their expulsion. A second mission in 1913-5 was more successful and 33 converted by 1916.

Instability prevented any further involvement in western Kigezi until 1919 when Zedekiya Lwamafa arived and made some converts. The first churches were founded in Seseme, Kabindi, Rwaramba, Gisorora, Butongo, Gitovu Chihe and Giseriri. By 1930 thirty churches had been founded in Bafumbira, the majority of evangelists were local.

African evangelists in Kigezi were Rafael Kabukure in Mparo, Gabriel Busizore in Nyarushanje and Andria Tabura in Rushoroza, Zakaria Balaba, Zedekia Rwamafwa and Ezekial Balaba; the last became archdeacon and received an MBE. Evangelists in Bafumbira were Eliya Magusyo, Nasanaeli Rwammushamba, Yoweli Muzungu, Andereya Mayombo, Levi Bukumbura, Hamu Lule Mukasa and Blasio Kigozi.

### Church Missionary Society

The CMS became involved from the 1920s and with the arrival of Drs. Leonard Sharp and Algernon Stanley Smith they started to make serious progress in Kigezi though this was part of their overall Ruandan Mission that covered the Burundi, Ruanda and Uganda in one diocese; political boundaries were treated as irrelevant.

The main focus of the CMS was Ruanda but they had competition from Lutherans, supported by the Germans, who arrived in 1907, and Roman Catholics, arrived 1900, supported by the Catholic Belgian monarchy and administration that were never very sympathetic to the CMS. In 1916 the German Lutheran Church was superseded by the Belgian Protestant Mission who was CMS allies.

CMS philosophy envisaged a three legged stool of Evangelisation, Education and Health as the three prongs, which had to be balanced to be successful. This is certainly true of the earliest missionaries, Sharp, Hornby and Stanley Smith whose contributions covered all three aspects.

Later missionaries were different in that they were building on earlier work within the Revival context where native culture was dismissed in a few clichés; they were far more biased towards evangelisation. Bill Church for instance uses the term “aggressive evangelisation” while Lindsay Guillebaud wrote about the starving people who surrounded the Gahini mission for food (it was a government food station) during the 1943 Rwanda famine when an estimated 100,000 died:

“This time of trouble was the Church's supreme opportunity.”

Fortunately there is no evidence that they forced people to convert in exchange for food, unlike evangelists in Ireland 100 years previously. However, there may have been psychological pressure; vulnerable hungry people would have been easy to sway.

Their first Ruandan mission was in Gahini, which through a quirk of political fate, was part of British Ruanda and comprised of the eastern corridor adjacent to the Tanzanian Frontier. It was part a planned Cairo to Cape Town railway that has been since dubbed the 'Lunatic Express'. This was as a result of the 1915 Milner Ortz convention and ratified by the 1922 Peace Conference. However, the plan was abandoned the following year and the corridor returned to Belgium.

The CMS availed of this window of opportunity but had to wait until 1933 for permission to open further missions in Ruanda and (B)Urundi, which is when Sharp and Smith went there; Sharp to Matama in Burundi until 1942 and Smith to Ruanda until he retired in 1955 when he moved to Mbarara.

Sharp and Smith

Drs. Leonard Sharp and Algernon Stanley Smith arrived in Uganda in 1914 and began working in Mengo Hospital, Kampala, and Mwanza Hospital, 1914-6. Having read In the Heart of Africa by the Duke of Meckleburg they decided to go to Ruanda but ended up in Kabala in 1921 due to resistance by the Belgian government. They approached the CMS in 1919 and they approved the Ruanda Medical Mission and made a commitment to pay their salaries for four years though the doctors had to pay their own expenses. This satisfied their pioneering missionary philosophy as

the Bakiga had a reputation for being lawless and a medical mission was seen by local government as a method to make local people amenable. It was also seen as a stepping stone to Ruanda, which was the main focus of the CMS mission.

They arrived in 1921 with their wives, Esther and Zoe, built many parish churches locally and became serious competitors to the Roman Catholic missions for the hearts and minds of the Kigezi people, though they relied heavily on African catechists. By 1924 they, with Azxaliya Mutazindwa of Tooro, had trained 154 native teachers. They calculated that there were 40 churches, 2,000 attendees and 180 baptised in Rukiga; another 1000 attendees and 25 baptised in Bufumbira; one church and 400 attendees in Kinkiizi. In Rujumbura they wrote that work was at low ebb but opposition was breaking down.

Figure 60 Rugarama to the cathedral, hospital on the left

By 1926 they had built four schools, a hospital, a network of churches and had translated the Bible into Runyarwanda to serve the whole Rwandan mission. However Seseme school (founded 1921) was burnt in 1922 by Munyangeri Wycliffe (later a minister) and Bigabo of Nyagisenyi due to teacher-student conflict and was transferred to Kabale; there was no school in Kisoro in 1922-7.

Figure 61 Village church

Sharp was district Medical Officer, 1921-8, and received £480 pa. They built a hospital in Kabira with 125 beds where they focused on epidemics including yaws, a common disease that took at least six months to heal and often left many scars. An injection cured the complaint completely and quickly. In 1929 Dr. Sharp built a leprosy settlement on Bwama Island; see later. They founded the first school in 1924 in Kabale to train church teachers and lay readers for western Uganda.

Until 1930 the school taught Kiswahili, biblical studies, hygiene, preaching, singing, homemaking, drill, worship, over 3-6 months, and had 320 graduates. Until 1948 it trained teachers for bush schools and instituted teacher training for women in that year. In 1959 it introduced a Lay Reader's Certificate, in 1976 a Provincial Certificate in Theology and in the 1990s a Diploma in Theology.


Figure 62 Chair-making at Kigezi School, 1930s

It was renamed Bishop Barham College in 1973 and became an interdenominational university in 2000. It is staffed by Ugandan and international teachers and offers certificate, diploma, BA and post-graduate courses to students from all over East Africa. Its current student population of 600 is 30% female

In 1922 Kigezi High School was opened for chief's sons; the boys wore a red fez, white sashes and khaki uniform, sang God Save the King and had drills and exercises. There were teething problems; the first schoolmaster was fired for “evil living”, he “after starting well, made a moral shipwreck'” In 1947 it had 350 boys with another 178 schools with 400 teachers and over 10,000 pupils. In the early days gifts were eggs, chickens, goats; now £3,216 was the annual subscription. Kisoro boarding school was founded in 1921 and was amalgamated with Kabale in 1925. By 1930 all native government centres had native teachers.

Constance Hornby

The most influential female evangelist was Constance Hornby, who arrived in 1925, though missionary wives and many unmarried women played an important, but often undocumented, role in church activities, health and education.

Hornby's background was agricultural dairy management; she trained as nurse and midwife but her primary strength was as an educationalist who strongly believed in female education as a Christian requirement.

She went on many safaris on foot around Kigezi and brought girls to Kabale where they learnt literacy, religion, crafts, good housekeeping, child rearing and relationships with their husbands. She founded a school in Rugarama, (later Hornby High School), in 1926 and another in Seseme, Kisoro. She was later appointed Supervisor to the Church of Uganda Schools in Kigezi. She died in 1972 and is buried in Kabale.

Other Women Evangelists

There were many other unmarried women who served with the CMS who have largely been forgotten, Constance Watney, Margaret Forbes, May Langley, Beatrice Martin and Grace Mash. Many volunteers came for a few years before transferring to other missions or returning home.

Watney was the first matron of Kabira hospital who was forced to return home due to ill-health. She also assisted in the Government dispensary in Kabale. The district report of 1921 recorded an “absurd rumour” that she was collecting children to send them to a mythical place called Nakibengo and was associated with arrival of florins from Entebbe to pay salaries. Officials believed that the rumour would die a natural death when missionaries gained the confidence of the natives. Interestingly it was first reported to the administration by Yowana Kitegana, the leading Kigezi Catholic then teaching at Rushooroza; they added that he “is doing his best to check the rumour”.

The reason for the rumour may be due to two factors; firstly, missionaries recruited children for education, people then didn't understand what schools were and believed that it was a tribute to their rulers and never expected the children back. Secondly Watney is on record in evangelical literature as having “rescued” one child from her mother whose only 'crime' was to have been a Nyabingi mugirwa. There were other cases of 'adoption' whose background is unclear and often involved abandonment and polygamous family issues.

Lilian Clarke succeeded Hornby as the leading female educationalist in Kigezi in 1940 and brought the schools up to newly introduced government standards. Langley and Martin managed Bwama Island leprosy settlement from 1930 to about 1938 and were succeeded by Grace Mash who was in charge until c. 1960.

Problems with Converts

However it was tough going by the high standards of the CMS. Smith records that

“One longs to see signs of real heart repentance for sin and a hunger and thirst for righteousness and one sees it so rarely in African Christians” and “For the moment, the rising tide of success in Kigezi showed signs of superficiality. One after another evangelists and leading Christians fell away into sin. The bondage of drink, the corruption of sexual vice, and the deep strong roots of witchcraft, and the allurements of the world began to take their toll.”

Jack Warren warned in 1927 of Christians:

“Drifting back into heathenism – Unless help comes soon, the last state of Kigezi would get worse than the first.”

In 1929 Mabel Ensor, an Irish nurse (1878-1954), wrote about Kampala (see F. B. Welbourn, East African Rebels, London, 1961)

“Crowds of people flocked up the hill to have Holy Communion on Sunday with no idea what they were doing. Large numbers of baptised Christians were going back to polygamy and witchcraft and to the worship of evil spirits. Christianity has just become a veneer to cover it all up. In many cases the only difference between pagans and Christians is that the pagans sin openly and the Christians hide themselves.”

Lawrence Barham, in 1931, wrote that:

“The pull of animism is very great... I have been hearing lately of a number of Church teachers who are living in fear of witchcraft.”

In 1927, Rujumbura and Bafumbira (the Bahororo and Banyrwanda) had the highest number of witchcraft cases. It wasn't until the East African Revival (Balokole) that matters started to improve.

CMS Controversies around 1930

However CMS activities were not without controversy and the colonial administration took steps to remedy, what they saw, as the worst excesses. The most comprehensive account is Rutanga (1991), from which the following, based on colonial documents, has been taken, (it could be argued he has an anti-CMS bias). It covers land grants, forced labour, hunting and milk levies exacted by the CMS and of colonial reactions and limits put on these activities.

Land

In the early days the administration allowed missionaries to acquire land for churches and schools through Temporary Occupation Licenses (TOL) as well as 300 acres each for their respective headquarters. While residents were given eviction notices it is not clear whether they received any compensation, some may have but maybe only for their standing crops rather than their land. Lewin, of the CMS:

“Marked out the choicest pieces of cultivated land for his plots”

and said that:

“If they resigned their claim to the land and became mission people that they would be released from all obligations to their chiefs, the government, and also from road work”

But such was the disquiet over these land grants the administration was obliged to clarify the situation and said that:

“Owing to the density of population and extremely strong feeling among the clans as to alienation of their land whether fallow or cultivated it has been explained to the indigenous population that such lands will not be alienated without their consent (obtained after individual explanation to those interested that lands then granted would cease to belong to them) missionary societies were simultaneously informed that applications for unoccupied lands (not cultivated or fallow) would receive sympathetic consideration.”

A government investigation of 1930 on TOL plot lists discovered many inaccuracies. The CMS appeared to have held licenses, but no plots, and plots without licences; the latter were most common. There were also unrecognised plots made by teachers for themselves. Plots were taken at Katoma (Lake Bunyoni) and Nyina-Muronzi without regard to local interests; the former was attached to Bwama Island leprosy settlement and accepted while the latter was refused. Overall the number of CMS TOL fell from 276 to 256, which was “more that they can deal with”.

Education

By 1928, there were 407 church Temporary Occupation Licences, of which 272 (67%, but only 30% of pupils) belonged to CMS who said that all its plots were bush schools. However most were unoccupied or manned by young boys who were

“Practically illiterate, irresponsible... unfit to teach the doctrines of Christ”

but were eligible for grants. They did not practice self-help and claimed a lack of funds; however, the administration noted that neither white wash nor cow dung, both sanitary, were used, even through free. The CMS preferred to use convert's labour for which it paid only USh1 a month and freedom from Ruharo (government work obligations).

What disturbed the DC most was that the CMS was receiving educational grants for these plots on the pretext that they were schools, but was sending teachers to Belgian Rwanda. The administration's educational policy was that:

“We owe it both to a contented continuance of English trusteeship, and in fairness to the men with whom we shall have to deal in the new Africa of ten and more years hence, that the rising generation should either remain under a proper African or a proper European influence. Unless such conditions are rectified, we would appear to be drifting aimlessly (if not dangerously between the two).”

and, within the context of religious rivalry that had existed since the 1880s, that

“Education is after all a social service. In Uganda the Protectorate Government has entrusted it, almost entirely, to the mission Societies.... Responsibility still rests with Administrative and Education Officers to exercise, in the name of Government... who wish to make use of educational facilities, provided largely by public funds, in spite of statements to the contrary, and are willing to behave themselves, must be allowed to do so; and to attend Mission schools until state schools are established.”

The colonial authorities in Uganda preferred the CMS system of education as better suited to training local people for public office and generally gave them preferential treatment despite complaints by the Catholic hierarchy.

As a result the administration limited the amount of land for missionaries and required them to visit these plots regularly and staff them with qualified personnel; it threatened to withdraw educational grants, land licences and church teachers' privileges. They noted that:

“Money granted to White Fathers seems to go much further than an equal amount given to Protestants who encumber themselves with large families”

while the

“CMS fritter away their energies in a vast number of little plots where standard of education (if any) is low.”

The colonial authorities were afraid that unsupervised and unaccountable schools would be a threat to law and order, through Nyabingi, and believed that these made children:

“Develop a contemptuous insubordination to both domestic and tribal discipline.”

In the early 1930s the new District Board of Education, with native education board inspectors, tightened up on casual missionary teaching methods and standards. Grants now depended on quality education. The White Fathers were not seen as a problem compared to the CMS “stumbling block”, whose curriculum was mostly religious and not enough technical.

Labour

The colonial administration discouraged the CMS from the worst abuses regarding free labour. One example is Seseme church, which burnt down in 1927; the CMS demanded its replacement by Ruharo labour, stating that it was “burnt by incendiarism” and received Ruharo labour worth £100 to build a bigger and better one. However Dr. Smith later informed the DC that he had discovered that he had been appealing for help:

“...under false pretences. Apparently it was not destroyed by incendiarism after all but struck by lightning.”

The DC was displeased saying it was:

“An act of God and not of naughty natives, though it was the latter who had to suffer for it... the CMS asked (and obtained) 'unpaid forced labour' against the existence of which they inveighed so forcibly public.”

Whether this was a genuine misunderstanding or an attempt to obtain ruharo 'under false pretences' is not clear.

Hunting in the Forests

Thirdly, in 1929 the administration stopped CMS activities regarding hunting using the Sleeping Sickness (S.S.) campaign but killing elephants for ivory, etc. which was seen as against the spirit and rules of the S.S. Campaign; farmers were not allowed to access these reserves. During hunting expeditions CMS personnel took c. 50 porters (recruited from local farmers) per trip for c. 12 days on average but did not pay them. Medical safaris had become almost redundant due to dispensaries and new roads.

The authorities accused the CMS of exposing porters to sleeping sickness, overloading and overworking them and separating them from their families, forcing them to contribute food and milk plus carry their own supplies without compensation.

The authorities were afraid that these activities taught local people to ignore government regulations and go into S.S. areas to hunt as white people were doing plus it gave reason for people to complain and gave them motives to become rebels or members of the feared Nyabingi. As a result the authorities threatened to prosecute any missionary breaking regulations.

Milk Levies

Fourthly, the state intervened when locals appealed against milk levies to the CMS, which forced the authorities to address some of the social grievances of farmers for fear of the consequences if they ignored them. Farmers, principally from Nalusanje and Nyakishenyi gombolola, were required to take one cow each to the CMS HQ at Kabale, three days' march away, where they had to stay for thirty days and supply milk to the 16 resident Europeans plus they had to take their own money for food and cook for themselves while there.

An average of thirty farmers a month had to take a milk cow each. To make matters worse, the CMS gave them USh2 per cow for the month's milk. As the DC explained a cow produced as much as three bottles of milk. The standard price of milk was 20 cents a bottle, or USh9 per month per cow. The underpayment of USh7 a month would have paid a year's taxes.

This forced-milk contribution was class-based, as the colonial state, still in its embryonic stage, was careful not to antagonise the organised, large cattle owners, primarily chiefs. The farmers who had to go to Kabale owned an average of two head of cattle each. There was very high mortality rate among the cows and calves thus brought to Kabale due to climatic differences and pasturage which were affected cows and their calves.

According to the DC

“This is a source of grievance among the peasantry. The average price of a cow in milk is about Shs. 100/=. No compensation is paid by the CMS in case of deaths... The proportion of cows, and in milk, at any one time was small, and nearly all Rukiga cattle were owned in ones and twos which made the taking of the only cow a man had, and any death, a matter of real hardship. To gain a sense of perspective, one might reasonably say that the loss of a cow to a mKiga is equivalent to the loss by fire to a poor European, who has neither income nor bank balance, of his house and all its contents ... uninsured! A cow to a mKiga frequently represents the savings of a life time.”

The DC wrote to the PCWP regarding the hazards affecting cattle, the differences in climate in Kabale, where it was damper and colder, and the composition of water and pasture of the Edward and Victoria (Kabale) watershed valleys. He argued that the Mbulalla and Rumbugu grasses of the Nalusanje and Nakishenyi gombolola pastures were either rare or non-existent:

“The Muballu grass at Kabale was injurious to cattle when unaccustomed to it, leading to high mortality among cows and their calves brought to Kabale.”

He warned that this was the kind of injustice that was exploited by the Nyabingi and an accumulation of which produced periodical flares-up in Kigezi. The P.C. ruled against the practice and how

“The assistance of chiefs and the native Courts cannot be invoked in this matter.”

He stressed that it was not equitable that the peasants of Rukiga should be forced to bring cows to provide milk and butter to the 16 CMS Europeans. The levy was abolished in December 1928. The DC gave his opinion regarding the criminal nature of forced contributions:

“It should however be placed on record that throughout the past eight years the cattle have, in point of fact, had to be brought in by ORDER of the DC supported by criminal convictions (flogging and fines) in Native Courts, all of which are now stated to have been illegal. The question of influence has never arisen. The matter is now seen frankly to have been one of illegality, profiteering on and discrimination against the native. Had the cattle belonged to a White man, this state of affairs would clearly never have occurred.”

It is worth adding that in 1928 there was a severe drought that was responsible for many cattle deaths, perhaps including the CMS's own herd, refugees escaping a major famine in Rwanda and food shortages in Kigezi.

Conclusion

All these above events took place during the 1928 Musaire Kasente rebellion and it appears that the colonial authorities were very concerned and wished to remove any reason for rebellion and resistance. Previously they had focused on political secular affairs but now extended its remit to cover church affairs and their impact on local people. DC Phillips had an independent perspective on the role of the church in society and when he returned in 1928 he reversed the policy of a previous DC to burn all indaro huts. He said

“Priests and teachers felt they had the right to destroy people's huts of worship, then they in turn may justifiably claim to have a right to burn their churches.”

He earned the wrath of missionaries who claimed he was an opponent of modernisation. His response was that the best method of conversion was by persuasion and not by coercion. In the aftermath there was an increase of conversions to Christianity, the DC noted

“A recent roundup of those terrorised into tribute to Nyabingi 'priests' is alleged to have caused a mass-production of Christians... The pagan therefore feels the need of some protection. Baptism and a Hebrew name seem to him to offer a kind of alibi.”

Some destruction of indaro may have already happened, Julian Huxley, 1936, writing about religious intolerance said

“Then there is the grave question of religious intolerance. Intolerance is to be expected among half-educated converts who have been assured that Christianity (or rather on particular branch of it) means salvation, while all other religions mean damnation. In Western Uganda, there was considerable trouble a year or so ago owing to the fanaticism of a native Christian who was going about inveighing against and sometimes deliberately destroying the little shrines outside the native huts. But as certain of the local missionaries have given them the name of 'devil-houses' it is not to be wondered at that zealous converts who pursue their lead set out to extirpate these 'abominations'.”

He is almost certainly talking about Kabale, when DC Philipps was in charge, around 1930 (Huxley and his wife walked to Kisoro and then to Carl Akeley's grave). This identification is supported by him listening into a native plea concerning a lake island he had possession with until it was taken over by missionaries. They were also subletting a cottage on the island. This describes Habukara Island on Lake Bunyoni, leased to the Church Missionary Society for a doctor's house adjacent to Bwama leprosy colony.

The next DC, F. H. Rogers, wrote in the district report of 1931 that

“No new stations have been opened up; there would in fact be a sufficiency already under present conditions. ‘Christianity' is being absorbed more by direct teaching and too speedy acquisition than by more gradual evolution, and it is open to doubt if the 'old bottles' can usefully take it in at the rate it is being imposed. Evidence of this occurs in the not infrequent cases where the regenerated find difficulty in adjusting their new faith to the old traditions or customs, especially as regards the so-called 'inheritance' of women.

Under the pagan regime, when a man dies it is an obligation on his family to assume responsibility for the widow and children, and it would appear to be a sound system, ensuring a roof and position for the dead man's family; but when the widow has been baptised, this system is stigmatised as 'inheritance', and the woman thereby (according to Missionary ideas) becomes a 'Chattel'. Adjusting these matters is one of our more thankless jobs, and they occur in frequency in proportion to the religious zeal of a particular missionary, who has correspondingly less patience with the social fabric he is working on – or picking to pieces.”

Much of this 'civilising code' is being passed on by means of half-educated young men, whose main qualification is zeal for a partly-absorbed cause. What exactly they do pass on is difficult to know. In this respect the White Fathers are in a sounder position than the CMS, as the former have three times more supervising Staff than the latter, for a slightly smaller number of plots and churches; moreover having many more freehold plots, they are able to lay themselves and their resources out to better advantage than the CMS – at any rate, they do do so.”

This is supported from within the church; Bishop Aberi Balya, Bishop of Fort Portal, said after visiting Kigezi in the 1950s:

“I marvel at your civilisation but you go too fast. In Toro we have the mvule tree. It grows slowly but it never blows down in a storm. Down here in Kigezi your tree is the eucalyptus, which grows fast and blows over when the storm comes.”

East African Revival

Introduction

While there had been short revivals in 1893-4 and 1906, the most significant was the East African Revival also known as the Balokole (trans. The saved ones) movement that its roots in Gahini, Rwanda, around 1930; the founder members were John Church, a CMS missionary, Simeoni Nsimbambi, Blasio Kigozi and Yosiya Kinuka.

Figure 63 Simeoni Nsibambi, Yoisiya Kinuka, Yusufu Byangwa & Blasio Kigozi, 1935

It arrived in Kigezi in 1933 where it swept through the area affecting everybody with religious fervour and high emotion. Its impact was striking; one witness described:

“We see people under conviction of sin with a look of distress on their faces, which is unmistakable, and then a few days later there comes a confession – and then a radiant happiness and assurance and a great eagerness to win over friends to Christ.”

It focused on the public renunciation of sin and witnessing and many CMS safari teams travelled the countryside teaching, preaching and making converts. The leaders of the Kabale Mission in 1935 were Nsibambi, Yosiya, Kigozi and Yusufu Byangwa. In 1939 there was a mass meeting of over 700 at Muyebe and by the 1940s was found in all CMS schools. It was different from previous revivals because it was primarily an African movement (missions were primarily staffed by Africans) though CMS missionaries played an active role in keeping doctrine within established Anglican theology.

This was not always easy, Stanley Smith wrote:

“But we are determined to ensure that an unmutilated Bible and infallible Christ shall be preached in the Rwanda Medical Mission.”

and in discussing the reconciliation between the Abaka (or keenites) and the orthodox.

“The one fired by great zeal...have no use for anything less than the really victorious life, while the other, seeing the dangers of extravagance, have felt that they had to be the custodians of sound doctrine.”

Len Sharp wrote that

“Another characteristic of the movement was the emphasis put on personal testimony. This is very biblical but the weakness in many of our Church meetings was lack of balance: personal testimonies took more time than anything else and finally became the hallmark of spiritual maturity. This in the long run led to a very poor church... The lack of biblical teaching is still a weakness within the Church and will be for a long time as people have not been trained to enjoy discussing and sharing the Bible.”

When he returned in 1942 he attempted to rectify this lack of balance by re-introducing Bible teaching with some success. The 1945 district report noted that

“Since the advent of Len Sharp the 'twice born' movement appear to have been more controlled and no incidents between rival missions have been reported.”

There were many misunderstandings and misrepresentations and, for reasons that are not clear, Sharp made enemies while making the reforms. He was marginalised by some in the mission, who accused him of being anti-revival and compromising, to the extent that attendance at Executive Committee meetings became an ordeal; “It nearly killed him” was the later verdict of one anonymous member. This was a hard time for them, particularly with Esther's continuing ill-health.

This may be one reason why he wasn't honoured at the Omukago (Blood Brotherhood) ceremony hosted by Kigezi District Council and led by the Secretary General, 1st January, 1968, while Stanley Smith and Hornby were. The honour was given to six 'foreigners' (i.e. not from Kigezi) who had made major contributions to the district's development, which certainly describes Dr. Sharp. After retirement to Mombasa in 1961, he only returned once to Kabale compared to three times to England.

Reasons for the Revival’s Success

The reasons why this movement became so popular are not so clear and it is also likely that people were in a state of flux and insecurity due to the various impacts of colonialism, the traditional world was disappearing fast. Nyabingi had been defeated, their certainties were under attack and they felt powerless in the face of a fast changing world. Baptism into Christianity was

initially superficial and it was Balokole that gave them a new sense of identity and control over their lives in the new order.


Figure 64 Service at Rugarama, 1930s

While there were only superficial similarities between Balokole and traditional forms of religion the emotional release offered by both was analogous. Interestingly women were heavily involved including Juraine Mufuko, Miriam Kyamikazi, Tabisa Kyoyenda, Mary Kifende, Mrs. Bamushandana and Jeneti Kyende, which raises a possible continuity of Nyabingi priestesses and women's emerging role within the emerging Protestant community that culminated in the ordination of three women as priests in 1983 by Bishop Festo Kivengere in Kabale.

Problems of Success

However the movement created many problems due to violent hysterical conversions, disruption of village life and tensions between villagers; even Joe Church described it as “fires always disturbing and difficult to control”. The colonial administration were very suspicious of it but reluctantly accepted it as it did not threaten them and it was an alternative to Nyabingi of whom they were more afraid, the Nyabingi holy day of Tuesday had become a day of voluntary service to the church. The DC wrote in 1938 that:

“The present revivalist enthusiasm of the CMS has been particularly powerful in this saza (Kinkiizi), threats of burning in hellfire have been taken by many as threats of house burning. The end of the world has been preached as literal and terrifying phenomenon in the immediate future. The result has been particularly disturbing to the women who have foresworn beer, tobacco, and beads, and made a habit of night services – the resultant hysteria has caused a great deal of ill-feeling. In all Lukikos (local councils) on this safari efforts were made to allay this excitement, but the Ababone-kyerwa or 'Twice born' are still pretty rabid.”

The following year he summoned the Kigezi archdeacons to account but was assured that the Revival was positive with a decline in drunkenness and local disputes and an increase in social and familial harmony.

Many saza chiefs were against it due to it chaotic effects, they complained to the DC about:

“People who have been saved and were mad. They explained that these people preach against others, exposing sin and that makes those go their way, weep, shout, and call out in church. They also talk about unseemly things that should not be mentioned.”

Some chiefs were insulted as sinners, to which they did not take kindly. This led to outright conflict when chiefs started imprisoning people, many in Ndorwa. Chief Kareyesa of Rujumbura jailed some though his wife and daughter were 'saved'. In prison some were beaten up but no charges were ever brought because they hadn't broken any law. He apparently became 'saved' later though this may have been in self defence.

A Catholic priest, Rev. Peresiiti of Kinyasano, complained to the DC after he was accused of being a sinner by a large group outside his church but no action was taken as they had not physically attacked him or the church. The leaders were, however, ordered to use the main road rather than taking a short-cut by the church. It also had an impact on the chief's taxes, such as banana beer, the cultivation of tobacco and other WW2 exaction.

Many Christians resented that if they had not been saved they were described as 'living in sin'; the only people who were saved were the Abake (the burning ones). The movement proved to be divisive between the two groups and nearly led to a permanent split as they regarded each other as deviants to the true faith. However this was averted through the 1941 Kabale Declaration by Balokole elders that defined future relationships between the various sides. In the rest of Uganda there was mixed feelings and resistance from more orthodox Protestants.

In 1939 the administration had a 'Twice born' file and Bill Church was asked by DC Jenkins to discuss all issues raised. It appears to have been voluminous, unfortunately Church only gives a few of the more harmless of the eight points but notes that he wrote a report to Archdeacon Pitts, Mission Secretary. One point concerned a teacher who sang hymns while loudly taking a short cut through Catholic Mission; he was instructed to take the main road. Point six covered:

1) Contempt of authority of native chiefs. Beer tax receipts were down due to people giving up alcohol. Chiefs had been reprimanded for low receipts and tried to make up by taxing 'beer bananas', some refused to pay while others paid but refused receipts that they had paid beer tax – that was corrupt.

2) Defiance of parental and conjugal authority. Converts refused to prepare or sell beer or take part in traditional religious practices.

3) Neglect of cultivation and domestic duties. Some farmers had given up tobacco and refused to grow it even though it was used as an insecticide. Some were fine and jailed; after negotiation alternative cash crops were accepted.

## Revival after 1940

An old lady in 1961 remembered the Balokole revival said

“In those days we had the fire, but now we only have the smoke,”

From the 1960s the second generation of Balokole adherents came to the fore, Festo Kivengere (c.1919-1988) was the most famous exponent, and were the backbone of the Revival until the 1980s. They relied purely on the power of the message and avoided all criticism of its opponents, as exemplified by Kivengere's 1977 book, I love Idi Amin. The third generation is now in place but competes with the Pentecostal Churches.

## Conclusion

The movement marks a transition between traditional and modern culture. As it cut across clans and lineages it became a cohesive force among Kigezi people, though it led to new divisions of Catholic and Protestant that was to affect later politics in Kigezi, even though many Catholics were positively influenced. With a growing congregation the churches now became self-supporting and Kigezi became the centre of education for Rwanda and Burundi.

The public confession of sins led to a greater morality in society though the long-term effects on criminal behaviour are debatable. Many ritual taboos were abandoned particularly regarding food; for instance previously women were forbidden to eat meat, but it is now become acceptable. Perhaps the most significant change has been the emergence of a new Christianity, an African and Western fusion as per Dr. Aggrey of the Gold Coast who wrote

“You can play some sort of tune on the white notes of the piano, or on the black notes, but to produce real harmony, you must play with both black and white keys.”

Another interpretation is that Balokole satisfies the spiritual needs of African Protestants. The Anglican tradition, shorn of its 'popish superstitions' during the 17th Reformation, is not the most exciting or expressive of religions. Over the early 20th century this repression of natural expression built up, causing pent up feelings to explode into Balokole, which allowed Africans to express their Christianity.

This may explain its extreme manifestations in the earliest period before it settled down to a more balanced approach after the 1940s. It was much less of a factor with Catholics as their needs were met through Roman Catholic beliefs and rituals, though some were reported as being 'saved'.

## The Church of Uganda Today

It is assumed that a more equitable relationship developed between church and congregation since it is difficult to see how the Church of Uganda became the leader in terms of numbers of converts otherwise. However the period of 1930 to independence is not covered in any historical analysis so it is difficult to be sure; however the Balokole revival had a very strong impact on the church in Kigezi by encouraging mass conversions and committing Christians to personal salvation.

After independence in 1962 the Church of Uganda became an independent church and made the transition to local clergy. (The CMS is still active, through its country societies, in voluntary work, mostly in evangelisation and development.) This gave many new challenges of which clerical education was one.

In the 1960s, education was seen as 'worldly' and resulted in a poorly educated clergy; according to Bishop Shalita, Church of Uganda congregations were often better educated and more knowledgeable than the clergy. Since then tertiary education and reasonable salaries has been introduced for all, providing a more knowledgeable and responsible clergy.

However the Christian Church's current role in society has come under fire; In the Sunday Monitor, 9th October 2011, Fr. Gaetano Batanyenda, of Kabale, in 2011, said church leaders have been:

“Blinded by material wealth... (they) had joined the oppressor to oppress the oppressed.”

and Rev. Zac Niringiye:

“We… have let the people down. No one is exempt: Catholics, Born-Agains and Anglicans. Most are complicit through silence; others agree with those that tell them that such is not their business, and concentrate on 'spiritual' matters (whatever that really means)... It is time for us to repent; turn away from the desire for more; call upon our flock to follow our example of repenting; and then, walk the talk.”

Other Religions

Islam was never significant and had little influence, due to the Bakiga distaste for circumcision (now changing as it is seen as a method to cut down the transmission of the HIV) plus there were never any Islamic missions, though chiefs Abdulla Namunye and Suliman Ntangamalaala of Kinkiizi attracted some converts and apparently some converted to escape the constant inter-Christian conflicts.

The first mosque was founded in Kirigime by Sharif and first Islamic schools were in Ndorwa and Kambuga. Islam was the first non-native religion in Buganda and came from the spread of Swahili merchant trading networks from the coast and was well established before the arrival of Christianity. Uganda has not experienced the spread of Islam found in West Africa in modern times.

Hinduism is limited to immigrants from the Asian sub-continent, primarily India (pre- and post-Partition, 1947), and their descendants. It is not a missionary religion as Hindu theology states that one can only be born a Hindu; one cannot convert, though this is not strictly true as the history of its growth, through the assimilation of traditional religions, in India, Sri Lanka and Indonesia shows.

Many Asians were civil servants, early postmasters and doctors in Kabale were Indian. From the 1930s they, Hindu and Muslim, gained nearly 100% control of merchant activities in Uganda. In

Kabale Hindus were well off; they generously supported the CMS hospital (1922-40) who provided them with a Hindu-only ward with Hindu nurses. Muslims were more interested in education.

Not all Asians were Indian or Hindu. The many Goans (Goa was annexed by India from Portugal in the 1960s) who served in the colonial service were Christian and probably Catholic. North West India was the homeland of Muslims, Sikhs mostly came from Punjab and those from Gujarat could be also Jain or Parsi (Zoroastrian).

Asians suffered heavily in Idi Amin's forced expulsions but have since returned in large numbers at the invitation of President Museveni and are now an integral part of the economic life of Uganda. In Kigezi they keep a low profile; the Kabale mandir is an anonymous undecorated building.

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Chapter 4.5

Christian Practices

## Introduction

Both Roman Catholics and Anglicans used a combination of material gifts and preaching to win converts followed by schools, hospitals and the introduction of Western technological innovations. The preaching often consisted of ideals of humility and submission as epitomised by the Sermon on the Mount.

There were differences, for instance Roman Catholics were not encouraged to own Bibles, the priest was the sole trusted interpreter of its contents (this was common worldwide but has been since discarded), whereas Anglicans distributed Bibles with selected texts, usually the Gospels, as part of their missionary efforts. As the ability to read the Bible was the core-stone of evangelical ideology, they had a strong motivation to teach literacy so that people could read the Bible themselves. There was a fundamental doctrinal difference between them as to whether salvation was mediated or could be attained personally.

According to Denoon, Ugandan catechists preached acceptance of colonial conquest while Baganda agents believed that official duty included the furtherance of Christianity. In the minds of the people they were inter-related; one could only accept or reject both.

## Rates of Conversion

In comparison with the White Fathers, the CMS were not that successful in the early days, it was only by the 1960s they had roughly the same number of converts and since than have overtaken the Catholics by about 10%. In the last twenty years percentages have stabilised or declined slightly with the growth of Pentecostal churches.

By 1931 the CMS had 5,067 converts (2% of the population). In terms of school enrolment in 1930 they had 109 students, 1931 only 96, but by 1933 they had 164. It rose over the years to 8,817 by 1960. According to Shalita in 1996 there were 63 Church of Uganda clergy compared to 32 Catholic clergy in the Dioceses of Muhubura and Kabale. See table below for current percentages.

Main Percentages of Religions by District, 2002

| Religion | Kabale | Kisoro | Kanangu | Rukungiri | Ntungamo |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CoU | 54 | 46 | 57 | 52 | 61 |
| RC | 44 | 43 | 36 | 41 | 28 |
| Others | 2 | 11 | 7 | 7 | 11 |

## White Father Methods

The White Fathers were seen to be more accessible as they mixed with villagers and tended to be more accepting of local customs and traditions, most became fluent speakers of Rukiga and/or Rufumbira, while Anglicans were perceived to be more remote only meeting their parishioners on Sundays and who wished to completely replace local culture with their own.

The role of symbolism was also different as while Roman Catholics used the symbols of the crucifix, rosary, statues and icons (similar to the use of symbols in Kigezi) Anglicans treated

them as 'pagan superstitions'. Such symbols are seen as verging on idolatry by Protestants and are an issue of continuing inter-Christian debate worldwide.

The White Father's approach to Christianity was more conducive to local beliefs, particularly with regards to Nyabingi. From the perspective of local people there were many similarities and as they understood missionary teaching Kazooba and Nyabingi were replaced by God the Father and the Virgin Mary. While the missionaries tried to eradicate Nyabingi they in fact replaced her with the Virgin Mary and such was her resonance that Marian devotion and the Legion Of Mary became very popular with Kigezi women.

This was one of the results of the White Father's philosophy of 'indigenous Christianity' as per their founder Cardinal Lavigerie (later adopted by Vatican Council II in the 1960s). Worth adding that that some missionaries were recruited from the Lourdes area (a famous Marian visionary site where traditional devotion to the Black Lady of the Pyrenees Mountains had taken place for centuries) though many of early ones were Dutch and Flemish, judging by their surnames. The shift resulted in Marian visions and dreams replacing Nyabingi dreams and visions among 'afflicted' Kigezi women.

Many Catholic practices were similar to traditional practices, such as confession, catechists training and redistribution of wealth. Confession usually entails visiting a small structure in or outside the church, confessing ones sins and making a donation; these became known locally as indaro, ekibi and okotija, that originally meant shrine hut, misfortune and offering, respectively, and were used with all relationships with emandwa and Nyabingi mediums.

The distribution of food, medicine and other items were seen as redistribution, similar to traditional mediums during times of famine, drought and misfortune, but the missionaries went one step further as they had access to European sources of funds and were able to supply their parishioners from outside to cover food shortages and other misfortunes. Up to the 1980s (when most had retired and replaced by Ugandan clergy under Vatican Council II policy to Africanise church structures) they also were involved in local agricultural development and ran many social services using international funding.

This access to resources, in the minds of the Kigezi people, made them more powerful than Nyabingi and her mediums though some saw the transition in an unexpected light when they claim that Nyabingi is now Catholic. As Shalita comments:

“Sometimes, it seems as though the role of Mary has superseded that of Christ”

and notes that many now worship Mary as the “giver of life and source of blessings” instead of Nyabingi.

However Nyabingi was never worshipped in that sense, but reflected African understanding of the workings of the universe, she was (and is) a universal spirit force to be propitiated. The modern Western and traditional understandings and practices of worship and propitiation are not necessarily comparable, though they have fused and been transformed; they are neither Western or traditional, but reflect current Afro-Western spiritual culture.

Church Missionary Society Methods

The Anglican practice differed and made no concession to traditional practices and they were perceived to be less generous than the Catholics, i.e. during conversion safaris Catholic missionaries stayed in their own quarters and made no demands on the people they were visiting while Anglicans stayed with local chiefs and received many gifts in the same manner as higher chiefs on tribute safaris.

Figure 65 Safari service, before the sorghum harvest

Given their respective lack of resources and population their strategies also differed. The White Fathers focused on the heads of households reasoning that converting him automatically converted the entire compound though it took at least a year of catechism teaching before a person was deemed ready for baptism. In contrast the Anglicans made it less difficult to convert though literacy was essential. They focused on young people and, after identifying the brightest, sent them away for education in schools using the English public school model.

Christian versus Traditional Beliefs

Overall the role of local belief was underestimated and in early days Christianity overlaid traditional practices; they were Christian by day but traditionalists by night when they made offerings and consulted 'witch doctors' and medicine men. Christian missionaries also misunderstood the role of 'Sitane' (a Bantu term for spirit) who they incorrectly associated with Satan; they classed all such beliefs as 'paganism', which had to be uprooted and destroyed.

They had no understanding or appreciation of Bakiga theology, particularly the 'indaro' shrines found in every compound that were at the heart of spiritual belief, a meeting place between God and man where God comes to reveal His will to his people.


Figure 66 Harvest festival offerings at Rugarama cathedral

Neither appreciated the role of local custom. For instance polygamy had a specific social role within society in terms of the survival of families and as a guarantee of children given the high mortality among infants and child-bearing women. The Bakiga (at least theoretically) loved all their wives equally, which was alien to the Christian theology of 'one man – one wife' and primogeniture.

Christianity and Traditional Marriage Customs

The clash between church and society over this issue has bedevilled relationships since. In early days polygamy was treated as a sin and converts were ordered to only have one wife; this caused major problems when wives and their children were abandoned (most men ended up choosing the youngest wife) and lost all inheritance rights as per customary tradition. The 1931 district report thought that the

“White Fathers' attitude towards marriage tends to be too intolerant of local customs, which are not in themselves necessarily anti-Christian.”

Administrators, however, tended to be critical of the number of children of Kigezi CMS mission staff; European missionaries were critical of the number of wives. A constant theme, then and now, was the conflict over sexual morality – a cultural clash between Africa and Europe.

In some cases the divorced women returned to their parents and abandoned their children to the care of the new wife with unpredictable consequences; many children were completely rejected and ended up homeless. Meanwhile the birth rate rose among single wives as women in polygamous marriages tended to have less children with longer gaps between them; the risk factor among these women rose contributing to higher infant and maternal mortality rates.

As Shalita has commented:

“A good part of the society ended up having confusion, anger and hatred.”

In cases where Anglican converts refused to conform, their children were refused baptism and education until they became old enough to convert; defined as the ability to read independently,

though where they might have learnt this skill is unknown. One assumes that adults were spared this condition. In the 1960s the Anglican practise changed to giving baptism to all children regardless of their parents' marital status. The Church of Uganda's belief that polygamy will decline owing to economic factors and the spread of HIV/AIDS is optimistic.

Schools

However the missionaries brought many new innovations that, over time, were appreciated and assimilated. For instance they supplied education (the first government school was founded in 1956); though its value took time to be realised. Schools were grant-aided by the colonial administration; £500 a year by 1930, £547 in 1931 and £656 in 1933.

In the beginning schools were treated with suspicion, education was thought to make children stupid, and only younger children of secondary wives were sent since they were expendable. But as these students became successful in colonial administration than more favoured sons all children were sent to school depending on economic circumstances.

Many local people who have made a name for themselves in Uganda and abroad have followed this route; those less famous gained powerful positions within the Civil Service and became sources of patronage and 'role models' to future generations. Kigezi Catholics are a minority in positions of power. Currently St. Mary's, Rushoroza, is the local school of choice for the Catholic elite.

Figure 67 Village women learning to read and write, a necessary precondition to become a Protestant

It took further time before it became acceptable to send girls to school, a recent phenomenon related to developments in the Western philosophy of aid and gender equality since the 1970s. Girls had attended CMS schools but their primary focus was on the traditional subsidiary role of women in society rather than gender equality.

Religious Tensions and Politics

As a final comment religious strife developed between the two communities for a number of reasons starting with the missionaries themselves and had its roots in the problems between Roman Catholics, Anglicans and Muslims that beset Buganda in the 1880s until Lugard's

Division of Power in the 1890s and Agreement in 1900; colonial favouritism was an important factor.

The 1921 district report notes “Constant friction between the two missions”. According to Prince William of Sweden who travelled through Kabale in the 1920s the Anglicans would say:

“Come to us! If you go to the white brethren you are lost”

while the Catholics responded:

“Don't you dare listen to the siren strains of the other mission, because then the most terrible sufferings of Hell await you.”

Rumour became a political weapon, for example, the Anglican perception that Roman Catholics were soft on the Nyabingi cult led to the rumour that if one did not become Protestant, the religion of the government, one would be seen as a Nyabingi sympathiser and collaborator and would suffer summary imprisonment. The Catholics spread a counter-rumour that the PCWP had become Catholic and that they alone were able to communicate with him and would be the only ones to get civil service jobs, a claim that the DC was forced to deny.

In 1928 DC Philipps noted that:

“The majority of local 'notables' are now divided into violently opposing factions, Protestant and Catholic. This is a constant source of friction between indigenous chiefs intriguing for appointments of their co-religionists to posts of influence, irrespective of their merit and to the exclusion of others. This has manifested itself in attempts to influence and warp administration by insinuations and false-witnesses, filtered through European missionaries. It has in most occasions resulted in physical violence, among teachers and proselytes. These temporal and sectarian contortions of the followers of Christianity are as confusing as they are unedifying to pagans and Moslems.”

In all local evangelical literature there are only two references to Catholics. The first was when Stanley-Smith complained of the preferential treatment received by them in Ruanda to the detriment of the CMS. Catholic leaders “were teaching the people to hate us” he claimed. In Kigezi he had no complaint since the situation was reversed; it was the Catholics who were doing the complaining. The second, mentioned by Bill Church, notes a complaint that one ardent Balakole member went out of his way to sing hymns while passing in front of an RC church. Government sources indicate he went with a mob who jeered the priest.

This conflict continued until the 1960s affecting political life and became more important than clan, lineage and family. After 1960, while the race for converts continued, an informal agreement was arrived at by where no mission was allowed to build a church or school within a mile of another without each other's prior consent.

Meanwhile, due to growing political movements towards independence the Democratic Party (DP) and Uganda Peoples Congress (UPC) were founded in the 1950s to represent Catholic and

Anglican interests respectively, though they were formed through splits and amalgamations of various inexperienced interest groups with little mass support or participation. Since 1986, when the NRM took power, religion theoretically plays no part in politics.

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## Chapter 4.6

### Kanungu Tragedy

Introduction

The tragedy that took place in Kanungu on the 17th March 2000 sent shock waves across the country but has been subject to misinformation and misunderstandings. The best account and analysis comes from Richard Vokes in his book Ghosts of Kanungu, 2009, which is the source of most of the information below.

On that day a fire broke out in the compound of the Movement for the Restoration of the Ten Commandments of God (MRTC) in Kanungu. When the fires were extinguished about 650 bodies were discovered and it was very quickly concluded that they were victims of mass-suicide or mass-murder.

Further partial excavations at Bushunga, Rugazi, Rushojwa and Kampala discovered further bodies at a number of other locations. Comparisons were drawn with Jonestown (Guyana) in 1978, Solar Temple (Switzerland) in 1994 and Heaven's Gate (USA) in 1977, but, unlike them, this was a purely African affair; no westerners and very few non-Ugandans were involved.

Bakiga Origins

The victims were very specific in origin; about two-thirds came from Kati and Bunyaruguru in Bushenyi District, Kambuga and Bugangari Valley in Rukungirii District and Bigode in Kabarole District all were where Bakiga migrants had settled in the schemes of the 1940s and 1950s. Others came from Bisheshe and Mwizi in Mbarara District, another area of Bakiga resettlement, while a small minority came from Mubende and Jinja.

In other words the vast majority came from Bakiga resettlement networks and Ceredonia Mwerinde, the leader of the MRTC, was also of the same background. Of these about half were minors, under 18 years old. Of the adults 72% were women and the most common age cohorts were 20-29 and 50-59 years old.

Media, Police and Pathologists Investigations

Some of the errors in reporting included that it took place in the church, this is incorrect, it happened in the dining hall. Other reports say that the doors and windows were boarded up from the outside; there is no evidence of this. An independent analysis of the police videos indicate that accelerants, such as petrol, were unlikely to have been used as can be seen from the light scorch marks on the outside of the building as well as the even buckling of the roof. The by-products of accelerants leave very definite marks.

International pathologists who viewed the police video concluded that nearly all were dead or deeply unconscious during the fire as can be seen from their relaxed pose and even spacing in the hall. In other words they were probably poisoned or given a strong sedative during their morning meal. This makes sense as it is unlikely that the c. 300 minors who perished in the fire would not have tried to escape though the windows.

Five or six were believed to have been alive during the fire judging by the 'pugilistic' pose on death; death by fire is a deeply painful experience. These bodies had their back to doors and windows and it is assumed that they were the ones who set the fire, i.e. the cult leaders. Obviously in the case of the minors the administration of poison is classed as murder but it is unknown whether the adults were voluntary or not, even though they were expecting the Second Coming on that day.

The police handling of the investigation was basic. They would have had little experience in such matters but this was a time that international expertise could have been used. For instance samples were taken to test for poison (including medicine vials from Rugozi) but, as the results were never paid for, the role of poison in the deaths of the fire victims and bodies exhumed elsewhere has never been established.

In fact the list of those who died is incomplete. It was the responsibility of the chief of police and Resident District Commissioner of each district, some whom were more conscientious than

others. For instance Mbarara only listed 33 deaths where the actual total was probably over 100, whereas Rukungiri listed who they knew had died, regardless of district of origin. As a result there is duplication and omissions. A list published by Orumuri (a weekly paper published by New Vision) is not a list of deaths but of course-participants at Rutoma in 1998-9. Meanwhile the Kabale Roman Catholic Diocese collected another list that is comparable with the police lists.

The Uganda forensic pathologists appear to have been out of their depth in their investigations. As mentioned above the role of poison has not been scientifically established while the cause of death given of the bodies exhumed elsewhere has been questioned. The cyanosis, reported in some victims, could have been a result of post-mortem decomposition. Coroners concluded that strangulation was the cause of death for some; however the police video shows that the bodies were extracted by having ropes tied around their necks and hauled to the surface; the neck bones could apparently have easily been broken at that stage.

Twenty eight prisoners from local jails were the unfortunate people who had to haul the bodies out; the video shows them wearing shorts but no other protection. In some cases they had gumboots and paper-thin surgical gloves.

One witness told Vokes that Rushojwa was a secret burial ground for malaria victims from a major outbreak during 1998. This has never been investigated.

MRTC History

To understand the background of the tragedy one needs to know something of the history of the MRTC and its three main founders, Ceredonia Mwerinde, Joseph Kibweteere and Dominic Kataribaabo.

Ceredonia Mwerinde

Ceredonia Mwerinde was born in 1952 at Bugarama and was a daughter of Paul Kashako, a Mukiga farmer, catechist in the local Catholic parish and well known traditional healer (omufumu) with an excellent knowledge of herbal remedies. In 1953 the family moved to Kataate village as part of the Resettlement Scheme. After an education at the local school she, aged 20, formed a relationship with a local man and bore a daughter in 1973; he died soon after at Kayonza tea factory in Rukungiri. One of her older brothers set her up in Kanungu Trading Centre where she ran a business selling locally brewed beer and waragi (African gin).

Within five years she had another relationship with a clerk at the county headquarters and gave birth to a boy; however her partner passed away at his home in Lubanda soon afterwards. She subsequently married Eric Mazima in 1979, a wealthy Mukiga farmer and businessman with a successful carpentry enterprise who came from Rugarama in the 1950s; she was his seventh wife, he later married two more. In 1984 her landlord decided to sell his properties and she moved her business to a small plot about 8km from Kanungu town.

Around this time a problem developed in her marriage apparently due to her inability to have further children and was now believed to be barren. Several visits to local healers were unsuccessful though they claimed that the infertility was caused by her deceased father who was

angry because Mazima had not paid a bride price. She started to suffer from convulsions lasting from a few minutes to hours and claimed to have been visited by spirits sent by her co-wives.

In 1988 she had her fist Marian vision that instructed her to seek a divorce. Her visions continued and one instructed her to visit Nyabugota cave (near Kanungu), which she did accompanied by her husband and ten other people, where she received another vision. After a second visit a few days later with 40 people her husband divorced her and she returned to her family home in Kataate but visited the cave daily.

In 1989 she met Joseph and Theresa Kibweteere at the home of Jane Kasaande, a Marian seer from Rwere, but residing in Mbarara, and moved into their home in Kamumba in July with her sister Angela Mugisha and niece Ursula Komuhangi, which led to the foundation of the MRTC. Though the Kibweteeres and other members had received Marian visions these later became the sole prerogative of Mwerinde and she became the de facto leader of the movement.

Joseph Kibweteere

Joseph Kibweteere was born in Kishariro in 1932 and attended secondary school at Nyamitanga, Mbarara, and St. George's Teacher Training College in Ibanda. He was an able student and made good friends with influential people within the Catholic hierarchy. He first taught in Rushooka and was promoted soon after to be headmaster at Kishariiro and became Assistant Supervisor for Catholic Schools, 1959-62.

In 1963 he founded his own school in Kabumba, near where he had been born. In the meantime he had set up various successful businesses including a beer outlet and maize mill in Kabale and was able to purchase a large plot in Kabumba where he built a new family home, moving in 1973.

Around 1963 he joined the Democratic Party (DP), the Catholic party, and as senior members of the laity generally became senior members of political parties, he rose in the ranks and became Chairman of the Public Service Commission in Ankole. After Idi Amin's coup he was given a seat in the National Land Commission, which he held until 1973.

He spent considerable time abroad attending conferences and other government business, including a visit to the Vatican City, while his wife, Theresa, already a Marian devotee made contact with various Marian organisations in the countries they visited. After the 1980 national elections, won by the UPC, he was stripped of his positions and may have become involved with Kayiira's Uganda Freedom Movement that fought a bush war against Obote and Tito Okello, 1980-6. In the early 1980s he was apparently assaulted by members of the local UPC and moved to Kabale until 1985 when he returned home with Theresa.

In 1984 he received his first Marian vision while walking on the hills overlooking Kabale and he, and his wife, received further visions. In 1985 they joined the Legion of Mary in Kabumba and travelled extensively in Uganda and Rwanda to attend services where active seers related Marian visions.

They developed an extensive network of national and international contacts that led to the foundation of the MRTC in 1989 after meeting Ceredonia Mwerinde who moved into the family home. However in 1992 there was a major power struggle within the movement between Ceredonia and Theresa that led to Theresa and her son, Juvenal, ejecting Joseph and the MRTC from the family home and from then she had no further involvement.

There is a theory that Kibwetere did not die in the fire, but much earlier. It is claimed that he was last seen in 1999 when he was seriously ill. Alternatively there are claims that he made a telephone call after March 17th and though the mobile phone he is alleged to have used has never been traced he remains on Uganda's most wanted list.

Dominic Kataribaabo

Dominic Kataribaabo was born in 1936 in Kigabiro, Banyuruguru. He was educated at Rugazi Primary and got scholarships for Kitabi Minor Seminary 1952-59, Katigondo Major Seminary 1959-67, and Makerere University where he graduated with a BA (Arts) and Masters in Theology, 1974-7. He was ordained in 1965 in Rugazi and became Rector of St. Francis Xavier Kitabi Seminary in Bushenyi, where he attained an exemplary reputation.

In 1985-8 he studied for a MA in Religious Studies at the Jesuit Loyala Marymount University, Los Angeles, USA. In 1988 he was tipped to become next bishop of Mbarara or chaplain of St. Augustine at Makerere University but when neither happened he resumed parish duties in Rubindi and was then transferred to Rugazi.

In the USA he developed an interest in Marian movements and visited Lourdes in 1988. He restarted the Legion of Mary in Rugazi and constructed a Marian shrine. He invited various Marian seers to give presentations including Kibweteere and Mwerinde in 1991. They subsequently made more visits and, after their ejection from Kabumba, became permanent residents in the parish. Following a papal interdiction served by Bishop John Baptist Kakubi in 1991, he and Rev. Paul Ikazire, left their parishes to become full time members of the MRTC though the latter left the movement in 1994 convinced that Mwerinde was a fraud.

Legion of Mary Networks

As mentioned above the movement has its origins in 1989 with Roman Catholic Marian visionaries collaborating and setting up an informal organisation that became part of the Legion of Mary network in the parishes in districts of south-west Uganda. There is possible continuity between seers from traditional religion and Christianity in that visions of Nyabingi and the Virgin Mary only differ in their interpretation.

Visions can only be interpreted through the knowledge of the seer, i.e. a Nyabingi medium can only interpret visions within the context of pre-colonial culture while a Marian seer can only interpret within the context of a Christian education and upbringing. The growth of the Legion of Mary, through which the majority of visions occurred, was a direct result of the White Father's introduction as an alternative to Nyabingi.

Interdiction

By 1990 Bishop Kakubi of Mbarara became concerned with the proliferation of visionaries and submitted a report to the Vatican that resulted in a meeting with Pope Paul II who advised him that any Marian organisation had to be charitable in intent, not divisive and recognised Papal authority. However, the MRTC was starting to become independent of church authority and this led to a number of meetings in which Kakubi told the MRTC leaders that they either had to accept his authority or be interdicted.

They refused and were interdicted in 1991, which led to them become an independent religious organisation. In the beginning their theology was Roman Catholic but over time they assimilated the teachings of the Pentecostal movement, which taught dispensational pre-millenarianism that the Second Coming was at hand and the actual date could be divined through biblical references and that only specific adherents would be 'saved'.

The last 150 years is littered with sects and dates though the belief is ancient. Christians witnessing the fall of the Roman Empire were convinced the Second Coming was soon and 1,000AD was also believed to presage the Apocalypse.

Reasons for Membership

In the early 1990s the numbers were small; by 1989 there were about 50-60 full-time members resident at Kakumba, which grew to about 300 by 1992. In 1994-5 the numbers grew significantly to about 2,000 full-time residents who were split between various compounds. In 1997 it registered as an NGO and in 1998 it became an 'Unlimited Company without Share Capital'. It set up a school for the many children in the Kanungu compound but it was closed down in the late 1990s by the schools inspectorate for health reasons.

Why did it become so popular among women, particularly Bakiga? Vokes analysed the reasons for the majority of female members and concluded that there were initially three main reasons; infertility, property disputes arising out of polygamous marriages and problems with spirits (emandwa). In other words they were mostly women under pressure from marital problems.

A fourth reason to become important in the mid 1990s was the HIV/AIDS epidemic, which created a large number of 'AIDS widows' who were often seen as responsible for their husband's death. The dynamics of the syndrome was not well understood at this time; the Western Rift Valley had some of the highest infection rates in the Great Lakes region of up to 25%, which led to significant rates of death from 1992 onwards. Funeral ceremonies in Kigezi became so common that they were shortened from three days to one.

Many people joined the movement as it promised protection and a cure through religious practice; for those suffering from AIDS-related illnesses before ART this was their only hope in a society that shunned them. Bakiga women were therefore living in an epidemic hotspot.

Vokes argues that it was the descendants of the resettlement schemes that were more vulnerable due to dislocation and loss of communal networks, while settlement patterns among polygamous men changed from a compound with houses to scattered fragmented units leaving his wives isolated. It was primarily through this loose network of alienated women that the MRTC recruited most of their members.

The younger women were mostly AIDS widows and the older women had problems with property disputes. The one problem with this analysis is that it focuses solely on the Bakiga; however many Bafumbira also resettled in many of the same areas as the Bakiga but it is not clear whether they too died in Kanungu.

Financial Contributions

The MRTC was accused of taking all their members' money and possessions. This is true to some extent but many women were exchanging what possessions they had or rescue from their marital home for secure accommodation and food for life as a kind of annuity. Plus there was a school for their children before it was closed down as a health hazard and a favourable spiritual environment.

In many cases when the prospective members had no money they were allowed to join for minimal amounts for which they worked locally with friendly neighbours. However by the late 1990s it appears that the movement was having financial problems; feeding up to 2,000 people a day is expensive; they had to sleep in shifts.

Problems with Malaria and Famine

A severe malaria outbreak of 1998 that may have had an overall mortality rate of over 10% in East Africa could have been higher in the MRTC compounds and may have been responsible for several hundred deaths. The actual figure is unknown as they appear to have buried the bodies secretly probably for fear of retribution from officialdom.

In 1999 the climate took a turn for the worse affecting harvests and was nicknamed the 'year we ate our cows' among the general population, as this was the last recourse for farmers. The decline of cash and available food resulted in many leaving the organisation for lack of food, leaving a hard core of followers who increased their prayer vigils to most of the day and night.

Trigger

It is unknown what triggered the leadership to declare that the world was to end on the 17th March 2000 and to actively plan a mass-death. Vokes' comparisons of the origins of structural violence in pre-colonial and post-independence society as it pertains to the MRTC are not convincing and the reasons why the leaders took the extreme step lie more in the realms of modern day cult psychoses.

The reasons why over 300 adults were convinced of their leaders' predictions lie in group dynamics within enclosed secret organisations. That it was all done in secrecy appears to be the result of cult organisation paranoia, a very modern phenomena. Vokes' comparison with Nyabingi secrecy is not necessarily accurate as that was a result of colonial suppression; there was nothing secret about Nyabingi or her practitioners in pre-colonial times.

Aftermath

President Museveni was naturally shocked by the incident and promised a public inquiry. While a committee was appointed it was given no budget or facilities, so never was instituted; there still is much ignorance about the affair in Uganda. The incomplete investigation by the relevant

authorities has given rise to a proliferation of wild and inaccurate stories in and around Kanungu. There are many unreliable and untrustworthy rumour mongers and so-called witnesses. These do not honour the dead nor assist the grieving relatives in any way.

Laws regarding registration of NGOs were tightened up and the government began to control wayward Pentecostal preachers from the worst excesses of exploitation, particularly after it was discovered that there had been warnings that had been ignored. It turns out that the MRTC apparently received some protection from local politicians with whom it had formed, according to Vokes, 'exchange relationships'; an interesting euphemism.

Rev. Richard Mutazindwa, assistant Resident District Commissioner of Kanungu until two months before the inferno, was the only person arrested. He spoke out in 2010 and questioned why he was the only person to have been treated in this way.

Meanwhile local politicians claimed that the tragedy was a result of poverty and used it as a reason to argue for a separate district. It was once of the reasons given by central government in awarding Kanungu district status in July 2001. The construction of the necessary infrastructure and the short and gave long term employment opportunities.

The Catholic Church were deeply embarrassed by the whole affair and became more involved in developing the Charismatic movement within the church, particularly in the dioceses worst affected.

Many relatives of the victims were later to report that their ghosts could be heard “crying and wailing at night” as they had not been properly buried at home as was customary.

Five Years Later
Sunday Monitor Report, March 18th 2005

“We named the road Inferno Road so as to remember what happened to our brothers in 2000,” says Magezi Emmy, the area L.C.5 Councillor Kanungu District.

The home is abandoned now. Cars cannot get to the area because a log bridge connecting the road to Kanungu town council has decayed and can no longer support the weight of vehicles.

Once magnificent buildings that served as the cult's headquarters are falling apart. Not a single building still possesses windows or doors.

Haruna Katwigi, the immediate neighbour, says local authorities have neglected the complex.

“The doors and windows were stolen by the villagers due to the fact that there are no policemen guarding the place,” says Katwigi, a witness to the massacre.

The villagers also have taken iron sheets and most of the buildings have collapsed or are about to because of the rain.

Ivan Twinamasiko, a resident of the area, explains, “A public good that is not protected belongs to nobody. I think this is where Kibwetere property lies.”

The once extensive farm Kibwetere owned has turned into bush. The pineapple fields have vanished and the banana plantation is nearly extinct because domestic animals have grazed in this area.

A spring the cult used is abandoned even by neighbours. Katwigi says there's a stigma attached to the place.

“People do not want to be associated with Kibwetere. That is why they cannot use his water,” he says.

All the statues of Jesus and the Virgin Mary that cult followers prayed to have long since been stolen or broken.

“After the massacre, not all people who flocked to the place were mourners,” says Turyahikayo Alex, a witness. “Some of them, including police were hunting for money.” These people destroyed many of the monuments in the buildings, he adds.

The mass grave where the burnt people were laid to rest can no longer be identified. Bush covers the place and no sign marks the sad spot.

“But you are standing on the grave,” says Katwigi, who can find it still.

The massacre seems well on the way to being forgotten, and that seems to be what the people of Kanungu want.

Moses Niwagaba, a cult member for two months, says there is nothing good to remember.

“As one of the practices of the Kibwetere cult, followers were buried alive. Sex denial to married couples was a practice in the camp and sleeping on empty stomachs for many days under the guise of fasting was a common practice.

“Use of prayer as a substitute for medicine for patients was a remedy for Kibwetere who did not have a health centre for his big population,” Niwagaba recounts.

Most survivors of the massacre were once recruits of Kibwetere who no longer want to be associated with the cult.

District officials said they want to develop the cult site soon, in a way that will keep the memory alive.

“We are planning to build the first-ever cult museum in the whole world at this site,” said John Engabi, senior community development officer for the Kanungu District. The mayor of the Kanungu Town Council said that a magnificent hotel is to be constructed at the place too.

None of these grand visions have begun to materialise though. Officials say the place looks abandoned and no work has begun because the land has to be legally obtained before it can be developed.

“We have now acquired the land officially and that is why we are preparing to develop the place,” Engabi said.

According to the Kanungu District Tourism Development Plan, a document prepared by EDSA and Dr. Anna Spenceley last year, the existing church will be converted into a museum and a cafe, ticket office, toilets and a shrine to the Blessed Virgin Mary will be restored or built.

In order for an authentic museum to be made, all statues, monuments and other things identified with Kibwetere cult have to be retained. That could be a problem since statues have been stolen, chairs Kibwetere used are gone and the buildings are collapsing.

While officials debate what to do with his land, there are no new developments after in trying to locate and arrest Joseph Kibwetere.

Police ask that any individuals with information about him call them.

Kitaka Gawera, the Residence District Commissioner during the cult's active years, who commissioned and laid a foundation stone for cult's primary school, was the main official who helped the cult.

The primary school did not fulfil Ministry of Education requirements and was soon closed. Immediately after the massacre, in a visit to the place, then vice president, Dr. Kazibwe Specioza, said a commission of inquiry into Kibwetere-Kanungu massacre would be instituted.

That commission never materialised. Dr. Ruhakana Rugunda, the Minister of Internal Affairs, said it “did not sit because of budgetary constraints, and there is no way its results could be published. The results are not there.”

Ten Years Later
Sunday Vision, 13th March 2010
TEN years after a cult in Kanungu District massacred more than 1,000 people, no arrests have been made and the special commission set up to probe the incident has never carried out the assignment.

The Police said they had not made any progress in their investigations because they were waiting for the findings of the probe commission.

“The commission of inquiry set up to investigate the incident and make recommendations, which the Police would have acted upon, has not handed in any report,” Edward Ochom, the Director of the Criminal Investigations Department, told Sunday Vision.

On March 17, 2000, hundreds of members of the Movement for the Restoration of the Ten Commandments were locked up in a makeshift church and set ablaze. What initially seemed like a mass suicide turned out to be premeditated killings that shocked the world. A total of 530 bodies were counted after the inferno.

New Vision 16th Mar 2010
On March 17, 2000, Ugandans woke up to horror: more than 700 people had been burnt beyond recognition in a church at Nyabugoto in Kanungu district. The fire is believed to have been set by the leaders of the Movement for the Restoration of Ten Commandments of God, a cult group led by Joseph Kibwetere. A cult member who survived narrowly recently talked to Patson Baraire.

Ten years have gone by and the mystery around the Kanungu inferno remains unsolved. But for Keresi Nkunda, the memory of the March 17 incident is still as fresh as if it happened just yesterday. Not only did Nkunda lose all his friends in the fire, he also survived by a hair's breadth, to tell his story.

Like all the cult members, Nkunda, 34, so believed in the cult leaders' gospel that when they ordered all who had not sold their property to go back home and do so in preparation for the Dooms Day, he left straight away to do as the commandments required. The cult leaders preached that personal possessions were evil. They encouraged cult members to sell everything and surrender all their assets to them, Nkunda says.

A cult member who survived once said of Cledonia Mwerinde, one of the cult leaders: Eventually she became rich and accumulated farms, houses and cars. She would say: The Virgin Mary wants you to bring more money.

Nkunda who was in his early 20s at the time, says he left for his home two days before the incident to go and sell his property which included pigs and other household items. However, it took him days before he could get a buyer and by the time he returned, all the members had perished in fire that engulfed the church.

Nkunda who still looks distraught says the cult leaders assured them that there would never be the year 2000 and always prayed in preparation for heaven. When the year eventually came and nothing happened, the cult leaders were bombarded with so many questions. People who had sold their property demanded their money back which the cult leaders had taken away from them.

Shortly after the inferno, many bodies were recovered in a pit in one of the buildings in the church compound. Those who insisted on being refunded their money were reportedly killed and dumped in the pit.

Nkunda says on return from his home village, he decided to go into hiding for fear of society's wrath; he did not want to be associated with the Movement for the Restoration of Ten Commandments of God any more.

He said at the time, he still lived with his parents in Nyakishenyi sub-county where he owned four pigs. As a good follower, he wanted to sell the pigs to contribute to the church's opening ceremony which was soon to take place.

Even if I had a piece of land, I would have sold it because I was already convinced the world was ending. The leaders told us all the money they collected was taken to God, Nkunda says.

He adds that after the incident, he fled to Masaka where he did odd jobs but would sneak back to the site to see if there were any developments, and, indeed, on the day The New Vision visited the site, Nkunda had sneaked in on his routine check.

He said all the time they stayed at the cult headquarters, they were not allowed to talk to anybody. Any contact with outsiders (sinners) was strictly monitored and often forbidden. Cult members were encouraged to be celibate, sworn to a vow of silence and were not allowed to speak unless in prayer. Even when one visited relatives back home, he was not expected to divulge any information.

Nkunda says he has now come to terms with the situation and on one of his many visits, he decided to go back to his home where his family welcomed him. Prior to the inferno, his family members had warned him against leaving the Catholic faith to join Kibwetere.

The events leading to the March 17, 2000 incident has remained a mystery. Even after a commission of inquiry was instituted, not much about the activities of the cult has been disclosed to the public.

It is also not clear whether the people who masterminded the inferno died in the fire or managed to escape. However, after the incident, many other bodies were discovered buried in mass graves in Lugazi, Bunyaruguru in Bushenyi, Ggaba in Kampala and Buhunga in Rukungiri which many believed to have been the centres of the Movement for the Restoration of the Ten Commandments, a cult led by Joseph Kibwetere, Credonia Mwerinde and Dominic Kataribabo.

The three have never been sighted anywhere after the incident, raising suspicion that they too could have perished in the inferno.

Twelve Years Later

Thirty-six people, orphaned by the tragedy, have petitioned Parliament for redress in September 2012.

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Appendix

Last Letter of Elly Baryaruha
I have felt it ungodly and on the other hand inhuman to go away forever without a word of farewell. Now this is to say farewell to the whole family and if you do not see me once again, then do not ask! Throughout my 38 years (of) existence, I might have sinned venerably or gravely (mortally) against some members or all of the family, and as per now, I request kindly to be pardoned.

I have hardly remained with over 10 days here before I join all the other members of the Restoration of the 10 Commandments of God before the closure of the "ARK". That will mean therefore, that we shall never meet once again. To me, it sounds sad but that is what it must be. As we follow directives from Heaven, we are supposed to gather in the selected area before the wrath of the Almighty God the creator is let down on to non-repentants.

Keep my words on your hearts, there will never be the year 2001. Catastrophes will befall human kind and the indicators of such will be wars, crime increase such as murder, rape, robbery, etc. there will be a lot of fear among the human races! Appearance of strange animals and people will be noticed. I would request you that if you come across such, simply run and look for me. I will not fail to seek refuge for you. Whoever wanted his brother or family to perish? Do not stick to property. Simply leave it behind and run for your dear (life) I will always pray for you, as I have nothing else I can do! May God guide you!

Ever loving brother, uncle and in-law,

Elly,

I will always be there to welcome whoever comes for refuge.

* * *

Chapter 5.1

Biographies

Barham Lawrence
Lawrence Barham was born London 1901, son of Harold, of Barclays bank, and Florence. They attended Emmanuel Church, Wimbledon, under Rev. E. L. Langston first chairman of the Ruanda Mission (CMS). He received scholarships for the Merchant Taylor's School and

Cambridge University where he studied classics and oriental languages, the latter for the China mission.

He joined the CICCU and helped found the Cambridge University Missionary Band in 1922. He attained a 1st and 2nd class honours in languages. He was ordained deacon in 1925, and served in London. As China was then closed he went to Nairobi and stayed at Leakey's home to learn Swahili. He went to Kabale in 1928; the CMS mission was then led by Jack Warren who died of tuberculosis that year.

He was appointed headmaster of Kigezi High School in 1929 and also supervised the c. 300 churches in Kigezi. He founded the Boys Brigade; one of his students was Festo Kivengere. In 1930 Jim Brazier became headmaster, which allowed him to focus on church management. In 1931 he married Julia Leakey, daughter of Harry and Mary Leakey, CMS missionaries in Kenya (her brother was Louis Leakey, archaeologist). She was born in Kenya and schooled in England including teacher training in London University where she first met her husband-to-be. She helped her sister, Gladys, found the first intermediate level girls school in Kenya.

Under the influence of the East African Revival he changed from being a formal Anglican to evangelisation but he met with opposition. From 1935-7 he was involved with the Revival in Kigezi, teaching and preaching with Ezekiera Balaba, and led many mission safaris. He was nominated bishop of Ruanda and Burundi Diocese in 1946 but was rejected by the Bishop of Uganda as being too involved in the Revival; the Barham family thought this rejection a great honour.

In 1957 he was appointed archdeacon Ankole-Kigezi, and helped organise an evangelical meeting in Kabale at which 3,000 attended. In 1958 he retired from Africa and became General Secretary of the Rwanda Mission in London but was recalled to become bishop of Ruanda and Burundi in 1964-6 where he oversaw the transition to African Bishops; a difficult task given the post-independence political problems in both countries.

He retired again in 1966 and became assistant bishop of Southwark and vicar of Wimbledon with oversight of evangelical churches. He died in 1973 and she in 1985 at Bexhill, Sussex. Kigezi College was called after him in 1973.

## Basebye

Basebye was the son of a Batwa/Batutsi alliance. Because his mother, Nyirantwari had born out of wedlock she was abandoned in the forest where she was rescued by Nteko, a Mutwa who rescued and married her. When he grew up he joined the professional dance group in King Rwabigiri's palace in Nyanza and later joined the king's personal bodyguard, Abakembo, and became leader.

Rwabigiri died in 1895 and was succeeded by Musinga after a power struggle which led to a north-south split in the Rwandan kingdom and the Batwa, led by Basebye, withdrew to Rugezi in Bufumbira. He was allied with Tutsi rebel leaders who didn't accept Musinga and from 1909 he formed an alliance with Muhumuza and her faction who wished to overthrow Musinga.

Between 1896 and 1910 he became the most powerful military leader of Bafumbira raiding far and wide exacting tribute and plunder from eastern Bafumbira and Nyakabande. He also attacked the Bakiga clans and while they were defeated Senzoga, a Bakiga warrior leader, was killed. An attempt by Rwandan Queen, Nyirayuhi, to defeat them in 1906 failed resulted in the deaths of many Tutsi warriors, including Mahiryoli, a warrior hero. The Rwandan monarchy was assisted by Belgian and German colonial administrations who also wished to defeat the Batwa as they were a barrier to colonisation and political control.

Finally Basebye was betrayed by a Tutsi named Rwabusisi in Rwanda who, under the guise of a friendly invitation, captured him in 1912. He was transported to Nyanza where he was tried, convicted and executed on the same day on the 13th May by a German military tribunal.

## Constance Hornby

Constance Hornby was born in 1884 in Richmond, London, daughter of Henry Epton Hornby and Julia, a migrant dairying family from Lancashire. She first went to school aged nine for two years and then to Beechcroft College, 1895-1902.

Her early working life consisted of working in the family's dairy assisting her father with accounts and her mother with housework. She then assisted her brother on his farm until his marriage in 1913. Her agricultural experience included managing dairy herds, making butter, horticulture, and poultry and keeping accounts. All these skills were useful at one time or other in Africa.

The same year she applied to the CMS and, in early 1914, attended Mildmay Training House for missionary training until mid-1915. Due to wartime restrictions she could not sent anywhere and trained as a midwife at Mildmay Hospital. In mid-1916 she was posted to the Uganda Mission and first worked as a teacher and nurse in Iganga in Busoga District.

She was then posted in 1917 to Gayonza High School at the time the leading girl's school in Uganda. In 1919 she had a 2nd attack of the deadly Blackwater Fever and returned to England to recuperate. In 1920 she returned and worked as a midwife in Mengo Hospital, Kampala. At this time the Cooks set up a non-denominational Midwifery Training School; this she ran while they were on medical safari.

In May 1923 she (now aged 39) and Beatrice Martin, with a Persian kitten, arrived in Kabale having answered the call of Drs. Sharp and Smith who needed a matron and a missionary for women and children. In 1925 she became 'Our Own Missionary' correspondent to the Girl's Friendly Society's magazine whose membership supported her with donations of money and clothes through her long and varied career.

She became fluent in Luganda, Rukiga and Rufumbira but had a tendency to mix up vocabularies; according to local people she spoke 'Ruhornby'. Her local nickname in her early years was Nyakaishiki – 'young, unmarried woman'; this later became Kaaka – 'grandmother'. Another was Kamagamaga, 'Like a little bird', after her manner of speech.

Soon after arrival the Sharps took her to Bufumbira where she recruited her first four girls for Kigezi Girl's School, now Hornby High School. Fathers took some persuading and gave her their daughters as a tax or tribute to authority. It took some time before locals realised that the daughters came back. She said that

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

The earliest school was a mud hut with simple furniture and teaching aids. It became a constant struggle to construct and maintain the buildings.

Figure 68 Constance Hornby with students, 1930s

School life was based on her own Victorian education with religious and bible instruction, literacy and arithmetic, crafts and hygiene. They grew and cooked their own food, striving for self-sufficiency. Delegation of authority was also important. Older girls were taught to teach younger students and assisted in school management.

The girls began as young as five and usually married in their late teens in family-arranged matches. Turnover was high and the departure of a senior capable girl for marriage could cause problems in continuity. On the plus side many of these women ran classes in their villages, teaching basic literacy and religion during lulls in the agricultural workload.

As wives their duty was to Christianise and civilise their husbands, as well as to honour and obey him, and teach their children – often called her grandchildren. Over time they began to have greater choice over their partners and married Christians, often teachers or church officials. This was in accord with (pre-gender equality) government and church policy that educated men needed educated wives.

Initially there was considerable resistance, but when the benefits of education became more widely known many students went on to become teachers, midwives, nurses and civil servants; delaying marriage to the early twenties. The first female teachers were trained in 1930 but it wasn't until 1937 that the first entered Secondary School and 1945 for the first to enter Makarere University.  This led to greater independence for women. In pre-colonial times, they had few options for independent life; they could inherit become a chief or a Nyabingi mugirwa.

Students were sometimes hard to discipline. She writes

“I sometimes think we have the naughtiest school in the world... they are absolutely fearless, at least Eseza says they do not fear enough, but they take their punishment like sportsmen.”

She also made safaris around the district; from 1932 she drove a car, acting as supervisor to local churches and schools while recruiting students. These lasted from weekends to weeks and she often spent Christmas and Easter in the villages. In the same year she assisted in the foundation of new school in Rujumbura with Merabu Nyinenzangi as headmistress. In 1935 she adopted four children of a local evangelist whose second wife mistreated her step-children.

Numbers increased and by 1937 she had 81 boarders. By 1928 such was the workload that Margaret Forbes was sent to assist and cover absences of leave and local safaris. A day school was set up and, under Muriel Barham, had 60 pupils, which rose to 100 regulars by 1931. In 1935 numbers had stabilised with 65 boarders, 60-90 day pupils, ten at the Girls Teachers' Training School and seven teachers in the villages.

Figure 69 School signs

The Revival set its own problems as discipline and good order disappeared in the first wave of spiritual fervour. When she complained to one teacher that the girls hadn't cleaned the communal dining room the reply was:

“I've no eyes for this world, I see only the things of God”

She was tempted not to pay the teacher with the explanation:

“Of course, you will not want your pay as is it of this world.”

It took some weeks to restore order and she forbade the singing of hymns and night vigils completely. She had little time for the 'shouting band' and avoided involvement in local controversies.

In 1941, now aged 57, she handed over control to Lilian Clarke a trained and experienced teacher who would ensure that local schools would comply with future Department of Education standards. Hornby went on to serve as midwife in Kabale Hospital, which was in the process of closure, and continued her evangelising safaris to the villages, checking on the churches and schools. She also did relief in Bwama from the 1940s covering leaves and staff shortages, particularly after 1945 when wartime travel restrictions were lifted.

Dr. Sharp, speaking of her work at Bwama, said:

“She has always been giving herself with untiring and unselfish devotion to this always exacting field of work.”

Her own opinion was somewhat different; she always admired the nurses who could ignore the most nauseating wounds when all she wanted to do was run away. She underestimated herself, John Purseglove, Agricultural Officer of Kigezi, advised Elspeth Huxley who was researching The Sorcerer's Apprentice, 1947

“You must see Miss Hornby. She's as much one of our institutions as the volcanoes”

Huxley was impressed and described her and her house.

“(She was) a small, grey-haired, eager, wiry woman. The house was in darkness when we called, but she emerged from cake-baking in the kitchen and carried a lamp into the small book-littered sitting-room. In the shadows we could see that its furniture was simple and home-made, the floor of cement, with a worn carpet; the weak rays of the oil lamp could not reach through the rafters of a ceilingless roof into the thatch.”

Hornby described some of the problems of her work. The most contentious concerned sexual behaviour, local people believed it was a private affair while the CMS were against loose moral standards, particularly in the schools, and the example it gave to children. She queried the direction of the Department of Education and education in general:

“It seems odd to say so, but I think education has gone too far. Or perhaps it has not been the right education. We have one hundred and seventy girls at this school, and I am the only European teacher. Every one of them will get married and bring up children of their own. The thing that matters most is that they learn to bring up their children well. Yet only last year the Education department did away with domestic science in the secondary course, and substituted geometry. That's all very well... Even today, I know of only twenty-six homes in the whole of Kigezi where I would be glad to stay, knowing I'd find myself with decent, clean, self-respecting families.

But we must look to the next generation. We must pin our hopes to them. And I have faith that enough will grow up healthy, self-respecting and God-fearing to leaven the whole..."

In 1948, aged 64, she was awarded an M.B.E for her services to African Education and in 1952 was presented to the newly crowned Queen Elizabeth II at Murchison Falls during a state visit. After a holiday in England she resumed work as school's supervisor, 1952-56. The CMS had accepted her retirement in 1954 but she did not retire for another two years. Only then, aged 72, did she finally quit official work. She was the first CMS missionary to retire on 'completion of full service'.

She built a cottage on a gift of land in Nyakatare in Kinkiizi, where she lived until 1966. Concern grew about her health and bishop Dick Lyth gave her a house in Rugarama. It became a popular place to visit for its tranquillity, moral support, advice and prayers. Still involved she encouraged David Tindyebwa to undertake Braille training in Iganga and Thika (Kenya). He joined the school staff and set up a special class for the blind. In 1968 she was awarded honorary Blood Brotherhood by Kigezi District Council in an Omukago ceremony in recognition of 45 years of service.

She ended life peacefully at her Rugarama cottage in early 1972, aged 88.

She was buried in Rugarama Church grounds to a huge funeral. Her funeral oration was given by Dr. Algie Stanley Smith who highlighted three aspects of her character: love of the underprivileged, dauntless courage and love for people as persons within the context of her intense spiritual life. Bishop Festo Kivengere later wrote:

"We cannot thank God enough for what she did."

## Kaigirirwa

Kaigirirwa was a Nyabingi mugirwa (Busyaba clan) who led military resistance from 1909-1921; she was active in the Lake Kivu and Bafumbira area. She lost her husband Ruhemba (Luhemba), an important military leader with Ntokyibiiri when he returned after internment in Mbarara in June 1919 as well as a brother-in-law who was killed by an askari.

She also was interned in Mbarara around 1912-17; on her release she became involved in the Nyakishenyi rebellion. At her height she controlled around 600 rebels and was much feared by colonial officials who offered twenty cows as a reward in 1917 for information leading to her arrest. She is thought to have been killed in 1919 or 1921 during a military engagement.

## Kalimuzo Frank

Frank Kalimuzo was born in Mabungo, Kisoro District on September 24th, 1925, the only surviving child whose 13 siblings died young. He attended Seseme Primary School, Kigezi Junior High, Nyakasura School and King's College in Budo. In 1944-5 he studied education in Makerere University and taught in Budo until 1951. That year he went to Abersthyth College,

Wales as a colonial scholar and graduated in Economics in 1955. In 1956 he attended an overseas course in Wadham College, Cambridge, UK.

He joined the Ugandan Civil Service that year and served as Assistant District Commissioner in various districts around Uganda. In 1959 he was appointed by the Governor General to be Secretary of the Constitution Committee that was mandated to seek the views of Ugandans concerning a future constitution and form of direct elections to the Legislative Council.

In 1961 he was appointed Deputy Establishment Secretary before becoming a Permanent Secretary. In 1963 he became Secretary to the Cabinet and was appointed first head of the Civil Service and Vice-Chancellor of Makerere University (he replaced Yusuf Lulu on the dissolution of the University of East Africa) by President Milton Obote.

He married Esther Consullatta Rwabuhungu in October of 1958. About 1963 he began to build a home at Lake Bunyoni but because of its scenic location it became a magnet for Ugandan and international tourists and was converted into a four-bedroom hotel.

In 1972 he was abducted by Idi Amin's Public Safety Unit and disappeared, allegedly because he was an Obote supporter but Amin's hatred of intellectuals is well known. It is assumed he was murdered by them though his body was never found. Subsequently his family set up a memorial lecture in 2005 (the inaugural lecture was given by Pr. David Rubdari, Vice Chancellor of Malawi University and fellow student at Budo) and launched the Kalimuzo Scholarship Fund with Kisoro District Development Association and Kabale University for needy Kisoro students at Kabale University.

In May 2011, President Musaveni addressed the 2nd lecture, describing Kalimuzo as an educational pioneer, and donated USh20 million to the fund. The University of Cambridge offers an annual scholarship award to a student from Uganda (The Kalimuzo ODA Cambridge scholarship) in his honour.

## Karagyesa, Edward Sulimani

Edward Sulimani Karagyesa, Makobore's son born c. 1885, replaced his father having served as muraka and gombolola chief. He had a stern strong personality who enjoyed leadership, though was sometimes harsh and difficult to deal with. He inherited a love of cows from his father and preferred work to laziness. He was very tall, 6' 9” in height, with a strong physique, he had a deep black complexion, long nose, large ears, bulging brown eyes and a very deep commanding voice;

“A fierce-looking man who commanded awe and respect”

The English liked him and approved of his rule saying he was a

“Vigorous, energetic young man, keenly interested in the maintenance of law and order, and in keeping an honest and good government”

He saw the world had changed and realised that co-operation was the way forward and became the model of an ideal chief. He punished drunkenness and idleness and promoted progressive and school-trained youth to positions of responsibility. This may not have been easy, according to the opinionated DC Sullivan,

"The Bahororo generally are an unsatisfactory tribe of poor physique and little promise of improvement"

He shifted his residence from Kagunga to Rukungiri, which was run on colonial lines. From here he attempted to modernise the country. The first prejudice he attacked was the caste divisions between Bahima and Bairu with some success as relationships between them improved as social mobility increased.

He improved agriculture by introducing new species, encouraged demarcation of property boundaries, organised hunting parties against crop predation by wild pigs and monkeys, made all construct granary stores and plant eucalyptus and black wattle.

He was strong on sanitation through construction of latrines and general hygiene, which cut down on the incidence of malaria, dysentery and typhoid. The Ruharo built roads, bridges, houses and rest camps and so infrastructure was developed and integrated with the rest of Uganda. His interest in roads came from his ownership of a motor-car.

Economic prosperity came from the steady remittances of migrant workers and returning army personnel after WW I and II who invested in agriculture and businesses. They further stimulated the economy as they bought cloth to replace hides for wear and purchased imported consumer goods and tools and that amazing innovation, the bicycle.

He actively encouraged education by making it compulsory for one child per family attend school, punishment was imprisonment or a fine, provided school grants for orphans and children from poor families, ensured the schools were maintained and looked after supplies and salaries. His own home teemed with children from all over Rujumbura who were being educated.

He converted to Christianity and, at least publicly, had only one wife, though it is believed that in the beginning he was a regular worshipper of Ndahura (the Bairu worshipped Nyabingi and Mugasha) at night and only slowly became a committed Christian. He had major problems with early Balokole devotees, under the leadership of a school teacher, Eric Bugari, who were always haranguing him regarding his alleged sinfulness. Some he had imprisoned and beaten while Bugari was banished. He also dismissed some of his chiefs because they preached instead of governed.

He eventually became a Mulokole, probably in self-defence. In the 1946 he supported the resettlement schemes and made land available in Buyange, Nyakagyeme, Ruhina and Buganyari. He also supported the election of a district president, which the English did not like as they thought it would be divisive; in 1946 the district elected its first Secretary General. Fears of division proved to be true but not along class or tribal lines; the new division was between Christians.

Karegyesa died in 1956 having overseen the transition of Rujumbura from traditional to colonial rule, which laid the foundation to independence.

## Katuregye

Katuregya, or Omukama Katuregya Rucumitana Akasimba Ka Musigi as he was known in later life, was an important leader of the Bakongwe in Kigezi at the turn of the 20th century. His clan's ancestor was Kakongwe who was apparently son of Karengye, founder of the Barengye clans. The main line is Kakongwe, Muhondwora, Rutwa I, Biko, Kyobire, Ruta II, Musekure and Rwamushwa. Kakongwe is said to have moved from Burengye and settled in Nyakatare, near Lake Bunyoni, from where the family multiplied into many lineages and expanded their territories at the expense of Basigi, Bahesi, Bainika, Basakuru and Bunguru clans who migrated elsewhere. Kashasha then became the centre of their kingdom.

The introduction of Nyabingi into the clan begins with Musekure and Ngoroye who were initiated in Mpimbi though Musekure was killed by some Bahunde there. When Ngoroye returned the voice spoke to Rwamushwa and he became a powerful Nyabingi (otherwise known as Nyinabuhoro and Nyinomuremure) priest. However this proved to be a double edged gift as he then became impotent and was followed by the prediction that he would die of smallpox.

Chandungusi (Barahebuuza) was a Musigi who fled from Rwanda escaping famine; she was daughter of Ndungusi, son of Kibizi, son of Sentembwe, son of Munaaba. She first married Ngoyore who passed her on to his brother Rwamushwa. Their children were Manyengye, Bahemuka, Basimiki and Ntwawiha; when he became impotent she took Rwebishaka as a lover and they had Katuregye, Kiribata, Nyangoma and Taburyeraho; however Rwamushwa was always the legal father and he initiated Chandungusi and their son Manyengye.

Nyabingi was central to their spiritual beliefs and they had strong links with the Ruhara Nyabingi families. Four of Katureya's sisters married into that lineage. Basimiki married Ruhara, son of Kanzarina, and was the mother of Manyimwe and Karangye. Taburyeraho married Mafene (who was murdered by the Germans in 1912) and they had Rwatangabo. Nyangoma and Ntawiha also married into that lineage, though their husbands are not listed.

Katuregye (Katuleggi and variants in colonial literature) was born at Kashasha around 1870 in privileged circumstances but spent most of his time with Batwa children who taught him the arts of hunting that were to provide the skills later as a soldier. He was little regarded when a youngster due to his small size and he compensated by being ferocious and a skilled bowman when he accompanied the elders on expeditions. He was advised by Nyabingi who promised that he would never be defeated; she also made Kiribata a skilled bowman who was renowned as warrior.

His first military encounter was during a conflict with the Bainika over an elephant that the latter had killed when it strayed into their territory from Echuya in search of food. The Bakongwe claimed it but the Bainika refused to hand it over; he showed his courage and skills in the resulting battle that left many Bainika dead and he became a hero overnight. The Bainika then

made the mistake of stealing one of his cows called Nyabwangu. He called Batwa and Bakongwe warriors to war and they inflicted a major defeat on the Bainika who fled to Bukinda and their territory was assimilated. He thus became a powerful military leader leading combined forces of Batwa from Echuya and the Virunga mountains and Bakongwe warriors.

They then defeated the Baheesi of Kigata and Bumbu and the Bayundo of Mugyera and Kitigata, the latter fled to the islands of Lake Bunyonyi where some still live. This was followed by an invasion of Bunguru lands and while they resisted, there were battles at Kishanje and Rwabahundame, they were no match and fled to Kabale and further north; they returned around 1921 when the English took over. By this time his intentions were clear, he wanted to become king of the Bakiga through military conquest.

Over the next few years he defeated most clans to the south and took over their lands. He then turned his attentions to the Basigi of Kagaya, who had killed his brother Butuma, and the Basekuru of Iremera. They were defeated; the former migrated to Nyarushanje, the latter appeared to have stayed and he married Nyinakitare, reputed to have been the most beautiful lady he saw on his many campaigns.

During this period, c.1895, there was a severe famine called Mushorongo, after the lines of corpses on the sides of paths that were caused by a three year drought that came directly after the rinderpest epidemic that arrived c. 1890. This was very disruptive of Kigezi society as harvests completely failed for three years in a row. Families fell apart due to extreme hunger as people sold themselves and their children for food and even cannibalism was reported as the final extreme.

This led to weakened clans that were easy to conquer and plunder and it is said that the Bakongwe never experienced want. However he was careful never to alienate the Rwandan kingdom that were his nominal overlords, he respected Rwabugiri but never feared Musinga; in fact two Bakongwe chiefs, Murusya of Bufundi and Basaaza of Kyante and Rurujo, often visited Nyanza to pay homage. This neutrality gave him the freedom of action he needed.

The situation changed with the advent of the first colonial adventurers, the Germans, who took over Rwanda in 1896. They were a threat in that they had superior military weaponry and were as warlike; their conquest resulted in many Bakiga deaths. In the beginning it did not affect his military campaigns as he fought against the Basigi of Kagarama who he defeated; they took refuge in Butobere, Bukinda and Mparo.

He then defeated the Batimbo and Bahurwa clans of Kabale and Kikungyere. Next were the Bahimba of Rubanda that was sight of a famous battle that took place over several days but with the same result; the Bahimba were defeated and Rubanda left desolate, while the survivors fled to Kashambya and Nyakishenyi.

The English then arrived and offered the dual threat of military might and Christianity; their agenda was pacification through the elimination of clan warfare and the conversion of the Bakiga to Christianity. This was a major threat to his power and spiritual beliefs. The first diminution of his power came when the English and Germans agreed a common frontier between Uganda and

Rwanda in 1910 that split his territories and he thus lost complete control of the southern section of his conquests to the Germans.

In 1912 the English then divided Kigezi into counties and sub-counties, sazas and gombololas, and they made him a chief of the gombolola of Bufundi that included Rubaya and Muko. a mere 50 square km (it had been at least double) under Nyindo, chief of Bufumbira. A Bugandan agent, Stephen Musoke, was imposed as administrator. Bufundi was then in Bufumbira; it was transferred to Ndorwa when it was founded, c. 1929.

Chandungusi was very vocal in her criticism and resistance to Christianity and given the association between Nyabingi and colonial resistance she was arrested in 1914 when a military detachment surrounded her village adjacent to Echuya forest after a night march from Kabale, her supporters attempted to defend her by shooting arrows from the surrounding bush but were dispersed with gunfire. The English never gave any reason for her arrest; she was around 65 years old, except that it was part of their general round up of Nyabingi bagirwa. She was interred for one year in Mbarara and died on her way home in 1915.

Katuregye swore revenge. First he captured all the boats on Lake Bunyonyi and sank those he did not need and based himself on a large island, probably Bwama. He then allied with Nyindo who had also become a pro-German rebel. They attacked military convoys between Kabale and Kisoro and raided pro-English clans.

The English mounted a military expedition on Lake Bunyoni by first transporting a large canoe from Lake Chahafi via the Kanaba Pass and then through a specially cut pass through Echuya to the lake. They then searched the lake and found 13 canoes but that Katuregye and his forces had fled to Rwanda. In the meantime military police scoured the western shores burning Batwa villages and confiscating their cattle; another force went on the eastern shores to round up any rebels.

He then returned and set up his headquarters in Echuya forest having been forced to abandon Kashaasha and Mutuungu, but then made the mistake of attacking a fellow clansman Mahiirane's sons in Rutojo and plundered their cattle. They sought the help of the English and told them where he was camped.

The English with a mixed force of Europeans, Arab askaris, Baganda agents, and Bakiga askaris and porters, whose weapons included a maxim machine gun, surrounded him secretly and attacked. Their superior firepower soon put the rebels to flight notwithstanding the heroic resistance by the Batwa. Katuregye was shot in the thigh by Mwebesa (a Mukiga) and he was hurriedly evacuated to a dense part of Echuya.

As his wound worsened he was transferred to Kyevu where local doctors tried in vain to heal him. Hundreds of loyal supporters visited him to pay their last respects and so he died in the early months of 1915 and was accorded a heroes funeral.

As an adult he grew a long beard to symbolise his power and wealth. He was restless with inactivity and was only happy on campaign. His bow was called Rugote and he had many

servants who carried a plentiful supply of arrows on campaign. He is described as a lively man, with a sense of humour and full of kindness. He had a middle-sized girth, tall with an imposing beard that covered his chest. His eyes were red as burning fire and full of power, dignity, bravery and fierceness.

He was not a despotic ruler; after conquest he built homes on the new lands and married a woman of the defeated clan and thus ended up with c. 40 wives. Of these 11 are named as Boosha, Nyabweza, Nyimahanda, Nyangire, Nyinamafwa, Buherero, Bakumi, Mpongano, Nyingaruka, Nyiramwaka and Nyinakitare. Most he married just before he died so he did not have many children. His known sons are Daudi Rutobo, Ndaatira, Buyongwe, Mahenda, Mitweyingabo, Sulmani Kamananga and Bijogoorwa.

His legacy is mixed. Many Bakiga have very negative opinions saying, for instance, "How can a great man be that who kills people and destroys their property?" Even in the 1970s the Bakongwe and Batwa were called Babisha, translated as enemies, and were at risk of being murdered; the Batwa could not cross the lake to Kabale without risking their lives.

Others have a more positive opinion as they see him as a powerful military leader who attempted to unite the Bakiga into one kingdom, whether they wanted to or not. Furthermore his activities in resisting colonial conquest and imposition of imperialist rule are highly commended and many see him as an early freedom fighter seeking to maintain their independence, culture and religion.

## Kitegana Yohana

Yohana Kitegana (originally called Nkulabako) was born c. 1858 on Busi Island, on Lake Victoria; his father was Kamuya (Mmamba clan) and mother Bwayinga (Ngege clan). By his twenties he was quite wealthy and had five wives, one slave concubine and a son, Stefano Musoke. Around 1890 he migrated to Koki.

In 1892 he went to Ankole to assist Buganda refugees there and came under the influence of Christianity, particularly of Catholic chiefs, Kagolo and Juma, and was baptised at Kisubi in 1896, taking the name John (Yohana). Around this time his wives returned to their families, perhaps due to his celibacy, and he gave freedom to his concubine. In 1901 he became a chief in his own right but soon abandoned it, gave away all his property to the poor and moved to the Mitala Maria mission with the objective of devoting his life to God.

He attended catechist training in Lubala and became involved in church missions in Busoga, Teso, Ankole and Bunyoro. At this time he began medical training using traditional and modern methods and was an opponent of traditional spirit doctors. Bishop Streicher was so impressed that he sent him to Hoima (with the Bacope), Rubaga, Kasaka, and Bunyaruguru.

During his time in Ankole he was threatened with death due to Buganda corruption; he publicly criticised them and thus escaped harm due to his reputation but was warned that he could be killed by people who didn't know him. He had conflicts with local people concerning women who abandoned traditional religion, some became joined the White Sisters. His life was simple;

he grew crops, fed orphans and other needy people, gave away all gifts and every morning beat drums to announce he was ready to teach.

He went to Kigezi in 1912 with Yohana Sebalijja, another Muganda Catholic, who was responsible to the English colonial authorities for the smooth running of the administration and built a small chapel at his home in Nyarushanje. He founded a church at Rugoroza near Kabale and travelled all over Kigezi preaching and supervising other converts and catechists until the arrival of the White Fathers in 1923, by which time he had made nearly 1,000 converts.

In 1924 he moved to Bufumbira with Augusto Kapere, where they set up at Kidwa, by Lake Mutanda, before founding a new mission at Mutolere under Fr. Nicolet in 1929. The same year he returned to Kabale and died there on the 27th July 1939 after ten years of semi-monastic life of prayer and fasting; he dressed in animal hides except on Sundays when he wore a white robe.

He was revered by all and made a deep impression on the people of Kigezi, who called him Mureju after his long, beard. He was considered a model and inspiration of Christian life:

“This elderly man who was caring for the wounds of his people, feeding children, showing his interest in everybody but especially for the young ones was unique.”

It is said that he had visited every village in all of Kigezi's many valleys. Ngologoza described him on his travels,

“Over his robe was a kind of toga, he wore a large belt, he walked without shoes and with a walking stick and was accompanied by young boy who carried a mat with his sleeping effects.”

He followed the advice of Pope Pius XI (quoting St. Thomas Aquinas):

“To practise virtue you need a minimum of well-being.”

Because his only agenda was the good of the people his advice was sought by chiefs and colonial officials on many issues, such as customs, cultivation, agriculture, hygiene, construction and justice.

Fr. Joseph Nicolet wrote a biography in French published by Grand Lacs Review in 1947; it was translated into English and published in Leadership (a Ugandan Catholic publication) in 1987, nos. 2 and 3. Armand Duval published a biography in French in 2002, mostly based on Nicolet's work, which was translated into English by Sister Marie Godin in 2008.

## Kivengere Festo

Festo Kivengere was born in either 1919 or 1920 (during a rinderpest epidemic) at Kitazigurukwa; he was eldest son of Ntzisira, a Kyahi noble, and Barungi, daughter of Makobore, last king of Rujumbura. Makobore, who died in 1952.

He was traditionally brought up as a Bahima herder and worshipped Bachwezi spirits; they were "free-spirited, semi-nomadic, self sufficient and self reliant". In 1926 the family moved to Kyamakanda. Around this time they converted to Christianity and he first met Constance Hornby who was on safari recruiting girls for her school.

His father died in 1929 and he was sent to his grandfather at Rukungiri. In 1929 a catechist named Byensi (a local who had attended literacy and biblical training in Kabale) set up a small school that Kivengere joined, he learnt to read and write and began to show his formidable intellectual and teaching talents when he helped the older students understand the meaning of letters drawn on the earth floor.

He studied the gospels and was baptised in 1930 as Festo. He joined his uncle Karegyesa and attended Kinsanyo School, at 2/- per term, where he learnt Swahili and geography, and became captain of the football team.

He next studied at Kigezi High School in 1935-6 where he joined the Boys Brigade as a side-drummer; a fellow student was Frank Kalimuzo. The East African Revival (Balokole) arrived that was to have a fundamental impact on his life though he did not define himself as saved until 1941 after many struggles of conscience. In the meantime he joined Barham's evangelistic teams around Kabale.

He then went to Mbarara High School on scholarship in 1937 and planned to go to King's College, Budo, but these hopes were dashed, and he went on teacher training at Bishop Tucker College. His mother died in 1943 and he returned home to arrange relatives to look after his three siblings and 300 cows. He began to preach with outreach teams when he was teacher at Makobore School between 1943-5, first translating for Joe Church, a leading evangelical preacher, and then in his own right.

In 1943 he married Merabu Nyiranzangye, daughter of Miranda who had been 2nd in command to his grandfather. She was educated at Kabale Girls Boarding School and Teacher Training College at Buloba, Kampala, she had begun to teach she was 14 years old.

In 1946 they went to Dodoma, Tanganyika (now Tanzania). He taught and became involved in evangelical preaching; this was not popular among the Church elders and he was banished from public preaching but continued to teach at home, which resulted in him being threatened with excommunication. By 1950 the revival was accepted and he became a leader in church circles, evangelising all over the country until 1956.

Between 1957-9 he attended London University and lectured in Christian Unions around London. He then returned to Uganda, but almost immediately went on his first international trip to Australia, where he preached to Aborigines, Solomon Islands and New Guinea. In 1960 he became Schools Supervisor in Kigezi District, a post he held for two years. He moved against the tide when he preached against religious party politics when it had become a major factor in pre-independence politics.

In 1961 he translated for Billy Graham, then on a lecture tour in East Africa, and later attended a church leader's conference in Switzerland. In 1962 he became a full-time evangelist, which was the start of an international career that led to visits to over 50 countries over the next 30 years. In 1963 he attended the inaugural All African Conference of Churches held in Makerere University.

Between 1964-7 he studied for the priesthood in Pittsburgh, USA, with a scholarship and graduated with a Master of Divinity. He was ordained deacon and priest by Richard Lyth, last European Bishop of Kigezi (son-in-law of Stanley Smith), at Kabale in 1967. In 1968 he was a cofounder of the African Evangelistic Enterprise with Billy Cassidy, a South African evangelist.

In 1972 he was elected bishop of Kigezi, 11,000 attended the celebrations. He threw himself into diocesan administration but still attended major international conferences, such as the Lausanne Congress. He held one of the first ecumenical services in 1975 and opened a secondary school for girls in 1977. This was during the dictatorship of Idi Amin of whom he was a vocal critic, particularly against the public executions taking place in Kabale.

Violence increased and the country lived in fear especially when Archbishop Janani Luwum was murdered in 1978 after a joint letter from the bishops when their houses were raided. He was forced to flee to Rwanda with Mera and they remained in exile until 1980, when 25,000 welcomed his return in Kabale.

From 1980 he was involved in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Uganda, which proved to very difficult during the second Obote presidency of whom he became equally critical particularly during the Banyrwanda refugee crisis; he was a supporter of Musaveni when the latter came to power in the 1986, even though evangelist John Wilson was murdered by a Kampala mob.

In 1981 he was awarded the Cross of St. Augustine by Dr. Runcie, Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1983, amid controversy, he ordained the first three women priests of the Anglican community; they had been deacons since 1979. He continued his hectic lifestyle and oversaw Kabale Jubilee celebrations. In 1988 he fell ill and was eventually diagnosed with leukaemia. He was anointed by many fellow bishops including Desmond Tutu and died soon after. Over 20,000 attended the funeral services that took place over the next days, 24 hours a day.

During his long and fruitful life he wrote the following books: Jesus Our Reality (1973), Love Unlimited (1975), When God Moves (1976), I love Idi Amin (1977), The Spirit is moving (1979), Hope for Uganda and the World: the Secret Rehabilitation (1980) and Revolutionary Love (1983),

Archbishop Desmond Tutu wrote:

“He is now a wonderful part of the cloud of witnesses around us urging us on in the race that is set before us”

Muhumuza

Muhumuza was born around 1870; she was daughter of Nkanza and one of the junior wives of King Rwabugiri of Rwanda. On his death in 1895 he nominated and was succeeded by his son Minabwambe who was defeated (he committed suicide) in a power struggle against the Beega family of another brother Yuhi V Musinga (he was 15 years old) in 1897. An alternative by Bessel, perhaps quoting Muhumuza, is that it was her son Bulegeya (according to Bessel born around 1895) who was nominated and that his uncle, Minabwambe, was regent.

Musinga's mother, Nyaranyuhi V Kanjogeyra, apparently decided to kill all of Rwabugiri's children by his other wives to protect her son, which caused a mass exodus of them and their children including Muhumuza and her son. The power struggle split Rwanda into two factions, north against south. However the take over by the Germans in 1897 tilted the balance of power in favour of Musinga, as a youth he was probably easier to control, as they supported him and used their superior military strength to mercilessly crush dissent.

She was based in Ndorwa and led a coalition against Musinga claiming that her son was the rightful heir but was repulsed by German forces that captured her in Kamwezi in 1908; she was interned for two years in Bukoba, Tanganyika and was either released or escaped in 1911. In early years she was not anti-European; she met Fr. Dufays near Lutobo in 1903 and was friendly, but made it difficult for him to supply his porters with food and refused him permission to set up a mission. The 1908 Boundary commission also had problems with her, according to Capt. Jack,

“On our boundary commission of 1908 we had some experience of this particular lady; she made herself most obnoxious in one way or another. The wretched Bakiga were in the greatest distress and fled in hundreds to Kumba.”

She also claimed she forced the commission to move, a great victory; Jack assumed she had foreknowledge of their plans, which would not have been difficult.

While imprisoned colonial authorities in Rwanda and Kigezi had cemented their control and she found it much more difficult to reassert herself. She later claimed to be queen of Ndorwa though her motives for this are unclear since her main aim was to reclaim the Rwandan throne rather than reclaim independence for Ndorwa, which had been previously conquered by Rwanda.

She had begun to practice as a Nyabingi medium but it's not known when whether she was one before or became one after exile; she subsequently claimed to be a personification of Nyabingi; all her rituals were imbued with royal symbolism. She instructed her followers to search for the sacred drum, Kalinga, which was the symbol of Rwandan royal power and claimed that when it was found her son would become king.

All his followers would receive many cows that would come from underground – this was in the post rinderpest epidemic when most cattle had died and those that survived were vulnerable to rustling by armed gangs. She also predicted that they would be invulnerable and that bullets would turn to water, a common motif of rebel propaganda.

She was later described by a DC

“By dint of years of training, she has acquired a high falsetto voice and professes inability to walk normally, her method of position being on tip-toe in a crouching position with the aid of two sticks. The chiefs with scarcely an exception trembled whenever her look was directed towards them.”

He also claimed that she made:

“Most notable efforts to exercise some form of hypnotism over me”

She received homage from many Bakiga including the  Bainika of Bukinda, Batimbo and Burundo of Kigata, Bazigaaba of Kyanamira, Bahurwa of Mwisi, Bagyeri of Kamuganguzi, Banyangabo of Rwena as well as the Batwa under the leadership of Basebye.

One of her allies was Lukara Iwa Bishingwa, a Bahutu chief and bandit, whose father had been shot by askari in the Congo and grandfather tortured by Rwabigiri. He had sworn a blood feud against all Batutsi and Europeans and had murdered Fr. Loupais of Rwaza mission but was delivered to Germans by Bulegya as a gesture of good faith when she believed that they were still potential allies. He was tried and sentenced to death but on the way to execution he seized a bayonet from an askari and was shot while trying to escape.

Other Bakiga refused to support her including the Basigi of Kagarama; they had no sympathy for any Batutsi leaders given their own history, the Baheesi; the latter were raided by her forces but were repulsed with loss of 40 men and houses, and Katuregye who she left alone. The Basigi leader, Ruagalla, reported her to the English and claimed protection. She was equally forceful with any Bakiga who refused to accept her.

Her relationship with Nyindo, who controlled Bafumbira, is not known, but it was unlikely to be friendly as he was a Musinga loyalist having been appointed by him. In 1911 she established her headquarters at Ihanga (near Kabale) and, faced with this insult to the “interests of British prestige”, a military force of King's African Rifles, local police and supporters in 1911 attacked her camp and, after a battle, defeated her forces and captured her after she was wounded in the foot attempting to escape.

Figure 70 “The Witch-Doctor Mumusa. Mumusa is the central figure. Near her are her women and followers. Behind her are K.A.R., askaris, native levies, etc.” (Jack 1911)

The above photo was likely to have been taken at Ihanga directly after the battle. She has been asked to stand for the photo but may not know why; her followers obviously don’t know what a camera is. Her pained expression many be due to a foot wound received during battle, which is why she is using her staff as a crutch – who knows what she is thinking. The soldiers know what a camera is; they are all posing. Most seem to be Muslims including Nubians, judging by the caps. One obvious exception is the man to her right with crucifix – he is Catholic.

The arrest caused complications because Kigezi had not yet been formally incorporated into the Uganda Protectorate therefore the Kigezi administration had no power to try her, so the Governor ordered her to be deported to Kampala.

Because she was unable to look after herself she was allowed four servants and some cows. By 1930 this had grown to 15 courtiers and servants and she 'admitted' to 70 cows; in other words it appears that the English didn't know how many she had, surprising given her status and veterinary controls on cattle movements.

This appears to have grown over the years as it was described as a retinue of men and women later and she derived the most of her income from the sale of milk in Kampala. No doubt she also had income and gifts from secret visitors from south-west Uganda, Congo and Rwanda, many whom she taught and initiated into Nyabingi rituals, though authorities tried to prevent these. She appears to have had a successful comfortable life as an exiled royal with her own private court.

Unlike other rebel leaders who were interned for shorter periods the English were afraid to let her go such was the reputation of her power, a rumour in 1926 that she was to be released was an excuse for local celebrations and authority's paranoia. The Western Provincial Commissioner stated in 1920:

“It would be a grave mistake to allow her to return to Kigezi for I am confident that she would, in a very short time, be the cause of serious trouble... the cost of suppressing a native outbreak in

Rukiga, which Muhumusa would be quite capable of causing about the middle of the next beer drinking season might be very considerable, not only in money but in lives."

In the 1930s local chiefs were adamant that she should not return, though the then DC was then less dogmatic about the issue.

Meanwhile the fate of her son, Bulegye, is unknown; Bessel says that after her capture he joined Basebye but then disappears and it was Ndungutsi who inherited the leadership as her 'son'.

According to Bessel (a colonial cadet officer who served in Kigezi as a):

"An extraordinary woman... and fighting for a just cause with very little more than necessary violence, she deserved to attain her object and certainly would have but for European intervention"

and, when he met her in the 1930s,

"She is over 60 years of age but still has all her wits about her and is a lively talker. Fate has certainly dealt hardly with her, for the success which she missed by a short interval of three years would have made her a very much honoured Queen-Mother with far more than the usual measure of influence and authority at the court of the Mwami of Ruanda."

Her influence continued into the 1960s, according to Fr. Geraud:

"She is working miracles in the imagination of people looking for an income"

And to the present day. The publication of a photo, taken after her capture at the Battle of Ihanga, of her, her ladies and askaris led to 40,000 hits within ten days. The main attractions were her gender and that she was a Nyabingi medium, warrior and resister of colonialism.

Nicolet Joseph

A White Father who was very influential in Kigezi but about whom little is known. He founded many churches and schools including Chihe, Kinanira, Busengo, Muramba and Mutolere (where he was based from 1929) in Bafumbira. He was involved in the survey of the current Kabale to Kisoro road, c. 1930, and wrote a biography of Yowana Kitegana, and other historical and ethnological articles, mostly in French.

Ndungutsi

There were least four anti-colonial rebels with this name. The first was either a birth or adopted son of Muhumuza who was a claimant of the Rwandan throne and was active from 1909 until 1912 when he was killed by German forces in northern Rwanda. He was a popular leader among the anti-Musinga coalition but resistance collapsed through state-inspired arson, intimidation and martial law.

Another appeared in Kigezi and claimed to be King of Rukiga; he joined forces with Katuregye but was captured mobilising resistance in 1913 and deported to Jinja, where he died in 1918 (probably the one mentioned by Ngologoza who died of smallpox). Another is associated with the Musaire Kasente movement of 1928, who escaped capture and disappeared.

Yet another claimant was captured mobilising local people and collecting tribute in 1938; he was convicted for failure to pay poll tax (an easily substantiated charge) and imprisoned. There were others who made similar claims to this name because he had become an inspiration for resistance. Ngologoza records another in the late 1960s that lived in Karame, Ankole, who was a noted rain-maker and recipient of offerings; some believed he would become king. The use of the name has since declined and is now legendary.

## Ntokiibiri

Ntokiibiri was a Bahunde mugirwa of the Bungura clan from Bwintu in Buhunde, Congo whose original name is unknown. He had two nicknames, the first, Ntokiibiri, is translated as 'Two Fingers'; the second, Bichu-Birenga as 'Clouds roll by, only seen when almost gone2 is in honour of his elusiveness. He is called Mutiwinde Ndochibiri in the British Museum (according to J.E.T. Philipps).

He first appears as a rebel commander around 1912. After 1915 he became the most important leader of anti-colonial resistance. He specialised in guerrilla warfare that proved to be extremely difficult to counter and he controlled large parts of Kigezi for the next three years.

During WWI, on his way to Rwanda, he consulted with Itemboro, a Nyabingi mugirwa, at Mumpimbi, Congo, regarding help in expelling Europeans from Rwanda. He told Itemboro that he had a white sheep that had special powers that would drive the Europeans out. It became a symbol of resistance and came with him everywhere.

He then joined the Belgians who were fighting the Germans at Nyakabanda, Bafumbira, for unclear reasons though he spent time collecting guns from dead soldiers. He married Nyiramusuba of Mulera but then the Belgians, suspicious of his motives, burnt him out and he escaped to Nyakishenyi.

There he teamed up with Keigirirwa (Kanziga), Nyineigura, Ruhemba (a Mushaki) and assisted in planning the Nyakishenyi revolt of 1917 ,though he did not take part. He travelled around Kigezi fomenting rebellion but with mixed success, like Muhumuzu he was unable to win the Kagarama Basigi to his side.

After the Nyakishenyi conflict Ntokibiiri travelled around Kigezi seeking blood brotherhood pacts with various clans to build up a force to attack Kabale. His last visit was to Rwagara, leader of the Basigi, but after they made a pact the latter declined to give military help fearing the consequences; he suggested that Ntokibiiri first take Ikumba and, if he was successful, he would easily raise troops to attack Kabale.

There is conflict as to how he died. The first comes from Ssebalija who says he was betrayed by Bikaaku, chief of Rubanda in June 1919; when they arrived at his house demanding tribute he received them cordially, invited them to a meal and then sent messengers to the DC who sent askaris who surrounded the house and fired after he refused to surrender. On the way there Ntokiibiri and his men had stopped at Kashongati to cook a sheep that Rwagara had given them. They were spotted when they went to Bikaaku's house the next morning.

Ntokiibiri attempted to escape but was captured, three others were killed and the rest scattered. He was then tortured for the names of his allies and he apparently named many; some were English loyalists, or so they claimed. He was then beaten to death but it was reported as by bullet as the askaris were afraid of the possible consequences if they told the truth.

They apparently claimed that Ntokiibiri died instantly while a confederate, Ruhemba, committed suicide rather than be captured; others were killed or captured. The torture story is from Karwemera (1972) and is based on the testimony of Rurenga, a friend of Ntokibiiri, who apparently was an eye witness. He was incriminated by Ntokiibiri but testimony of friends from within the colonial administration saved him.

However according to Bessel he died during a military engagement in June 1919 at Ikumba where his band was wiped out; they had been planning to attack Kabale. A messenger had been captured and revealed their location, which led to a night attack; they fought to last man and broke their rifles crying out that

“We will not look upon a white man: He shall not have our iron but a curse.”

However all agree that subsequently Ntokiibiri's right hand was cut off, it had only two fingers, dried and displayed on the DC's veranda to prove to local people that he was dead. Later he was exhumed; his head cut off and sent to Kampala with the hand. The skull ended up in the British Museum where it was on display in the 1930s, it is currently in storage. Its height is 16 centimetres, width, 13 centimetres and depth, 21 centimetres. Among Philipps' 41 donations, a charm necklace is identified as from him.

## Ngologoza Paul

Paul Ngologoza was born in Kabale district c. 1897. He wasn't formally education, apart from baptismal lessons, and was baptised in Kitabi, Ankole, in 1927. Originally he was a domestic servant to Baganda chiefs and benefited from their expulsion in 1929 in common with some other Bakiga servants, though they had problems of acceptance by traditional Bakiga elders due to their low birth status. His success was built on tact, diplomacy and good relationships among the Bakiga elite and English administration even though his knowledge of English and Swahili was minimal.

He was appointed mukungu in 1925, gombororo chief in 1929 and saza chief of Kinkiizi in 1936. He was deeply involved in the inspection, development and implementation of the Resettlement Schemes, 1946-60. He was appointed first Secretary General of Kigezi in 1946. He was subsequently re-elected and held the position until 1955. In 1956 he was appointed chief judge of

Kigezi and stepped down in 1959 when he was appointed chairman of the Appointments Board. He retired in 1960.

He visited the Vatican in the 1950s and is thought to be the first Bakiga ever to fly; he was probably the first to make an international flight. He was awarded an OBE and KSG for his services. He is best known for Kigezi n'Abantu Baamwo, published in 1967, and later translated by Benoni Turyahikayo-Rugyema and Donald Denoon in 1968 as Kigezi and its Peoples. He died in 1984.

## Nyakairima

Nyakairama was a well known 19th century prophet in Kigezi and Ankole. He was born c. 1838 at Katonjo and was son of Muzoora with a genealogy back to Muhanga, Father of the People. He had three sons and descendants who were still alive in the 1960s.

He made many predictions that are listed in Kigezi and its Peoples, some of his pronouncements are reminiscent of Nostradamus and can be interpreted in many different ways. Normally he focused on the near future, predicting the sex of unborn children, death and topics of immediate relevance to his audience. He died in 1893 during a yaws epidemic but nobody is sure where, Rwere, Bufundi and Kobutungu are possibilities.

## Nyindo

Nyindo is reputed to have been related to King Musinga of Rwanda, maybe a son or nephew of Rwabugiri, who appointed him chief of Bafumbira; his appointment was confirmed by the English but they imposed a Buganda agent, Abdulla Namunye, to run the saza as per English methods.

He had divided loyalties as his main loyalty was to the Rwandan monarchy to which he paid tribute while he also submitted to the colonial administration. The English were ambivalent and allowed him to pay tribute as an individual but not as chief. He was fined 50 cows for his role of the kidnap and murder of a CMS teacher Kalemarima in Rwanda in 1913.He was unhappy with his diminution of power, particularly as he had to defer to Namunye.

At the outbreak of WWI in 1914 he received a message from King Musinga, probably under German orders, not to co-operate with the English. This led to conflict, first with Namunye and then with colonial forces from 1914; he had seen that the European war could be turned to his advantage.

However the Belgian capture of Kigali in 1916 ended German involvement; he returned to Kigezi in that year and was arrested. He was exiled, without losing his prerogatives, to Masindi and died on his return in 1924 in Kayonza.

## Philipps James Erasmus Tracy

James Erasmus Tracy Philipps was a talented and experienced district commissioner who had a stellar career and played an important role in the 'pacification' of Kigezi, 1914-17 and 1918-21, and dealing with the Musaire Kasente rebellion and its aftermath, c. 1928-30. He is elusive (because he was an intelligence offer?) and the best partial biography, quoted below, is in an Dix, Noonan and Webb auctioneer's online catalogue when ten of his military and service medals were sold in 2007.

“James Erasmus Tracy Philipps was born on 20 November 1888, the son of John Erasmus Philipps and Margaret Viscountess Dillon. He was educated at Marlborough and the Universities of Oxford and Durham, gaining a B.A. and B.Litt. Commissioned into the Rifle Brigade (Reserve of Officers) in 1913; he served in East Africa, on the German East African frontier, as Political Officer and O.C. Frontier Police Company. On 8 August 1914 he was the Assistant Intelligence Officer, Indian Expeditionary Force “B”, attached to the K.A.R. On 9 September 1914 he was in command of 2,000 armed levies and native scouts. In October 1914, Philipps was in command of 25 Uganda Police and Levies maintaining a watch on the southern border of Uganda, along the River Kagera, between Kifumbiro to Nsongezi; Lieutenant-Colonel L. H. Hickson, K.A.R., being in overall command of the forces on the frontier. During this service he was twice wounded (October and December 1914) and mentioned in despatches. In June 1915 he was Political Officer to the Bukoba Expeditionary Force under Major-General J. M. Stewart and was again mentioned in despatches.

Appointed a Captain with the Kagera command Staff in January 1916; in August he became the Chief Intelligence Officer (G.S.O.3) of the Lake Command Staff, Tabora, in liaison with the Belgian Brigade du Nord. For his wartime services to that point he was awarded the Military Cross. During November 1916-March 1917 he was sent by General Smuts in charge of a Political Mission in British and Belgian areas of conquered territory; being invalided home in March. On his recovery, he was employed in the War Office with the Intelligence Staff, June-August 1917; then was similarly employed at the Admiralty, August-October 1917. He had been appointed by the War Office as major (G.S.O.2) to organise an Imperial Intelligence System for Eastern Africa, Red Sea, to Delagoa - but was unable to take up that appointment. In November 1917 he was employed by the Foreign Office and Intelligence Department on the Italian Front and in Abyssinia. In 1918, with the Arab Bureau, G.H.Q., Cairo, he was sent by the High Commissioner of Egypt to the Sudan on Special Duties. He raised two companies of Somalis, Arabs and Abyssinians for the K.A.R. and was on the Turkana Frontier Expedition, April-June 1918.

Postwar he was equally active. During 1919 he was Acting District Commissioner at Kigezi (British Ruanda), and was in charge of the final operations against the rebel Ntoki-Mbili (and the Nabingi Society) who had defied German and Anglo-Belgian forces for some seven years. In 1920 he was appointed District Judge at Kabala. In January 1921 he was attached to H.R.H. Prince William of Sweden in his scientific expedition to Africa, and subsequently made an expedition from Eastern to Western Equatorial Africa on foot through Belgian, French and Portuguese territories, via Lake Kivu. On this expedition he discovered the Lutra paraonyx philippsi, and had the dubious honour of presenting to the British Museum, the first specimen of Gorilla shot within the Empire. In September 1921 he attended the Pan-African Congress in Paris and in October was appointed British Relief Commissioner for South Russia under the

auspice of the League of Nations. As a Member of the British Committee for Moslem Refugees, 1921-22, he received the Thanks of the Ottoman Government. During March 1922 he was in charge of the inquiry, for the Red Cross, as to the reason for the Turkish Emigration from Turkish Territories under Greek occupation - for which he received the Thanks of the nationalist 'Comité de Thrace'. Following a period of sick leave, he was then employed as The Times War Correspondent in N.W. Anatolia and Thrace, during the Greco-Turkish War. During October-December 1922 he was British Liaison (Intelligence) Officer with the French Command in the Dardanelles, and with the Greek Civil Government of the Gallipoli Peninsular, until it was returned to the Turkish administration. The following year he was in Macedonia and Bulgaria with the Greek Army. Attached to the Egyptian Army in 1923, he was Commissioner for Tembura District in 1925. Between the wars he acted as a foreign correspondent; was employed by the War Office, 1939-40; was European Adviser to the Canadian Government on European Immigrant Communities, based at Ottawa, 1941-44. He was then employed as Chief of Section on Resettlement (U.N.R.R.A.) at Washington, 1944-45.

Philipps was fluent in English, French, Arabic, and had some German and Turkish and seven African languages. Was a F.R.C.S. and F.R.A.I. Was a member of the Academie des Sciences Coloniales de France; member of the Church of England Council on Foreign Relations; British member of the International Scientific Commission of Brussels; Member of the Institute of African National Parks and sometime General Secretary of the International Union for Conservation of Natural Resources. In Kelly's 1958, the award of both the Belgian Order of the Crown and Greek Order of the Redeemer are recorded.

Sold with portrait sketch of the recipient and two photographs, one entitled, 'The Greco-Bulgar Incident. Frontier-Mission, 1925'; the other, 'Sultan Missa of the Mangbetu with some of his consorts, & V. de V. & T.P., Congo, January 1935'. In addition, sold with a number of copied service papers including the recipient's 'Personal Record' which lists his many and varied services to the year 1923."

The medals sold were: Military Cross, G.V.R., unnamed;1914-15 Star (Capt., Uganda I.D.); British War and Victory Medals (Capt.); Africa General Service 1902-56, 1 clasp, East Africa 1918 (Capt., Uganda Police); 1939-45 Star; Belgium, Order of the Crown, 5th Class, silver and enamel, enamel damage to obv. centre; Turkey, Order of Medjidie, breast badge, silver, gold and enamel; Greece, Royal Order of the Redeemer, 5th Class, silver, silver-gilt and enamel; Belgium, African Campaign Medal 1914-17, bronze, mounted for wear, very fine and better. £3,000-3,500 was the auctioneer's estimate; they reached £5,200.

The above biography, whose source is unknown, is very detailed for 1913-1925, the period when the medals were awarded. Then there is a gap until 1939, when he returned to Kigezi, and a short synopsis up to 1945. He may have retired at this point; he died in 1959.

He was born in Hillintgon, Norfolk, England, his father and grandfather were Anglican clerics, descended from the Baronet Philipps of Picton Castle, Wales. His mother's family name was Ffolkes; she remarried Viscount Dillon and became Viscountess Dillon of Costello-Gallin in 1926. He attended Abingdon School prior to Marlborough.

British Ruanda was an early alternative colonial name for Bafumbira. As regards the Prince William expedition, they met and had long discussions; the Prince had a favourable opinion of Philipps. However he does not say that Philipps was attached; he did not accompany the expedition, which spent a lot of time in Belgian territory.

That he “had the dubious honour of presenting to the British Museum, the first specimen of Gorilla shot within the Empire” should perhaps read “had the dubious honour of presenting to the British Museum their first specimen of Gorilla shot within the Empire” since he wasn't the first person to shoot a gorilla in the Empire. It implies a Ugandan mountain gorilla unless it was a lowland gorilla from British West Africa. He probably shot it for the specific purpose of donating it since he had a poor opinion of gorilla slaughter by sensationalist hunters.

In travel literature of c. 1920 and 1930, Philipps is often mentioned with approval as a hard-working, dedicated and effective civil servant. Roscoe (1922) records that

“In Kigezi, Mr. Philipps, the Commissioner, had a wonderful English garden in which potatoes, turnips, carrots, celery and cauliflower grow freely. His strawberries were the finest I have seen or tasted in Africa. In addition to this garden he grows wheat and oats, grinds his own flour, and makes his own oatmeal.”

Given that Roscoe had spent over 25 years in Uganda, the strawberries must have been amazing. That he achieved this level of self-sufficiency between mid-1918 and February 1921 in Kigezi speaks highly of his many talents.

Philipps had a great interest in culture and wildlife. Pitman, Game Warden of Uganda, wrote that Philipps had a young pet gorilla that learnt how to catch mice, skin them and eat them; it died in the Spanish Influenza pandemic. The Bulletin of Entomological Research, vol. 8, 1917, records a donation of 50 Haematopota, possibly inspired by it as a disease vector. He collected a yellow backed duiker (Cephalophus sylvicultrix Ituriensis) before 1932, possibly on his 1921 expedition. His find of an otter specimen was from Lake Bunyoni (Hinton, 1921). Hinton writes that:

“(He) has diligently collected the larger mammals of his district, and has presented many valuable specimens to the British Museum.”

The Pitts River Musem has a ritual iron spearhead from Mpororo used in rainmaking ceremonies from 1921. The British Museum has a collection of 41 items mostly from Kigezi and includes Ntokiibiri's skull (pace 'dubious honour' above) and charm necklace. He wrote two articles on the Mufumbira volcanoes (1913) and Nyabingi (1928). He is the most quoted colonial official in histories of the period.

According to the above he spent 1914-7 in the area as serving officer in various military campaigns and in 1918, after the end of WWI, was appointed DC of the Kigezi colonial administration. His political role was the pacification of the district and the imposition of colonial authority and administration. According to Prince William he can be credited with the

pacification of the Batwa though some were still causing mayhem hiding out across the border up to 1920.

In late 1921, after his own expedition on foot to West Africa and attendance at the Pan-African Congress in Paris, he was appointed British Relief Commissioner for South Russia under the auspices of the League of Nations; a serious promotion.

When he returned to Kigezi in 1928, as a high-ranking internationally experienced administrator, it was to deal with the Musaire Kasente rebellion and get rid of any abuses and glaring inequalities in the system. Along the way he had issues with the C.M.S., in the midst of a voluble and volatile religious revival, concerning law and order, religious (in)tolerance and the Bwama Island leprosy colony lease. That he stayed for several years indicates how seriously the Protectorate Government took rebellion and revival in this isolated mountainous security-sensitive border district.

He married Lubka Kolessa (1902-1997), a Ukranian classical pianist and professor of piano, in Prague in 1939 but were later divorced. She had an international reputation, toured Europe and the Americas, eventually settling in Canada (there's a link on her Wikipedia biography page to her Chopin's Mazurka No. 23 in D major, Op. 33). Perhaps this is why he was a supporter and lobbyist for the Ukranian Bureau of London. Orest Martynowych (Vladimir J. (Kaye) Kysilewsky and the Ukrainian Bureau in London, 1931-1940) described him as:

“A colonial administrator, anthropologist and political correspondent, with extensive personal and family connections in high places”

He was the author of: Mufumboro - The Birunga volcanoes in Kigezi-Rwanda-Kivu. 1913; Pan-Islam In Africa, 1917; Cape To Cairo Developments, 1917; Nabingi, An Anti-European Secret Society, 1910; Ruanda Notes, 1919; Kinya-Ruanda Vocabulary, 1920; Ethiopianism, 1920; and Turkish Emigration From Eastern Thrace, 1923 but most publication details are, at this juncture are not known.

Pursglove John W

John W. Purseglove has been described as a Pioneer of Rural Development. He was the developer of the New Plan (Plani Ensya) for Kigezi and was involved in the Resettlement Schemes, 1946-52 in terms of their development and implementation and spent considerable time in advising the new settlers on agricultural techniques. His local nickname was Kyarokyezire (plenty of local ripe food) and songs in Rukiga were composed in his honour; he was a fluent speaker of Rukiga.

He was born in 1921 at Eyam, Derbyshire, UK and graduated with a BSc from Manchester University, UK. He won a scholarship from the Colonial Office and studied in Cambridge University, UK and the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, Trinidad, West Indies from where he graduated in 1936 and was appointed Agricultural Officer to Uganda the same year.

He was District Agricultural Officer for Ankole and Kigezi, 1938-9, and appointed District Agricultural Officer for Kigezi alone in 1944 where he served until 1952. He introduced soil conservation policies through propaganda, competitions and educational courses combined with enforcement via the chiefs and, after the bad weather of 1943, was instrumental in new marketing regulations and forbidding food sales and exports outside the district; these were widely ignored and licences were substituted. He suggested that resettlement would allow the land to rest more with increased fallow as he feared soil erosion, a decline in fertility and environmental degradation leading to famine.

In 1937 and 1939, he and A.C.A. Wright conducted surveys of Kitozho mutala that included demographic information, settlement history and agricultural practices of 172 households. In 1945 he conducted a further survey of 14 transects, totalling 52km, within 20km of Kabale. He measured land use, slope and length of time any one plot was under fallow. He further randomly selected 34 households and took information of size, acreage, number of plots, livestock and income generation.

He also was interested in native plant remedies and poisons and believed

“There is a fertile and as yet barely touched field for research in the study of these African medicines”

Next he was seconded by the Colonial Agricultural Service to teach Tropical Agriculture in Cambridge University, UK, 1952-4. He was appointed Director of the Botanic Gardens in Singapore, 1954-7 and then was Professor of Botany at the Imperial College, Trinidad, until 1967 when he became Advisor of Tropical Crops to the Ministry of Overseas Development in Maidstone, Kent, UK.

He published two books on Tropical Crops in 1968 (Dicotyledons in 2 vols.) and 1972 (Monocotyledons) and contributed to Plants Science Bulletin and many other journals. He died in 1991. His papers, which contain his surveys, photographs, newspaper cuttings and miscellaneous papers are held privately and his collection of plant specimens was donated to the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, UK in 1997. The plant Durio purseglovei Kosterm is called after him.

## Shalita Ernest M.

Ernest M. Shalita was born in Muhabura, Kisoro District, in 1936. He studied in Rwaramba and Seseme, 1946-52 and Mbarara High School in 1953. He later attended teacher training college in Bishop Stuart College in Mbarara, 1954-7. He subsequently taught and was headmaster of various schools in Kigezi and Kasese.

He studied for the priesthood in Bishop Tucker Theological College, 1963-5 when he was ordained deacon at St. James Cathedral, Mbarara and priest at St. Peter's Cathedral, Kabale in 1967. The following year he was transferred to found a new parish church in Kasese.

He undertook further studies in Trinity College in Bristol, UK, from 1970 to 1972 and was Diocesan Secretary and Treasurer for Kigezi diocese, 1973-7 and the first Provost of All Saints Cathedral, Kampala. He continued studies in Azusa Pacific University and Fuller Theological Seminary, 1980-2, where he graduated with a BA and MA.

On his return he was appointed Provincial Treasurer of the Church of Uganda where he served 1982-6 and was appointed Office Director of the African Evangelistic Enterprise (AEE) from 1986 until his consecration and enthronement as Bishop of Muhabura Diocese in 1990. He retired in 2001 and died in 2011.

He is well known author of a dozen books in Rufumbira and English, including the Twas of Kisoro (1996) and The Christian Influence on Traditions and Beliefs in Bufumbira (1999), over the last twenty years. These were produced by BUNTU, a Kisoro publisher.

Sharp Leonard

Leonard Ernest Steigenberger Sharp was born in London in 1890, the third child of Ernest and Mary (nee Ballance). He studied medicine in Cambridge and graduated in 1913, followed by a year at St. Thomas's as house physician.

He went to Mengo Hospital, Kampala, in 1915, followed by short stints in Mbarara and Mwanza hospitals, the latter had been taken over from the Germans following their defeat in East Africa. After an attack of dysentery he was invalided back to Mengo and dealt with outbreaks of smallpox (many hospital staff died), dysentery, cholera and bubonic plague during 1916-17.

In 1919 he and Algernon Stanley Smith applied to the CMS to set up the Ruanda Medical Mission and, after some debate, they were granted four years salary but they had to fund their own expenses. Due to complicated negotiations with the Belgian government that went on for years they were unable to go to Rwanda immediately and Kigezi became the next best option. He arrived in Kabale in 1921 with his wife Esther (nee Macdonald); they had married in 1920. Their first child, Robin, died of dysentery soon after birth in the same year.

He was appointed District Medical Officer and served until 1928; he received £480 pa. He was responsible for medical safaris, the enforcement of public health measures and surveys of typhus, sleeping sickness, yaws and leprosy. After the arrival of Stanley Smith he took primary responsibility for Rujumbura and Kinkiizi.

He had a great talent in the design and construction of buildings and built many hospitals, churches and schools in the district. Esther was a talented horticulturist whose gardens were a magnet for visitors with flowers, vegetables and fruit, including strawberries, raspberries, gooseberries, oranges, lemons, mulberries, figs and custard apples. His menagerie included, at various times, three dogs, two puppies, a cat, three baby leopards, swamp otters and a civet cat, locally known as Mondo for his nine lives.

He introduced a sun-dried brick industry for the first hospital and collected papyrus for the roofs. The first temporary ward had 12 beds and opened officially in 1922 with 50 beds with an English

matron assisted by native nurses and women orderlies, including Batwa. It was closed in 1940 when the government opened Kabale hospital but continued for outpatients and emergencies for some years after. Meanwhile local dispensaries were set up that covered all minor complaints and medical safaris were phased out.

In 1926 he built the first church at Rugarama, St. Peter's Cathedral, and the first school, now Kigezi High School. One of their earliest pupils was Kosiya Shalita from Gahini who later became headmaster; he was ordained 1933, and later became bishop of Ankole and Kigezi.

In 1930 a leprosy colony was set up on Bwama Island (see Lake Bunyonyi section). In 1933 he transferred to Matana, Burundi, where he ran the mission until 1942. Bill Church has a vignette from this period which shows his versatility:

“I can picture him now standing on the tower of Matana Church directing the building of the turrets. A nurse arrived and shouted. He let down a string. The message came up 'obstructed labour'. He sent down a reply, 'Cook instruments. Down in ten minutes'.”

May Langley, first nurse of Bwama Leprosy Settlement, wrote that:

“He is a wonderful kind of a person, engineer, builder, gardener, parson, agriculturalist, physician, surgeon rolled into one”.

In 1942 he returned to Bwama and Kabale full time except for 1944 when he surveyed mission hospitals and leprosy settlement in Tanganyika for the government. This period was not easy as he had various disagreements with some on the local Executive Committee over his commitment to the Revival. He argued that the Revival was unbalanced due to its emphasis on personal testimonies at the cost of knowledge and understanding of the Bible.

He was marginalised by some in the mission and the Executive Committee became an ordeal; “It nearly killed him” was a later comment by one committee member. As a result he withdrew from committee work and concentrated on medical and religious affairs, including the conversion and setting up of Kisiizi Hospital, which was first managed by his son John, who died young in 1966 from a brain tumour.

The conflict may have been a reason why he did not receive honorary blood brotherhood with Hornby and Smith, awarded by the Kigezi District Council in January 1968. It may be speculated that he was nominated but acceptance blocked.

He officially retired in 1955, aged 65, but he and Esther continued to live on Bwama until 1961. She was diagnosed with angina and high-blood pressure and was advised to live at sea level. Both had suffered from a variety of medical complaints; he was vulnerable to tropical diseases while she was diabetic. They moved to Mombasa where she died the following year. He continued to live quietly beside the sea, cared for by his daughter Mary, where he tended to the beach-side villages until his death in 1976, and aged 82.

He had various local nicknames: Rutasheka, Mwami and Eyebrows while Esther was known as Kirungi – attributes of compassion and generosity.

The text below is from his grandson, Andrew Sharp, based on what he wrote for a display on Njuyera-Sharp's Island concerning the history of the island and his grandparents' part in it. The website of his novel The Ghosts of Eden has some historical pictures of the island.

"My grandfather came to Uganda from England in 1914 and started working in Kigezi in 1921. He and his wife, Esther, stayed in East Africa for the rest of their lives. Life in Kigezi in those early days was tough and they lost their first son to dysentery at 18 months. As missionaries they also helped to establish the Christian churches in the area and with their friends Dr Algernon and Zoe Stanley Smith they started the Ruanda Mission, which is well known to Anglican churchgoers in Kigezi.

Dr Leonard Sharp and Mrs Esther Sharp, two Protestant missionaries, arrived in southern Uganda in 1921, three years after the end of the war. Len, a Cambridge medical graduate, worked at Kabale hospital and was shocked by the suffering of those with leprosy. Leprosy was common in those days and could result in hideous deformities. Treatment involved painful weekly injections of hydnocarpus oil which might have to be administered for years. Len was determined to set up an effective treatment and rehabilitation programme. The deserted Bwama Island was an ideal location for this and he was granted permission to use Bwama, Bushara and Njuyera islands. With his team he built villages, a hospital, a school and a church with a tall steeple on Bwama. Patients and their families were invited to come and live in the new villages so they could receive help and treatment. The project was a success and at its peak about 47,000 injections were being given a year. By 1948 there were 1.000 residents on Bwama. Many were treated successfully and returned to their home villages.

The Sharps set up a tent on the nearby deserted Habakara island and built a house. They called it The White Cottage (Njuyera) after Len's parents' home on the Isle of Wight in England. The island was almost devoid of vegetation when the Sharps arrived but over the years Esther created a spectacular garden: lemon and guava trees fruited; canna lilies, flame lilies and roses bloomed; a lawn swept all the way down from the house to a beach on the north end of the island; a tennis court was levelled using volcanic ash from the nearby volcanoes. Stephen Lister visited in the 1950s, while researching his book In Search of Paradise. and wrote that it was "not only the loveliest and most delightful spot I saw in Africa, but I am also tempted to say in the world". The "island of his dreams" appeared "through a light opalescent haze. The house was there, beautifully shabby, as though it was a natural part of the island. The green lawns, cropped and velvety, swept down to the water's edge. It was like seeing a ghost, so faithfully did it tally with my dream picture".

Len built a boat house and a guest cottage and made a windmill at the southern end of the island to pump water to the house. The main house was rebuilt twice, the last having three porches framed with white roses that each gave views of the lake from three sides of the house. Len also built sailing and motor boats for the use of the hospital on Bwama and for the family. When a flying boat was abandoned on the lake (it couldn't take off again due to the altitude) he used the floats as hulls.

By the mid 1950s advances in medical treatment meant that patients could return to the mainland to be treated in local clinics. Len and Esther Sharp left Njuyera – Sharp's Island in 1961 to retire to Mombasa. They bequeathed the island to the Church of Uganda. Leprosy is now eradicated in Kigezi but Dr Len and Esther Sharp are not forgotten.

Their son John Sharp was born and brought up in Kigezi, he went to London for his medical training and then returned to Kigezi as a medical missionary with the Ruanda Mission. A fluent Ruchiga speaker, he started Kisiizi Hospital (formerly a flax factory set up by Italian prisoners of war in WW2) in 1958 with his wife, Doreen. He died in 1966 at the age of 35 of a brain tumour, but the hospital has continued to thrive and his wife, aged 81, went to the fiftieth anniversary celebrations in 2008. This was attended by the President Museveni, whom John Sharp treated for a minor ailment, when he was a boy".

Figure 71 Drs. Sharp and Smith, 1940s

Stanley Smith Algernon

Algernon Stanley Smith was born in 1890 in China, the son of Stanley Smith, a well-known missionary to China, and Sophie Rueter, a Norwegian missionary, who died in 1891. He went to Cambridge in 1908, graduated as doctor in 1914 and spent one year in St. George's Hospital. He was Medical Officer in Belgium during WWI and was twice mentioned in dispatches and awarded the Military Cross for bravery tending to wounded soldiers.

In late 1915 he transferred to Mengo Hospital, Kampala and worked there till 1919 when he returned to England when he married Zoe Sharp, sister of Dr. Len Sharp. The same year the two doctors applied to the CMS to set up the Ruanda Medical Mission and, after some debate, they were granted four years salary but they had to fund their own expenses. Due to complicated negotiations with the Belgian government that went on for years they were unable to go to Rwanda immediately. He returned to Mengo and arrived in Kabale with his wife and first child, Nora, in 1922.

He took charge of the Rukiga part of Kigezi but took part in medical safaris as far north as Lake Edward. He focused on education and was co-founder of Kigezi High School and many other schools in the district. Zoe was active in missionary affairs and set up a Mother's Union.

He was appointed Field Secretary to the Ruanda Mission in 1933 and they moved to Kigeme, Rwanda. From 1940 they were based in Ibuye, Burundi.

He retired in 1955, aged 65, and they moved to Mbarara where they lived for 21 years. He worked on translations of the Bible, Scripture Union notes, language teaching for new missionaries, other translations and outreach for Rwandan refugees (1959 and 1962).

The Bible had been originally translated into Runyankole, which was understood by Rukiga speakers but there were cultural differences, which necessitated a new translation. He led a committee with Petero Kalebye of Kigezi and Eliezer Mugimba of Ankole who led their respective language teams. This was completed in 1962 when the first copies went on sale after about six years of work and consultation.

He loved fast driving and at 80 drove at 80mph between Kabale and Kampala. He was locally called Onwonyi - salt, than a rare commodity.

He suffered a heart attack in 1975 and, in 1977, returned to Chorleywood, UK, where he died in 1978, aged 88. Zoe died 1980, also aged 88.

* * *

Chapter 5.2

## Lake Bunyoni

### Introduction

Lake Bunyoni is a drowned valley at 1,950m altitude. It is 61km2 in area, is 25km long, 8km wide and c. 40m deep, it may be slightly deeper in isolated spots but the theory, of unknown origin, that it is 900m deep is incorrect. Typical of such lakes, there are 29 islands, mostly in the centre, and countless inlets. The lake has no bilharzias, crocodiles and hippos making it a safe destination for water sports and activities. The lake appears on the previous 5,000 Ugandan shilling note under the title 'Lake Bunyonyi and Terraces'.


Figure 72 Cranes over the lake (Martin De Depories)

Origins
It is a young lake formed when a lava flow from a volcanic eruption dammed the exit north of Muko about 10,000 years ago. Local mountain-building is due to a combination of intense rifting and back tilting of the landscape by earth movements. The process began in Tertiary times in association with the formation of the Western Rift valley and is ongoing.

Translation
There are two options; it is called after the Bunyon(y)i clan (see their history below) or is translated as the Place of the Little Birds. The first literary reference to the clan origin is from Fr. Geraud (1972), a White Father, who spent many years researching the history, culture and religion of Bakiga and was one of a network of White Fathers who were active knowledgeable historians in Uganda, Rwanda and the DR Congo.

The first literary reference to birds comes from CMS missionaries of the early 1920s. These missionaries had little interest in the history, culture and religion of Kigezi and were probably not even aware of the existence of the Banyon(y)i. Also, if their source was the Basigi it is possible that the missionaries were misinformed as the Basigi might have found it expedient to 'forget' the Banyon(y)i.

They had, after all, conquered them and ejected them from their ancestral lands. It appears that most Basigi have successfully forgotten the Banyon(y)i, particularly Basigi hoteliers. From a historical perspective the clan origin is more reliable though the bird translation is now the most common.

That leaves the question of how the lake's name should be spelled. In colonial and travel literature the lake is mostly spelled Bunyoni, which implies that is how it was pronounced. This not necessarily significant, the majority of native Rukiga say Bunyoni nowadays. Due to recent spelling reforms it has become Bunyonyi since enyonyi is the current spelling of birds. But this just perpetuates the possible mistranslation.

There is also a possible in-built bias from hotels and lake service enterprises in that 'place of the little birds' is a much better marketing than some Bashambo pagan rulers who everyone has forgotten, obliterated from folk memory.

How did the Bunyon(y)i pronounce their name? Is it spelled with one or two 'y's? This remains to be researched; interviewing clan elders is the recommended first step.

This work uses one 'y' since it remains to be proven that two 'y's is correct while quotations are spelled as found.

Vegetation

Originally the highlands were covered in mixed tropical rain forest that came to the lake shores on all sides. Over time the trees were whittled away and due to its popularity as a place of settlement the forests disappeared and in their place terraced fields covered the hills. Hill tops were probably last to go under the unrelenting pressure for land, though here are some early references to now-disappeared stands by the lake shore. The early 20th century saw the last of most native trees that were replaced by eucalyptus. Only remnants of original vegetation survive in isolated pockets.

This is in marked contrast to the 1930s when according to the Worthingtons (1933)

“From their tops at a thousand feet above surface of the lake to the water's edge the bounding walls of Bunyoni are clothed with trees and thick vegetation of a dark pine-coloured green. Here and there the general velvety look is interrupted where natives have cleared a patch and planted a few banana trees round their huts. These clearings mostly occur on the western side for some obscure reason, and families find the living easy and pleasant at an average day temperature of 750 F and cool bracing nights.

The plentiful sunshine encourages the easy growth of the staple millet; cows, sheep, goats and chickens graze on the coarse grass and small fish thrive in the cool waters. In the bays and arms of the lake a quiet and peaceful population live in comfort and plenty. Their huts are built chiefly overlooking the swamps that lie in the sheltered bays; there are not a great number of them and large stretches of the countryside are still given over to forest and animal life.

He, Edgar, was Director of the Government Fish Survey and she, Stella, was a biologist. They spent two months at the lake and may have surveyed and drawn the lake map. It looks like a copy of a work in progress. Depths had been finished but only the southern section shows marshes, the northern is blank. The only place names are Chabahinga, Bufundi and Mukko. It shows the road to Kabale and the 'Uganda Congo Boundary'.

The deepest point in the lake at that time was 39.3m (130') opposite and north of Bufundi peninsula. The central and northern parts were over 35m while the two southern arms were below 25m. Interestingly some headlands are now islands (Itambira and Bukomi) indicating the lake level has risen, probably due to a rise of sediment at the Muko outflow. Bwama Island also looks to have been larger. A possible factor is the infilling of the swamp at Muko, 1930-1, when

the road to Kisoro was being laid. That took an enormous amount of work; original estimates of costs, time and labour were badly underestimated. The Game Department's Annual Report, 1937, records a rise of four feet in the context of drowned duck beds; the duck population plummeted in the short term.

Depths have increased but are affected by soil erosion. Deposits would have increased significantly from the 1930s as forests were cleared and soil was bared to be washed away by the rain before terracing became established in these newly cleared plots.

Figure 73 Farm cluster with sorghum drying in the courtyard

Hydrology

The first investigations of the lake appear in the early 1930s when the lake was recorded as being stratified in common with many other such lakes in East Africa. The East African Fisheries Research Organisation Annual Report, 1954/1955, stated:

"After starting hydrological observations on Lake Bunyoni, as mentioned in our last report, arrangements were made with the Agricultural Officer stationed at Kabale to continue with the recording of temperature and oxygen values at various depths. Unfortunately these observations could not be continued for long, as the officer concerned was transferred. However, over the period 14.10.53 to 6.2.54 it was established that the lake was stratified and that the lower levels were devoid of oxygen. There are reasons for believing that this lake remains stratified for long periods."

Fish

Due to the circumstances of the lake's formation fish have never been found in any quantity so fishing was never part of the pre-colonial economy. Subsistence fishing predominated in the colonial period, usually clarias species. The lake is permanently stratified in the deeper parts and the water below 15m is free of oxygen, which makes it difficult for the breeding of the common species, Nile Perch and Tilapia. Currently there are five major species though only Mud Fish grow to any large size, also present are Crayfish and Mirrowcarp.

Fish have been introduced at various times from, perhaps, as early as 1912. In the first introduction fish from Lake Victoria were transferred by relay in pots of regularly replaced fresh water first to Butobere and then to the lake sometime later. J. H. G. Mac Dougal, ADC from 1911 until before 1921 and J. E. T. Phillips, DC 1918-21, were the Colonial officials responsible. In 1921 the district annual report said that Nsonzi were doing very well and natives were now allowed to catch them, which resulted in increased trade in Kabale. A pot of fish was transferred to Lake Chahafi around that time.

In 1922 it was noted that Bufundi natives found it profitable and it was a boon to district tax receipts. The following year a special report on the fish trade was submitted within the context of 'slack trade' in the district. The main market was Kampala and trucks came specifically to transfer the catches. As with other produce trade control passed from local to Indian merchants, which affected local tax receipts.

By the late 1920s catches declined, possibly because of over-fishing, and fishing was banned to allow them to recover. Another introduction was in 1927 when fish were transferred from Lake Edward using the same method of relay teams. Worthington advised a limit of 15cm but this was found to make little difference. Meanwhile Kampala fish prices were low. In 1932, 96 Tilapia were transferred from Kenya. One of the reported side-effects of this introduction was the extinction of frogs though this is questionable given that frogs were regularly sold in markets much later.

In the mid 1960s it was stated by L. C. Beadle, that:

“The fishery is of some local importance, but productivity is low and there is a history... of unsuccessful introductions of fish. However, in view of its size and location in a highly populated region, greater efforts have been made to increase the fishery which is now based on an inadequate population of introduced Tilapia nilotica.”

However they died out en masse at various times since, volcanic gas activity is a possible cause. Another 300,000 Nile Tilapia and Claries were stocked around 2002.

There were vague plans, about ten years ago, to introduce factory fish farming but these were never actively pursued and, given the many problems associated with modern day aquaculture, this may not be a bad thing. Since the mid-1950s fish ponds away from the lake have became common.

Crayfish are reported to be tasty. A favourite method of children to catch small fish is a bent pin on a string with some bread for bait.

Other Species

Otters and frogs were very common but have declined significantly. The latter, called encere, were eaten in large quantities but now aren't part of local diet. As late as 1949, frogs were regularly sold in Kirambo market. In 1937 it was noted that all frogs had a white swelling on the eyelids caused by the parasitism of a nematode worm, this was only recorded in Lake Bunyoni.

Otter huntig was popular; Pitman records the scene in the 1930s

“In Lake Bunyonyi, local natives spend most of their weekends (in the afternoons) otter hunting. When eight to a dozen dug-outs co-operate it is a noisy business and rather picturesque. (These hunts give the natives a great deal of exercise and excitement). In spite of the usual disappointment, they evidently afford much enjoyment. The otter usually escapes.”

The normal method used by locals were stealthier and comprised of standing in a canoe perfectly still by a lily bed and wait for one to appear. “The otter spear is usually six to seven feet in length and is made entirely of wood and the four prongs are set forward and slightly outward (in a square) from the end of the shaft.”
Skins were made into amulets but mostly sold locally and in the Congo; they fetched 10/- each.

Birds
Over 200 bird species have been recorded, though the Macoa duck may now be locally extinct. For a check list see Bushara Island Camp website

Ducks were commonly shot as game birds from the 1920s with licences sold by the district council. The history of duck shooting remains to be explored but it appears that around the latter part of the decade they were protected; in 1931 district authorities reported that

“Various species of duck now more common, the embargo on Bunyonyi ducks might be reconsidered.”

In 1932 they record an abundance of ducks.

Conservation Issues
Current trends indicate progressive shrinkage of the lake size through stages, beginning with silting of the immediate shores that are later occupied by swamps which, in turn, are encroached upon and reclaimed for cultivation. Soil erosion is a continuous issue, particularly during the rainy seasons. The reduction of water storage capacity will have serious implications on the water resources in this area.


Figure 74 Bi-weekly lake market (Martin De Depories)

The long term impact of motor boats may have negative effects on drinking water and soil quality. The introduction of jet skis and similar will negatively affect the lake's tranquillity and may disturb remaining wildlife food and their food cycles.

Early History

While there is no archaeological evidence it is likely that the shores have been inhabited for 2,000 years, or more. It is an attractive area for settlement given its fertility and easy access to water while forests and swamps provided a wide range of raw materials for clothing and crafts. Presumably there were also many wild animals to hunt in the larger highland forest, then much bigger but since cleared. It also was an important ritual centre for rainmaker clans; local hill springs were a focal point for traditional religious rituals and beliefs.

Unfortunately the historic sources are one-sided because they only cover the people and clans who migrated there from the 1600s; the Bakiga. Knowledge concerning the original inhabitants has been erased by subsequent clan histories. In earlier times the Batwa would have been the main inhabitants though it is not known whether these were solely hunter gatherers, mixed forest resources with trade and exchange or became pure farmers. The continuous disappearance of the forest gave them hard choices of adaptation or migration to forests elsewhere. Intermarriage in those times would have blurred distinctions between them.

In the 17th century there were the Bajeje and Batomi clans about whom nothing is known but it seems that the ruling clan were the Banyoni who were rainmakers and mixed farmers. They were already there around that time and up to 1900, according to other clan histories. Their main residence was at Kabatwa and later at Kariko, Muyebe, Bukora, Kakora and Omuriranda. Kabatwa is interesting place name, does it indicate that the Banyoni were originally a Batwa clan but became Bakiga in later history?

Their ancestor was maybe one Kanyoni who was killed and mutilated by Banyarwanda raiders when defending his land, according to Rwandan sources, in the late 1600s. However Banyoni

oral traditions are silent on this event, though they remember Kacwanganyi, a famous warrior who was killed at a battle at Kahame, near Kabale, during an invasion by the Rwandan king Kigeri Ndabarasa. It was said by them it was due to a betrayal by a Munyarwanda woman who was later assassinated by a young man called Rusa in revenge.

Another early rainmaker clan were the Bagahe, a branch of the Basinga, who came from Karagwe (North West Tanzania) who were closely allied to the Banyoni. Other early clans were the Baitira (of Mariba), Baishekatwa (a ruling clan in Mpororo and Nkore) and Bazigaaba (perhaps Muko). From the early 18th century the Bashambo became the most powerful rulers and the lake territory became integrated into their Ndorwa kingdom. The Rwandans also had their eye on the area and made many unsuccessful attempts in conquest.

Many of these early clans are sometimes thought to be pastoral but this is questionable given the lake's terrain, which is more suitable for mixed crop and livestock farming. Slash, burn and fallow agriculture was usual with livestock grazing on fallow plots. This was very suitable for the low population. At what stage banking and terracing were introduced and became common is an open question but was common by the 1920s as many photos of the lake show.

Rainmaker Rituals at the Lake

The Mwami w'enjura was responsible for the well-being of people, cattle and crops as well as being a political leader. The ritual of rain making was as follows: The mwami went into the lake and called on his muzimu (spirit) called Nyabijura (responsible for rain) to ask his ancestors for rain. The spirit had the power to attract rain though the attraction of the lake's water.

In early days this was a prestigious ceremony but apparently lost its power as insults and ill-treatment were meted out when they failed in the 1890s. During the drought of 1895-7, responsible for the Rwalanda famine, Banyoni and Basigi rainmakers went to Kaita ka Ruhayana, a famous Babaanda rainmaker of Kinkiizi, to get assistance but were unsuccessful.

Later Migrants

Judging by migrant clan histories Lake Bunyoni was an important stopping place on the route north. Many ended up staying and added to the layers of settlement over time. How all these clans interacted is unclear, the alternatives were absorption, intermarriage and competition.

It is thought that early migrants integrated while later ones settled independently, sometimes by ejecting existing clans. It appears that migration increased from 1600 with the rise in population and proliferation of clans further south with a surge in the late 19th century. This would have resulted in further clearances as the hills became more populated.

Not all clans stayed, some split and moved on further north to Kayonza and Kinkiizi, now Kanungu District. As a result the lake became home to many different clans. During the 1870s and 1880s King Rwabugiri led three invasions that passed by the lake, as well as conquering parts of Ndorwa and Bufumbira. The knock on effect was to displace the Basigi of Ndorwa who led a major migration northwards.

This led to increased aggressive competition for land around the lake and after some military conflict the Basigi overthrew most of the ruling Bashambo rainmaker clans, including the Banyoni. They were the most powerful until the rise of the Bakongwe and there was much fighting between them. In the 1970s it was said that the then antagonism between the Basigi and Bakongwe was “born in blood”.

Bakongwe Conquests

One clan, the Bakongwe, who arrived in the early 1800s, were very militaristic and expanded their territory at the expense of others from the mid 1800s. Around 1895 a new leader, Katuregye, emerged and set up new kingdom by conquest. His near neighbours were forced to migrate and only returned after colonial intervention in the 1920s while those further away were forced to pay tribute and give their most beautiful women as wives; he ended up with 40. At its greatest extent Katuregye controlled a large territory around the lake extending into what is now northern Rwanda.

The Germans and English arrived from 1895 and conquered Rwanda and Kigezi in turn. By 1910 he lost his southern possessions to German Rwanda while the English relegated him as a subsidiary chief of a small area on the lake's western shores, they might have allowed him more except the adjacent clans protested vigorously.

Katuregye and the English

Naturally Katuregye was not pleased with this turn of events, particularly when he was being supervised by a Bugandan agent to make sure he ruled following English methods of governance, very different from the autocratic control that an African chief was used to. His mother Changadutsi, a powerful Nyabingi medium, was even more vocal in her criticism so the English conducted a dawn raid on her village of Kashasha, arrested her and interned her for a year in Mbabara in 1913.

A very paranoid reaction to a lady in her mid 60s, but part of English policy to round up and neutralise all Nyabingi mediums, the minimum jail sentence for the least important was six months. They provided the ideology of resistance to conquest, originally against the Bashambo and Rwanda and later against Europeans. She died on her way home and this was the last straw for Katuregye.

He rose in revolt in 1914 and with his Batwa allies raided the English from bases on the islands and Echuya Forest. A counterattack by the English swept down both lake shores where they burnt Batwa villages and stole their cattle. Katuregye and his command were forced to flee to Rwanda but soon returned.

He was then betrayed by fellow clansmen whose cattle he had raided. The English attacked his camp in Echuya Forest where he was wounded and succumbed to a bullet wound in his thigh some days later at Kyevu.

From the Sharp archives comes the following description of the first English attack:

“During the First World War rebellion was in the air around Lake Bunyoni. Some local chiefs with links to the powerful Nyabingi sect mounted raids along the shores of the lake. The Nyabingi practitioners performed their ceremonies on the islands of Bwama, Bushara and Njuyera (then known as Habakara). When the drums sounded canoes would converge on the islands bringing gifts of goats, sheep, girls and beer.

The police fought back and a leader of the rebellion retreated to Bwama Island, commandeering all the canoes on the lake. The police were helpless until another boat was found on Lake Chahafi near the Rwanda border and carried by a team of over a hundred porters over two ranges of high hills and through thick bamboo forest to reach Bunyonyi. The police launched the boat and paddled towards Bwama.

Seeing themselves outgunned the leaders of the rebellion fled and the three islands were left deserted with only a few scraggly trees remaining as a reminder of the rituals performed beneath their branches.”

The Lake Batwa

The settlement history of the Batwa of the lake and Echuya Forest before 1800 is unknown. They had a number of villages by the lake that may be several hundred years old. It may be supposed that they were originally allied with the Banyoni but, when they were overthrown, the Batwa found themselves without protectors since there was no traditional relationship between the Basigi and Batwa.

It is maybe for this reason that they formed an alliance with the Bakongwe and may have been more enthusiastic in attacking the Basigi. Quite how the relationship developed between them is not known but it fits with the Batwa's general strategy of alliances with sympathetic clans.

By 1890 they acted as a military wing; they fought alongside and were guards and cattle keepers. The English record a raid in 1914 where they “burnt Batwa villages and confiscated their cattle”. While some cattle were probably plundered, it suggests that their lifestyle was a mix of cattle and forest resources. Whether they grew crops at this time is unknown.

Many were also found in the Rwandan court as personal bodyguards to the king, soldiers (they were excellent bowmen), entertainers and servants. It is not known when this movement started but was well established by the 1850s and continued until WWI.

Relationships between the Batutsi and Batwa was complementary as the former had little interest in the forests, unlike the Bakiga/Bahutu where there was more tension due to competition for land and forest resources, though trade and exchange was common. It was difficult to develop long-term relationships when there were major migrations of clans who continuously cleared forests for settlement.

The natural increase of population grew exponentially, which resulted in the high density in the highlands that was noted by colonial authors in the early 1900s. The Batwa rapidly became a minority whose allies were defeated in the European conquest. Their last major military involvement was during the Nyindo rebellion in 1915; an extension of World War I. Colonial

authorities then ignored them; the first missionaries were initially enthusiastic but rapidly lost interest.

## Batwa Aftermath

After Katuregye's defeat and destruction of their economy by colonial armies it appears that they also lost their land use rights. Until 1920, and perhaps some time after, they raided and retreated into Rwanda. Reports from that period indicate that the severity forced people to migrate.

Subsequently these activities declined and, from then, the lake and its shores have been peaceful though both the Bakongwe and Batwa have had a hard time such was the resentment, felt even today, of other clans. The Batwa in particular have been heavily discriminated against and have suffered much. They are now confined to a small area with no land. Even up to the 1970s they could not travel from the lake to Kabale alone as they were at risk of being murdered.

Nowadays they suffer from poverty, lack of education and health facilities, little land and no cattle. Their marginalisation has left them open to alcoholism, early death, illiteracy, discrimination and manipulation. Modern tour operators are often the most at fault with racism, prejudice, inaccurate histories and insults, calling them 'pygmies', treating them like animals, and refusing to pay them except in alcohol.

## A Short History of Early Lake Tourism

Traditionally Kayaha, the last major Bashambo king of Mpororo, visited the area around 1800. He may have been the first tourist as he is said to have enjoyed Lake Bunyoni and was always requesting funds and supplies for his travels. Such were his demands that he bankrupted the kingdom, which disappeared soon after.

In the 19th century the Bakongwe leaders, of Kashasha, were famous Nyabingi mediums and pilgrims came from far and wide to avail of their services. Many also visited the islands, where resident mediums lived, and took part in public religious ceremonies and celebrations.

This all came to an end during the European conquest and their ruthless suppression of Nyabingi mediums. An early English plan was to set up a hill station in the area for civil servants, However, until 1930 the only foreigners to visit the area were officials, missionaries, allied professionals and civil servants – the last were mostly Goan – and merchants of Asian extraction. In 1931 the Chabahinga rest house was allocated by the district administration to May Edel for her exclusive use.

Religious tourism restarted in Kabale and Lake Bunyoni when jaded missionaries came for rest, relaxation and to escape the heat of the plains in the 1930s. This was supplemented by Church Missionary Society fact finding missions, scientific expeditions, white hunters, miscellaneous adventurers and ordinary tourists.

The lake was popular, the leprosy colony and Esther Sharp's garden were the star attractions, while duck shooting was good business. Between 1933 and 1942, when the Sharps lived in Burundi, their island home became a guest house for missionaries. In the 1950s a small holiday cottage was built for self-catering holidays and honeymoon couples.


Figure 75 Dug-outs for hire at Chabahinga, 1930s

The arrival of two RAF seaplanes in 1931 caused consternation among local people. Constance Hornby records:

“At first they thought they were looking at great and unknown birds but when they realised that there were people flying them the Bakiga thought that it must be the Lord's return”

Then they became common and commercial seaplanes visited the lake regularly until the industry shifted to land-based airports. One surprise visitor was King Albert of Belgium who visited Kabale and the leprosy colony in a private capacity in 1932 on his way between Belgium and Kigali.

From 1930 onwards the area became increasingly popular as a destination and there are many casual references by travellers to the lake. According to Synge (1937):

“There was a comfortable but small hotel, which was then full for the duck shooting, which had just been opened on Lake Bunyoni”

The main route to Kisoro until the late 1930s was from Kabale to the lake, catch a ferry from Chabahinga (now Birdsnest Hotel) to Bufundi, where an enterprising chief had built a rest home 200' above the shore, climb to the Behungi Ridge, through Echuya forest, where there was another government rest camp and magnificent views of the volcanoes and then down to Kisoro. From Kisoro one could then travel south to Rwanda or west to the Congo.

Before 1939 it was normal for expatriates to take leave at home in the UK but war-time restrictions, 1939-45, put a stop to this and most ended up taking holidays in other parts of Africa where they might have relations or friends or was recommended. The habit continued in the 1950-60s as people and governments had less money then and African pensions often didn't keep up with European inflation.

In the 1950s and early 1960s tourism expanded as more westerners came on holidays. In the 1960s a mainland hotel was built by Frank Kalimuzo, Vice Chancellor of Makerere University. This was possibly on the site of the government rest house, ferry terminal and boat house at Kabahinga on the main route between Kabale and Kisoro prior to the new road.

Kalimuzo disappeared during Idi Amin's dictatorship and was almost certainly murdered by his security forces. Subsequently the hotel was confiscated by Amin, (all hotels in Uganda were nationalised under Uganda Hotels) who used to stay there frequently until his generals warned him that it was a potential death trap because it had only one exit.

After Amin was ousted in 1979 it was returned to his family but fell into ruins. An attempt to rebuild it in the 1990s failed. It was reopened in 2009 under Belgian management with a new name, Birdsnest.

In fact tourism was largely non-existent from the late-1960s to the mid-1980s due to closed borders, civil war and political instability. It is only from the 1990s that tourism numbers have increased significantly but now the focus has shifted away from the lake to volcanoes, national parks and gorillas.

Lake Bunyoni's Islands

Bwama Island
Some islands were residences of Nyabingi bagirwa but little other information is known. A colourful, if biased, account of Nyabingi ceremonies before 1915 on Bwama Island was written by Dr. Len Sharp, probably based on local people's accounts:

“At the time of the last major rebellion, one of its leaders, a witch doctor named Ndabagera lived on the largest island of the lake. When the sound of his drums was heard. People would come over the hills and from distant parts of the lake in canoes, bringing gifts of goats, sheep or girls, and huge pots of beer, as offerings to appease the spirit. Then far into the night would be heard the monotonous beat of drums and the ceaseless stamping of the dancers, as the drunken orgy increased to a frenzy among the moonlit shadows, cast by the spreading branches of the Nyabingi tree.”

In the aftermath of the Kateregye Rebellion it appears that the English confiscated islands associated with Nyabingi, which is how they ended up with the right to lease the islands later to Dr. Len Sharp and the Church Missionary Society. The leprosy colony is treated separately.

Bwama in early colonial literature is also spelled B'gama.

Bucuranuka Island
Bucuranuka Island is translated as 'upside down' island. There is a curious and improbable legend that once upon a time there were twenty men brewing and drinking sorghum beer when an old lady passed by and asked for some beer. They wrongly thought she was a beggar and told her to “Get lost”. “So you will not even give me a sip, Can someone take me to the mainland?” she asked. “Yes! Because we want to get rid of you!” A young man was sent to row her over but

when they reached the shore, and he was starting to return, the island turned upside down drowning everybody except for a chicken that flew away.

Figure 76 Upside down island

The island may be the one mentioned by Prince Philip as a quaratine for cattle against rinderpest and for evading colonial veterinary officers. No doubt other islands served the same purpose. The practice was also recorded at Lake Kivu.

Bushara Island

In the 1930s and 1940s the island was cultivated by the patients of the leprosy settlement. In 1950 Dr. Parry, who was recruited by Dr. Len Sharp, arrived to take charge and built a bungalow on the southern tip of the island. When the colony closed the island was transferred to the Church of Uganda and its associate Lake Bunyoni Development Company, which uses tourism as a tool to generate funds for community development around the lake. It has an experimental forestry plot for growing eucalyptus.

Habukara Island

Habukara is the original name but it is also called Sharp's Island, Doctor's Island and Njuyera Island; the last is translated as White Island after Len Sharp's parents retirement home on the Isle of Wight. It was the main residence of the Sharp family when they were resident; he commuted weekly between the settlement and Kabale hospital. It was otherwise used as a guest house; a second, solely for guests was built in the 1950s.

The fruit and flower garden, tended by Esther Sharp, was a popular stop for day tourists from Kabale along with the leprosy colony. According to their daughter Joyce Gower, it had:

“Beautiful trees, shrubs, climbers, flowers, fruit and vegetables on the island to make into a beautiful and attractive place not only for themselves but as a place of refreshment, enjoyment and serenity for others. There were orange and lemon trees, bananas, peaches, plums, a mulberry, a fig, guavas and various soft fruits.”


Figure 77 The lake's smallest island?

* * *

Chapter 5.3

Lake Bunyoni Leprosy Settlement

Background
Leprosy is a disease of antiquity that is passed from person to person via close contact, particularly in close quarters, either through breathing or breaks in the skin. It is estimated that 95% of people have a natural immunity.

There are two types, Tuberculoid and Lepromatous. The first type is found around the skin surface, and causes disability, paralysis, loss of sense of touch and ulcers. The second, sometimes called lepra fever, is more serious as it spreads freely through the lymphatic system. It is defined as gram-positive, non-motile and acid-fast. Relapses occur in 1:1,000 treated patients with modern drugs but were probably higher with earlier medicines.

It was feared by all and sufferers became outcasts from their communities; analogous to the discrimination suffered by those infected with the HIV in modern times. Nowadays the term 'leper' is not used due to its pejorative meaning; 'Infected with leprosy' is preferred; it is no longer acceptable to define a person by their disease. An alternative name is Hansen's disease after G. H. Armeur Hansen, 1841-1912, the Norwegian physician who discovered mycobacterium leprea in 1873.

In 1911 the colonial government estimated 1,000 infected around Kabale in their Western Province Census, though research has yet to establish whether this included 'Bufumbira' (Kisoro

District). Ten years later the estimate was 2,000 and based on research by the District Medical Officer, Dr. Len Sharp, on medical safaris. He wrote that:

“It was found in the cattle kraals of the plains, among the hillside villages, in the huts around the lake shore, and even among the scattered families of pygmies in their flimsy forest shelters...”

It is interesting that he includes the Batwa; his use of the word 'even' indicates he thought it unusual. One might have thought that due to their more open air life they would have been less vulnerable, but by that time many had lived in close quarters with others in Rwanda and elsewhere.

Foundation of the Leprosy Colony

According to May Langley, one of the first two Lake Bunyoni Island nurses, Dr. Leonard Sharp “is a wonderful kind of a person, engineer, builder, gardener, parson, agriculturalist, physician, surgeon rolled into one”. He deserves full credit for his vision, creativity and ability, which ultimately led to the eradication of leprosy in south west Uganda.

The first hospital in Kabale was officially opened in 1922 by Drs. Sharp and Smith but was completely inadequate and inappropriate for the numbers of infected. Dr. Sharp conceived the Lake Bunyoni Leprosy Settlement on Bwama Island and, on behalf of the CMS, he took leases from the local government for Bwama and Habukara islands in 1929. He started construction and went to England on leave and to fund-raise.

Figure 78 Dr. Smith lays out the first measuremets

There was then a six month delay when all construction stopped at the behest of an unnamed uncooperative district official. He appears on other occasions thwarting CMS activities and is undoubtedly District Commissioner Philipps; there were many disagreements in their relationship as to how the district should be governed. The apparent bone of contention was the military outpost on Bwama, Philipps wanted it kept since it was only two years since the Musaire Kasente rebellion. He was over-ruled when the CMS appealed to central government; though this may not be the whole story as the district annual reports are non-committal as to the reasons for the delay.

Construction restarted on Bwama though there were doubts as to whether it was best place. The 1931 census listed 197 men, 111 women, 31 boys and 29 girls, though Dr. Sharp was noted as sceptical; “he was to make further enquiries”. The administration believed it wasn't especially prevalent. If the census figure was accurate than 25% of those infected were on Bwama island.

There was also another problem whose resolution is unknown. Around 1930 Julian Huxley visited Kabale and Kisoro and then on to Carl Akeley's grave. He had a long discussion with DC Philipps concerning religious intolerance and listened in to a native plea:

“The DC listened to a local complaint against a local mission, he thought it probably true. He had been in possession of an island in the lake and had been growing bananas and coffee on it.

The mission had obtained a permit of temporary occupation of this island. They had dispossessed the man and had cut down his bananas and were profiting by his coffee plants; they had until now refused to pay any compensation whatever. They were letting the island and cottage they had built on it to settlers who wanted a holiday, and thereby making a considerable profit, although by the terms of their contract sub-letting was not permitted."

The island was cleared of bush and trees and rich soils were discovered. Building started in 1930 with huts for the 25 patients from Kabale hospital and a bungalow for the first nurses, Langley and Horton. Local workers were trained in construction, brick making (missionaries introduced the technique into Kabale) and carpentry; clay from the island was used. Then landing places on the island and mainland had to be constructed.

According to Langley the first operations took place under a tree in 1929:

"When badly maimed men came up to have pieces of dead bone removed from feet so badly affected by this cruel disease."

It was officially opened in 1931 when all patients in Kabale Hospital were transferred. From the initial 30 numbers grew rapidly and, within a couple of years, was 400 with 150 children, including one boy, aged eight who was,

"Terribly emaciated, terrified of everything and everybody, turned out of home because he was a leper."

According to Dorothy Ratcliffe who visited the island in 1934, they had 484 patients of whom 98 were 5-18 years. She described her visit

"A lady about forty years old, dressed in a white hospital coat. Her hair was greying, she was fresh-complexioned and had that kind, courageous blue eyes – Miss Beatrice Martin, the C.M.S. sister in charge of the settlement. [She was assisted by] Miss Forbes an energetic, brown-eyed girl in the early twenties."

According to Martin:

"We have first to win their confidence and keep them occupied. They are given six months allowance for food and a little shamba and hut of their own, and taught how to work and help to keep themselves. If a man is a leper and his wife is immune she comes with him, together they live and work in their own allotment. Sometimes a whole family are lepers, then they all live together, and are not separated unless one of them is a very bad case. Government have also given them another island on the lake for rearing their cattle and goats."

It was often the children who were most deeply traumatised from becoming outcasts from home and family at a young age. It was thought to be the cause of a growth of homeless child city beggars. It was recorded that many of them were so totally immersed in their own suffering that it took months for them to relate normally:

“with their minds dulled by disease, and their bodies stunted by constant illness they find it difficult to learn.

Football turned out to be a great cure as was a healthy diet; they had obushera daily and fish, eggs or chicken 3 times a week.

Figure 79 Meal-time

The Colony Grows

In the first 18 years they treated around 2,000 patients. At its peak in the late 1940s there were 1,000 people living on the island of which 150 were staff; many of these were cured patients who chose to stay. Salaries were small but there was security; for many it was a vocation. Most patients were from the district but over time sufferers from other parts of Uganda and East Africa came, usually through missionary networks.

Figure 80 The hospital

The Uganda Herald, 1933, reported favourably that:

“There was a fine school, playing fields, completely equipped hospital with several wards, native crops growing in abundance, goats, sheep, etc., in fact all the amenities of native life... Men and women, children and babies, lepers all, who in normal circumstances would be living a life of outcasts, uncared for, neglected, and the very epitome of misery were here. But these poor creatures, to a large extent, have rehabilitated themselves...”

The colony was supported by the Protectorate government, local government, British Leprosy Relief Association, Mission to Lepers, Ruanda Mission, Girl's Friendly Society and various friends and donors who supplied money and practical gifts of clothes, knitted blankets, bandages, dressings and other hospital supplies.

Leprosy Treatment

Originally, treatment was frequent painful injections of hydnocarpus oil, which were mostly successful, however some patients did not respond. Cured individuals returned home with Certificates of Health, about 250 a year in the 1940s. In 1950 Dr. Sharp returned from the UK with sulpone drugs, which were far easier to administer with higher success rates. Early doctors concluded that, with treatment, the disease was arrested but not cured; though in practical terms relapses were very uncommon. In the 1960s multi-drug therapy, under the auspices of the WHO, was introduced and has since proved to be very effective.

The complications of leprosy included ulcers, which needed Intensive treatment; loss of the sensation of touch caused by cut off of blood supply to the skin; acute neuritis; finally bones rotted and needed amputation. With the more serious Lepra fever, which could last for months, the whole body became swollen and all sensation was painful.

Two specific difficulties were eye ulcers and nodules that needed the most sensitive of care to prevent blindness and injecting children was always difficult since they naturally detested the painful injections. Breast-feeding by infected mothers was a challenge; this was done only under supervision at the crèche and babies were weaned as soon as possible. Vitamin oil was added as a supplement and feeding bottles weren't used.

The hospital wasn't only about suffering; an estimated 500 children were born on the island in its thirty-five years of existence.

The Leprosy Settlement in the Early 1950s

Dr. Sharp, with Jane Metcalf a resident nurse, wrote a book entitled Island of Miracles in the early 1950s that described the settlement as if one was making a tour. Around 130-300 were admitted annually, of these 43% were men, 34% women and 23% children. However, it was believed that the child percentage was not representative as many were prevented from coming because they were too useful at home. The hospital had 80 beds; they dressed 6,800 ulcers and administered 48,700 injections annually, School attendance was 140. The outpatient's department looked after 250 patients every week with 18 nurses.

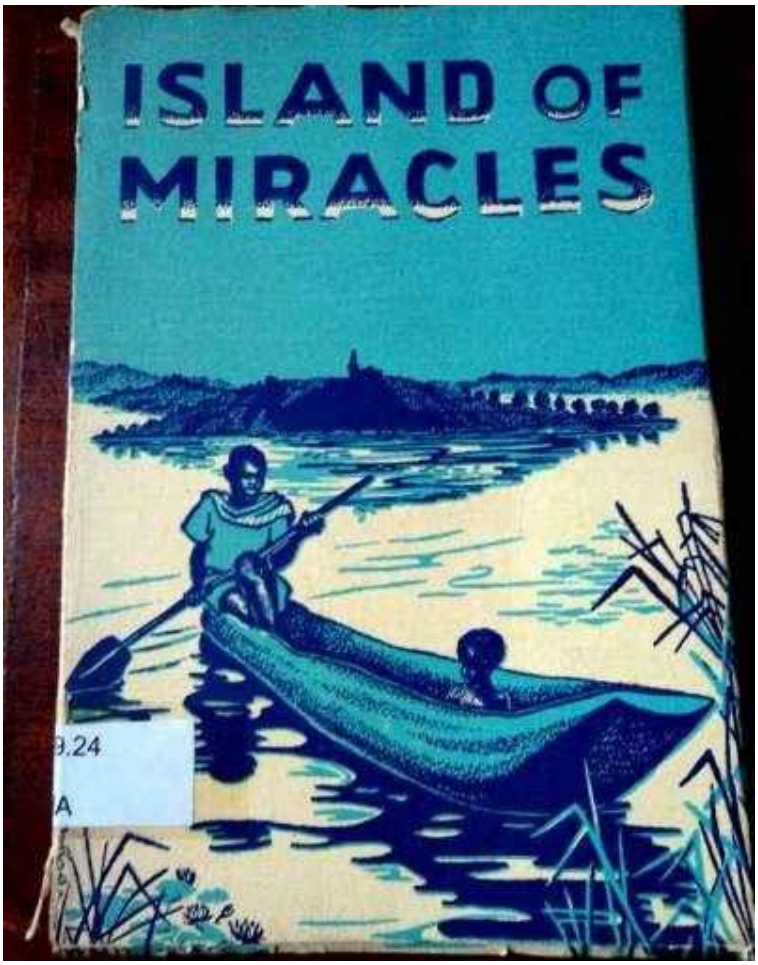

Figure 81 Island of Miracles book cover

Grace Mash supervised the allocation of food plots, clothing and looked after general welfare. She began teaching in 1937 and may have worked on the island for near 30 years. Little documented, she was described as “still young” in 1948. Another well-known staff member was Simeoni Ngiringuba, Kigeme, who had been patient in early 1930s but stayed until 1950s with his wife Edreda, when they left to set up a leprosy centre in Burundi. The island chief was Erasito, Yerimiya the policeman and Zefanya was head gardener.

There was major reconstruction of hospital and some houses in the early 1940s but the latter was still in process in the 1950s when it was recorded that round thatched huts were being phased out and replaced by bungalows. The huts were made with sun-dried brick and papyrus roofs and were difficult to keep clean.

There were plantations for boat-building, firing brick kilns and household use; all woodland was tended by islanders. Employment was provided to cover settlement costs and to give them an opportunity to become financially independent. Crafts taught were basketry, mat-making, pottery, nets and fish traps, clothes and uniforms, utensils, food-troughs, stools etc.

Markets were held weekly. Mainlanders came with produce for the settlement, which were sold around the hospital complex; 1,000 people eat a lot of food. Milk was a daily requirement though staff had to be on the look-out for milk diluted with lake water on the way over. If there was a milk shortage, obushera was substituted. Meanwhile island craft-work was sold to mainlanders and the many tourists on day visits. Sharp made boats, using galvanised iron sheets riveted together, for patients, staff and pleasure. Three boats were made from an abandoned seaplane's floats.

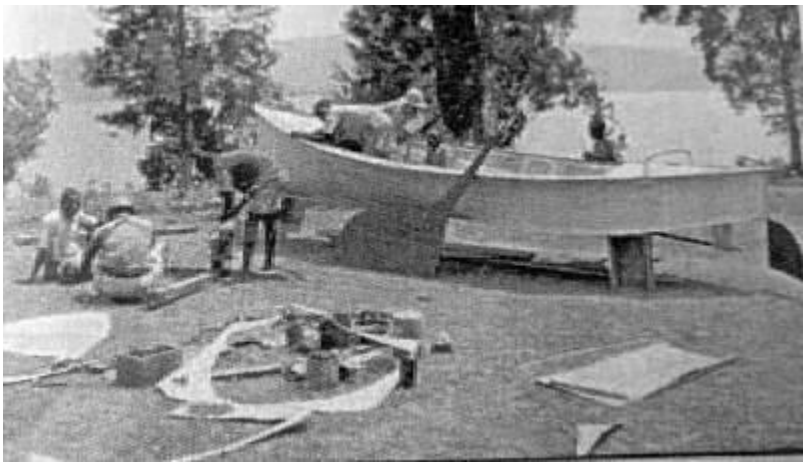
Figure 82 Making a boat

There was the hospital complex on the central island ridge, Emmanuel church, five villages (Bethlehem, Bethany, Samara, Nazareth and Jericho), two schools, training facilities and a crèche. Bethlehem, on top, was for healthy children only. In 1952 windmills were erected to draw water from the lake for the hospital and crèche. Bethlehem was around the hospital and reserved for the healthy. Bethany was on the eastern side, Samaria on the south central headland, and Jericho and Nazareth were north and south of the church at the western end. The first two held the least serious cases while the latter had the more serious and the permanently disabled.

The first church was a small structure and was rebuilt at least twice; the last time was in 1945 when burnt brick was used. The steeple orb was made from two large kitchen bowls soldered together but has since been blown away by storms. Its motto was Emanuweri Ruhanga Ali Naitwe. There were no resident clergy but the Rural Dean, Rev. Ezekiera Balaba, visited once every two months. In 1961 Rev. Canon John Quint became the first pastor of Bwama.


Figure 83 Christmas Day on Bwama

In the 1930s the Balokole Revival focused on fellowship meetings with repentance and confession. When Sharp returned in 1942 he reintroduced Bible classes, which had lapsed. There were various auxiliary societies: Lad's Bible class and Girl's Crusader class, Mother's union, Men's Bible Class, Scout Troop and Cub pack.

The Girl's Crusader class was for those who had finished school at 14 and had to wait until their twenties to get married. The rationale was to give them identity and purpose; to avoid them feeling despised, rejected, and disrespected because they were unmarried. The normal age of marriage was in the late teens; it was reported that some ran away because they found unmarried life too hard, family or settlement pressure.

In the 1950s Jericho School was for the seriously infected while those attending Bethany School were mostly not infected but were there with their families because nobody would take them, either relatives or boarding schools, through fear or prejudice. Some were cured but were waiting for the whole family to be cured so they could all go home. While it was practice not to divide families it was also policy to board out uninfected children from multiple-case families where possible.

Bethany had a football ground and a plot of land so children could learn agricultural techniques and new crop varieties. There was also a tailoring section that had started after WWII. Due to clothes rationing and high prices in the UK clothes parcels had stopped. Material was bought locally and then tailored.

At the time there were three teachers: Frederick, Stefano and Samwiri, Frederick was cured and had completed teacher-training. Stefano was a local lad who had never infected; he wasn't a clever teacher but was wonderful in the kindergarten. Samwiri was cured but heavily disabled; he was born teacher, good disciplinarian and had completed teacher-training.

There was a literacy class for those over 10 that took patience as they were older than the optimal age to learn reading combined with the high turnover. Reading lessons were from Gospel stories. Another teacher, John cured but with a 'thorny past', taught a mixed class of teenagers; normally this was intolerable to the CMS but there weren't sufficient numbers to justify single sex classes. There were also swimming lessons.

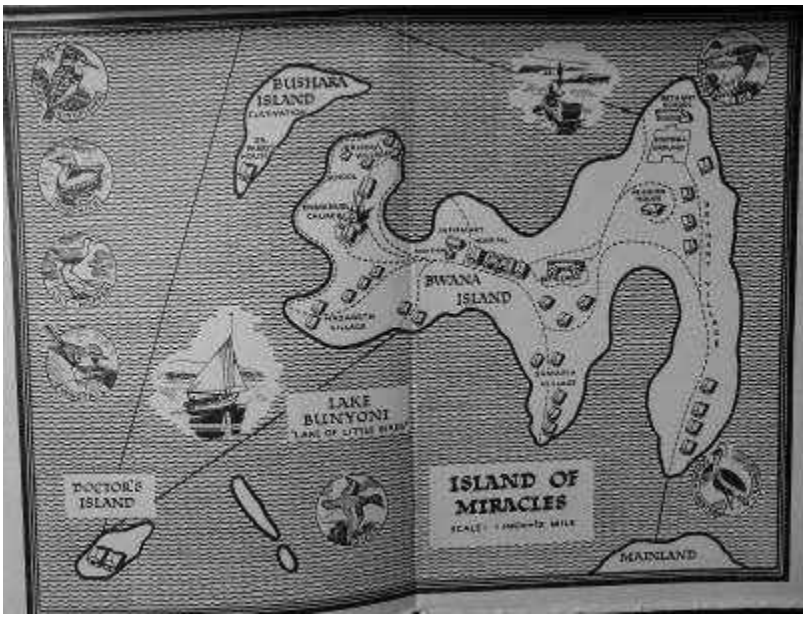

Figure 84 Map of Bwama from Island of Miracles, Bwana is probably a typo

The Leprosy Settlement in the early 1960s
In 1955 Dr. Sharp retired though he and his wife lived on the islands until 1961, when they moved to Mombasa for health reasons. In 1963 Meryl Parry published Bunyoni – Island of Hope, which shows the changes as the settlement was starting to wind down with improved treatment and declining numbers of infected as it was eradicated. By now there was less than 300 patients; 228 infected and 60 cured but who needed long term care as they were crippled and/or blind. The total population was 450 and falling.

People were still grouped in four main villages, Bethany and Samaria for the healthy or slightly infectious and Jericho and Nazareth for the infectious. The hospital block had wards, laboratory and out-patients. Physiotherapy was introduced in 1961.

There were still two schools, a small one at Jericho for the infectious, whose attendance was rapidly diminishing, and Bethany for the healthy, born from staff or infected parents. Children of the latter were cared for in a babies ward and fed by mothers under supervision till two. They lived in the crèche at top of the hill, 'an airy healthy spot', until their parents were well enough to care for them. The schools had been under the supervision of an unnamed lady missionary (Miss Mash?) but were handed over to an African headmaster and staff under the Department of Education.
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Settlement Closure
The settlement was closed in 1966 and remaining patients were sent home to be treated as outpatients in local health centres. More serious new cases went to the newly opened Kinkiizi Hospital. However health centre staff had first to be trained to overcome their fear and distaste of the disease. Some could never go home as they were too disabled and often blind; they needed medical care till death, which was provided by the Church of Uganda when they took over the islands.

Guiding Philosophies

It was completely voluntary as it was recognised that compulsion in Africa would cause more harm than good, especially if people left, not fully cured and transmitted the disease to family and friends. It was too easy to go into hiding far from colonial control. Whereas those that left cured were given Certificates of Health that allowed them to go home without discrimination. Instead patients were recruited through a public awareness campaign while on safari and information leaflets circulated to all chiefs.

Cured people, who returned home, were also given training to take leadership roles within their communities with regard to leprosy and other health issues. In practice this meant that women had to cast off their subservience, not always popular with their husbands or fathers. Men often thought that educating women and teaching them literacy was a waste of time and unnecessary in the fields 'where they belonged'.

Given that cures were long and tedious and that the African was:

“Very firmly rooted in his own home and his own land, (it was felt that the) Settlement be run on agricultural lines, with some degree of home life. Each homestead was therefore allotted its own plots of land for cultivation so that it might have the satisfaction of reaping its own harvest.”

Two thirds of the island was devoted to crops; it was expanded later to two square miles on (5.2km2) Katooma on the mainland; the take-over was unofficial and had to be ratified by the district administration. The settlement was self-sufficient; each patient, carers and family had their own house and land where they could grow crops as a contribution to the settlement and for profit. Even the most disabled were given small jobs, primarily for their self-esteem. Everybody, except the most disabled, prepared and cooked their own food at home.

It was democratic in that the island residents had considerable input into the affairs of the island. There was an overall council which had elected representatives from the villages, two elected senior women and senior church leaders, representatives from the hospital and schools, and the missionaries. They decided on island affairs and important issues.

Each village had their own elected community council for their own affairs plus a women's council, The village and women's councils decided on who was ready for which religious instruction class, disputes between villagers and any complaints.

There was a local settlement chief and policeman. A local court tried disputes over fields and boundaries, theft and 'immorality'. Theft was solved by restitution, while 'sins' against general public were punished by community work. For more serious cases indignity was found to be a useful deterrent. Punishment was never severe, a few days in a lock-up was usually enough for the worst cases.

Naturally the colony was run on Christian lines and the CMS interpretation of Christianity (based on Anglican theology and rite) was fundamental to worship and ritual. Every islander was expected to come three times a week for Bible teaching and regular attendance at church was

expected. Most patients were not Christians when they arrived, the district was less than 10% Christian in the 1930-40s, but were expected to convert during their cure. There was plenty of 'encouragement' from local staff and peer pressure in the villages.

However becoming a Christian wasn't that easy and took preparation. First it was deemed essential for people to read the Bible themselves; for the vast majority of patients this meant learning how to read; the only exceptions were the blind and too old. There was an added incentive in that literacy for a cured person opened the door to employment in the colonial administration and beyond.

They were then prepared for baptism after a minimum of six months teaching when they were tested for their knowledge and personal experiences. Others had to witness their readiness and final approval was given by the island's Church Council, It was tough and strict, particularly during surges of revivalism.

It is not clear what the attitude was to those who preferred their ancestral traditional religion and refused to convert or had already converted to Roman Catholicism (missionaries rarely acknowledged the existence of either). People may have left not having finished their cure because they couldn't take the pressure. From a medical perspective this was counterproductive.

* * *

## Chapter 5.4

### 21st Century Kabale and Kisoro

Introduction
The following descriptions of Kabale and Kisoro districts are taken from 2002 census district reports, now 10 years out of date, and the most recent local government publications. They differ in presentation depending on the documents made available for research; Kabale is oriented to development while Kisoro is oriented to the environment. There are a few introductory comments and tables. There are two short sections on Kanungu and Rukungiri Districts; these can be expanded with access to local government publications.

Note that gender differences maybe skewed due to high levels of male migrant workers between the ages of 20 and 50. This difference dates back to the 1920s when men migrated for work to pay taxes and has been a factor since; for instance in 1969 there were 87 men for every 100 women in Kigezi district. Some of the census figures are over-simplistic, for instance the percentage of those dependent on subsistence farming is high but does not refer to other household incomes.

Marital status percentages are also ambiguous as it not clear whether informal unions (okweshagara) that have not been registered, usually because they are cheaper and don't involve bride price, are included, and it is sometimes the case where a man has one formal marriage (okuhingira) but one, or more, wife or girlfriend; sometimes these women are in different locations (i.e. town and country wives) and don't necessarily know of each other's existence.

The Ugandan Context

Worth noting is the high level of population increase. According to a recent East African conference entitled Repositioning Family Planning and Reproductive Health, 2011, held in Munyonyo only 24% of the Ugandan population use family planning compared to 50% in East Africa; the unmet need is calculated at 41%.

Currently the government only supports family planning in urban areas but 85% are rural. Before the introduction of the 1995 Population Policy only married women could obtain contraceptives and only with permission of their husband. There has been no change in the fertility rate of 7.0 between 1969 and 2002; Uganda has the 3rd highest growth rate worldwide, the current population projection for 2050 is 93 million.

The rate of maternal mortality is 435:100,000 (506 in 1995) or 6,000 women every year (14 a day) dying from pregnancy-related causes; 80% of women have home births and the midwife shortfall is 2,000. Child mortality (under 5) is 130:1,000 with malaria the main cause of death at 80,000 a year.

This is believed to be due to inadequate funding, religious prohibitions, traditional beliefs in large families and lack of political will. With regards the last there appears to be some contradictions in the NRM, President Museveni has consistently supported population growth, welcoming the news in 2005 that Uganda's population had doubled since he came to power twenty years ago. He is quoted as saying

"Among the Banyankore (his ethnic group), when you praise somebody you say 'I wish you many children', I am happy that I have implemented the Banyankore philosophy."

The 2011 conference noted that every $1 invested in family planning saves $3-6 on health and education, which could be invested in infrastructure, implementation of the MDGs and generally improving quality of life.

As a final point there are many international and national NGOs and CBOs doing sterling development work in the two districts, as elsewhere in Uganda. These have not been included as being outside the remit of this work plus to provide in-depth coverage of who is doing what where is unfeasible within the current time constraints.

Ethnic and National Identification by District

Comparative Percentages of Ethnic Identification in Kabale, Kisoro, Kanungu, Rukengiri and Ntungamo according to the 2002 district census returns

| Ethnicity | Kab | Kis | Kan | Ruk | Ntu |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bakiga | 96 | 11 | 88 | 46 | 12 |
| Bafumbira | 1 | 87 | 6 | - | - |
| Banyankole | 1 | - | - | 5 | 83 |
| Bahororo | 1 | - | 4 | 48 | 1 |
| Banyrwanda | 1 | - | - | - | 2 |
| Others | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |

The numbers from other African countries is very small, between over 200 and less than 1,700 per district. The following gives the percentage breakdown by nationality in each district.

| Nationality | Kab | Kis | Kan | Ruk | Ntu |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DRC | 4 | 41 | 84 | 47 | 5 |
| Rwanda | 83 | 56 | 11 | 42 | 71 |
| Tanzania | 4 | - | - | - | 12 |
| Others | 9 | 3 | 5 | 11 | 13 |

Changes in Population Density (PD) in Kigezi, 1921-2002 (persons/km2) from Bolwig 2002

Population Density

| Year | PD in Kigezi District | PD in Kigezi Highlands | PD in Uganda |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1921 | 39 | NA | |
| 1931 | 43 | NA | |
| 1948 | 76 | 139 | |
| 1959 | 94 | NA | |
| 1969 | 122 | 164 | 48 |
| 1980 | 141 | 185 | 64 |
| 1991 | 187 | 246 | 85 |
| 2002 | 295 | 392 | 114 |
| 2010 | 386 | 518 | 138 (projected) |

Kabale District and Town

Geography

Kabale district in the south-west corner of Uganda and is between 290 45' and 300 15' east and 10 00' and 10 29' south. It is a hilly area with Lake Bunyoni in the centre. The topography is mainly interlocking and heavily terraced cultivated hills with spectacular valleys. The relief of Kabale ranges between 1,200m to 3,000m above sea level, with the highest points being to the west and south.

The district has a total area of 1,864km2, of which 91% is arable; the rest is water bodies, swamps, wetlands and marginal land. About 75% of arable land is owned according to customary laws; the balance is mostly leasehold (23%) and freehold (2%). The average household plot is 2.06ha, but holdings are very fragmented and an average household has 6-7 plots on different hillsides. Plots generally measure between 0.04 and 0.23ha. Subsistence farming is the main source of income for 82% of households.

It doesn't have a typical hot African climate due to its altitude and has a reputation among Ugandans of being cold. Elderly people relate that they could not write properly at school during the winter (June and July) as their hands were shaking so much with the freezing cold. Temperatures average about 20oC during the day and fall to about 10oC at night. The relative humidity is between 90% and 100% in the morning and decreases to between 42% and 75% in the afternoon all the year around. However temperatures have risen recently so that mosquitoes and malaria have increased.

Population

The people are predominantly Bakiga (96%), but there are also some Batwa, Banyarwanda, Bafumbira and Bahororo. The population was 458,107 in 2002 and may have reached 458,107 in 2010 due to the 3% annual growth rate, this would be higher but out-migration primarily caused by land pressure is significant; it is projected to be 498,100 by 2012. Population density was 281km2 but may have reached 318km2 in 2010. The proportion of males to females is 88:100, which is explained by the large numbers of male migrant labour; it is the 2nd highest gender imbalance in Uganda after Kisoro. The average household size is 4.8 and about 32-35% of households are headed by females.

Figure 85 Looking south over main street, Kabale

About 46% are under 18 years old and 54% under 15. Of these c. 38,000 (15%) are classed as orphans; 5% have lost their mother, 12% their father and 3% both parents. The main causes of orphans in the district are HIV-related illnesses and malaria, while accidents, land disputes involving murder and witchcraft caused by personal conflicts are also factors. The average age of first sexual intercourse is 15 for females and 18 for males while the average of first marriage is 21 for females and 24 for males.

Religion

Breakdown by religion shows that 54% are Church of Uganda and 44% Roman Catholic; there are variations across the district, for instance Rubanda is 52% Catholic and 47% Church of Uganda and there are Catholic majorities also in Buhara and Kyanamira. Other religions are under 1% each, the most numerous being Moslem (0.8% - 56% live in Kabale) and Pentecostal

(0.7% - 40% live in Rukiga). There has been no change of Church of Uganda and Roman Catholic percentages between 1991 and 2002. Moslems increased slightly by 0.2%; Pentecostal were 3,300 in 2002 but were not listed separately in 1991.

Marital Status

Of those over the age of 15, 44% were male and 54% female. Of these 34% were unmarried (41% male 29% female, between 15-19 58% male 66% female), 50% were in monogamous marriages (no significant gender difference), 6% in polygamous marriages (4% male 7% female, 47% of males were 60+ years while females were spread over all age groups though tended to be older), 7% were divorced or separated (2% male 11% female) and 2% were widowers or widows (no significant gender difference).

The high numbers of females who were separated or divorced may be a result of property disputes arising out of polygamous marriages. Of women between 12 and 54 years, 45% had no children while those with 1-5 children were 6-8% each; 21% had 6 or more.

Employment

The work force is 46% male and 54% female due to the high levels of male migrants. There is major gender disparity in that 19% of males and 5% of females are employees, 55% of males compared to 21% of females are self employed and 20% of males compared to 72% of females are unpaid family workers. Overall 82% are engaged in subsistence farming and 13% rely on earnings.

Housing

In terms of housing 87% is described as temporary, 80% have CGI roofs and 19% grass roofs, 90% have mud and pole walls, 86% rammed earth floors, 94% have latrines, 23% bathrooms and 68% kitchens. Only 4% are connected to electricity; tadooba is the main source of light for 82%. Only 42% of children have blankets and 43% have shoes. 20% of households have a bicycle.

Agricultural Gender Issues

Gender issues are a major concern, women complain that they lack control over productive resources like land, credit equipment and identified gender inequality as one of the main root causes of poverty as it exposes them to many disadvantages. Their daily schedule is potentially 17 hours from 6.00am to midnight with much less leisure time than men; much of their time spent on house and farm work that is neither recognised nor paid for.

By contrast, men allegedly work as little as four hours a day in productive work and the rest of the time is for leisure. Women complain of men wasting time and family resources drinking alcohol, which can lead to domestic violence and break-up of families.

In analysing the breakdown of work schedules of food and cash crops published by the Kabale District Plan it appears that with cash crops, (bananas, tobacco and fruit) the men do most of the work, in terms of planting, weeding, harvesting and sales, but for food crops it is the women usually assisted by their men, children and house girls.

In fact more men with their wives are involved at all stages of crops than they might be given credit for but there is also a tendency for more men to be involved in the sales than women, presumably depending on the cash value. Only bananas appear to be mostly controlled by women. Children and house girls have no input in sales with the minor exception of Irish potatoes and vegetables; surprisingly one third of children sell fruit.

Figure 86 Sweet Potatoes

It is argued that unequal gender relations are a fundamental cause of poverty. The imbalanced divisions of roles and responsibilities result in women's overburden, reducing their productivity and the success of business ventures and thereby undermining family food security and welfare. Women's lack of control over assets such as land, livestock and other resources means that they lack influence on how cash income generated from these assets is used. Men decide how to spend family income and in many cases, they spend it on themselves instead of the household.

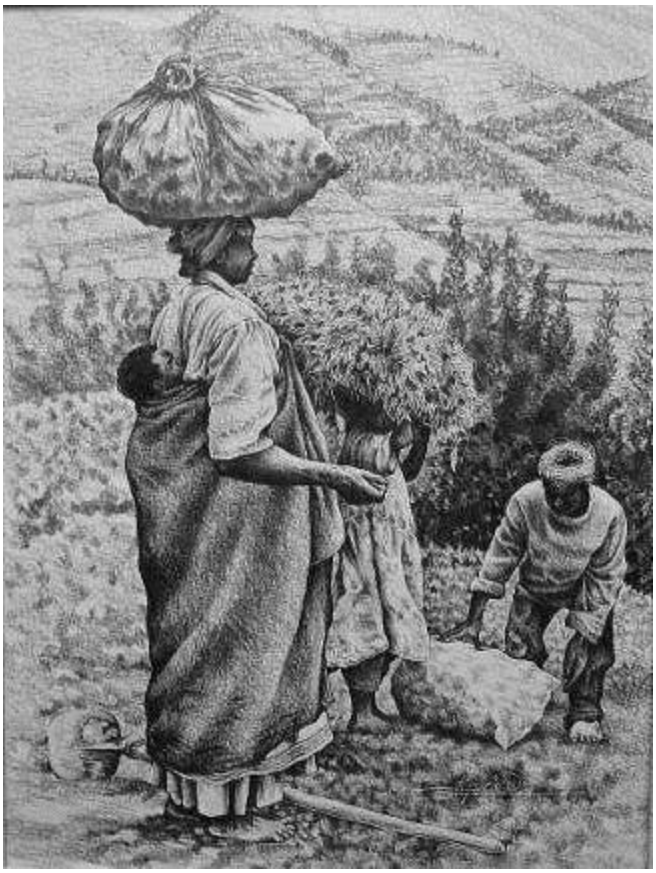
Figure 87 By Martin De Depories

Infrastructural Access
Distances of health facilities, primary schools and water sources are a major constraint on time and access. Only 9% of households live within 0.5km of a health centre compared to 18% between 0.5 and one km, 56% between 1-5km and 17% over 5km. Only 20% live within 0.5km of a primary school compared to 35% between 0.5 and one km, 42% between 1-5km and 3% over 5km. Only 6% have their own water source while 46% live within 0.5km of a source, 27% between 0.5 and one km, 19% between 1-5km and 2% over 5km. 69% dispose of rubbish in their gardens and 21% in pits.

Energy and the Environment
Wood is the commonest fuel for cooking at 91% of households followed by charcoal, electricity, paraffin etc. However this is causing serious problems because at current usage it is unsustainable with less and less becoming available due to heavy population pressure, particularly in urban areas; Uganda has the highest level of forest loss in East Africa; Kabale has lost 27% of its forests during 1995-2010. Fuel price rises will have a future serious impact on poverty reduction and affect Uganda's growth rates and achievement of the Millennium Development Goals.

The development of sustainable energy, through conservation and alternative methods of energy production, are still mostly at the discussion stage. Eucalyptus plantations on marginal lands for

fuel are planned for Kabale. Other related problems include the time taken to collect the wood, which impacts on agricultural productivity, and the effect of smoke on users.

Other environmental concerns, according to Kabale District Council, include soil degradation, erosion, mudslides (particularly after torrential downpours) and inappropriate methods of waste disposal (69% dispose of rubbish in their gardens and 21% in pits); all made worse due to increases of population, fragmented land holdings and the intensity of farming.

Agriculture

The most common crops are maize, Irish potato, sweet potato, sorghum, plantain, beans and finger millet. Small scale cash crops include tobacco, coffee (aribica), temperate fruits, peas, wheat, barley pineapples and vegetables. Commercial plantation crops that are being developed by government and private organisations include tea, 175ha has been planted, 50,000 apple seedlings have been distributed and oyster mushroom farming has being introduced.

About 70% of households keep livestock including cattle (95% indigenous and 5% improved), goats, sheep and pigs that often graze free range. In most parts of the district there are very good pastures and favourable climatic conditions for the production of good exotic dairy cattle breeds; it is a main source of dairy cattle breeding stock for other parts of Uganda, which has helped dairy farmers in the face of low milk prices.

An average of 10,000lts is collected by three cooling centres a day. This does not include casual sales in the town and rural areas; this not pasteurised and poses health risks including the transmission of Tuberculosis, there were 1,129 cases in 2008/2009.

There are an estimated 436,000 goats, 250,000 sheep, 13,200 pigs, 355,000 poultry (mostly hens with some ducks, geese, turkeys and guinea fowl) and 67,000 rabbits. Beehives are also fairly common. There are over 960 fish ponds mostly around Muko with Nile Tilapia, Tilapia Zilli, Mirror Carp and Cat fish. There is potential for aquaculture development but constraints include the lack of fish fry, feed and equipment availability and markets. Cage farming is a possibility in Lake Bunyoni but may negatively impact the tourism industry.

Commerce

Businesses are mostly household enterprises and SMEs and secondary food production, small industries, shops and services. At the other end most national enterprises such as banks, insurance companies, microfinance and transport companies have branches in Kabale. There are four markets in Kabale and 30 in rural areas. There are several newspapers in the Rukiga language and radio stations, Voice of Kigezi, and Kacwekano Community Radio. Employment is the main source of income for 9% and enterprises about 5% of households respectively.

Figure 88 Kabale taxi park traders

Education
There are 317 public primary schools, 61 technical/vocation/tertiary institutions and 65 secondary schools. There are slightly more girls than boys in primary education with higher attendance but due to higher drop-out rates among girls there are 50% more boys in post-primary education. Private education is also important but statistics are unavailable.


Figure 89 Rugurama schoolboys

Health
There are two hospitals, 103 health centres, 16 private clinics and about 50 apothecaries. The most important mortality rates per live births are: under-five 137/1,000, infants 75/1,000 and maternal 435/100,000. The most commonly reported diseases are malaria (35%), ARI, excluding pneumonia, (30%) and pneumonia (10%). About 16,112 (2010) are receiving HIV-related services of which 32% are males over 14, 58% are females (not pregnant) over 14, 3% pregnant females, 6% of boys and girls between 5-14 and 1% of boys and girls under 5 years. About 5,040 are receiving ART.

Kabale Regional Hospital (founded 1935) is currently facing problems with budget and staff shortfalls with only one doctor instead of 37, no surgeon or paediatrician, and 200 staff instead of 325; poor working conditions, lack of accommodation and inadequate remuneration are blamed. It serves 500 out-patients every day from Kabale, Kisoro, Kanungu. Ntungamo, Rutungiri, the DRC and Rwanda and 300 patients a month to its maternal unit though it has only 30 beds. It relies on the goodwill of its suppliers to carry on particularly electricity, i.e. the budget of Ush4m per quarter only covers a month.

Politics
Kabale District Local Government was one of the first districts approved by the Parliament of the Republic of Uganda. The mother district of Kigezi, which was set up by the Uganda Protectorate, offered significant support towards the start of Kabale District through secondment of staff and sharing of assets to mention. Kigezi District Administration then included Kabale,

Kisoro, Rukungiri and Kanungu; all are now separate districts. The government has approved that two new districts be formed in 2013, Rubanda and Rukiga.

MPs elected during the 2011 General Election were: David Bahati (NRM), Henry Banynzaki (NRM, Minister of State for Economic Monitoring in the President's Office), Andrew Baryayanga (Independent), Henry Musasizi (NRM), Rhonah Ritah Ninsiima (Independent), Wilfed Niwagaba (NRM), Jack Sabiiti (FDC). Losers were Godfrey Perez Ahabwe, previously Minister of State for Local Government, Adison Kakuru. Hope Mwesigye previously Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and Minister of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries and Serapio Rukundo previously State Minister of Tourism. A former MP, Dr. Ruhakana Ruganda served as Uganda's Permanent Representative to the United Nations and is currently Minister of ICT.

Figure 90 Parade to support female education by Mpambara Cox Foundation, one of the many education NGOs in Kabale

The oldest and best known hotel is the White Horse Inn founded in the mid-1930s

There are plans to construct an airport about four kilometres from Kabale Town.

Kisoro District and Town
Geography
Kisoro District, (730km2) is tucked away in the south-west corner of Uganda, longitude 290 35' and 290 35' east and latitude 10 14' and 10 23' south, and is a mix of plateaux with steep terraced valleys and hills to the north and the Virunga Mountains to the south and west, which border Rwanda and the DRC, with extinct volcanoes of which the highest is Mt. Muhavura at 4,127m, the third highest mountain in Uganda, and Mts. Gahinga and Sabinyo. Many crater lakes dot the landscape of which the largest is Lake Mutanda and include Mulehe, Chahafi and Kuyumbu, totalling 33.7km2. It borders the DRC to the west, the republic of Rwanda to the south, Kabale and Kanungu districts to the east and north respectively.

The district mainly experiences two rainy seasons from September to December and from March to May. Its minimum and maximum temperatures are 100C and 260C respectively with a relative humidity of 80%. There are four main soil types: ferraltic mainly in the north, eutrophic in the east and south, non-hydromorphic mainly on the mountain foothills and papyrus peat soils in the wetlands. There are three vegetation zones, forests, wetlands and grasslands.

Originally it was called Bafumbira and was a sub-district within the colonial division of Kigezi but was renamed Kisoro when it was made into an independent district in 1991. Its HDI (Human Development Index) is 0.451 and ranked 22nd in Uganda. It is a young district in a remote part of the country with many difficulties in relation to revenue (98% of local government revenue comes from the centre), capacity, and the environment but does have potential through tourism and trade though these are subject to forces outside of local control. Improvements would come from the completion of the tarmac road to Kabale, peace in the DRC, a reduction in the population growth rate thus easing land pressure combined with improvements of infrastructure, environmental conservation, development of enterprises and markets.

Population

The population was 220,312 with about 20,000 more females than males, which is mostly explained by migration for work, in other words 20,000 more males than females are migrant workers; Kisoro has the highest gender imbalance in Uganda, followed by Kabale, indicating that these two districts have the highest dependence on migrant labour incomes.

The projected population for 2012 is 253,200. Population density increased from 186km2 to 275km2 to 324km2 in 1981, 1991 and 2002 and is projected to be 407km2 by 2012. The district is thus viewed as being seriously overpopulated largely through the high birth rate of about 8.5 children per female.

Overall in Kigezi between 1940 and 1980 the population increased by 90% (net of the assisted migration schemes after 1940) and was, in 1980, described as one the most densely populated areas in Africa. Kisoro, Kabale, Masaka and the districts between Kampala and the Kenyan border north to Mabale have the highest population densities. The density is higher for areas adjacent to the MGNP, i.e. 639km2 in Gisozi.

About 11,328 (5%) are urban, living in Kisoro town. There were 48,537 households of which 23% were urban and 77% rural; 5-6% was headed by females. The people are primarily Bafumbira (87%) with the Bakiga (11%) being a significant minority (mostly in the northern part of the district adjacent to Bwindi) but only 1% of these are urban, other Ugandans made up only 2% of which 21% were urban. Population breakdown by age shows that 59% are under 18 and 51% under 15. Mean household size is 4.5.


Figure 91 On the way to market in Kisoro

Non-Ugandans primarily come from Rwanda (56%) and the DRC (41%) and, in 2002, was 1,253 of which two-thirds were female. However this figure can fluctuate considerably depending on events in Rwanda and the DRC. The 1939 famine, overthrow of the Tutsi monarchy in 1959 and 1994 genocide in Rwanda was responsible for many refugees, some of whom were highly politicised. Many returned when conditions suited them; the expulsions of 1982 do not appear to have affected Kisoro. It was also a two way process as during the political instability of 1971-86, including the liberation war of 1979-80, some Ugandans fled to Rwanda, the DRC and Tanzania.

[BOX] Refugee Impacts
The 2005-7 insurgencies in the DRC forced 6,467 refugees to flee; 82% of these arrived in 2007. They were settled in Nyakabande Refugee transit camp. The male/female ratio was 48/52% however what is significant is that 57% were children whose male/female ratio was 43/57%. In 2005 nearly 60% of the 145 refugees were children. Since then the vast majority have returned as the DRC. However resurgence in 2012 has seen over 7,000 refugees, and growing, settled in camps around Kisoro and Mbarara.


Figure 92 Convoy of twenty buses of Refugees being transferred from Kisoro to Mbarara camps

The vast majority of refugees are of rural origin in most cases coming from very poor and marginalised war-affected areas and even the little they may have possessed was usually lost in flight. Refugee population statistics show that the majority of them were women, children and the elderly; a substantial number were physically wounded and mentally scarred. These are the most difficult to repatriate and need considerable support to resettle successfully.

Consequently the majority of refugees, who belonged to the poorest of the poor, settled in rural areas in Kisoro that are also poverty stricken. Refugee migration is a key concern in poverty reduction due to their high numbers and the impact they have on the host population in terms of economic and social development. The presence of such large numbers of people in a given region can have serious ecological consequences, if sustainable settlement strategies are not implemented early enough to reduce environmental damage.

In some settlements there is a problem of deforestation and fuel wood scarcity thus becomes a problem in the community. Depletion or degradation of resources is common, for example potable water becomes scarce. In addition, camp congestion leads to health hazards especially sanitation. There is also a strain on social amenities in the district such as health services which are over-stretched in the refugee inhabited areas. Furthermore intermittent insurgency and related security problems has left the boarder towns vulnerable to security threats, smuggling and illegal migration.
[END BOX]

Religion
The breakdown by religion shows that Anglicans comprised 46%, Roman Catholics 43%, Pentecostal 5% and other Christians (mostly Seventh Day Adventist and Baptist) 3%. Moslems make up slightly less than 1%, one-third live in Kisoro; other non-Christians and practitioners of Traditional religion are very small. Roman Catholics are primarily in four sub counties associated with Catholic mission establishments.

Pentecostal churches are significant in only two sub-counties though their congregation has risen from around 5,000 (an estimate by Shalita as Pentecostal is not listed in 1991) to 11,000 since 1991; this appears to be at the expense of the Church of Uganda community whose share dropped by 5% since 1991 as compared with Roman Catholics who have marginally increased by 2%.

Marital Status
Of the 107,210 over the age of 15, 29% were unmarried, 53% were in monogamous marriages, 8% in polygamous marriages, 7% were separated or divorced, and 2% were widows/widowers. Two thirds of those between the ages of 15-19 were unmarried. About 6% of males were in polygamous marriages compared to 11% of females of which one-third of males were over 60 compared to 28% of females. The male/female breakdown of monogamous marriages was 55/62%.

There were also significant differences in separated/divorced and widow/widower status in that only about 1% each of males were separated/divorced or widowers compared to 13% and 4% of

females. The high numbers of females who were separated or divorced may be a result of property disputes arising out of polygamous marriages.

Of females over 12 years old, 42% had no children of which 70% were under 18. About 37% had six or more children while those who had 1-5 varied between 10-15% each. Overall women averaged 8.5 children, a very high figure that is usually explained as traditional. In other words the concept of the relationship between small families and economic status has had little effect in the district.

Education

The introduction of Universal School Education, 1997, has had a significant impact on educational and literary standards and attendance has tripled, prior to that 72% of females and 34% of males over 18 had never attended school. There are currently 135 primary schools and 20 COPE centres with an average of 63,000-64,000 students (2004-7), the number fluctuates due to dropouts.

However there still are problems relating to access among the poorest households and the Batwa community, an estimated 5,000 children don't attend school. A further problem is that 50% of rural households live 1-5km from a primary school. In 2002 literacy rates were 70% among males and 45% among females over 18. Girls tend to have higher attendance but higher dropout rates, i.e. while 67% of boys finish school only 34% of girls do. In general it has the lowest net enrolment rate in the south west.

There are 1351 primary school teachers (868 males and 483 females) of which 933 are trained and 418 untrained; giving a child teacher ratio of 1:48. There are 797 school rooms with a shortfall of 335. The textbook pupil ratio is 1:3, the recommended standard ratio, but the average latrine stance to pupil ratio is only 1:95, recommended is 1:25 ratio for girls and 1:40 ration for boys. Only half the schools have access to safe water.

There are 26 secondary schools of which 10 are government aided and 16 are private. Enrolment is 3,500 and the average walking distance to school is 8km instead of standard 3km. Only seven out of the 14 secondary schools have access to safe water and most schools have poor sanitary conditions. Other constraints are insufficient trained teachers, poor classroom conditions and lack of facilities such as computers, libraries and laboratories.

There are five tertiary institutions: Kisoro Primary Teachers College, Kisoro Technical Institute, Seseme Vocational Training Centre, Mutolere Nursing School and St Gertrude Domestic Science Centre. Of these, two are government aided and 3 are NGO institutions. They are constrained by lack of tutors, water, electricity, incomplete buildings, poor accommodation and sanitary conditions.

Poverty

Kisoro District Council's classification of household deprivation has concluded that only 10% of households were not deprived, 15% were low, 25% were medium, while 49% were either highly or very highly deprived. Only one-third of children have blankets and shoes. Orphans are

described as those who have lost one or both parents and amounted to 18,373 of which 12% had lost both parents; as a result many households are headed by either orphans or their grandparents.

This is due to the impact of the AIDS pandemic though is lessening as ARD and ART have become widely and freely available though there still is social stigma and many misunderstandings concerning HIV and AIDS. Homeless children (maibobos) trade where they can but are defined as a security risk due to petty theft and other social problems; there numbers have increased since the 1980s due to family break ups caused by parental deaths (AIDS-related illnesses and malaria epidemics) and property disputes (particularly in polygamous households). It rated as one of the districts with high child vulnerability though it the south west has the lowest rate of 'risky' births.

Health

The first hospital was Mutelere St. Francis founded by the Dutch Franciscan Sisters of Breda in 1957; they ran it until 1995 when it was handed over to Kisoro District Administration. Dr. Rochus, a German was the first doctor and served for nine years. It started with a dispensary and convent but the next 10 years saw the construction of a theatre, x-ray block, main hospital building, staff hostels, maternity unit, laundry and workshop.

During the presidency of Idi Amin, when there was total breakdown in health care delivery and other social services, the hospital continued to expand with construction of the mortuary, more staff hostels and laundry extension. By 1983, the hospital had 181 beds and offered a wide range of services. Today it has 210 beds and offers curative, preventive and health promotion services. It has been joined by Kisoro hospital and 30 health centres.

About 55% of households live 1-5km and 25% live over 5km from a health centre. The main diseases reported are malaria, dysentery, cholera, respiratory tract diseases and diarrhoea, which account for 75% of morbidity and mortality. Other common diseases are malnutrition, ear infections, maternal health related conditions (about 30% of births are home deliveries), skin diseases and HIV/AIDS. Immunisation coverage has increased due to twice-yearly mobilisation programmes and most children have received some vaccinations.

Housing

There are four types of houses in the district: the traditional house found mainly in rural areas constructed with mud, wattle and grass thatch, which are now rarely found; upgradable traditional houses, made from sun dried murram bricks with poles and iron sheets, are common in rural growth centres; semi-permanent houses made from sun dried bricks walls with rough cast and iron sheets, are found in urban centres; while permanent houses with walls of brick or volcanic stones are increasing and are common in trading centres and Kisoro. Housing is classified as 6% permanent and 87% temporary; 75% have CGI roofs, 85% of walls are constructed using poles and mud, while 91% of floors are of rammed earth.

Figure 93 Modern brick kiln made of hand made bricks and an outside layer of mud. Wood in the hollow chamber bakes the bricks from the inside. Straw and plastic protects bricks from rain erosion. Usually found around clay beds and construction sites.

Infrastructural Access

Only 53.7% (47% rural and 88% urban) have access to clean water; the rest depend upon unprotected sources, which results in a high prevalence of water and sanitation related diseases such as dysentery. However, access to clean water has improved from 44% in 2004 to 54% in 2007; nonetheless, some sub counties are significantly below average, 10-24%. Only 25% have access to protected wells and 13% to piped water.

Householders often have to travel some distance to collect water as only 22% are within a 0.5km of a source compared to 23% between 0.5-1km, 34% between 1-5km and 21% over 5km. In the southern areas water collection is a major issue due to the high porosity of volcanic soils; however slowly but surely water storage facilities are being constructed by the local government and NGOs.

About 71% have access to safe latrines; this varies from 55% to 78% in the sub-counties. Only 1% has access to electricity, which arrived in Kisoro in 1995, and 98% depend on firewood and charcoal for cooking; paraffin candles (tadooba) are used by 88% of households for lighting. Waste disposal is a major problem as Kisoro does not have a landfill site nor is their any waste collection; two-thirds of rural households dispose of waste in their gardens, which leads to a build-up of harmful non-degradable waste.


Figure 94 Bringing charcoal home from Kisoro across Lake Mutanda

Employment

In terms of livelihoods 89% of households depend mainly on subsistence farming (highest in the south west, Ugandan average is 68%); there is no significant difference between urban and rural populations in this regard. Only 5% have employment income while 1.5% runs enterprises and cottage industries.


Figure 95 Village shops

In terms of employment status there is wide gender disparity in that male/female employees are 15/3%, self employed 58/17% and unpaid family workers 27/80% of the total workforce. Migrant remittances are an important source of income; the general time away is six months,

workers come home on festivals and holidays while April is the month for submitting tax returns. It has one of the highest percentages of child labour in the country.

Land and Agriculture

Land shortage is one of the biggest challenges in the district. Some households have no access to land and the majority of holdings are highly fragmented with plots under an acre. Over-utilisation has led to soil depletion and erosion, particularly on steep slopes, plots are poorly managed and soil is washed away during heavy rains.

Traditionally, soil conservation methods, such as terracing, were not practised because when there was plenty of land; it could be left fallow for long periods and was thus protected as well as being fertilised by livestock. Food shortages are now common, especially before harvests during March-April and October-November. The most common deficiencies are iodine and Vitamin A.

About 94% of land is held under customary tenure. Crops include beans, sorghum, bananas, sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, maize and cabbages. Other crops grown are field peas, finger millet, wheat, tomatoes, onions, bitter tomatoes, passion fruits, avocados, sugarcane, bananas and yams. Livestock includes goats, sheep, cows, rabbits, poultry and pigs.

The most popular cash crop is Irish potatoes, which has increased due to growing demand in Kampala; however, there is an emerging issue of ground water contamination due to the use of inorganic fertilisers. Coffee and tea was grown on a large scale but was abandoned due to land pressure for subsistence crops. However 900,000 coffee seedlings were distributed in 1998-2004, but there is no tea processing unit in the locality.

Other cash crops include sugar cane and tobacco; though onions have recently become popular judging by the numbers of roadside sellers. There are 3,600 beehives and Kisoro honey has an excellent reputation. Insect pests and diseases are common; only sorghum and sweet potatoes are unaffected by disease.

Agricultural produce is of poor quality while improved seeds, such as maize and sorghum, don't do well in the district, hence the need for a DATIC. Another problem is that bean harvests are falling due to declining soil fertility and disease and many farmers are trading sweet potatoes and cassava to buy beans.

Livestock is important and in 2002 there were 32,500 cattle, 47,900 goats, 27,500 sheep, 3,900 rabbits, 7,500 pigs (no longer a taboo food among non-Muslims) and 525,000 poultry. Land pressure and fragmented holdings affects the amount of grazing available and there is a growth of zero-grazing with 85 units, though productivity is low due to poor quality grazing and the need to walk long distances for water. There are no facilities for the collection or processing of milk.

Tick-borne diseases are the main cause of death among cattle; there are no cattle dips and affordable drugs tend to be out of reach for most poor farmers, however Tsetse is rare due to altitude though this may change with climate warming. Newcastle disease among poultry is a major killer with a 90% mortality rate. Worth noting is that traditional livestock rearing as

practised by the Batutsi has completely disappeared, these have either moved to mixed farming or migrated to other parts of northern Uganda where land is available and conditions are more suitable such as Toro and Acholi.

Fisheries

Lake fisheries are an important resource but are in decline. The lakes were very productive in the 1960s; Mulehe produced 66.2 tonnes and Mutanda 17.6 tonnes every year but started declining from the early 1970s. In 2000, Lake Chahafi was restocked with 18,000 Nile tilapia, and was closed to fishing for one year, on re-opening catches increased but were not sustained. Communities also complained of Cray fish and haplocromines introductions in the lake, which led to a decline of older introductions, Mirror Carp and Nile Tilapia.

The Department of Fisheries Resources restocked Lake Mulehe in February 2002 with 100,000 African catfish, on reopening the lake fish catches increased. Cultivation up to the lake shores has led to silting and considerably reducing the nursery ground threatening fisheries in the Lakes Mutanda and Mulehe. This has resulted in erosion related problems such as silting because of the destruction of the wetland vegetation that would otherwise trap silt and sediment. Flooding is another problem.

There were 102 fish ponds in 1998, which rose to 250 by 2004 but dropped to 184 in 2005. They are small and poorly managed and there is also a lack of training, fish fry and harvesting and processing equipment.

Wetlands

Wetlands mainly occur in the valleys in the centre of the district and south west and east of Lake Mutanda between 1,800-2,300m and occupy 33.4 km2, of which 64% are permanent and 36% seasonal. Resources of economic value from the wetlands include fish, papyrus and other sedges that provide building materials, fuel and medicine. Dry papyrus for making crafts, fuel and thatching is sold in Kisoro on market days. Clay from Kabande Wetlands is used for pots and stoves and is common in the markets.

Crops grown in converted wetlands include sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, beans, cabbages and sorghum. Massive conversion of wetlands has caused a scarcity of papyrus, which was in the past commonly used for thatching houses and making bedding mats. This is a concern especially for rural people who cannot afford mattresses, CGI sheets or tiles.

Environmental Issues

Forest degradation is an ongoing problem particularly with the high population densities around the national parks and forest reserves. Due to the continued demand for firewood for fuel there are very few trees outside designated areas and many lots are of non-native species, such as eucalyptus, that cause soil degradation. Human-wildlife conflict is a continual issue due to crop predation by wildlife. Deforestation of steep caldera slopes, where the soil is unstable and being continually disturbed by intense farming is responsible for landslides and mudslides.


Figure 96 Quarries and hammer-stone breakers are a common sight

Lastly it has also been noted by Kisoro Environmental Department that to steer community initiatives and have community participation, it has become evident that there is a culture where community participants, including community leaders, demand payment in order to cause positive change.

It will take time to educate people that the environment is their major livelihoods resource and must be taken in conjunction with development; otherwise poverty levels will remain high. This culture is likely to have a negative effect on the different programs brought to communities for purposes of empowerment as is clearly stated in the three conditions of the PEAP, where community participation for development is a prerequisite.

Politics
MPs elected during the 2011 General Election were: Tress Bucyanayandi (Minister of Agriculture, Animal Industry & Fisheries), John Kamara, Eddie Kwizera and Sarah Nyirabashitsi; (all NRM). MPs who lost their seats were Silva Bahane, Eudia Kwizera and James Nsababuturo (all NRM).

Travellers Rest Hotel
Its best known landmark is the Travellers Rest Hotel, (the claim that2nd oldest hotel in Uganda is incorrect), which was founded by an unnamed 'wild Irishman' in 1953 according to its next owner Walter Baumgartel who described it as a residence with a 'group of miserable huts with shoddy double-deck bunks' in 1955. By 1957 it

“consisted of a tin roofed main building made largely of bamboo, and a collection of whitewashed native-style mud huts with thatched roofs”.

At that time there was no electricity or telephone but plenty of running water except during the dry season, it had to be brought by bicycle from four miles away. He modernised the hotel and planted the garden and it became the unofficial mountain gorilla headquarters of Africa. Due to post-independence political instability he sold out in 1969 and returned to Germany where he died in 1997 when he was described as the 'gorilla's first protector'.

After independence it had become increasingly difficult to sustain the business especially after Obote had the border crossings to Rwanda and the Congo closed, though it did become popular with shady Indian smugglers. He sold the hotel to a Swiss, Mr. Roland, but due to financial problems was forced to sell to a Mr. Jamboni. However Amin confiscated all the country's hotels and, in his eviction of Asians, Mr. Jamboni was ordered to leave Uganda within 30 days and only allowed to bring $50. All hotels were run by Uganda Hotels during Idi Amin's presidency.

It subsequently came under the ownership of the Roman Catholic bishopric of Kabale and since then the hotel has been run by international hotel chains. It has been recently modernised and refurbished into a well-regarded top class establishment and has a small exhibition of extracts from the visitor's book from 1955-66 that includes such luminaries as Bernard Grzimek, Nadine Gardiner, G.M. Barberg, John Emlen, Raymond Dart; there are photos by George Schaller. Other visitors were Julian Huxley, Robert Ardrey, Niels Bolwig, Harold Coolidge and Dian Fossey. It is an excellent source of genuine Congolese artworks and has a good library.

There is a newly constructed airstrip in Kisoro for occasional charters by Entebbe based operators. It crosses the road to Kabale, which is closed off when aeroplanes are landing and taking off. It was originally constructed in 1956 by Michael Annesley.

Kanungu District and Town

Kanungu District's population is c. 240,000 some of whom are descendants of emigration schemes from Kabale in the 1940s and 1950s. Agriculture is the main economy of the district. The fertile soils and good climate allow for adequate produce for home consumption and surpluses are sold. However, due to the remoteness of the district and the mountainous terrain, bringing the produce to market remains a challenge and a constraint to increased production. However recent road building is slowly making the area more accessible.

Figure 97 Overlooking Kanungu

Many people in the district keep livestock on a subsistence level, primarily for milk production. Milk is part of the local diet and is a requirement for almost every household. But few people keep cattle in large numbers since they are traditionally agriculturalists. Crops grown in the district include tobacco, bananas, plantain (matooke), maize, beans, peas, rice, potatoes, coffee, tea, sorghum, cassava and sweet potatoes. Kayonza tea factory employs 500 people and buys from 4,555 tea growers.  The high altitude and fertile soils is good for the production of temperate fruits such as grapes, apples and pears.

Currently there is a proposal, passed by Kanungu District Council in May 2011, to split the district into two, Kanungu and Kihihi; the latter to include Kihihi town and sub-county, Nyamirama, Kayonza, Kanyantorogo, Mpungu, Bwindi and Butogota town. The same month 700 Mpungu sub-county residents submitted a petition stating that they wanted to stay in Kunungu because they would have better access to local services.


Figure 98 Village shop between Kanungu and Buhoma

There have been various plans to set up a museum commemorating the Kanungu Tragedy, 2000; so far, none have come to fruition.

Rukungiri District and Town
Rukungiri Town, the district headquarters is 385km by road southwest of to Kampala. Its co-ordinates are: 00 47S, 29 56S.

The district was created in 1974 and was previously known as North Kigezi District. Its name changed to Rukungiri District in 1980, a name it derived from its 'chief town' of Rukungiri. When Kanungu District was split off to form a separate district in late 2000, Rukungiri District was reduced to two counties: Rujumbura County and Rubabo County.

The district is the birth place of Kizza Besigye, candidate for the Ugandan Presidency in 2001, 2006 and 2011. Other prominent Ugandans who come from Rukungiri include General Aronda Nyakayirima, the current Chief of Defence Forces of the Uganda People's Defense Force, Brigadier Henry Tumukunde, formerly Director of Uganda's Internal Security Organisation (ISO) and the late Kosia Kikira, Chairman of the Elections Commission in 1980.

The population in 2002 was 308,700 with an annual growth rate of 2.5%. It is estimated that the population was 366,900 in 2009. The mainstay of the economy is agriculture; over 90% of the population are engaged in farming. Of the 1,524.28km2 total land area of the district, 1,352.3km2 is arable land, though only 1,150km2 is under cultivation.

Agriculture is mainly subsistence although the soils are very fertile and with potential for intensive commercial farming. The two chief cash crops are coffee and matooke. The district is known for quality dairy farms especially in the sub-counties of Kebisoni and Buyanja; about 3.52 million litres of milk are produced annually. Due to the altitude, it is ideal for cultivation of all crops including temperate fruits, including grapes, apples, pears and peaches. Fishing is important for some residents of Lake Edward and fish farming is also practised.

* * *

## Chapter 5.5

Select Glossary

What's in a Spelling?
The English had problems in differentiating between G/K, B/V and L/R sounds and often wrote one or the other, though it is not always clear what local pronunciations were at that time. Vowels are another problem in that the English kept it simple, only double 'e' and 'o'. Now many Bakiga and Bafumbira authors use double 'a', 'i' and 'u' to fully represent local pronunciation. Not hearing the names correctly has given us Kigezi rather than Kigyezi. The latter is almost never used, even local people say Kigezi.

People's names went through similar transformations. Even the language, Rukiga, is sometimes called Lukiga; in contrast, it is Luganda not Ruganda.

However there is no agreed standard spelling of local people and places in either language. This is a difficult undertaking given pronunciation changes over time and differences in clan dialects, particularly at language boundaries. An interesting question is: Did literacy affect local pronunciations?

Dr. Stanley Smith, a fluent speaker of Rukiga, Rufumbira and Luganda, discussed the origin of Mt. Muhavura – The Guide. Guhaba, in Rufumbira, means to be lost but if 'ur' is inserted before the final vowel than the meaning is reversed, to be shown the way when you are lost. At some stage the 'b' of 'haba' became 'v' but when the Bafumbira became literate they reverted to the 'b'.

A list of the most common differences found in place names:

Consonants

| Common Usage | Correct Spelling |
|---|---|
| Kisoro | Gisoro |
| Muhavura | Muhabuura |
| Virunga | Birunga |
| Kagalama | Kagarama |

Vowels, including 'Y'

| Common Usage | Correct Spelling |
|---|---|
| Kigezi | Kigyezi |
| Kabale | Kabaale |
| Kanungu | Kaanungu |
| Kisizi | Kisiizi |
| Mgahinga | Mugahinga |
| Rushoroza | Rusoorooza |

In conclusion there are two main systems, the historically correct, as per modern linguists, and common usage. Due to English control and management of the Ordnance Survey in the late 1950s and early 1960s their spelling variants have become standard in maps and documents of central and local governments and civil, church and non-governmental organisations. To avoid confusion this work uses common spellings since the visitor is unlikely to be aware of these issues.

Note that to understand the origins of any word the correct spelling is essential but that the pronunciation, spelling and meaning of words changes over time, they have histories, older spellings may give clues to older meanings.

Place Names

Place names can cause a lot of problems of translation and interpretation particularly when literary people attempt to transcribe traditional names in the pre-literate countries they are exploring. The classic apocryphal story has the following dialogue with gesticulations:

Foreign explorer in his own language: “What is the name of this place?
Local person in his own language: “I don't understand”.

The explorer than transcribes what he hears inaccurately and that becomes the name of the place, much to everyone's later confusion!

Kigezi

Kigezi covers the current districts of Kabale (to be spilt into Kabale, Rukiga and Rubanda in 2013), Kisoro, Kunungu and Rukungiri. It was the colonial name of the district and, according to Ngologoza, comes from the name of J. M. Coote's cottage the first District Commissioner, Kigazi, near Kabale.

Ngologoza writes that, in pre-colonial times, there were four areas 1) Mundorwa (after a drum called Murorwa possessed by king Kaijuko of Ndorwa) or Munkiga of the Bakiga, 2) Bafumbira (after Nyirabafumbira Hill on Kabale-Kisoro road) of the Banyarwanda, 3) Bujumbura (after Kaarujumbura Hill) of the Bahororo, and 4) Butumbi (Kinkiizi after Mukuru ya Kinkiizi) of the Banyabutumbi. The four modern districts reflect pre-colonial political and cultural divisions with the exception of the amalgamation of Kinkiizi and Kayonza.

Ndorwa was an old kingdom in modern northern Rwanda and south-eastern Kigezi as far north as Kabale; the southern half was conquered by the Rwandans. With regards to Bafumbira Bishop Shalita reviewed four possibilities but thought that a fifth that used 'ifumbira' (translated as fertility) was the most likely. It would certainly fit the as a description of the volcanic soils plus some of the volcanoes were associated with pre-Christian fertility rituals and beliefs. It is also called Mufumbira and British Ruanda in older literature.

Rujumbura was in the north-east and was ruled and mostly inhabited by the Bahororo; it was originally part of the Mpororo kingdom. Butumbi was called after the Banyabutumbi who controlled the salt trade routes from Katwe on Lake Edward but were supplanted by Bakiga from areas conquered by Rwanda and Bahunde settlers from the Congo. It was subdivided into Kinkiizi, and Kayonza, small kingdoms ruled and settled by Bakiga clans.

Kigezi is used by writers of the area though is not much used locally. Note that many books on Kigezi generally concentrate on Kabale district and the Bakiga. This text mainly covers the Kabale and Kisoro districts; Kanungu and Rukungiri districts are covered peripherally.

Peoples

The act and art of naming people is a complex topic and involves a whole range of political, cultural and ideological perceptions, which are not static but change over space and time. The section on British/English is to show that Europeans are not immune from the problems and issues arising out of definitions, which should hopefully inform Africans as they grapple with the same.

Terms in East African Languages

The prefixes Ba- the plural of clan members and groups while Banya- and Aba- covers larger population groups; though they are often used interchangeably. Mu- is singular. Ru- and Lu- mean 'language of' while Bu- means 'place of'

Bairu

Bairu is a general term for crop farmers in various Swahili languages, particularly in the Ankole area where they were subjects of the Bashambo and Bahororo pastoral dynasties of Ankole, Mpororo and Rujumbura. It represents a class division in larger pastoral kingdoms where it was sometimes used as a term of abuse.

Bafumbira

Generally refers to Bakiga/Bahutu, Batutsi and Batwa inhabitants of Kisoro district.

Bakiga

Generally means 'People of the hills' and covers Rukiga speakers. It became a popular classification term for the mix of indigenous people and migrants most of whom came from areas conquered by Rwanda between 1600-1900. The Bahutu peoples of Bufumbira have the same origins but different language and political histories. Bakiga is not generally used in Rwanda. There are about 40-50 Bakiga clans in Kigezi, a large number for a small area, which indicates the complexity of their origins, histories, cultures and interactions.

Its origin appears to originate from colonials coming from Ankole who discovered the area was called Rukiga and named all its inhabitants Bakiga. It was not used prior to that time, but, in time, the people, who had previously identified themselves members of a particular clan, learnt to call themselves Bakiga to the extent that 95% of them identified themselves as such in the 2001 census. It is an interesting case of how an identity can evolve.

Bahima
Comes from a pastoral ruling dynasty of Bunyoro who, when replaced by the Babito, migrated south to Uganda and Rwanda where they were absorbed. It is commonly used for rulers, aristocrats and cattle farmers in Ankole. It is sometimes used in Rwanda to describe the Batutsi due to colonials and travellers learning the term in Ankole.

Bahutu
A colonial definition of crop farmers who were the early inhabitants and rulers of what is now called Rwanda. It may derive from umugaragu translated as servant or slave: however Gahutu is a mythical ancestor of the Hutus. The sickle cell trait is common among Hutus indicating survival in the presence of malaria for a long period of time. About one in three are able to digest lactose as adults compared to 5% among neighbouring countries. However even though there are statistically significant genetic differences between Hutu and Tutsi the difference is not large.

Overall the conclusion would appear to be that they share the same origins but spent millennia in different environments evolving separate livelihood strategies. It has been shown that the Tutsis have little to no north eastern African genetic influence, which discredits the Hamitic theory, but there is currently no mtDNA data available for the Tutsi, which might help shed light on their background.

The issue is complicated by the fact that colonial Belgian censuses defined Hutu as anyone owning ten cows or less, which only defined a person's economic status at that point in time and ignored whether his wealth was growing or declining. This stratification ignored economic and social mobility and fixed ethnic origin until the 1990s. Subsequently in Rwanda everybody has become Rwandan and the Hutu/Tutsi classification has been abandoned as divisive.

Banyabutumbi
They are a marginalised indigenous people who currently inhabit the area from north Kigezi to Lake Edward and may have been displaced by Bakiga and other migrants to marginal areas. They were previously important as controllers of the Katwe salt trade in pre-colonial Kinkiizi; one of the five wives of the king of Karagwe, 1860s, was a Banyabutumbi. They have also suffered at the hands of wildlife conservation policies in the Queen Elizabeth NP and other protected areas. They have aligned themselves with the Batwa and other similar groups to fight for civil and economic rights.

Banyarwanda
Term for those who have come from Rwanda in recent historic times, those who have migrated more recently are usually plain Rwandans.

Bashambo

The main group of pastoral clans who controlled central Kigezi, until supplanted by Bakiga clans from the 1700s onwards particularly during the Basigi Uprising, Ndorwa and Mpororo when they were independent. They are related to the Ankole, Karagwe and Rwandan dynasties. In Kigezi it seems that they were mixed farmer rainmaker rulers with a pastoral cow culture. Their cultures are mixed and reflect the many generations of intermarriage with indigenous peoples. In some cases they are more similar to some of the Bakiga clans than to lowland Bashambo.

Batutsi
A colonial term for cattle farmers who were the rulers of what is now called Rwanda from the 1500s. It may derive from the verb gutuka translated to hail from or from gukungahaza, translated as to enrich. Gahutu is a mythical ancestor of the Tutsi. The sickle cell trait is rare indicating they spent many millennia in malaria free areas. About 75% have the ability to digest lactose as adults which suggests they spent time as desert-dwelling nomads before arrival in Rwanda, perhaps in the 15th century when there appears to have been migration of specialist livestock herders.

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Batwa
A commonly used term to describe an outsider, alien, them (as in 'us' and 'them') and is often pejorative but has become the preferred name of the Batwa, their own term for themselves has been lost. Variations include Batua, Batoa, Batswa, Bcwa, all from the DR Congo. The term ‘pygmy’ was commonly used by colonialists but this only is only relevant for some population groups; size has been generally been discarded as a classification of peoples, except in the tourist industry. Another term that has become popular is Forest People but given that hunter gatherers inhabit a number of very different environments from the Poles to the Equator it is restrictive as a general term.

Batwa and pygmies were often described differently in early literature. The pygmies were small hunter-gatherer-tourism people who lived deep in the forest that were an iconic must-see while the Batwa were larger, reflecting generations of intermarriage with farmers, and hunter-gatherer-trade-exchange-guide people who interacted far more with farmers and later were the premier guides for hunters, scientists, collectors and tourists.

Muzungu

A common term for white people in East Africa and comes from the Swahili verb zungu – to go around in circles. Muzungu, literally, is a person who goes around in circles. The uncommon Bazungu is plural. Muzungus is vernacular Uglish (or Swaglish).

Terms in the English language

British/English
The general usage in ex-colonies around the world is British after the kingdom's name, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (Ireland before the Republic of Ireland gained independence). There is some history behind this. During the Roman Empire the two islands were called the Pretanic (or Bretanic) Isles but parts of the eastern island was conquered and colonised at various times by Romans, Angles/Saxons/Jutes, Vikings and Normans between the 2nd century BC and 1066. Even though the Saxons were the majority the country became known as England after the Angles. The Normans (descendants of Viking Norse conquerors of Normandy), primarily defined themselves as French (from Frank, a small Germanic tribe who conquered north-east Gaul but who were absorbed) until they lost their possessions in France after 1206; they subsequently called themselves English and from this time English language and culture as we now know it developed.

The British were those who had been previously unconquered in Wales (Scots in Scotland – originally described early medieval Gaelic settlers in Scotland – and Gaels in Ireland). In the 17th century the English government decided to rename the country United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland thus usurping British history and identity. As a result Edward Lluyd, a Welshman, came up with the term Celt (from Greek and Roman descriptions of central Europeans) to recapture their identity and this spread to Scotland and Ireland and later to Brittany.

UK citizens rarely describe themselves as British but as English, Scottish, Welsh or Irish. The ruling elite of the UK have always been English and they provided most colonial leadership and manpower. It is of course true that these included many from Scotland, Wales and Ireland but they had become English by culture and attitude and generally supported English imperialism, regardless of independence movements in their own areas of origin. The preferred choice in this text is English. The author declares an interest as a Republic of Ireland citizen.

Religions

African Initiated Religion
A meaningless academic term used to describe indigenous traditional religion in Africa.

The two most commonly used terms in Africa in English are religion and cult. The term cult is heavily criticised for its negative connotations and interpretations. A neutral definition is that a cult is a discretionary set of beliefs within the ambit of a religion; i.e. a cult is always part of a religion but never the reverse.

Often the reason a cult is deemed ‘bad’ is because it challenges orthodoxy and the status quo; cults are usually absorbed, accepted or rejected by the mainstream. Nyabingi is a classic example

in pre-colonial times. In other words just because a cult is deemed bad does not mean it is bad; though that is not to deny the existence of horrific cults that result in mass murder and suicide.

However, the maority of cults are positive; just because the term had pejorative connotations in past times and cultures do not pre-determine its meaning(s) in current times. The defining of such words often says as much about the definer(s) and their world view(s) as about the meaning of the word itself.

African Initiated Churches
The general term for the plethora of African Christian churches founded and run by Africans. In Uganda they have sprung up in the country since 1985 and when religious freedom was granted in the constitution in 1995. There were a few earlier ones that were persecuted during Idi Amin's regime. Most belong to the Pentecostal movement, which originated in Los Angeles in 1906, and preach theologies of dispensational pre-millenarianism and Protestant teachings on sanctification. Charismatic movements also exist within the Church of Uganda and Roman Catholicism but are controlled by their respective clergies to prevent misuse, abuse and heresy.

A discretionary belief is that true believers will be spared the trials and tribulations of Armageddon leading up to the Day of Judgement by being protected but will have a grandstand view of the final battle between God and the Devil. In its more extreme form the specific Day of Judgement is divined by its leaders from the Bible and current events, which has led to a number of major tragedies of mass deaths of followers worldwide including Kanungu in March 2000.

In Uganda some are a mixture of Christianity and Traditional Religion.

Christian
This term has two meanings, firstly as a collective name for practitioners of Christian faiths and secondly defines European Christians as products of 1,500-2,000 years of religion, history and culture arising out of the conversion of Europe.

In the beginning Early Christianity was a minority communal religion of the Mediterranean. In the 5th century the Roman Emperor, Constantine, made it the preferred religion of the empire though he was only baptised on his deathbed in Constantinople by an Arian bishop. Within the next hundred years it became the official state religion though there were still debates regarding Roman, Arian, Donatist and Pelagasian theologies of the nature of Jesus Christ and his relationship with God. Meanwhile Christianity in the Middle East and Africa developed their own independent theologies.

The result was that Christianity absorbed the imperialist philosophy of Rome that made it such a force in later European history and subsequent colonial expansion in South America, Africa and, to a lesser extent, Asia. The Eastern Orthodox religion split afterwards and is associated with the late Roman Empire.

In the 7th century Christian communities of the eastern Mediterranean mostly disappeared with the expansion of Islam, though some sects with various independent theologies have survived. One major exception is the Coptic Christian Church that took root in the Ethiopian highlands and

was associated with local monarchies; they also had strong links with Judaism as is evidenced by the current claim that the Ark of the Covenant is in Aksum, northern Ethiopia. The Falash were Jews of the old rite, reformed in Israel c. 500BC.

Protestant

This is the general term used in Uganda for the Church of England (Anglican) and Church of Uganda. However the term covers many 16th century Reformation religions, including State religions, Presbyterianism, Methodism, Lutheran, Baptist, etc. In its original usage 'to protest' was used by the nascent Church of England to affirm ones religious beliefs, such as Martin Luther's publication on justification in 1525. Anglican (shorthand for the Church of England) is the preferred term in this text for the colonial period and Church of Uganda after 1962.

The Church Missionary Society (CMS) was founded in 1799 with three aims: social reform, abolition of slavery and evangelisation. It was an independent Protestant organisation that was closely allied with the Church of England but accepted members of any Protestant faith who were committed to evangelisation; some of the earliest evangelists were Lutheran.

In the colonies and other areas it acted on behalf of the Church of England in terms of doctrine and ritual until these churches became independent, i.e. Church of Uganda, when they became part of the international Anglican community. Uganda was influenced by revivalism that taught personal salvation through being born again in Christ, the best known is the East African Revival (Balokole movement) from 1935, which had its roots in northern Rwanda and Kigezi. This often led to conflict and tension with more orthodox Christians (High Church) and secular authorities. The CMS is still active in East Africa though now focuses of development tied with evangelisation.

Roman Catholic

This term refers to the original Christian religion that became the predominant mode of worship and theology in central and western Europe after the many disputes of the first 800 years. Celibacy was introduced as a requirement for clergy around 1,000 years ago; previously it had been a vocation. In Europe, hereditary church families were the most common form of church administration before.

It was a major player in European politics for most of this period until Napoleon conquered Italy in the early 19th century when the Church lost all their land and secular power, which was never recovered after his defeat and the subsequent independence of Italy later in the century. Rome became the capital of the newly independent Italy in 1844 resulting in the creation of the Vatican City enclave. One result was that the church hierarchy, having lost all their political power, shifted their attention to religious affairs, which that led to the doctrine of papal infallibility later in the century and greater involvement and control in the lives of its congregation.

Missionary activities became an important part of church philosophy after St. Augustine (died 431) published City of God that argued against Christianity being the sole prerogative of Romans but belonged to all mankind. The main missionary activities were conducted by religious orders in medieval Europe and the rest of the world after 1600.

The White Father Missionaries were founded in 1868 by the first Archbishop of Algiers, later Cardinal Lavigerie, as the Missionaries of Our Lady of Africa of Algeria. They are called White Fathers (Pères Blancs in French), after their dress that mirrors North African traditional clothing. In 1878 they arrived in East Africa where they set up in Kampala and became involved in the tortuous politics of the Buganda Kingdom. They arrived in Kigezi in 1912 and were responsible for running the parish network from the 1920s until independence. They still maintain a presence in Uganda though most parishes are now under African leadership while they focus on missionary activities.

Food

This short appendix explores some history and the potato's relationship to subsistence and economic development. The benefits, challenges and problems regarding potatoes are also germane to other food crops and indicate that while monoculture can be profitable, food sustainability, security and profitability depend on an environmentally appropriate mix of agricultural crops and livestock.

Irish Potato

It is unknown why the potato is called the Irish potato in Africa; it is called English and European potato in some colonial literature. In fact the potato is of South American origin and was only introduced into Europe in the 17th century.

In Ireland there was initial resistance but in the 18th century rapidly became very popular to the extent that it became the main subsistence food of the majority of the peasantry with other crops and livestock used to pay twice-yearly rents. Because it was easily grown and could support large families on small plots of land its use grew almost to the exclusion of other food crops. The typical daily diet among the vast majority of the Irish was a huge bowl of potatoes (called 'lumpers') with buttermilk. Meat was eaten once a year at Christmas and if a greedy landlord discovered it was more often than the rent was increased.

However it is vulnerable to disease, particularly blight, and varieties only last about 30 years before losing their ability to provide good yields and keep their natural immunities. This was little understood at that time and usually only one variety was grown exclusively. This resulted in two famines in the 1780s and early 19th century in Ireland when harvests failed. People switched to more productive varieties but the lessons were not learnt.

During the 19th century population expanded and more land was brought under cultivation particularly in marginal areas that was usually only suitable for rough grazing. Land plots also became smaller due to inheritance practices of dividing land equally among all sons. Mud cabins and roofs of turf and heather were the norm.

By the 1840s the island supported about nine million people most of whom were totally dependent on the potato for subsistence. In 1845 the potato blight arrived from the USA to Europe and rapidly spread devastating harvests and arrived in Ireland in Autumn. The catastrophic collapse of the potato harvests in 1846 and 1847 caused a major famine in which it is estimated that nearly one million, 10% of the island's population, died. About 10% of these

died from starvation and the rest died from malnutrition and disease, mostly famine fever (now extinct) that swept through the countryside and affected all classes of society.

This caused major structural changes on the island. One of the first effects was that partible inheritance was abandoned and farms were left to the eldest son while younger sons had to find other occupations, daughters were married off to economically equivalent farmers (they were only allowed one wife at a time). The combination of this and continuing fears of food insecurity resulted in major emigration to the rest of the UK, North America and Australasia; a pattern that has continued to this day, excluding some periods of economic expansion during 1965-75 and 1990-2005. The current population stands at around 5.5-6 million people of whom around four live in the Republic.

It is not the aim here to analyse and critique the English government's response but they were driven by laissez faire economic and imperialist colonial philosophies that argued that any famine assistance would distort markets and that the victims were to blame for their predicament. They did reluctantly intervene but many of their interventions were ill-thought out, inappropriate and subject to political interference.

There was considerable private relief by various religious organisations of whom the Society of Friends (Quakers) stand out. A very small minority of evangelists tied relief to conversion from Roman Catholicism (religion of the majority) to Protestantism (religion of the elite); they were influenced by a Protestant revival earlier in the century. This was widely criticised and the majority of people refused; those that did convert were known as 'soupers' (the most commonly distributed food was soup) and most of these people emigrated due to social pressure.

In the long term there is little evidence that any lessons were learnt by the English government, the Colonial or Foreign Office as can be seen in their lack of response and understanding of subsequent famines in their colonies in Africa and Asia. It is depressing to see the same political and economic mistakes being repeated in English colonies between the 18th century and 1960s, but that is a whole other debate.

Since that time the potato has spread worldwide and become an important cash crop in many areas bringing much needed wealth to communities whose environments are suitable. The main markets are urban so there is always demand for a steady flow of good quality produce. A further advantage is that it is suitable for independent farmers and is less likely to be plantation oriented. However care needs to taken so that it does not become monoculture and the management and development of varieties is of utmost importance in keeping crops healthy and harvests profitable.

Milk

Milk is the main produce of the cow and has been an intrinsic part of the diet of pastoralists and mixed farmers for generations. It also plays an important part in the beliefs of many Africans and is found in origin myths in East Africa. This has had an impact on African history as pastoral kingdoms and class systems are based on lactose tolerance.

Not everybody can tolerate cow's milk and is only those who are genetically disposed and have drunk it from very young that can successfully digest it; hunter gatherers and crop farmers usually are not lactose tolerant. While social mobility between pastoralists and crop farmers was possible the health effects of changes in diets may have acted as a constraint; it is the type of topic that is rarely addressed in historical analysis.

This is because the human digestive system cannot produce the enzymes necessary to digest lactose, a sugar-like fat. They are high in fats, acids and enhance mucous. Milk has been associated with early onset of puberty, adult fertility problems, asthma, congestion, inflammation, digestive problems and stomach acidity.

However goat's milk is much easier to digest as it is closer to human milk. It has one-fifth fat content compared to cow's milk, is homogenised, its cholesterol is easier to digest by the body, it is low in carbohydrates and lactose, it has more chlorine and fluorine (natural germicides), its proteins are absorbed quicker, has high levels of carotene (vitamin A), has anti-TB antibodies and its germicides are believed to help prevent opportunistic secondary bacterial infections associated with HIV/Aids. Goats can survive on less fertile pastures and need smaller areas; they can produce four litres per day and are ideal for subsistence farmers.

Wild Yams

Wild yams belong to the Dioscorea family of species; they are either annual or perennial climbing plants with large tubers whose stems are often called lianas. The Batwa identify four species in Bwindi, called ebizirahi, ebihama, ebikwa and amatugu in Rukiga, though the second and third are thought to be the same species by botanists.

Some sources claim there are no wild yams in Bwindi but this is incorrect, as they are commonly found, mostly in degraded forest and near rivers, but are less likely in mature forest, where forest has been completely cleared or burnt, and forest savannah boundaries. A 2011 mapping exercise by Batwa showed they were located mostly on hill tops. Their seeds are thought to be dispersed by insects and are associated with termite mounds.

Yams, an important source of carbohydrates, have been harvested since time immemorial by hunter gatherers in Africa and are known to farmers as an emergency famine food eaten during annual inter-harvest food shortages as well as more serious crop failures and droughts, the most recent were in 1967, 1974, 1989 and 1999. It has been domesticated in West Africa for many centuries where domesticates and wild varieties are still cross-bred.

Wild yams have been managed by hunter gatherers though sustainable practices; their locations are often associated with other wild vegetable species and honey and are often an indication of historic settlement. They were collected at different times during the year but care needs to be taken with ebizirahi due to its toxicity; it has to be boiled four times and the water thrown away each time to draw out the poisons.

It was an important trade item between forest peoples and neighbouring farmers. Yams have always been of cultural importance to the Batwa and were used in marriage ceremonies,

festivities, social exchange and spiritual offerings (empande). Its traditional cultural value supported its sustainability.

While it is a reasonably prolific grower it is susceptible to over-harvesting, which can happen if everybody can access it, and extreme environmental change. Farm trials in Uganda have found that constraints to domestic production are high labour, low yields, disease vulnerability during storage and the large quantities needed for domestication.

* * *

## Chapter 5.6

Rainfall and Temperature

Rainfall 1921-3 and 1926-32

These measurements are taken from the Kigezi District Annual Reports. Note the last quarter of the former was not given.

| Month/Year | 1921 | 1922 | 1923 |
|---|---|---|---|
| January | 1.75 | 1.16 | .071 |
| February | 2.65 | 2.39 | 4.14 |
| March | 2.01 | 4.21 | 4.28 |
| April | 4.68 | 2.56 | 4.46 |
| May | 1.03 | 1.76 | 4.51 |
| June | 0.21 | 0.1 | 0.07 |
| July | 0.06 | nil | 2.28 |
| August | 1.58 | 7.22 | 0.33 |
| September | 1.23 | 6.54 | 5.31 |

| Month/Year | 1926 | 1927 | 1928 | 1929 | 1930 | 1931 | 1932 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| January | 3.57 | 4.16 | 2.05 | 1.98 | 2.84 | 2.14 | 2.51 |
| Febraury | 0.9 | 2.96 | 2.4 | 0.41 | 4.35 | 6.1 | 1.73 |
| March | 5.42 | 2.12 | 3.81 | 5.13 | 9.45 | 10.13 | 6.6 |
| April | 4.0 | 4.67 | 4.57 | 6.27 | 6.38 | 4.35 | 2.62 |
| May | 2.3 | 0.87 | 2.56 | 1.0 | 6.19 | 2.09 | 5.79 |
| June | 0.15 | 0.18 | 0.26 | .0.83 | 1.45 | 0.1 | 0.62 |
| July | 1.83 | nil | 0.26 | 0.83 | 1.45 | 0.1 | 0.62 |
| August | 1.27 | 2.27 | 3.73 | 0.37 | 1.67 | 2.3 | 0.21 |
| September | 1.45 | 4.9 | 1.91 | 3.01 | 5.8 | 5.26 | 5.78 |
| October | 4.69 | 0.85 | 4.68 | 4.2 | 4.02 | 2.55 | 3.63 |
| November | 4.41 | 4.9 | 3.32 | 3,09 | 4.24 | 2.57 | 5.01 |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| December | 0.6 | 6.05 | 2.36 | 5.58 | 2.22 | 3.66 | 1.18 |
| Total | 32.59 | 33.93 | 32.13 | 32.81 | 49.83 | 41.83 | 36,53 |

Temperature, 1931-2 in degrees Fahrenheit

These measurements are taken from the Kigezi District Annual Reports. Yje means, maximums and minimums are all averages

| 1931 | Highest | Lowest | Mean | Maximum | Minimum |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| January | 98 | 48 | 73 | 85 | 53 |
| February | 96 | 48 | 72 | 84 | 52 |
| March | 91 | 48 | 69 | 80 | 50 |
| April | 96 | 42 | 69 | 81 | 59 |
| May | 78 | 48 | 63 | 72 | 53 |
| June | 82 | 44 | 65 | 70 | 48 |
| July | 76 | 48 | 62 | 72 | 53 |
| August | 82 | 44 | 63 | 75 | 52 |
| September | 82 | 48 | 65 | 74 | 52 |
| October | 80 | 50 | 65 | 75 | 52 |
| November | 84 | 50 | 67 | 74 | 51 |
| December | 92 | 48 | 70 | 76 | 53 |

| 1932 | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| January | 86 | 50 | 69 | 80 | 51 |
| February | 82 | 48 | 68 | 79 | 54 |
| March | 86 | 50 | 63 | 75 | 51 |
| April | 78 | 50 | 63 | 73 | 51 |
| May | 72 | 50 | 62 | 71 | 52 |
| June | 72 | 50 | 62 | 71 | 50 |
| July | 74 | 50 | 62 | 72 | 51 |
| August | 82 | 50 | 63 | 75 | 51 |
| September | 80 | 50 | 65 | 74 | 53 |
| October | 78 | 52 | 65 | 74 | 52 |
| November | 78 | 52 | 62 | 73 | 52 |
| December | 74 | 52 | 62 | 73 | 53 |

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Chapter 5.7

1931 Census Returns

Taken from the Kigezi District Annual Report. Note that the census was carried out by chiefs under the guidance of colonial officials and is only of taxpayers, which was deemed to be sufficiently accurate for the purposes of development. There are underestimates of some categories that are impossible to compute.

Population by District

| District | Male | Female | F/M ratio |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kinkizi | 8412 | 9593 | 114.04 |
| Ruzhumbura | 13902 | 16653 | 119.78 |
| Rukiga | 24383 | 30110 | 123.49 |
| Ndorwa | 33666 | 39754 | 118.08 |
| Bufumbira | 20836 | 23183 | 111.26 |
| Station | 2511 | 2665 | 106.13 |

Population by Origin

| Origins | Male | Female |
|---|---|---|
| European | 17 | 16 |
| Japanese | 1 | |
| Goan | 5 | 4 |
| Indian | 60 | 27 |
| Natives | 103881 | 121987 |

Ethinicty

| | |
|---|---|
| Bakiga | 140954 |
| Bahororo | 32456 |
| Bahundi | 1590 |
| Banyruanda | 47575 |
| Banyankole | 2290 |
| Baganda | 574 |
| Batoro | 56 |
| Baziba | 39 |
| Batwa | 95 |
| Misc. | 61 |

Religion

| | |
|---|---|
| Protestant | 4087 |
| RC | 5615 |
| Other Christian | 1 |
| Muslim | 617 |
| Traditional | 215348 |

Numbers of Married People

| District | Male | Female | F/M ratio |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kinkizi | 3101 | 3997 | 129 |
| Ruzhumbura | 5505 | 7818 | 142 |
| Rukiga | 9218 | 13902 | 151 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ndorwa | 12518 | 18839 | 151 |
| Bufumbira | 8395 | 10955 | 131 |
| Station | 835 | 1162 | 139 |

Children

The number of children in last two column is per married man and woman

| District | < 1 year | 1-7 year | 7-18 year | per M | per W |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kinkizi | 2807 | 4694 | 2883 | 3.35 | 2.5 |
| Ruzjumbura | 3960 | 7544 | 4243 | 2.86 | 2.01 |
| Rukiga | 7273 | 15025 | 7708 | 3.25 | 2.16 |
| Ndorwa | 10665 | 20968 | 11767 | 3.47 | 2.2 |
| Bufumbira | 8106 | 9625 | 8329 | 2.37 | 2.2 |
| Station | 617 | 1326 | 804 | 3.29 | 2.37 |

Number of Taxpayers and Dependents

| District | Taxpayers | No. of Dependants |
|---|---|---|
| Kinkizi | 2336 | 6.61 |
| Ruzhumbura | 4719 | 5.47 |
| Rukiga | 8685 | 5.27 |
| Ndorwa | 10275 | 6.15 |
| Bufumbira | 7020 | 5.27 |
| Station | 988 | 4.24 |

Male Occupations

| | |
|---|---|
| Chief | 169 |
| Agriculturist | 50737 |
| Cattle Owners | 1263 |
| Shopkeepers & Traders | 55 |
| Government Emplyees | 244 |
| Business Employees | 58 |
| Carpenters | 89 |
| Blacksmiths | 507 |
| Bricklayers | 59 |
| Mechanics | 20 |
| Household Servants | 925 |
| Teachers & Religious | 369 |
| Students | 304 |
| Fishermen | 195 |
| Industrial Labourers | nil |
| Others | 299 |
| None | 172 |

* * *

Chapter 6.1

Introduction

The first quotations are taken from Speke's collection of travellers' tales about the Virunga Mountains (which he unfortunately mixed up with Rwenzori) or 'Ruanda' from Karagwe, (1861). The first relates the belief in Rwanda that foreigners (Arabs) caused drought and famine; the second and third has some of the earliest recorded misinformation on Batwa and mountain gorillas.

(The) villages of Ruanda are of enormous extent and people great sportsmen, for they turned out in multitudes with small dogs on whose necks were tied bells, and blowing horns themselves, to hunt leopards. They were highly superstitious and would not allow any strangers to enter the country.

In Ruanda there existed pygmies who lived in trees, but occasionally came down at night, and, listening at the hut doors of men, would wait until they heard the name of one of its inmates, when they would call him out, and, firing an arrow into his heart, disappear again in the same way as they came.

More formidable were monsters who could not converse with men and never showed themselves unless they saw a woman pass by; then, in voluptuous excitement, they squeezed them to death.

When explorer Richard Burton travelled through East African in the 1870s he found that myths concerning foreigners preceded him (Hansen, 2000)

They had one eye each and four arms; they were full of 'knowledge', which in these lands means magic; they caused rain to fall in advance and left droughts in their rear; they cooked watermelons and threw away the seeds, thereby generating small-pox; they heated and hardened milk, thus breeding a murrain among cattle; and their wire, cloth and beads caused a variety of misfortunes.

The first and fourth were correct; foreigners brought disease, Africans just did not understand how. But then understanding of infectious disease transmission was still in the beginning stages.

More common are what foreigners thought of local people and places.

* * *

Chapter 6.2

People

J. M. Coote, first District Commissioner, c. 1910

I wish to be clearly understood that...there are no persons in the district of sufficient intelligence to act as chiefs, in the sense of the word as used among uncivilised tribes elsewhere...

G. E. E. Sullivan, another early District Commissioner, c. 1910

The Batutsi are of no economic value, their chief asset seems to be a remarkable attainment in the art of high-jumping

Capt E. M. Jack, 1908

At Mutanda I first came in contact with the real Bufumbira native; but he is not a pleasant person as a rule, to look at or be near. These people anoint their bodies with a peculiar and disgusting concoction whose least unpleasant ingredient is, I believe, rancid butter. The resulting smell is too appalling for words, and quite beyond the power of the pen to describe. Many a time when I had a guide walking ahead of me I had to make him get off the path or go behind me, because I could not stand the rank, malodorous whiff

In some parts the natives appeared to be quite unsophisticated. Cloth was almost unknown to them, and their usual costume when working in the fields was made of banana leaves

It is a wild country in this south-western corner of Rukiga. The people were inclined to be truculent, and we had trouble with them on several occasions. Isolated parties were attacked, and we lost some letter-runners, so that we found it impossible to let men go by themselves

Hereabouts, and especially near the southern end of the lovely Lake Bunyoni, live the Batwa. This race of fierce and savage pygmies is held in great terror by its neighbours. They live by the chase, and on such food as they steal from the villages of less warlike tribes, whose land we were told, they were constantly raiding

The Bakiga as a general rule, dress their hair in a peculiar fashion – in longish strings ornamented with beads and shells or even nowadays with cent-pieces. They seem to be a mild-mannered, inoffensive people

W. G. Adams, DC, 1920s

The Bahororo generally are an unsatisfactory tribe of poor physique and little promise of improvement.

The Banyaruanda are mostly very untrustworthy, chiefs and peasants alike. The existing chiefs are none too good and there is little suitable material when replacements are necessary

Dr. Sharp and Smith, CMS Missionaries, 1920s

The Bakiga are a race of highlanders, not unduly tall but immensely strong, They weave their hair into long plaits, and dress in skins. They live in indescribable squalor in grass huts deep down in the valleys, and they plaster the hills with untiring cultivation. They are cheery though passionate people, they have no vestige of politeness, and are fiends when drunk.

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 200,000 inhabitants of Kigezi are heathen almost to a man

The Batutsi are the aristocracy of Ruanda; you cannot meet one of them without realising he is a gentleman...

The mass of the Banyaruanda are called Bahutu, or serfs

The Banyabatumbu inhabit Kinkizi and are a poor and effete tribe

The Bahundi are a tribe of lake (Edward) dwellers, whose diet is fish and they have no other occupation than fishing. They are Congolese in type and file their incisor teeth

Most of them (Batwa) are very degraded. They get their livelihood by hunting in the forests, climbing along the branches like monkeys and dropping loaded spears on their prey

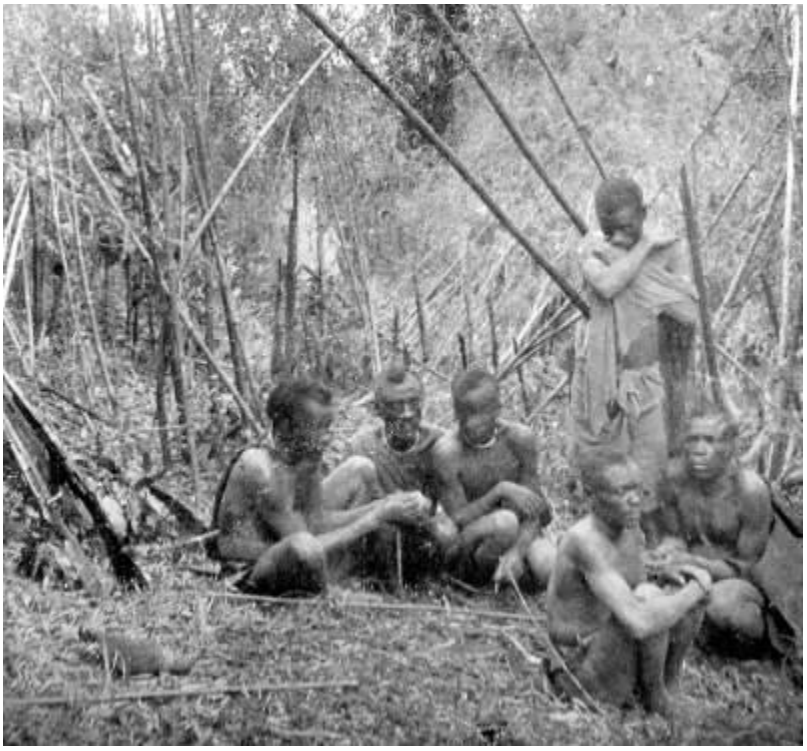

Figure 99 Batwa in Echuya Forest, 1930s, photo by Dr. Sharp

They (Pygmies) are bright and intelligent little people, held in considerable awe by their larger brethren and as capable as you and I... of becoming sons of God and inheritors of all the riches of Christ.

[BOX]
All these negative comments seem to have started a trend, some recent examples include President Museveni in 2011

“The problem with Ugandans is that they are undisciplined, unserious, alcoholics and extravagant”

and while on a state visit to Rwanda:

“You know Uganda has so many thieves”

No doubt such examples could be endlessly multiplied.
[END BOX]

Athanase Nalugumbula, Bugandan Catholic Catechiste, 1920s

That suffering never discouraged them (Bakiga), hard blows never frightened them, death did not trouble them.

(Bafumbira) were indifferent, lacked curiosity, were slow to decide and lacked perseverance

Prince William of Sweden, 1920

The Batwa are a shy race who live by hunting or, when that fails by stealing. They do no work, but the others are afraid of them and their arrows, and therefore treat the little men with a certain respectful condescension

J. E. T . Philipps, District Commissioner, c. 1920

As might be expected among unsophisticated savages the powers of superstition are enormous. This explains the influence of the local witchdoctors, who suitably combine their claims to supernatural powers with promises of liberation of the natives from European rule and restoration to their former condition of a) absence of obligations and b) freedom to plunder and loot their neighbours, a pastime much favoured by sections of the Bakiga.

Paul Hoeffler, a traveller who thought the Belgian method of making men work far superior than the English, 1920s – it wasn't so different in Uganda

The English method as practiced in Kenya, where most of the Negro men are a useless blot on the landscape, the native women being the beasts of burden who perform all the drudgery, while the men strut about aping the white man

Mary Jobe Akeley, 1920s

They (Bakiga car pushers up Lengo Hill) were superb species of native manhood

There is an excellent police force in charge (Kabale)... one's property is safe from marauders. All natives, whether soldiers or the boys around the town, are comparatively unspoiled and therefore polite and obliging. It is indeed a travesty on the influence of the white man that one must come to the very outposts of civilization in order to find the uncorrupted native.

The pygmy (Batwa) dwells on the lower reaches of the volcanoes. The mature pygmy is approximately four and a half feet in height. Though light in weight he is sinewy, strong, skilful and very brave. So adept and fearless is he in the use of his light spear that he goes into the forest alone to kill buffalo and elephant. He knows where to strike in a vulnerable spot. He lives entirely on the land, that is, on roots and plants found on the edge of the forest, and by hunting such small game as bush pig and antelope with spear and bow and arrow. For the most part, the pygmies wear no clothing except perhaps a slight loin covering of oil-softened skin. Occasionally the older men display a thick growth of wooly hair, covering the chest... three hundred of these live in grass huts in the Kivu Forest... The Kivu pygmies never use a trap. They only use spears and bows and arrows. They will not touch or eat the flesh of a gorilla or chimpanzee... They advise never to climb trees because of the likelihood of being trapped and to avoid dense thickets.

Prince William, 1920s

The people are well off, savage but thrifty. When they greet you they fall on their knees and clap their hands at the same time. Not as a sign of subjection nor in an attack of fawning servility, but because they have since time immemorial greeted their own chiefs in that way. They are a proud warlike race who have long fought the English for their territory. Even today there are sometimes disturbances in the more distant corners of the district. The valleys there are only occasionally reached by the avenging arm of law and are therefore an excellent refuge for all kinds of dubious types

Erisa Mathias, Bugandan Chief Medical Orderly in CMS Hospital, Kabale, 1921-40

You know for a Muganda to eat potatoes and feel the cold is a terrible thing

Constance Hornby, CMS Missionary, 1920s

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

What a life these (Bakiga) women and girls live, work, work, nothing else. Often with a baby on the back, a basket on their heads, a huge hoe in one hand, a wee piece of fire (a small piece of glowing wood in grass) in the other hand, they are off to their food patch away on the top of some hill where they stay till night fall when they return and cook for the men.

Talking to a man, and a nice man too. I asked him why not a woman or girl from his fence (compound) ever come to church or to read. Answering by a question, as a native often does, he said: “Would you teach a cow or send a cow to church?”

CRS Pitman, Game Warden, 1920s

(The Batwa) are unquestionably the people most conversant with the ways and habits of this ape (mountain gorilla)

Mary Edel, Anthropologist, 1930

A people (Bakiga) united only in their common disunity;  a group of homogeneous culture, divided into independent clans, which are related through a network of intermarriages, but are also engaged in constant feuds.

F. H. Rogers, DC, 1930s

The Agricultural industry of the Bakiga is a source of wonder to all who see it for the first time and deservedly so. The hills for miles are covered with food plots from top to bottom, and in many places congestion is something of a problem.

Stather Hunt, CMS representative describing a Mother's Union meeting, 1930s

There were about thirty of them there, mostly with infants, so far as I could make out each was clad in two skins. Most of them had thirty thin wire bracelets on each arm and more on their legs. After the meeting the main topic of conversation was of the arrival of triplets in the hospital

Dr. Algernon Stanley-Smith, 1930s

For the moment, the rising tide of success in Kigezi showed signs of superficiality. One after another evangelists and leading Christians fell away into sin. The bondage of drink, the corruption of sexual vice, and the deep strong roots of witchcraft, and the allurements of the world began to take their toll.

Dorothy U. Ratcliffe, London 1930s

Many Ba-kiga wear plaques of the Virgin or crucifix of ebony and silver about their necks; in most cases they consider them as passports to the friendliness of white people. On several occasions natives have come up to us, and, after showing us their plaques, have held out their hands to be shaken.

There are the droll-looking, compact Ba-twa, pygmy half-breeds, with their round heads, large eyes and broad noses

Esther Sharp comparing 1942 with 1921

In 1921 it was with difficulty that we reached this place, both sitting on a motorbike. The road was little more than a track, ungravelled, and often was away. Now there are fine motor roads all through the district, and all the important centres can be reached by car within two and a half hours. There were no shirts and shorts in those days for the Africans to wear; they were clad, or rather one would say, scarcely half-clad, in goat and sheepskins. There hair then was long and matted; now it is either shaved or kept short and clean. They were wild, rebellious and drunken, with frequent murders. Now the whole district is law-abiding, ruled by chiefs educated in the mission schools, and violent crimes are few and far between. What is even more striking is that a country which so recently was wholly given over to heathenism and the power of witch-doctors, now has a strong self-supporting and self-propagating Church...

John W. Purseglove, 1945

They (Bakiga) take a lot of convincing, but once they are convinced, they'll do a thing and see it through

These people have a natural eye for contour about as accurate as a level. The contour strips are pegged by eye, and my instructors are seldom out by more than a few inches

Constance Hornby, 1945

Today the people are cleaner and healthier. Lice were everywhere then, people crawled with them. The woman would go off at sunrise with her baby on her back and work all day in the fields; at nightfall she'd return with a heavy load of fire wood and start to cook; no wonder her person, her children, her hut, were filthy. Today she still works hard, but life is not quite such a grinding labour. They're healthier, and they have greater opportunities. Then, a man had no choice but to be a peasant; today, if he sticks to his schooling, he can train as a teacher, a doctor, a clerk. Life is less cramped, there are wider horizons. But...

Immorality is rampant, the sense of obligation to family and tribe has gone. People think first of themselves. Last year three of our women teachers here became pregnant, and we had to suspend our senior master, a Makarere man, for seducing a pupil of fourteen

But we must look to the next generation. We must pin our hopes to them, And I have faith that enough will grow up healthy, self-respecting and God-fearing to leaven the whole...

George Schaller, 1959

(To the Batwa) the gurgling water, the faint rustling of leaves, the swift flight of a flock of grey parrots, had ceased to be received by the senses, for they formed the heart of the senses themselves.

Pablo, Bakiga, Observer, 17 February 2010

I was travelling in a taxi recently with my cousin when he received a call from his long lost friend. He was so excited that the Mukiga in him couldn't hold back. He was so loud that the driver had to park and wait for him to finish receiving the call. The other passengers started releasing a barrage of words that were anti-Bakiga. The conductor cemented it by wondering whether we were also created in the same image of God. Just so you know, we Bakiga were fearfully and wonderfully created.

Fearfully because we don't have time to gossip - we beat. Actions speak louder than words. Wonderfully because we speak the truth. A spoon is a spoon not a small spade. Bakiga are not like other tribes that say Kankomewo, (I will be back shortly), and they don't come back. If a mukiga tells you that they are coming back then start preparing food for they live by their word. If a mukiga tells you nda kwasha for I will beat you, please get on your heels before he finishes saying it.

To set the record straight, Bakiga are not rude or vulgar. They are just putting their language to use. You will never find parables in Kigezi. They don't have time to confuse the folk. They say Bakiga are loud but what do you expect from people born and raised in mountains where you have to amplify your voice to communicate with someone up the mountain? If airtime was charged according to how loud the caller is, Bakiga would be dead broke.

Bakiga are the most romantic people. They don't waste time wooing and raising false expectations. They will tell you straight in the face, from the word go, that they love you. If you don't love them then leave. If you expect a mukiga to plead with you for a second chance, like Salvado, just know that's a dream. That explains why they have the most beautiful spouses. I keep wondering, up to this day, what magic words Rtd. Col. Warren B used to sweep Winnie B off her feet. He has a Don Williams voice when he says, "I love you!"

Most Bakiga are disease resistant. You will hardly hear that there was a disease outbreak in Kigezi. The kids get one injection their entire lifetime - immunisation. You find a five year old with a baritone voice. You might think there is an adult in the backyard if it wasn't for the childish conversation. This is entirely because of a balanced diet. A kid wakes up to fresh potatoes with a mug of bushera. Three sips and the cup is done. There is no such word like 'lack of appetite' in Kigezi. My cronies used to use cow dung to roast potatoes. I have never eaten potatoes sweeter than those.

We are the most hard working people. That's why every strong man is referred to as Kyakabale even if he's a Musoga. Our ladies are very hardworking too which other tribes misinterpret as being aggressive. They reason logically. Why buy a bouquet of flowers when that money can equally buy a sack of Irish potatoes?

I admit we love using the word 'really', which we generously pronounce as 'lealy' but lealy speaking, what do you want us to use lealy? English must have been brought by monsoon winds lealy.

We are independent minded. You can't expect a Mukiga to be at your beck and call. That's why most of the 'rebel' MPs are Bakiga. We live a free life. No wonder there is nothing like Kigezi kingdom. The king would suffer because every Mukiga is a king in their own right.

I salute all Bakiga because the last population census revealed that Bakiga were multiplying at a fast rate. They are doing this in fulfilment of the scriptures - go multiply and fill the world. We have the best family planning method. You can't get pregnant when you are pregnant.

* * *

Chapter 6.3

Places
Longer place descriptions are placed in general geographical order. First there are Jack's general notes from the 1908 Boundary Commission, one of the earliest English descriptions of Kigezi and Rukiga. At that time Kigezi was the colonial headquarters and Rukiga the general name. Kigezi became the district name after they transferred to Ikumba (Kumba) and then to Kabale, founded in 1913.

The rest follows the road up Lutago Hill, then to Kabale, Lake Bunyoni, Behungi Ridge, Kanaba Gap and Kisoro.

First impressions of Kigezi and Rukiga

Capt. E. M. Jack, 1910,

Rukiga is a country of high hills and steep often narrow valleys, a difficult and rugged country throughout its extent. Where the valleys open out they are usually occupied by swamps, and some of these are of enormous extent. They are densely grown with papyrus, which serves to hide the slimy black ooze and mass of vegetable growth beneath

The country is generally rough and wild – thick grass, thick bush and forest, with few signs of human occupation. 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 is deserted or dead... it was due in part to a serious famine that there had been some years before, and in part to raids – whether inter-tribal or due to the soldiers of European Powers is hard to say

Kigezi means little lake and the station is so named from its proximity to Lake Muanga. In this narrow valley the buildings – huts of bamboo and grass, with one stately edifice of mud that was built during our stay in the neighbourhood – are perched in odd corners, on any little flat space or convenient knoll or terrace that might be handy. Close to the officers' quarter is an extinct crater,

locally known as 'Hell', and in the bottom of this are the stores. Kigezi is a curious little place. It has since been replaced by another temporary settlement in Kumba, and, in the course of time, a permanent and more commodious station will be built. But for three years at least it formed the British headquarters in this part of the world, and stood for a certain amount of law and order, and was, moreover, the scene of many kindly entertainments and riotous festivities

Climbing Lutago Hill from Ankole was far too steep for most cars without assistance. In the first quote DC Philipps sent Bakiga from Kabale when he was notified of the Prince's arrival. It became more organised as time went on and was a useful source of income for local people

Prince William, 1920s

In a compact mass they (Bakiga) come towards us, certainly a couple of hundred, shouting and laughing loudly. In a moment or car is surrounded. On every side they teem like ants on an ant-heap. Some pull, some push, all shout, and if one gets tired there is at once another to take his place. They say that the gradient is 1:3 in the worst places.

Mary Jobe Akeley, late 1920s

One of our worst motor experiences was getting up the long hill east of Kabale. The ascent was accomplished by having several score of local natives push and pull on a cable attached as a tow rope to each lorry and to the small car whose power was used to pull the heavy motors. Each truck had to be pushed and towed in turn. The natives congregate in large bands at the foot of the hill waiting for a chance to aid stranded motorists and receive baksheesh as a reward.

On the way to Kabale

Prince William, 1920s

The road winds in bends and curves, sometimes down in a deep valley, sometimes high up on a mountain side, with a perpendicular cliff on one side and a gaping abyss on the other. The mountain slopes seem well cultivated with bananas lower down and beans and peas higher up. The villages lie close to each other and seem prosperous.

Mary Jobe Akeley, 1920s

A narrow winding road led past fertile, cultivated fields of beans and bananas, past native villages whose dwellings and storehouses were built in conical form and heavily and symmetrically thatched with reeds, then through a beautiful stretch of papyrus with a wide river flowing out to a vague beyond.

Esther Sharp, 1921

When my husband and I arrived at the Government centre of Kabale on 24th February, we found a very primitive little place. Our mission hill was pointed out to us across the valley and very

bare it looked too. It was raining and the motor bike on which we had travelled had to be left at the bottom of the hill as we toiled up the slippery paths, often literally on our knees.

In and Around Kabale

Drs. Sharp and Smith, 1920s

Here was to be found a condition of filth, disease and degradation that shocked us. Every collection of huts was surrounded by patches of bushes or long grass which constituted the communal latrine: the stench and swarms of flies that greeted the visitor can be better imagined than described. It was not therefore surprising that dysentery was rife in those days.

A closer inspection of the people's homes revealed a most miserable condition of dirt and squalor. The healthy wives usually departed early in the morning to cultivate their crops or to fetch firewood, and the men disappeared to drink beer at a neighbour's hut, leaving the rest of the family in a parlous state. In one typical household we found the old people, half naked and ill-nourished, propped up against the side of the hut, seeking to gather a little heat from the sun.

A woman, too ill to go to the fields with the other wives, was sitting in the shade of a spirit-hut, trying in vain to keep the flies from an enormous ulcer on her leg, while she prepared a mixture of leaves and cow dung with which to cover it. The children were wandering aimlessly and painfully about, walking on the flat of their feet, their toes turned up and in a terrible state of infestation with boring jiggers and subsequent infection.

If there had been a beer-drink the night before, even the children would have been lying about drunk in the dusty courtyard among the goats and chickens.

Dr. Leonard Sharp, 1920s

Kigezi affords remarkable contrasts as regards both the variety of its scenery and diversity of its people.

To the north on the shores of Lake Edward, the Bahundi, a tribe of fisherfolk, eke out a precarious existence in hot, jungle country infested with lions, buffaloes and elephants. Further south the country rises 2,000 feet to the rolling pasture lands inhabited by the Bahororo, a tribe whose whole life is bound up in their cattle. The wealthy among them own enormous herds, and yet so devoted are their herdsmen to every cow that each is known by its own personal name and comes when it is called. When the cattle are attacked by wild beasts, great courage is often shown by these herdsmen, who, regardless of personal danger, rush to the rescue, and drive off the lions, even if armed only with sticks.

A climb of another thousand feet takes us into central Kigezi, where ranges of great hills rise precipitously a further two thousand feet above the valleys between them. Here is the home of the Bakiga, a vigorous highland tribe whose untiring industry has covered these hills from top to bottom with terraced farms, to the astonishment and admiration of every visitor.

Kabale is a small township and the administrative headquarters of Kigezi lies among these hills. It was here, in this strategic position, that the mission station was opened which became the centre of Christian activity for the whole of Kigezi, with over a quarter of a million people.

A great ridge of wild country separates the Bakiga from their regional neighbours in Ruanda and the Congo. Much of this region is trackless forest, the only home to the gorilla to be found in British territory. Part of it is covered with dense bamboo forest where herds of elephants and buffalo roam, and here are still to be found small groups of Batwa similar to those living in the Congo. Although few in number, these little people were much dreaded by the Bakiga, for on moonless nights they would descend from their mountains to set fire to the grass huts of their larger enemies and carry off sheep, goats, cows or even girls.

Westward of the ridge the whole plain below is marked with numerous circular craters, like those seen on the moon's surface through a telescope. Beyond these rise nine mighty volcanoes towering to 15,000 feet. The two furthest, away to the west, show white plumes of vapour above them and, at night, a rosy glow, for they are still very active volcanoes and have recently erupted.

Prince William of Sweden, Dance Festival in Kabale, 1920

On the open space before the administrative offices about 500 negroes had assembled in separate groups under their chiefs. The different tribes kept resolutely together and refused to mix with each other. In front of each such group the nimblest men jump and dance while the others stand close together in a mass and shout or beat the drums. Now and then the fighting spirit seizes them and the keenest step aside, make high jumps, and twist and turn and challenge each other with provocative shouts and threatening gestures. Only sticks are allowed at a peaceful ngoma but sometimes the actors grow so excited that they catch hold of a spear. Then an askari must instantly intervene to prevent bloodshed.

The women generally stand by themselves in a wide circle. They shout, clap their hands and sway the upper part of the body in time to the music. Now and then a small group will enter the circle and dance a solo with bent knees and outstretched arms. Young girls as well as old women with children on their backs like to perform, but they never move a muscle of the face during the performance, so that their expression remains unchanged and stereotyped. It seems as if the whole thing did not affect them in the least.

The Ba-hororo were the keenest in the fray, their arms and legs gesticulated unceasingly. Their music also seemed the most exciting and their orchestra consisted of two big drums, one flute and one primitive one-stringed violin. The latter instrument consisted of a hollowed-out wooden cup with skin stretched over it, from which a straight stick stuck out with a screw at one end. From the cup to the screw a thong had been stretched and this was rubbed by a bow which most resembled a very bent archery bow. The instrument was ornamented with monkey skin in long tassels hanging down from the stick.

As the tempo of the music quickened the dance grew wilder. Some stood on their heads kicking with their legs in the air; some were lifted up on two crossed poles and writhed voluptuously, high over the heads of the crowd. At last a circle was formed. The best dancers girded their loins

with a kolobus skin and afterwards performed a series of twisting movements with the upper parts of their bodies while their legs were kept still. The drums beat, the violin screeched, the women shouted in ecstasy. This was the beginning of a native people's ferocious pairing game, which follows only the inspiration and impulse of the moment.

The Ba-chiga also performed many different dances. Especially wild was the challenging war dance in which the opponents fenced with each other as in single combat. They beat their shields, jumped high in the air and balanced on one leg, while the cowrie shells in their hair flew about like water drops.

The Banya Ruanda, the Ba-tumbi, Ba-ganda and Ba-ziba behaved more quietly, certainly owing to the fact they were in a great minority. Especially the Ba-ziba displayed great agility and they also had the most beautiful music. Night fell cold and damp over Kabale but it in no wise cooled the eagerness of the dancers. On the contrary. round the enormous fires the black figures jumped like evil spirits, evidently without any trace of fatigue and completely unaffected by the fact that they had already jumped in that fashion the whole afternoon.

Mary Jobe Akeley, late 1920s

The two short duka-lined streets of Kabale, with their Indian vendors and the motor roads over which lorries and safari cars pass occasionally

Dorothy Ratcliffe, 1934

At four o'clock we found the White Horse Inn, perched on a wattle-shaded plateau. It is 6,000 ft. above sea level, and is surrounded by grass-covered hills. At the base of the hills several streams join, and there is good watering for cattle and goats, and the streams are gentle, with forget-me-nots and mint. The White Horse Inn is still under construction, though the living hut and five bedrooms have been completed; their walls are of papyrus; their roofs thatched with mateitei, and the floors are of native-made bricks. When we arrived half a dozen natives were leisurely making a garden. The lawn is pegged out, and the flowering creepers have been planted, protected by wattle screens.

Alan Moorehead, Kabale, 1950s

It possesses a delightful English inn set among lawns and terraced gardens. There is a well-kept golf course just outside the grounds, and within the immediate neighbourhood of the hotel one can play tennis, badminton, croquet, bowls, table tennis... In the evening one drinks French wine at dinner, reads the magazines in the lounge, plays bridge, and listens to the radio. Very rightly the European inhabitants of East Africa take their holidays in this cool green place, for it bears a striking resemblance to any of the lusher golfing resorts in southern England. Sunningdale, perhaps.

Thor Hansen, Kabale, 1990s

In 1993 Kabale was a sleepy town, a civil war in neighbouring Rwanda kept the border closed and trade in the town had dwindled to nothing. Bicycles outnumbered cars fifty to one on the long tree shaded main street, and shuttered storefronts harkened back to a more prosperous time.

Lake Bunyoni

Dr. Len Sharp describing pre Colonial Bwama Island

At the time of the last major rebellion, one of its leaders, a witch doctor named Ndabagera lived on the largest island of the lake. When the sound of his drums was heard people would come over the hills and from distant parts of the lake in canoes, bringing gifts of goats, sheep or girls, and huge pots of beer, as offerings to appease the spirit. Then far into the night would be heard the monotonous beat of drums and the ceaseless stamping of the dancers, as the drunken orgy increased to a frenzy among the moonlit shadows, cast by the spreading branches of the Nyabingi tree.

Mary Edel, Anthropologist, 1930,

Here (the fields) the women spend most of their days from dawn till early afternoon. Often they take the younger children with them, unless they can arrange to leave them in the care of an old man or older sibling at home. The older children may go along to help, or go off separately to tend the flocks and herds. The six-year-old boys trail along with the twelve-year-old herders when the latter condescend to tolerate their presence. Most men also are away by day, fetching materials for house-building, arranging the purchase of a hoe, or just drinking beer, so that by day the houses and courtyards are often very quiet.

After four o'clock, when most women come home from the fields, smoke rises through the straw roof-tops throughout the village, greetings and messages are called across the courts and paths, and sometimes quarrels are aired. But after dusk the village grows very quiet again. As dark comes on and the last of the cows are herded into the compounds, the entrances are barred, and soon after the house doors are put up and the fires burn low.

There is no artificial lighting – nothing but brief-lived rush torches – and no one except thieves and witches is likely to go about on ordinary nights. When the moon is full, girls may take advantage of its light to dance and visit in the evening. And when there is a wedding or other festive occasion, people will gather to feast, to drink beer, and to dance. Otherwise, each family spends the evening quietly at its own fireside, eating, talking, perhaps telling stories, till the children and adults fall off to sleep.

Uganda Herald report on Lake Bunyoni Leprosy Settlement, 1933

There was a fine school, playing fields, completely equipped hospital with several wards, native crops growing in abundance, goats, sheep, etc., in fact all the amenities of native life... Men and women, children and babies, lepers all, who in normal circumstances would be living a life of outcasts, uncared for, neglected, and the very epitome of misery were here. But these poor creatures, to a large extent, have rehabilitated themselves...

Behungi Ridge to Kisoro

Vivienne de Wattervill, London, 1927

Behungi camp is built like a watchtower upon a lofty ridge, and overlooks a world of mountains, the grass burnt from them in tumultuous waves running up charred through the green.

Figure 100 Mt. Muhavura from Behungi Ridge, 1920s (Carl Akeley, 1920s)

[BOX] Flying
The first airplane to fly over Kigezi was piloted by Sir A. Cobham in August 1931 – but nobody saw it.

When two RAF seaplanes landed in Lake Bunyoni in 1932, local people were stunned, according to Constance Hornby:

At first they thought they were looking at great and unknown birds but when they realised that there were people flying them the Bakiga thought that it must be the Lord's return.


Figure 101 Seaplane on the lake, 1932

In 1954-5 the Irish proprietor of the Travellers Rest Hotel removed all the rocks and levelled a piece of ground as a new airport outside Kisoro. All airlines were contacted and one decided to give it a try. However, when the plane arrived all the cattle, sheep and goats, that had been herded off earlier, returned and were reluctant to move again. Eventually the pilot landed safely and said “Never again”. When the party returned to the airstrip after lunch at the hotel they found it almost completely deserted. Let Baumgartel take up the story:

“What's the matter?” I asked one of the few spectators who had remained. “Aren't you curious to see the big bird take off and fly away?”

“Sure we are”, the man agreed, “but not from so close by. We are not so stupid as you Europeans think. To push your cars out of the mud and halfway down into the Congo, well, that is a daily routine. But to shove that thing up into the air? Nothing doing, bwana, not even for Jesus Christ”.

The district annual report of 1954 notes that Michael Annesley built the first airstrip for Caspair but, because of alignment problems identified by the RAF inspector, it had to be remade nearby. The report notes a planned hotel, which indicates that the Travellers Rest was built early 1955 and possibly by Annesley.

In 1966 Paul Ngologoza flew to Europe to visit Vatican City and have an audience with the Pope. He is credited as being the first Mukiga ever to fly. But such were the misgivings that he had to make a last Will and Testament because many thought he would never return; the more credulous believed he would be eaten! They must have been disappointed when he returned as there is nothing more satisfying than having ones direst predictions come true.
[END BOX]

Kabale to Kisoro, 1959

George Schaller,

Kabale to Kanaba Gap: The narrow road winds among rugged hills, most of which are heavily cultivated along contour lines. Clusters of grass huts with peaked roofs cling to the slopes. Little

boys dressed in nothing but ragged shirts tend to checker goats by the way side. And back and forth from village to village, and across the valleys, the men and women call to each other imparting the news of the day with a sing-song voice that echoes through the hills. In the valleys are streams and swamps and sometimes lakes to which the women descend daily from the high slopes to fetch water, Cultivation gives way to bamboo forest near the summits of some hills, and suddenly, at an altitude of eight thousand feet, you emerge on the crest of the Kanaba Pass.

Figure 102 Modern-day roadside shoe shop

In and Around Kisoro

Prince William of Sweden described a typical village 1920s

All around it there was a palisade of twigs and thorn branches which prevents unauthorised entrance except through the gate. Once inside you stand amidst an agglomeration of huts and small buildings made of straw and dried clay. The former are human dwellings, the others are storehouses for food, often placed on poles. In the middle there is generally an open space where all kinds of cereals, meat or skins lie out to dry.

With copper wire round their ankles and wrists and a small necklace of blues glass beads round their necks, the men thresh the corn on the ground with a stick. The women sit crouching and pass peas through a sieve into flat round straw baskets, which they shake with a backward and forward movement. Arms and legs are wound three times round with a kind of thread made of rattan and round their wrists are tightly fitting polished brass rings, several rows of which also adorn their necks. The wealthier the women are the more of such things they wear, so that their liberty of movement is completely checked and their joints grow stiff. The rattan round the upper arm gives an impression of puffed sleeves and the one around the ankle forces them always to walk with their legs wide apart. In a goatskin flung over their backs hangs the latest born. It seems to sleep equally well whether its mother sieves peas or stands with head bent down in the fields and weeds. It is a miracle that it does not tumble out.

The entrance to the hut is always screened in order that people shall not peep in. Inside there may be one or several short low dividing screens of grass. In the middle some coals glow, round which jugs of water or bowls with matama have been placed. Along the walls are a handful of primitive tools and plaited straw mats. Here lives the whole family - perhaps a dozen members -

including the cows (if there are any), dogs and fowls, which are driven in at night, but have liberty in the daytime. The hygiene of such a hut does not bear thinking of!

By contrast

Kabale is beautiful and idyllic; here we are on the threshold of unknown and little-visited places

George Schaller, Kisoro, 1959

Kisoro is a drowsy little hamlet with little to change the even rhythm of its life. There are few shops, run by Indians, who are the only traders in Uganda. The stores carry tinned goods, bolts of cloth, cooking pots, lanterns, fresh produce, kerosene and many other items, piled here and there and hanging from the ceiling... The Indians remain in the dark interior of their stores, a world apart, dreaming of the day when they can return to their homeland rich men.

A Uganda custom post is in Kisoro too, for here the roads part to nearby Rwanda and Congo. Once the main road to the Congo passed through here, but a new one was built to circumvent the mountains. In the fields the men and women pry the boulders of lava from the ground and plant potatoes, maize and beans in the fertile but shallow soil.

Only once a week, on market day, does the tempo of life quicken. The natives from all the surrounding villages congregate at the end of town and bring their wares. There are bamboo baskets, woven from strips of pliable young stems and chinked with cow dung; there are mats of reeds, earthen pots, live chickens, sick sheep with hanging heads and draining eyes, and bowls of many coloured beans.

The women are dressed in all their finery. The older ones still retain their covering of goat hides, and their ankles and wrists are heavily laden with innumerable coils of copper wire, heavily tarnished, the number of which was once a sign of wealth. But the younger ones are wrapped in colourful printed cloth, usually with an infant slung on the back, only its brown head peering out. Children playing tag, run shrieking among the baskets, and men shout at each other in disagreement over a bargain.

It is a happy crowd, for once the dreariness of life is forgotten, the spirit revives.

Virunga Mountains

George Schaller, A Batwa village, 1959

High on the slopes of the rift, north and west of Bukavu, we visited a Batwa village with Christiaensen, a former coffee planter who was employed by a local research station to buy any interesting animals the Batwa have killed. The village huddled in a clearing on a steep slope surrounded by forest. Below and far away the hills flatten out in the misty expanse of the Congo basin.

Eleven huts, only six feet high, stood in to rows like a series of beaver lodges. They were simple structures, transitory, of bent saplings tied to a central pole and covered with layers of grass. Inside, along the wall farthest from the door the family slept on bed of grass. A fireplace with a few cracked and black rocks was near the central pole. Various pots and baskets filled with beans, manioc and other produce were piled near the entrance.

Outside, on a horizontal pole supported between two huts, hung two dappled bush buck hides; two others and that of a duiker were pegged out to dry on the hard-packed soil. Several men had left to scour the forest for game, which, when caught, would be eaten by the villagers or traded to the Bantu for agricultural products. Three men cut apart the hind quarter of a forest pig. They squatted by the red meat on its mat of green ferns while a woman kindled a fire.

There were seven women in the village; tiny creatures, in looks not full grown yet complete. They wore sarongs of coloured cloth and from their wrists and ankles dangled copper bracelets. Each had a blue line tattooed on the forehead, running down to the tip of their nose; various notches and crosses were burned or engraved into their cheeks, upper arms and breasts. One woman had a broad colourless tattoo burned like a necklace around her neck.

The Batwa are nomads, rarely living longer than a year in a place. When the game grows scarce and shy, they move on. The undergrowth, which has stood in wait at the edge of the village, retakes the ground, the houses rot and the history of the people returns to the soil.

Katuna/Gatuna

In this border town between Uganda and Rwanda, a long distance lorry driver discusses its one attraction, otherwise there are no banks and few toilets. Daily Monitor, 1st June 2012

In fact these ladies have contributed a lot in beautifying this border town. You see small, medium and big size. You will also see the tall and the short. Many of the long route lorry drivers prefer to stay longer at this border town so that they are entertained by these beautiful women.

* * *

## Chapter 6.4

Long Descriptions

These long descriptions, 1915-70 are by Lieut. Col. Riddick, Rev. John Roscoe, Edgar and Stella Worthington, Joyce Gower (nee Sharp), Elspeth Huxley and John Heminway. They have been chosen on their own merits.

### Lieut.-Col. Riddick

Kigezi Operations 1915-1917, taken from H. B. Thomas's article in the Uganda Journal vol. 30, no. 2, 1966, is a transcript of a report by Lieut.-Col. Riddick that covered insurgency and counter-insurgency from c. September 1914 until March 1917. The editor notes that while German military strategy aimed toward the Uganda Railways, Capt. Wintgens encouraged anti-English revolts and may have led the attack on Lake Chahafi. The Belgian army assisted the small number of Uganda Police, under ADC Sullivan, when they assumed responsibility for western Kigezi until relieved by the Uganda Police Service Battalion in April 1916.

Note Kigezi in the text refers to both the camp, at the first colonial headquarters by a crater lake, and the district. Thomas adds some biographical notes on officers and commissioners but none on the Africans. Riddick was an experienced African commander having previously served in British Guiana, Sierra Leone and Nigeria. Sullivan, who founded Kabale in 1913, became Provincial Commissioner of the Western Province in 1928 for two years before retirement. He died in Tangier, 1951.

At the beginning of the war in 1914, the duty of keeping open communications between ourselves and the Belgians in the Congo fell on the Police stationed in Kigezi. There were two routes, one via Nyalusanje, Kumba, Ngezi and the Ruanda Plains to Rutchuru, the other was along devious route via Ruzumbra, round the north side of Mount Nkabwa to Rutchuru.

In the absence of a telephone line all communications had to pass over the first route, escorted by Police, and it is a matter for satisfaction that, although escorts were frequently attacked by armed natives whilst carrying mails, on no occasion was a mail lost. Police were also employed in guarding the buildings at Kabale and the various food depots which were formed in the District. During this period the German East Africa border was in a state of turmoil owing to the action of the Batutsi raiding parties, and on account of the mountainous nature of the district, it was impossible with the small force available to prevent their inroads.

On the declaration of war the Batutsi instigated by the Germans commenced a series of predatory raids on the Anglo-Belgian Boundary between Lake Kivu and the south of Kabale. At the same time there was a further outbreak of anti-Europeanism on the part of the local Nyabingi (witches) inflaming the natives of Kigezi with such cries as “We will get rid of the Europeans”. One of the principal witches was Changandusi who lived near the dense bamboo forests on the west side of Lake Bunyonyi. To cope with this situation a force of police under Mr. W. J. Reilly, Assistant Superintendent of Police, was despatched from Mbarara to Kigezi.

It was decided as a preliminary measure to deal with Changandusi whose followers were on the alert to prevent her capture by surprise. A force of Mbarara and Kigezi police under Mr. Reilly with Lieut. C. E. Sullivan, Assistant District Commissioner in charge of Kigezi District, left camp at Kigezi and arrived at the centre of the bamboo forest; an advance was made about 3 a.m. And following bypaths, it was possible to surround Changandusi's village without giving the alarm.

At day-break an entry was made into her dwelling and the witch was arrested. The alarm was at once given by the natives, and showers of arrows were shot from the bush. Independent fire

however scattered her followers and Changandusi was carried off. A strong rear-guard covering the passage through the forest. Mr. Reilly took Changandusi to Mbarara for disposal.

In October 1914, General Henry, the Belgian Commander, reached Rutchuru. He undertook to dispatch a small Belgian force to maintain the line of communication to Kigezi and assist in escorting dispatches. Shortly before the arrival of the Belgian force, information was received that the rebel chief Nyindo, with the Batutsi, contemplated making a large raid into British Ruanda, and threatened the lives of those chiefs who had remained loyal to us.

Lieutenant Sullivan with the police immediately moved forward to the Kigezi ridge behind which the loyal chiefs were brought in for protection.

On the morning of 10th October whilst Lieut. Sullivan was talking to some natives pointing out that their attitude in following him from hill to hill, blowing horns and shouting abuse, could hardly be expected from a friendly people and demanding an explanation for this act, an arrow was fired at him from a hut close by. At the same time a Mututsi on a hill top shouted out, “This is now German territory, and Nyindo will fight”. This was the signal for blasts on war horns, and some hundred of natives all rushed forward firing arrows; as Lieut. Sullivan had only six police with him he withdrew keeping the attackers at 200 yards distance, and shooting at anyone who came nearer. On reaching the plain an ugly rush forward was made, and as the arrows were coming thick, he fired two volleys, this enabled him to get away, though the Batwa hung about on his flank shooting arrows.

While this was in progress large bodies of natives between 1,000 and 1,500 strong crossed from Mulera, German East Africa, and came close to Kigezi but, on seeing the hill occupied, withdrew to Nyindo's boma. Lieut. Sullivan estimates that he was attacked by at least 300 men.

On the 11th at about 6 a.m. these raiders from German East Africa over 1,200 strong, advanced on Kigezi in several columns and began setting fire to Musakamba's village below Kigezi, about 1,500 yards from the camp where they killed three people and wounded others. These people were under Nyindo's personal leadership. The war cry seemed to be Nyindo and the Germans, against Musakamba and the English.

Lieut. Sullivan accompanied by Mr. Harmsworth and 20 police descended the hill, first clearing the Kigezi plain of raiders who were all driven towards the large plain near the boundary, where they set up considerable resistance. The Batwa returning again and again to the attack, firing arrows from every bit of cover; as large reinforcements came up to assist the attackers. Lieut. Sullivan ordered volleys at 200 yards after which they retired over the border. Owing to instructions Lieut. Sullivan was unable to follow them. These raiders had literally to be forced back, it took three hours to drive them across the frontier. The Batwa seem to have no respect for rifle fire, and are adept at taking cover, crawling from mound to mound, wriggling like snakes, firing arrows and crawling away again, hence they are difficult to hit. Luckily they do not adopt rush tactics. One constable, Olochi Majan, was wounded, an arrow piercing his leather shoulder strap and entering his chest. The arrow was fired at a distance of over 130 yards, which will give some idea of what skilled bowmen the Batwa are.

On their way back to camp they were attacked by about 300 people of Nyindo and Birahira of British Ruanda. These people were desperate and most persistent in their attack. Had Lieut. Sullivan not been at Kigezi, our loyal natives would have been slaughtered, all their food burnt and stock captured. The lesson the Batutsi received had a wholesome effect on them.

Lieut. Sullivan moved from Kigezi to Lake Chahafi, close to the German frontier and took up a strong position on a hill which commands a narrow pass on the road from Lake Bulera to Kigezi. General Henry kindly sent a Belgian officer and 75 men to reinforce Lieut. Sullivan at Chahafi.

For some days reports had reached of considerable activity in the German camp at Mulera south of Kigezi. Reconnoitring parties had been observed on the hills overlooking our position at Chahafi which had been strongly fortified by the Police and was occupied by Belgian troops and 25 Police under Lieut. Sullivan.

On 30 December the presence was reported in the enemy camp of the rebel Sultan Nyindo and a large number of Batutsi warriors, and it was reported that the enemy intended to attack Chahafi. In the afternoon the arrival was reported of Captain Wintgens, the local German Commander, and a doctor from Kigali, so arrangements were made to prepare for an attack, the Belgians being asked to send a column via Mount Sabinio to take the enemy from the rear.

On the morning of 1 January 1915 at about 5 a.m. our piquets reported the approach of the enemy, and our force took up their positions in the trenches. The bandas on the hill were set alight to make the enemy believe that the place was vacated. The enemy opened independent fire at about 300n yards range and, as no reply was made, they thought the hill vacated and advanced with their flag borne in front. On reaching the dip at the foot they were met with a volley that killed the German standard bearer and wounded certain others of the advance party. This caused a hasty retirement and the enemy took cover behind the lava boulders and opened a heavy fire which was not replied to.

At about 7 a.m. fire was opened by the enemy with two maxims that kept up continuous fire till about noon, when a bugle blew “Cease Fire”. We now sniped the men resting in the heat of the sun behind the lava and kept them on the jump.

At about 2 p.m. Maxim gun fire was again opened up by the enemy but we reserved our fire. At about 4 p.m. an attempt was made by the enemy to advance under cover of a very heavy maxim and rifle fire, but their troops lacked the essential dash and after losing several men withdrew under the cover of their maxims at sunset.

The enemy probably received word of the advance of the Belgian column and withdrew during the night. It was afterwards ascertained that their losses were one German badly wounded and afterwards died, six native soldiers killed and nine wounded. But far more important was the defeat of the enemy's effort to restore the rebel chief Nyindo which would have caused political unrest among the whole of Kigezi and Ankole, and would have resulted in the establishment of an enemy post in British Ruanda, and would have completely cut off communications with the Belgians save by a long an devious route to the south of Lake Edward.

Captain Couturieaux, the Belgian Officer in Command at Chahafi on this occasion, was later awarded the 'Croix de Guerre' for his defence against an enemy column far superior in numbers, and having forced it to retreat.

During February 1915, the hostile attitude of the natives on the German border between Chahafi and the south of Kabale, many of whom were Batwa pygmies under Chief Katuleggi, so threatened the passage of the military convoys on the lines of communication, and, by constantly raiding the villages of the loyal natives whose women and cattle they captured, caused a state of panic in that area, that the Officer Commanding the Kagera District decided to send an expedition to deal effectively with these outlaws.

One body of these outlaws having seized all the canoes on Lake Bunyoni took up a position on a large island which they used as a base for their operations. The remainder lived temporarily in almost inaccessible mountains and forest areas stretching from the South of the Lake into the heart of the Batwa country in German East Africa. To deal with those natives on the island it was essential to recover the canoes, and for this purpose a large canoe was to be carried from Lake Chahafi over the mountain road of Kigezi which rises to a height of over 7,000 feet, and thence by a path especially cut through the dense bamboo forest. More than 100 porters were required to transfer this canoe.

On 28 February, an expedition under Major E. H. T. Lawrence consisting of 150 Uganda Police Service Battalion left Ngarama for Kigezi. Sergeant-Major S. F. Taylor who was at Chahafi had been instructed to bring a canoe from Lake Chahafi and place it on Lake Bunyoni. He arrived with the canoe at Lake Bunyoni on 9 March and in it crossed the lake. That night some police were sent out in he canoe to search the island for canoes, and succeeded in recovering thirteen. On the 10th Lieut. Wagstaff, U.P.S.B., Sergeant-Major Taylor and a detachment of police crossed the lake with orders to work down the west side to a point where Katuleggi had made his headquarters on an island, destroying all villages of the Batwa en route and capturing their cattle. Lieutenant Turpin, U.P.S.B., and Lieutenant N. Moore, Intelligence Department, were ordered to proceed down the east side of the lake to its extremity and then up the two peninsulas: Lieut. Turpin taking one and Lieut. Moore the other. Major Lawrence and Lieut. Sullivan took up a position at night on an island where touch could be kept by means of a heliograph with the three columns operating. The thirteen canoes were transferred to the island. On the morning of the 11th the progress of the columns could be traced by the columns of smoke from the villages as they were burnt. On the morning of the 12th Lieutenants Turpin and Moore had arrived at the extremities of the peninsulas. All captured cattle were driven to rendezvous where Major Lawrence joined Lieutenants Turpin and Moore. The captured cattle, following a canoe, swam between two points, a distance of over one mile.

In the meantime Lieutenant Wagstaff had arrived at Karuleggi's stronghold only to find that he had fled. Lieut. Wagstaff had seized a quantity of cattle which were sent together with those captured by Lieutenants Turpin and Moore to Kabale. This concluded the operations on Lake Bunyoni.

Lieutenants Turpin and Wagstaff were then sent to deal with the Bahororo in Kyogo. These people had adopted a strong pro-German attitude since the outbreak of the war. While they kept

quiet, this could be overlooked, but they had recently given vent to open rebellion and armed violence.

In December 1914, the representative of the government had been murdered and messengers from the Assistant District Commissioner had been driven back and had some arrows fired at them, and the rebels had declined to allow anyone to pass near their valley. They had on two occasions made attacks in large numbers on the Agent's Boma and had not he and his followers been armed with guns they would doubtless have been murdered.

On 19 March, Lieutenants Turpin and Wagstaff and a detachment of the U. P. S. B. left Kabale to proceed to Kyogo. On the night of the 20th, the Agent Swedi Sabada, joined them near Lutobo, having returned from the southeast of the district where a local fight had taken place in which nine people had been killed.

On the 20th a reconnaissance of the Kyogo valley disclosed that the neighbouring valley of Kahondo was also inhabited by the truculent Bahororo. At dawn on the 22nd Lieut. Wagstaff with 2omen descended the Kyogo valley from the northern slope and while forcing a passage through a barricaded path to capture a local headman, was attacked with spears and arrows, to which he replied with two shots. This alarm soon spread down the valley and hundreds of Bahororo armed with throwing spears and poisoned arrows were observed pouring out of the valley towards the frontier exit, driving stock ahead of them. At 3 a.m. that day Lieut. Turpin had arrived with 41 men and the Agent of the Kyogo frontier. He despatched Sergeant Dusman and 20 men into the Kahondo valley to drive off captured stock to Bukinda. A local headman Drawyi living on the Kyogo frontier with his son Dwanyoso was surprised before dawn and captured with all his stock without a shot being fired. As soon however as we advanced to meet the Bahororo who were descending the valley with their stock, they attacked first with arrows, then spears. The congestion in the frontier end of the valley became greater every minute with the arrival of more armed Bahororo with their stock, and when the situation became too dangerous on account of the numbers of arrows and spears thrown by between 400 and 500 armed Bahororo Lieutenant Turpin opened fire on them, whereupon they replied with arrows and took cover. All attempts by the Agent and his assistant to make themselves heard by the Bahororo were met with loud jeers and shouts such as, “fight them”, and, “there are only a few of them if they wish to fight we are ready”. Individual armed natives would dash out and attempt to cut off small numbers of stock from the main herd which by this time had been rounded up, and on several occasions, the Agent's herdsmen were put to flight from them as the police advanced up the valley. Thereupon Lieutenant Turpin ordered his men to clear the slope of all armed Bahororo and while they were skirmishing another local headman named Luanjira was captured. In the meantime Sergeant Dusman advancing up the Kahondo valley with his 20 men also met with armed resistance from the Bagina natives who lined both sides of the valley and resisted his advance by shooting arrows until driven off with rifle fire. At midday on 22 March Lieut. Turpin was joined by Lieut. Wagstaff who had successfully accomplished his part of the operation, which were now at an end.

The result of the operations on Lake Bunyoni and in Kyogo was the capture of a large quantity of stock and the complete submission of the rebels, who, with the exception of Katuleggi and a few malcontents who escaped into German East Africa, settled down peacefully. 38 natives were

killed, there were no casualties among the police. The police column then returned to their headquarters at Ngarama (Isingoro County, Ankole).

In April 1916, the Belgians who had for some time been occupying British territory, were relieved by the Uganda Police Service Battalion. Minor affairs were constantly arising as a result of the hostile attitude of the Batutsi, but eventually, when the Germans were forced to retire before the Belgian advance they were convinced that the best policy was to give in, and on 27 May the rebel Chief Nyindo and Birahira surrendered to the police.

The U.P.S.B. were ordered to move to Kagera camp in June, thus leaving but few police for the protection of the Kigezi district.

A certain native of German East Africa named Ndochibiri gave himself out as a leader of the anti-European movement which assumed a semi-fanatical aspect, accompanied by a sacred white sheep, which was followed by a large number of natives who were forming themselves into gangs of outlaws, and raided and looted cattle far and wide. There depredations extended even into the Belgian post of Rutchuru where one Sunday morning shots were fired into the station by some of Ndochibiri's followers. On another occasion a large body of these fanatics charged close up to Chahafi, though we fired on them heavily with two maxims. Punitive measures were frequently taken against the natives but the leader always managed to escape, hiding in inaccessible caves on the sides of Mount Muhavura or the underground caverns of the Ruanda plains.

In April 1916, an incursion of looters under the leadership of Ndochibiri was reported in Kigezi. Ndochibiri escaped and hid in the Kayonsa forest. Again the same month Batutsi raiders under Ndochibiri attacked a loyal Mututsi Chief named Kagumakan, looting his property, driving off some 200 head of cattle and 300 goats, and retiring into the Congo territory.

In June Ndochibiri attempted to raid near Ngezi but was driven off by loyal natives.

The Provincial Commissioner, Western Province, (Mr. S. Browning) reported that a considerable part of the inhabitants of Ruanda was still out of control and likely to remain so, until Ndochibiri and his followers were finally dealt with. It was decided in November, to send a police expedition to Kigezi to deal with Ndochibiri, the Belgians agreeing to co-operate with the police on their frontier.

The only police available for this expedition were those of the U.P.S.B. Returning to Uganda from German East Africa for demobilisation. It was therefore decided that one Company should be detached for this purpose. Lieut-Colonel Riddick left Kampala for Mwanza on 22 December. On 12 January 1917, he embarked at Mwanza for Bukakata, there disembarking with Mr. Dryden and the men of the Battalion who belonged to the Masaka, Mbarara, Kabale and Toro Units. They marched to Kabale, arriving on the 30th. The force had been augmented by 25 special constables from Kabale and Mbarara. At Kabale Mr. McDougall, Assistant District Commissioner, was invited to join the expedition, and he was fortunately able to do so for, as Lieut-Colonel Riddick states in his report, “but for his knowledge of French, and his capabilities in supplying porters, food, spear-men, and his local knowledge, it would have been difficult to

carry on. Mr. McDougall acted as Intelligence Officer and Interpreter throughout the expedition."

The first information was that Ndochibiri was in Belgian territory from which there are five outlets across the English border. Lieut-Colonel Riddick then proceeded to Rutchuru, arriving there on 5 February. He left Inspector Wagstaff, who had joined him, and more of the detachment on the frontier.

At Rutchuru, such information as was available, pointed to the fact that Ndochibiri was harboured by Tembero, a chief hostile to the Belgian Government, about two days journey away. We started off on 7 February together with the Belgian chef-de-poste, one Lieutenant and 40 rank and file, arriving at Tembero's at 4 p.m. on the 8th. We found the place abandoned evidently in a hurry, with food, being left behind. We stayed at Tembero's three days, during which the Belgians endeavoured to locate Ndochibiri, but all information turned out to be inaccurate. Our Government Agent, Abdulla, brought in news on the 11th that Ndochibiri was near our Boundary Pillar No.9, two days away. Lieut-Colonel Riddick arranged with the Belgians that they should block the country into Mulera while he proceeded to surround the pillar no. 9. On 11 February after some very hard going the police camped in a banana swamp. One sergeant and 25 men were sent at midnight with the Agent to surround Ndochibiri's stronghold and surprise it at dawn. This they did but it was found that Ndochibiri had bolted some days before, leaving quantities of food, all of which was seized. The police arrived at the outskirts of Ndochibiri's on the 14th. The next day they proceeded to his headquarters, but could get no information. Lieut-Colonel Riddick destroyed all Ndochibiri's huts on our side of the boundary and left for Mulingi in our territory, having captured four who had assisted Ndochibiri to raid; these were handed over to Mr. McDougall for disposal. Lieut-Colonel Riddick returned to Kigezi on the 26th.

On 3 March, Lieut-Colonel Riddick received a letter from the Belgians saying that they would cut off the retreat of Kanyaruanda, another rebel, if possible. On 6 March, Lieut-Colonel Riddick met Captain Weyemberg with 1 Lieutenant and 2 Companies on the border. Captain Weyemberg informed Lieut-Colonel Riddick that he had Kanyaruanda's son with him, and that it was only a matter of time before Kanyaruanda, who was hiding in the forest, would surrender. He asked Lieut-Colonel Riddick to withdraw his men as their presence was preventing the surrender of Kanyaruanda. Lieut-Colonel Riddick returned to Kabale on 8 March.

Information was after received that Kanyaruanda had been arrested by the Belgians. Ndochibiri has not since been heard of in our territory.

## Rev. John Roscoe

Rev. John Roscoe was born in 1861, trained as a civil engineer, joined the CMS in 1884, came to Baganda in 1891 and spent at least 25 years in Uganda. He was honorary canon of Ovington, Norfolk, when he died December 2nd 1932, aged 71.

Unusually, for a CMS missionary, he wasn't an evangelical and followed Livingstone in believing scientific research of Africa was essential. He didn't mix science and religion and

talked with every (male) body. He published The Baganda, 1911, and The Northern Bantu, 1915. After 25 Years in Africa, 1921, he was asked to lead the 1919/1920 Mackie Ethnographic Expedition into Central Africa, to record rapidly disappearing tribal lore and customs.

He published two books on the Banyankole and Banyoro in 1923 and gave the 1923 Frazer Lecture in Social Anthropology on Immigrants and their Influence in the Lake Region of Central Africa (published 1924). The Kigezi findings were published in The Basegu and Other Tribes of the Uganda Protectorate: The Third Part of the Report of the Mackie Ethnological Expedition of Central Africa in 1924.

Editor's appreciation: I admire his Victorian lyrical directness and his casual understated bravery, born of experience, in making this journey. The expedition's methodology is described in the second extract (see below) where he notes that

In spite of the rough paths and the steep mountain descents, I never had a breakdown or any serious trouble. This speaks highly for the bicycle and the tires which I used, for it required excellent materials to give such complete satisfaction in wilds where delay is tiresome, and at times even dangerous, owing to the risks run from exposure to the tropical sun.

Describing the Batwa he says:

There were traces of their presence in the shape of large devastated areas, from which the people had fled in fear of the pugnaciousness and rapacity of these pygmies.

Preceded by

I had hoped to spend a few days with them to learn something of their habits by actual observation of their life. It was regrettable to find them gone...

Visiting Kigezi, two years after the last major rebellion was snuffed out, but the district barely pacified, was not for the faint-hearted and to do it aged near 60 on a bicycle...

There are two parts, firstly the extract on the Bakiga, with a few Batutsi additions, from the 3rd report and, secondly, extracts from the Soul of Africa and Preliminary Report to the Royal Society.

The Bakyiga, People of Kigezi

The district of Kigezi occupies the southern part of the Ruwenzori range of mountains, bordering on Lake Edward, stretching south to the Ruanda district and west to the Belgian Congo, and bounded on the east and north by Ankole. The equator lies to the north, but so near that Kigezi may almost be said to be on the equator.

The climate is an excellent one, and the district with its tropical fertility and its wonderful mountain scenery is certainly the finest in East Africa. The mountains vary in height from five to thirteen thousand feet, and seem generally to be arranged in horse-shoe-shaped ranges or in

circles, so that it is impossible to enter some parts of the country without climbing over a range nine or ten thousand feet high. Enclosed by these ranges are large expanses of country, often dotted with hills of considerable height. These valleys, with their luxuriant growth of trees, shrubs and flowers, their brightly coloured birds and insects, their many wild animals, and the splendid waterfalls which here and there dash from the heights of the mountains, make a spectacle hardly to be equalled'

(Footnote. In some of the valleys there are beautiful lakes of clear, cool water, some of the largest being two miles long and a mile wide. These lakes have forests of splendid timber round them, the foliage of the trees having wonderful colouring. Water lilies in the lake and dowers on the sides add to the enchantment making the scene appear almost too beautiful to be real)

Though the Bakyiga were a fairly large tribe, the inhabitants of the district numbering well over a million souls, their land was so large that all the traveller saw of them was a few scattered groups of huts at long intervals. Round these villages extended plots of cultivated land where each woman possessed a large field, and where the cows, goats, and sheep were pastured. The members of each village claimed as their own sides of the hill on which their village was built, and any intrusion by strangers was fiercely resented and often led to strife and bloodshed. As each man in a village might have several wives and each wife had to have a field of her own the hills surrounding the hill were well cultivated.

The people were of Bantu stock and were mostly agricultural, though a few pastoral clans might be found on the lower slopes of the hills where the large plateaux offered excellent pasturage. The Bakyiga were a wild race who in the past resisted all attempts to bring them into subjection, and only now being brought into some sort of order by the British Government. Life was of little value among them, and they murdered friends, relatives and enemies indiscriminately. The men were of average height, the tallest being about five foot ten to six feet, while the women were slightly shorter. Both sexes were strong and well built, and the mountain life made them muscular. The women were deferential to the men, but not servile, and no marked affection was shown between husband and wife or between parents and children.

There was no supreme chief, but the tribes was divided into clans which were ruled by their own elders and lived completely isolated from each other; they were even hostile, for one clan would not associate with members of another and it was unsafe for a man to travel alone beyond the boundaries of his own clan land. When going on a journey two or three men always travelled together, and they went completely armed.

There might be several villages belonging to one clan, for men might build for themselves a little apart from the first village. If anyone wanted to join one of these groups, he had to bring the leader a sheep in order to get permission to build in his village. Such a village was called Ekilolero, and the head-man was a Mukungu. As the members increased, men were chosen as elders of the village to assist the Mukungu, who, however, retained the right of final decision in all matters. No judgment of a case was valid unless it had been set before these elders of the village, and a man had always the right to refuse to accept any other means of trial. When a man wanted land he applied to the head of the village for it, and an annual rent of a pot of beer was

often imposed. Land thus granted was handed down from father to son and anyone who intruded on it or questioned the owner's right to it ran a grave risk of being speared down on the spot.

Figure 103 Bakiga Warrior (Jack, 1911)

The language was allied both to Lunyoro and Lunyankole, so that communication between these places and Kigezi was possible without much difficulty.

I managed to obtain the names of some 48 clans, but only in a few (two) cases could I find out their totems, though there was reason to believe that each clan had one. (List of 48 clans omitted)

Clothing, Food and Home Life

The skins of animals formed the only clothing worn by either sex. Boys and men wore a goat-skin, hanging from the right shoulder by a sling of two legs tied together, and passing under the left arm. Girls until the age of seven went nude and when they showed signs of maturing they wore a small skin around their loins. Women wore two skins round the loins, one in front and one at the back; and they put their children in slings of sheep-skin on their backs, so that they6 could carry them with them as they went on with their work.

Goat-skins were valued and bought for clothing. A wealthy man who hired peasants to look after his goats might give them the meat of killed animals for payment, but he used the skins for clothing for himself and his family. An elder of a village might have as many as seventy goats and sheep. Poorer people contented themselves with sheep-skins for clothing. They generally shaved the wool off and, after drying the skin, stamped upon it until it was soft. Sheep-skins were always easily obtained, for sheep were often killed for sacrifices and the taking of auguries.

Men and women generally ate together unless the meal consisted of goat or sheep mutton, which no woman might eat. In that case a women and her daughters ate together, apart from the male members of the family. Frogs and tadpoles were caught and eaten by some clans on the shores of the lakes.

In the house a special place was reserved for the husband, who sat near the fire where he could see out the doorway. His seat was not the stool cut from a block of wood which was used by most tribes, but was made like a bed, with four legs and side pieces to which a woven or plaited seat was attached. Women and children sat on the floor near the fire.

Slaves used to be common, and were bought for a cow or a sheep, but for some time the presence of the white man has prevented the holding of slave-markets.

They had no fixed names or divisions of seasons, but regarded the year as being six months, divided into dry and rainy seasons. The length of these seasons varied in different years.

Religion

It would hardly be correct to say they had no religion, for there were many objects of reverence and there was an imperfect idea of a creator, who, however was not in any sense worshipped.

Of recent years much attention has been paid to Nabinge, the god of earthquake, but this god was introduced from a southern tribe and was formerly quite unknown. When plague or other illness broke out, it was attributed to Nabinge, who must be appeased. The head-man of the village built a shrine and called upon the people to bring offerings of goats and sheep. These were exchanged for a cow or cows according to their number. One cow was killed at the shrine and the blood, which was allowed to run on the ground, with the heart and liver, which were placed in the shrine, were the portion of the god. Some of the meat was cooked and eaten on the spot, and the people carried the rest to their homes.

Magic was greatly feared, but the chief objects of reverence and dread were ghosts, to whom offerings were made in any case of trouble or illness. When a man fell ill, a medicine-man was sent for to decide what ghost was causing the trouble and what offerings should be made to pacify it. An augury was taken by the medicine-man and his assistant over some animal, generally a fowl or a sheep, and the medicine-man was then able to announce whether it was necessary to destroy the ghost entirely or whether it should be pacified with some offering. Auguries were also sometimes taken by sprinkling grain and watching how it fell and spread, or over water upon which the powdered leaves of herbs were sprinkled; according to the shapes the powder formed the interpretation was given.

Amulets were the chief objects in which men placed their faith, and a man would pay as much as a large sheep for one. They were made from wood or horns of sheep or antelope; and herbs, which had been blessed by the medicine-man who made them, were put into them. They were worn on the neck, arms, and legs to ward off illness, attack by wild animals, and to every other evil to which man is subject.

When a house burnt down and there happened to be salt in it, people kept away from it and might not even allow the heat of the fire to reach them.

When lightning struck a man, his whole village ceased work until offerings had been made, with prayers that no more might be killed.

Agriculture

The people of Kigezi were diligent workers in their fields; and though they could not start work in the higher parts until about nine or half-past nine, owing to the cold mists of the morning, they worked steadily until about five o'clock in the evening with only a short pause for rest, when they would eat some cooked food, which they had brought with them from their homes, and smoke their pipes. They always carried a few embers with which to start a fire in the field so that they could light their pipes.

Men and women worked together in the fields, for a husband was expected to help each of his wives in turn to cultivate her plot of ground. Each woman claimed the produce of her field for herself, but she was expected to do her share with the other wives in supplying her husband with food. What she could spare after her husband's needs were satisfied she bartered for goats and sheep, which in turn she exchanged for cows. In this tribe women might possess property and might even pass it on to her children.

A man probably inherited some property from his father, and if he had daughters he used the marriage-fees he obtained for them to swell his wealth. Each man kept a plot of land for himself in addition to the fields to which he supplied his wives, and they had to assist him with its cultivation. The crops from his field he used for his own purposes, brewing beer or bartering grain for goats, sheep, and cows with which to procure wives. His wives had to supply him with food, so that the whole of his own crop was set free for other purposes.

The fields were sometimes quite half an hour's walk from the village, for naturally those immediately surrounding the village were soon all occupied. When working in these distant fields, men went in companies of three or four and took with them their weapons, keeping them near so that they might seize them in case of alarm or sudden attack. If an attack was made and the men were killed, the women who were with them were spared, but were taken captive and kept until ransomed by their husbands or clans.

When a man and his wife set to work went to prepare new land for sowing, they first cut down the trees, shrubs, and tall grass, which were carried to the lowest boundary of the field, for the fields were in practically all cases on the sides of hills. The rubbish from the field was heaped up and burned, the burnt trees and stones and earth forming a barrier against which more earth was

washed when the rainy season came, so that by degrees the hill-sides became terraced with cultivated plots.

The staple food was millet, which was ground into flour between stones and used as a kind of porridge. When going to sow millet, a man made a charm of the leaves or seeds of various shrubs which were prolific in growth, and placed this with the seed that it might impart its qualities to it. There were no ceremonies or fetishes for guarding growing crops, but when harvest had ripened the owner had to eat the first-fruits himself or carry the first head of grain gathered to his father or mother, after which the crop might be used by all.

Should a man who planted a crop die before harvest, a clan-brother took his place; but before he might begin to reap the grain, the father of the dead man brought a stone and some cow-dung which he laid in one part of the field. The reapers then left the corn uncut for a few feet around the spot. After the rest was reaped, the father came an cut the corn on this plot, which he kept for himself. This ensured the ripening of the millet and made it wholesome for the family to eat.

In addition to millet, beans and, more especially, peas were largely grown, and were valued because it was possible to raise two crops of them to one of millet. This is the only place I saw the edible beans with blossoms of various colours. Potatoes were also grown and a little maize, which was never ground or pounded but was roasted whole in the ear.

Animals

Cows were of importance, not so much for their milk, which was looked upon as a luxury and not a necessity, as because they were the means of obtaining wives and of purchasing other things, for prices were fixed on the standard of the value of a cow. Cows were seldom killed except to celebrate some special occasion such as a wedding, or in the event of an offering made to some ghost. Animals were too valuable to be killed to gratify cravings for meat.

The cows were smaller than those of Ankole and had short horns, though here and there might be found a few of the long horned cattle of Ankole. All the cattle belonging to the members of the same village were herded together; and when it was necessary to send them for pasturage to any distance, herds from several villages of a clan might be gathered together and men of the different villages took it in turn to go with them. Should a man be unable through absence or illness to take his turn, his unmarried daughter might take his place if necessary; but no married woman might herd cows, and no woman was ever allowed to milk. The owner of the cows went out to meet the herds on their return in the evening, and then drove his own cows home. Each village had a strong stockade inside which the cattle were gathered for the night. The calves were herded by small boys and girls, and were kept in the houses by night.

When a cow bore a calf, the first milk was boiled with peas and raspberries, and a little flour of the small millet was added. A boy or a girl of the same mother ate this, and afterwards the cow's legs were tied as though it was about to be milked and the boy and girl crawled under it. This freed both cow and milk from any further taboo. No notice was taken of the navel cord from the calf, which in other tribes was watched with interest.

When a cow bore twins, the members of the owner's family who were at home drank the milk and used any butter churned, for it might not go out of the village.

When a cow had mated, the owner might not on that day consult any medicine-man or augury. Should he be compelled to do so for any special reason, he might not drink milk from that cow that night.

Milk was not regarded as an essential part of the diet, but it was freely used. Men drank it either warm from the cow or clotted; while women rarely drank it fresh, and preferred butter-milk or clotted milk where possible.

The milk pots were of wood, and were washed and hung on sticks to dry, but never fumigated as in Ankole. Little milk was churned, for butter was hardly used; but both men and women might churn, though only women might was the milk-pots.

Goats and sheep were found in large flocks, for all those in a village were sent out to pasture together in the charge of children. Goats were more valued and their skins were prized for clothing, but sheep were more numerous, as they were considered to be hardier. Sheep were used for offerings to the spirits, and the poor people used their skins for clothing. Both goats and sheep were excellent animals with good coats, and the aim of a woman was to sell the produce of her field for goats and sheep, which she later exchanged for cows. Men also bought goats and sheep with the crops from their own fields.

A few fowls of a small kind were kept, but they were not numerous and were used chiefly for taking auguries.

Dogs of the common yellow colour were plentiful, for every man liked to possess one for hunting. They were as a rule of little use as watch-dogs, though cases have been known when one would protect its master. In the hunt, however, they were very useful in 'putting up' the game, and the scarcity of their food made them eager in the chase. Ordinarily they received little food and had to exist on what scraps they could find; but if a dog drove game which was killed, that dog's owner claimed the kill and gave his dog a share of the entrails and some scraps of the meat.

When a dog had puppies, the owner drew blood from a cow, mixed it with milk and gave it to the dog. The owner might not approach his wife until the puppies had opened their eyes.

It was believed that if a woman killed a dog that was about to have puppies, she would lose as many children as the dog would have had in the litter, that is, as many as five or seven, before she would bear a child which would live.

Bee-Keeping

Bees were kept by many men who handled them without fear. A man might have as many as three or four hives placed round about his house. The hives were often merely logs, split in half, hollowed out, and the halves lashed together. Sometimes, however, a hive would be made from plaited papyrus. This was cylindrical, some four feet long and about 12 inches in diameter. In

most cases the hive was lodged in the fork of a tree, but sometimes a man would make a stand of logs.

When a man was going to take the honey from a hive, he had to keep apart from his wife for a night. The next day he smoked the bees, driving them to one end of the long hive before he opened it and removed the honey. Young bees were eaten and looked upon as a delicacy.

The people ate honey, but a woman who was menstruating had to refrain. The chief use of it, however, was to mix with beer. It was added to pots of beer which were then covered so as to be air-tight, and left for a week. When thoroughly fermented this was the most intoxicating drink the people knew, and its use often led to quarrels and fighting.

Brewing

Beer was generally brewed from the large millet, which was not so sweet as that called bulo. The grain was put into pots, covered with water, and left a few days until it sprouted. It was then thoroughly dried and ground into a coarse meal which was boiled. A little freshly ground millet meal was added and the whole allowed to ferment, when it was ready for use. Honey was sometimes added while it was standing to ferment, and added greatly to the strength of the beer.

When a man was brewing he was careful not to sleep with his wife, though he might hold ordinary converse with her, and he avoided all other women. He was also careful not to cross any water and especially not to carry a water-pot across a river, until the beer was ready for drinking. If he neglected these observances the beer would not ferment and would have no more strength than water.

There was much beer drunk and drunkenness was common. A man when going to drink with a friend would often take his wife with him, that she might look after him and see him safely home.

Smiths

There were men who had a certain rude knowledge of smithing. They collected their own iron-stone where it lay on the surface of the ground and smelting it following the Ankole methods which were rough and inferior to those of Kitara. The chief things made were hatchets, knives, and hoes, but warriors also required arrows, good axes, and one or two spears.

Carpenters

Carpenters were few and much less expert than those of Ankole, and the articles they turned out were not in the least artistic in shape or well finished. People generally made what they required themselves, and there were few or no professional wood-worker. A rough kind of pot and a few stools, some of them cut from solid blocks of wood some ten or twelve inches high, were practically the only things made.

Potters

The art of pottery was also in a very primitive state. The vessels were thick, brittle, and of a clumsy shape. Both men and women did the work. They found white clay in swampy soil, brought it home to their houses, and dried it in the sun. This was then beaten to powder, and

mixed with water and a little grit from a broken pot or from pounded stone. There was a little decoration around the necks of water-pots and near the rims of cooking-pots. This consisted of cross-markings made by rubbing the pot with plaited straw, first in one and then in the opposite direction, making criss-cross patterns of lines two or three inches long.

While at work the potter might not spit, for that would weaken the pot. A woman might not make pots while menstruating, for they would crack in drying or when being baked. During the months of July and September no pots were made, for the strong winds which prevailed at these times dried the pots too quickly and cracked them.

Special pots with two mouths were made, originally for some sacred purpose connected with one of their own gods. Recently, however, these pots have been set apart for Nabinge, the god of earthquake.

Hunting

As a result of the enmity between clans, the possibilities of hunting were limited; but when an animal was known to be in some place where it was safe to go, a company soon surrounded it, and it was clubbed or speared to death. Nets were sometimes used and the game driven into them.

Pigs have only recently found their way into these districts and their flesh is not eaten but given to the dogs, while the skins are used for sandals and shields. The skins of domestic animals were used for clothing, while those of antelopes, leopards and wild cats were used for the aprons worn by warriors and for rugs in the houses.

Warfare

Though the Bakyiga were a wild and unruly people they were not aggressive, and only once or twice within living memory has there been an occasion when the clans combined to meet and resist some invasion of their country. Such an invasion would come from the Ruanda direction, and, though the clans combined, each clan fought under its own leaders and kept as near as possible to its own part of the country. The clans boast that they have never been overcome by any tribe; but during the expedition places were passed which, though deserted, bore signs of recent occupation. These the people said had been vacated during raids made by pygmies.

Inter-clan wars were fairly common, for clan would rise against clan for some slight cause, the fight would be short and sharp, and the clans would soon return to its normal life. The commonest cause of clan fight was intrusion upon clan land. When a stranger took possession of clan land, there would first be a fiery dispute with the real owner, who would then appeal to his village for help in expelling the invader. The stranger's clan would come to his aid, and the result would be a short battle when one or two might be killed and a few wounded. If the clan who felt themselves injured were worsted, they might patch up a truce which would hold good until they had recovered their strength sufficiently to make another attempt to set the matter right.

Another cause for clan warfare was murder, for if a member of a clan was murdered by someone of another clan, a common occurrence, the murdered man's relatives would strive to rouse the clan to arms to avenge him.

Marriage by capture also sometimes led to fights. A man might lie in ambush and steal away a girl from another clan. When he reached a place of safety he would call to the parents of the girl and inform them of what he had done, saying that they could have the marriage-fees if they sent for it. There was thus no real cause for fighting, but the girl's brothers would sometimes wish for a fight and would refuse to accept terms.

Even when working in the fields men had always to have their weapons near, for the opportunity of a man's being occupied and off his guard was often taken to attack him. This was one of the easiest methods of retaliation, and if a man had been murdered his relatives would watch the murderer until they caught him off his guard, and fall upon him before he could defend himself. A woman was never attacked in a fight, but she might be captured, and her husband then had to ransom her.

The arms carried by warriors consisted of small wooden shields, a bow with a few iron-tipped arrows, barbed but not poisoned, and two spears. A fight was usually hand-to-hand between individuals, but archers remained in the back-ground and shot at the enemy from a distance.

When a man slew an enemy in fight he took one finger from the dead man to mark the deed. When a man slew his first enemy, the members of his clan gave him a pebble to swallow and guarded him during the night after the deed. In the morning a medicine-man gave him a purgative and a fetish to wear and he might then return to his wife. The spear or arrow with which he had killed the man was also purified with special medicine to prevent any harm coming to the owner. No rewards were given for bravery, but a man who had killed an enemy was praised and feasted by his clan fellows.

When a man was wounded, he might be looked after by friends; but no one paid much attention to him.

Marriage

Among the Bakyiga there was no initiation ceremonies before marriage; but a boy at adolescence was instructed by his father or one of the clan-elders in the duties pertaining to married life and also in the clan customs and beliefs. He was also told what clans it was necessary to avoid in search for a wife because of some special cause of enmity, and where he would be wisest to choose a bride. Girls, too, were instructed by their mothers in the duties of married women, and were given advice as to what kind of men they should accept or refuse as husbands.

Prior to marriage the morality of a girl was strictly guarded by her parents, with whom she generally lived until she married. As there was no communication between clans, if a girl went wrong it was with some man of her own clan and therefore one who was regarded as her brother. She would not, however, be condemned unless she conceived, but in that case she would be driven away from her home and clan and would have to find a home with some other clan. When her child was born she would kill it and strive to find a husband for herself. The harsh treatment meted out to a girl who conceived before marriage was due to the fear of ghosts, for her deed would anger the dead of the clan, who might cause illness among the living if the crime was not thus severely punished.

The rule of clan exogamy and the constant enmity between clans made it impossible for a young couple to know each other before marriage; and a girl's only opportunity of seeing and judging of the man who proposed to marry her, was after the proposal had been made. In some cases she was brought face to face with the man before anything was arranged, while in other cases she would hear about the man and might dislike what she heard. She was then at liberty to refuse to marry him. The common custom of capturing a wife made the relationships of married people often doubtful; but as a girl was brought up in the belief that her husband was to be her lord and master and that she had no choice but to submit, she generally settled down to he married life without great difficulty. It was also impossible for a man to learn much about the girl he proposed to marry, for he had no communication with members of her clan, though he might hear something from other women of the girl's clan who had married men of his own. Women at times visited relations who had married into other clans, but this took place very rarely.

When a youth wished to marry, the regular and legal procedure was for his father to make arrangements for him. The father got into communication with the parents of the girl by sending one of his wives into their village to arrange a meeting somewhere outside, for it was safe for him to go there. To this meeting each side brought one or two friends; and they at once settled the amount of the marriage-fee, which varied from three cows to twenty in the case of a rich man, who might also be asked to add a few goats. This was paid at once and the bride sent to her new home without delay, though at times a meeting between bride and bridegroom might be arranged so that the bride had an opportunity of objecting if she so desired.

The bride had to walk to he new home, for, as it was not safe for men of her clan to go there, she could not be carried. She was accompanied by her father's sister and by a younger sister of her own, and was veiled with cow-skins. When her husband met her at the gate of his home, he took her hand and struck it with a stick, saying, “Speak!” At this point, should she object to the man, she simply turned and walked out of the place. There was no discussion, as this made it clear she would not accept him. If she remained, the stick was put in a bedroom as the witness of the marriage, and the bride retired there while the friends of the bridegroom danced and feasted outside. A goat was killed to provide meat for the feast, and beer was supplied. During the first night the bride's aunt or sister slept in the bed with the married couple, and next morning this visitor was given a sheep and returned home. The bride then commenced her new life as a married woman.

Though the foregoing was the most formal and legal method of marriage, it was also common for a man to obtain a wife by capture. A man sought the aid of a few friends and together they pounced upon some unprotected girl and carried her off. When they reached a place of safety, the man sent messengers with cows and sheep for the marriage-fee to some place near the girl's home. The messenger called out to the girl's father, “Your daughter has become the wife of so-and-so. Here are the animals for the marriage-fee. Come and fetch them”. Should the father on examining the fee be dissatisfied, he entered into negotiations about the matter, which was usually settled peaceably. At times, however, as mentioned before, the girl's brothers would be anxious for a fight and would refuse all overtures until they fought the matter out.

There was no limit to the number of wives a man might have except his ability to pay for them. Many men had three wives, while a few had as many as five, and only a poor man contented himself with one. Each wife expected to have a house and a field of her own and would not live in the same house as another wife. The houses of the wives might be in the same compound and their fields close together, but there was seldom any close friendship between them, and the children of the different wives did not regard each other as brothers and sisters. Should a wife die, leaving young children, it was seldom that another would do anything for them. There were cases when a close bond of friendship existed and one wife would look after the children of another wife who died, but such cases were very rare. The care of children usually devolved upon the father or upon other members of the dead woman's family; and cases of young children being left to die after the death of their mother were quite common.

Illness

Illness received but little attention and nursing seemed to be entirely unknown. If a man was too ill to go about he was left at home to manage for himself, and his wife's care consisted in offering him his usual food at the usual times. If he could not eat it he went without, and his wife left him while she went to work in her field as usual. A mother seldom remained at home to look after a sick child. If it was too big to be carried with her, she placed a little food beside it and went off to her work.

A man who could afford it, however, would send for a medicine-man to divine the cause of the illness and prescribe its cure. The medicine-man used the usual methods of divining, taking his augury either over the entrails of a fowl or other animal, or by sprinkling powdered leaves of the kirikiti tree on water, or grain on a mat, and watching the shapes formed by the powder or by the grain.

If the medicine-man decided that the illness was caused by a ghost, an offering was made at a shrine and the patient was then given medicine. If the cause was magic, the medicine-man was expected to make more powerful magic to overcome the first. If there was no improvement, a second medicine-man was sent for to add his strength to that of the first.

Death

When a man or a woman died, the relatives dug the grave in the vicinity of the house and prepared the body for burial by bending up the legs and raising the arms. In the case of a man both hands were brought over the right shoulder and put under the head, and in the case of the woman they were brought over the left shoulder. Any valuable anklets and bracelets were removed; and a reed mat was placed round the body, which was then carried to the grave. The mat was taken off and the body laid in the grave naked; turf was laid upon it with the grass downwards, and the grave was then filled up with earth and a small mound round the length of the grave heaped over it. A fence was built round the grave to keep children and cattle from wandering over it and annoying the ghost, and the mat and a few of the dead person's bracelets were put on the fence. The people who had buried the body washed their hands and their feet and poured the water on the grave. The members of the household mourned four days and at the end of this time they shaved their heads to signify that the mourning was ended. A short time after a death, the house in which it took place was pulled down and a new one built, care being taken that the fence enclosing the new house excluded both the site of the old house and the grave.

Even after a woman was married and thus belong to another clan, she would, if she heard of the death of her father, her mother, or of a sister or brother of the same mother, attend the funeral. She was permitted to take her husband with her and he was given a cow, sheep, or goat, according to the wealth of the dead person. When the funeral was over, he was allowed to return unmolested by the members of his wife's clan, who at any other time would kill him if he ventured amongst them.

Should the ghost of a dead person become troublesome, his family built a small shrine near the grave and made an offering. A goat or a cow might be killed and the blood poured on the ground. A piece of the meat was cut into small portions and placed in the shrine, and the rest was eaten by the family in the house.

Murder

The Bakyiga were very hasty tempered and excitable, and a quarrel which among other people would end in words, often led to one man spearing another and perhaps killing him. If the death was instantaneous and the murderer was caught in the act, he was bound hand and foot, placed near the spot where the grave was dug, and tried by the elders of the village. The usual punishment was that the murderer was placed alive in the grave and buried beneath the body of his victim. Sometimes he was strangled and his body given to his relatives to bury; and there was also occasions when a murderer offered to pay a fine and his offer was accepted. In such a case the amount of the fine was settled by the head-man of the village, and might be three or four cows. The head-man met the relatives of the murderer and those of the murdered man at a place where there was a sacred kirikiti tree growing. There they killed a sheep, burning the skin and the entrails and eating the flesh. The head-man then produced a pot of purificatory medicine from which the murderer drank first, then the members of the dead man's family, and afterwards the others who were present as witnesses. The drinking of this signified that the quarrel was at an end, and that there would be no more attempts at vengeance.

Murders committed by members of other clans were common, and led to endless fighting between clans. If the clans did not go to war, the relatives of the dead man would lie in wait and endeavour to catch either the murderer or a member of his clan, and kill him.

Inheritance

When a man died, all his property descended to his eldest son. The land which a man cultivated became the property of his heir, and no one might dig there without the owner's sanction.

A man's heir also took all the childless widows to wife, unless there happened to be amongst them one who had looked after him as a child. In such a case that widow became the wife of some other member of the clan, but did not return to her own home. If a widow with children did not re-marry, she looked after her children until she was old, when they were expected to care for her. If a widow did not wish to become the wife of the heir, she might return to her father if he was willing to repay the marriage-fee which he had received for her.

Adoption was unknown, an should a man die without an heir, his relatives divided the property.

(List of relationships and moon phases in English and Rukiga omitted)

Counting
1 Emu, with the index-finger extended
2 Ibiri, the first two fingers extended
3 Isatu, the index-finger bent down and the other three extended
4 Enna, the four fingers extended all close together and the thumb bent inwards
5 Etano, fingers extended and thumb laid along the index finger
6 Mukaga, right hand as for five and index-finger of left hand extended
7 Musanju, right hand as for five and two first fingers of left extended
8 Munana, all fingers extended with both thumbs bent in
9 Mwenda, both hands extended with the thumb of right hand laid along the index-finger and left thumb bent inwards
10 Ikumi, both hands extended with thumbs laid along index-fingers.
20 Amakumi abiri
100 Igana

After this they say one or more igana up to ten at which they stop as being the highest number.

The chapter regarding the 'Batuse or Balyanwanda of Ruanda' is mostly omitted. Due to a meningitis outbreak around Kisoro he did not visit the area, fearing for the lives of the expedition's porters. His information comes from

… two chiefs who were political prisoners in Mbarara. One of them was a prince of Ruanda who had fought against the British during the war and had been captured, and both were exiles from their own country because their king regarded them as dangerous to him and wished to kill them.

In other words he received a Batutsi aristocratic perspective on Ruanda and there is little information specific to Bafumbira. A photo of one chief and a chief's wife is in the book. It is unlikely that the prince was Nyindo since he was a Musinga appointee and loyalist, and exiled to Masindi.

Taxation
Every year a district chief had to bring two or three hundred large pots of honey, each holding some two gallons, and a supply of millet, peas and beans to the king. This was brought to the district chief by the people on his estate, and he took a portion for himself before passing on the required amount to the king.

Twice in the year each person with cattle gave to the king a cow and a calf to supply him with milk and a fat animal to be killed for his meat. Milk was also sent daily to the court for the use of the king and his household.

Religion
I received a statement respecting the religion of the Batuse from Captain Phillips, the District Commissioner. They were, he said, monotheistic and had a chief priest who was initiated into his office by a journey up a certain sacred mountain where there was said to be a flock of sheep

sacred to the god. This was a dangerous exploit, but before a man was accepted as priest he had to go there with a sheep, which he offered to the god.

The King
… When the king felt he was seriously ill, he ended his life by taking poison. (Included as it raises the question if King Rwabugiri died of smallpox)

Agriculture
Each wife possessed a plot of land on which she raised crops to supply the family with food. Among the better classes the wife did not go out to work herself but left it to the servants and slaves. Among the poorer people, however, both husband and wife worked in the field.

They grew millet, both the large kind and the small millet called bulo, peas, beans, maize sweet potatoes and various other roots, and kassava.

For the millet the ground was dug over with the common short hoe; and before the seed was sown, a small basket of it was taken to the medicine-man, who gave it his blessing an mixed some medicine with it or placed a fetish in it. Some of this seed was mixed with that which was to be sown, and the basket with the remainder was kept in the field during the sowing and afterwards taken home and kept in a safe place to ensure good crops.

As the grain ripened, guards were placed to scare off the birds and wild animals. The first fruits of the crop had to be eaten by the owner and his wife, and the grain was stored in granaries near the houses. For use the millet was ground and boiled to a stiff porridge which formed the principal food of the people.

Most men also kept bees, for honey was demanded as a tax by the king and was an article of food among all classes. A large pot of honey with the comb was sold for a goat, and a small pot of refined honey for two hoes.

Slaves
There were several classes of slaves:
(1) The conquered aborigines of the land who were really free but were regarded as slaves in as much as they did menial work for them.
(2) Household slaves. These were mostly women from among the free people who engaged of their own will in this kind of service. They could not be sold and might leave service and marry when they wished.
(3) Slaves who had been purchased or captured during war or raids. These were also women and were seldom sold; when once a slave entered a family she remained there for life. Such slaves were often taken by their owners to wife, and their sons were regarded as legitimate and might inherit property.

Taken from The Soul of Africa, 1922. Note that Belgian territory was a very short distance from Lake Bunyoni. Quotes from the Preliminary Report to the Royal Society, 1921, are included with {} and one editorial note by [].

The people of Kigezi are mountaineers, and find steep hill-sides no difficulty; their fields extend up the slopes of the mountains and are marked off from each other by ridges where the weeds and stones are gathered together. After a few seasons the fields become regular plateaux, for the rains wash the earth from higher ground against these ridges and form terraces raised above the lower fields. As I wandered along a path on the side of a mountain and looked over to the opposite side of the valley the fields looked as though they were laid out in terraces and fenced. Some were planted with peas, which were in full bloom, with blossoms of three or four colours – a sight quite new to me, as I had never seen edible peas with any but white blossom. Cattle plague had not penetrated into this district, and at each camp there was an abundance of milk to be obtained; indeed, in many places pots of milk were presented in such quantities that I had to refuse some of it.

It was my desire to see something of the pygmies in Kigezi, but I found they had left and, having crossed into Belgian territory, were out of reach. I had been told that they had formed a camp in Kigezi, and I had hoped to spend a few days with them to learn something of their habits by actual observation of their life. It was regrettable to find them gone and not to learn where they had encamped. There were traces of their presence in the shape of large devastated areas, from which the people had fled in fear of the pugnaciousness and rapacity of these pygmies.

{This is a mountainous country occupied by several tribes. The most populous is called the Bakyga. These are agricultural: they cultivate the sides of the mountains and also possess large herds of cows. They are wild people, strong and fearless. They have never submitted to pastoral people, though I found the pygmies had driven them back from one part of their country bordering on the Congo.}

Cerebo-spiral meningitis was prevalent in the far part of Kigezi, which made it unwise to go further west with carriers, who are always liable to contract disease when marching. I therefore spent some days among the Bakyga, whom I found to be a wild set of people without cohesion or regard for authority. The more I learned of them the more their customs reminded me of the Basegu on Mount Elgon, but I found no one who could give me any satisfactory account of their early migrations. They themselves could give no account of their forefathers, merely stating that their history only went back two generations, to their great-grandfathers [He notes a clan called Bakyga, on Mount Elgon, who had a tradition of a segment going south]. There are a number of clans, each possessing its own totem and social arrangements. The women are hard workers, each wife being provided with a field from which she obtains enough food to support herself and her children and to help to keep her husband. The husbands are the real owners of the land, and when they marry the wife is given what is considered sufficient to support her and the children she may have. Each husband has his own cultivated plot, the produce of which he uses for his own purposes, for brewing, bartering or for food. If he has more than one wife, each of them sets aside a portion of food for him from her own harvest store. This is kept and cooked for the husband whenever he pays a visit to the wife. Each wife assists the husband in cultivating his land, and he in turn helps her to dig hers. In the home there is little order or idea of comfort, and the amount of affection shown by a mother to her child is but small. When the children are well and can run about they lead a happy life, but when one of them falls sick it gets little sympathy or attention. The mother seldom remains at home to nurse her child; she merely places some food, either porridge or potatoes, near it, and then leaves it to eat or not, to live or die.

{I found they buried their dead near their huts and there is no trace of cannibalism}

The men are the most unruly I met in all my journeyings; they have no respect for old or young, if they come from another village, but will spear down anyone they meet who is not of their locality. It is dangerous for a man to make the shortest of journeys alone; even when he goes to dig his field he is in danger of being killed; he must carry his weapons with him and keep them to hand, as he may be attacked at any moment. Even the men of the same village are easily aroused to anger against each other, and will use their spears freely, wounding or killing anyone on the slightest provocation. {I saw an instance – a man wounded a clan brother of the same village, who wanted to sell him a goat for a higher price than he wished to give. The purchaser marked his disapproval by thrusting his spear through the thigh of the seller of the animal.}

Murder was said to be quite common, even though the murderer had to pay the penalty by losing his own life in a manner which one would think was sufficiently terrifying to restrain him, for he was buried alive under the body of the man he had murdered. {I also heard that murder was quite common, even though the punishment is severe. Two murders were said to have taken place before my arrival. In each case the murderer after being bound hand and foot, was tried, and, when proved to be guilty, was buried alive under their corpse.}

In this district, when a man wants to marry he kidnaps the woman he wants, and then, from some place of safety, calls to her relatives and informs them of what he has done. Girls are prepared for this mode of marriage, and, when they are once installed in a home of their own, they seldom attempt to run away. The relatives are asked to come to some particular place to receive the dowry, which is placed ready for them in accordance with an accustomed scale; they may demand more than the amount paid, and arbitration may last for some weeks before both parties are satisfied. Little friendship between members of different clans arises from the new relationships; the bride's brothers retain their spirit of enmity against the other clan, and will kill their brother-in-law as readily as they would before he married their sister.

Men may marry more than one wife, and frequently have three or four, though two is the most common number. The wives are always taken to live with the husband, who builds each her own house in his compound. A strange feature about these marriages is the complete lack of friendship between the different wives of the same man. Should one wife fall sick and die; the other will little, if any, notice of the motherless children; and, unless there has been some previous bond of union or friendship between the mothers, the second will not pay the slightest attention even to even to a helpless child of the dead woman. The father has to take care for it the best he can. This spirit of unfriendliness is unusual among African tribes, where, should a mother die, some relative is almost always found to adopt a baby.

I found in Kigezi a capable Government officer of the Civil Service, doing admirable work in reducing these wild people to order. His task requires great tact, because there has been no recognised ruler among them, and any taxation is hotly resented. As I was leaving the country I was informed that one or two native servants of the Government staff had been murdered while trying to help some villagers to preserve their cattle against rinderpest. The people mistook the proffered assistance for interference with intent to rob, and used their spears before matters could

be explained. At one camp a man who was the worse for drink tried to force his way into my tent, and when opposed by some of his companions was about to use his spear. He had to be overpowered and disarmed, whereupon he proceeded to make himself troublesome by hurling great stones at the men who were trying to keep order.

From the capital of Kigezi we journeyed along the eastern side of Lake Edward, seeing many people who do not often have visits from strangers; some of these showed timidity, though curiosity more frequently overcame fear. The mountain tracks proved trying when the bicycle had to be pushed up them in the heat of the day, though it seemed worth the trouble when I reached any fairly level place where I could ride, for not only did I cover more ground than if I had to walk, but it was a rest to sit on the machine. On this journey it was necessary to employ fresh porters daily, as the men would not go more than one stage carrying loads. The men had to be engaged in the afternoon and evening, and usually came in the early morning soon after five o'clock, carrying off the cases and tent as soon as they could see; if an extra early start had to be made they slept in the camp. I seldom found any man who shirked or did not turn up to carry his load, and I was able to go on ahead to the next camp agree upon, leaving the men to follow. When they came into the camp they assisted in erecting the tent, and went away perfectly satisfied with a small payment in the Uganda currency.

Soon after I reached each camp I found myself the object of much curiosity, and men came to look at me. As I was well ahead of the porters I had thus an opportunity of chatting with them and gathering information for some two to three hours before the goods came along. Whenever possible I found one of the Government rest-houses and sat in it. These houses are found in most places, because the District Officer makes periodical visits to each part of the district, and the chiefs gather at that centre to meet him. It was only when I heard some place of interest or of some village specially worth a visit that I left the usual rest-house and made my camp in some out-of-the-way place. As a rule it was preferable to visit these district centres when making the journey, because there men could be got through the native agent who resides in the vicinity, and also because there are well-defined roads from rest-house to rest-house. It was always possible to save time by wandering off from the rest-house, after the porters had arrived, to visit any place of interest or to take photographs. Usually, however, I had plenty to do when a camp was reached, for I would generally find some who would sit and chat, and from whom I gathered information of value for general survey work. At each camp it was possible to obtain food and, as a rule, milk, and the person who brought it would be amply satisfied with a small present. As I had no escort of police with me, I generally asked the chief of the place to supply two or three men to sleep near my goods and protect them from thieves during the night. These guards often supplied me with useful information concerning their tribe and customs. When evening came I did not sit up long, for I had to remember the early hour at which it was necessary to rise and prepare for the march; therefore at eight o'clock I shut up the tent and retired to rest.

During the whole expedition there was never any night disturbances; wild animals might be heard in the distance, but every traveller expects that, and they never disturbed the camp. On one or two occasions there were heavy thunderstorms which threatened to bring down the tent. One storm experienced on this part of the journey was terrific, and I thought the guard had been killed by lightning, which struck some trees quite close. The thunder was deafening, and the rain came down in torrents, flooding the ground all around. Fortunately the tent was pitched on rising

ground, so that the water quickly ran away. When the storm was over I found that the guard was safe in a hut neat, though they confessed to having been startled by the severity of the storm.

When leaving the Ankole District, which we had to re-enter on its western boundary before reaching the ferry between Lakes Edward and George, I travelled through some of the most beautiful scenery of the whole tour. The mountains are covered with magnificent forests, with much fine timber, sometimes extending from the valleys to the very summits, and the sight in the early morning, when the rays of the rising sun fell upon the varied green of the foliage, was most striking. The path often skirted the mountains, winding in an out at a height of five to six thousand feet above sea level; in places the gradients were such that it was possible to ride a bicycle for two or three miles without dismounting to push it over the crest of a hill. In some places the cone-shaped hills were found to be extinct volcanoes with the sloping sides of the crater clothed with grass and trees and ending in a pool or small lake, making a pretty picture in the sunshine, for the tropical growth of creepers and often beautiful flowers showed amongst the variously tinted foliage of the trees. Here and there streams trickled down the side of the mountain had to be crossed, and sometimes we encountered larger streams, over which fallen trees formed the only bridges. In other cases, however, the natives were being trained by Baganda agents of the Government to make better bridges, over which a bicycle could pass. Once or twice we came upon splendid waterfalls dashing down from a height of six or seven hundred feet into the rocky basin below, and flowing off in a fine river. Where these falls occurred, the face of the rock was covered with ferns and flowering plants, which, watered by the spray, grew fresh and green.

Where natives had settled, these mountain sides were cultivated in the most primitive manner, but in most places Nature had her own way undisturbed by man. The natives confined their work principally to the cultivation of the smaller kind of millet and potatoes, though here and there were fields of peas, which had blossoms of varied tints from deep red to white; possibly the cooler atmosphere here is more favourable to the growth of peas than in most of this part of Africa. In Kigezi, Mr. Phillips, the Commissioner, had a wonderful English garden in which potatoes, turnips, carrots, celery and cauliflower grow freely. His strawberries were the finest I have seen or tasted in Africa. In addition to this garden he grows wheat and oats, grinds his own flour, and makes his own oatmeal. These facts will suffice to show that in such a country almost any kind of European produce could be procured by settlers. I found the nights rather cool, and from six to nine o'clock each morning there was a cool breeze which, with a mist that rose between eight and nine o'clock, made a fire quite acceptable.

As the expedition descended from the upper parts of the mountains we came upon plantains again. On the higher levels they yield no fruit and are not much grown. With plantains are found the various kinds of beans and maize and the larger millet. The cold of the higher mountains prevents these from making sufficient growth to encourage the natives to cultivate them.

As the traveller passes along the mountain range in Kigezi and Western Ankole to Lake Edward he finds the country full of animal life; and where there are many animals there are lions about. At some of the places we passed they were said to be troublesome, attacking not only cows but men and women as well. At one place two men came to the camp at three o'clock in the afternoon, saying that they had just escaped from three lions which stood in the road. Had one of

the men been alone the beasts would have in all probability have attacked him. The native chiefs asked me not to travel unaccompanied in the early morning, because men were being attacked if they went to their fields alone at daybreak. Probably the beasts were suffering from scarcity of food, for many wild pigs and other animals had died from rinderpest. The lions were consequently forced out to hunt for food in the daytime, and attacked men. I often heard lions and other animals, but only once or twice saw them, and was never molested by them.

## Edgar and Stella Worthington

The Inland Waters of Africa (1933) was written by husband and wife team Edgar Barton and Stella (nee Denning) Worthington who spent two months at Lake Bunyoni. He was a hydrologist and consultant to the Protectorate government, she was a biologist. At the time of their visit he was Director of the Government Fish Survey; he later became a natural science author and wrote Science in Africa (13 editions, 1938-69) and The Nile (3 editions, 1975-85). The extract has been slightly edited.

No greater contrast could be found to this low-lying flat and hot country than the region around Lake Bunyoni. In water area Lake George is roughly six times as big as Lake Bunyoni, but whereas the former is rectangular and the whole shore-line smoothed to a uniform appearance by the swamps, the latter is made up of three arms whose shores are so indented that in actual mileage it is far further round the coast of Bunyoni. To approach Bunyoni the traveller goes to Kabale at about 6500 feet, climbs to 7000 feet up the side of a river valley, and reaching the top suddenly looks down over the waters of what might be an Italian lake. At the nodal point of the three arms several islands thrust themselves from the water and long fingers of the lake run to behind them to disappear in the distance. The greatest length is only 16 miles but visibility was curtailed to five or six, and the shore line turned and twisted so that one promontory obscured the view of the rest, and it was not until in the boat travelling down the different arms that the mystery of what lay round the next bend unfolded itself.

The lava flow (that damned the lake) happened on the north end of the lake and the overflowing water gently seeps out through a papyrus swamp into the River Ruezaminda, a tributary of the Ruchuru which flows into Lake Edward. All this process must have taken place in quite recent geological times as the water has not yet cut any platform for itself into the sides of the valley, which slope uniformly down to about 17 fathoms before flattening to the worn bed of the original river. This type of lake formation leads to as picturesque a result as can be found.

From their tops at a thousand feet above surface of the lake to the water's edge the bounding walls of Bunyoni are clothed with trees and thick vegetation of a dark pine-coloured green. Here and there the general velvety look is interrupted where natives have cleared a patch and planted a few banana trees round their huts. These clearings mostly occur on the western side for some obscure reason, and families find the living easy and pleasant at an average day temperature of 750 F and cool bracing nights. The plentiful sunshine encourages the easy growth of the staple millet; cows, sheep, goats and chickens graze on the coarse grass and small fish thrive in the cool waters.


Figure 104 Lakeside

A charming rest camp built and well maintained by the local chief affords a most delightful holiday resort. The road from Kabale runs up and down to the lake shore at Chabahinga. Here a ferry is generally waiting and natives paddle easily through the water lily belt, up one of the smaller arms of the lake and across the meeting point of the three big arms about four miles to Bufundi, where this rest camp is built hundred feet above the water. Two large roomy white-washed dining rooms thatched with papyrus and several tent shelters look out over the waters. Everywhere round the lake shore a belt of water-lilies ten yards wide burst with mauve blossoms and the water surface is broken at frequent intervals by some animal.


Figure 105 Rest House

Ducks of various kinds swim and feed in the waters, quite fearless even of an outboard motor as they have been protected for several years. Little grebes swim and dive among the lilies, and strong swimming otters poke up cheeky heads to look at new arrivals. Two kinds of otter live

here; one – the clawless otter – lives in the swamps in the head of the bays, the other – the African spotted-necked otter lives in the open water and water lilies. It was a surprise to see little heads travelling at a high speed through the water, suddenly vanishing to pop up again fifty yards off, take a breath and sink again. Their skins are greatly prized by the natives, who stand for hours quite motionless in a canoe among the lilies waiting with a spear poised ready to strike as soon as a head appears. It maybe weeks before they are lucky enough to bag one, then they skin it and dry it and carry their valuables off into the Congo markets where the skins fetch a far better price than in Uganda. These animal  breed in large numbers, so it seems improbable that this form of killing them is ever likely even to keep their numbers down, but they would fall easy prey to more civilised methods of trapping, which would soon ruin the amenities of the countryside.

Birds and otters find an enormous supply of food in the little frogs that teem in the waters of the lake. The eye cannot rest on any surface for more than a second without it being broken by these frogs coming up to breath. Birds, otters and fish all live on these creatures, and yet their numbers are so great the water is black with them. Their whole life seems to be spent in swimming vertically upwards to take a mouthful of air, then diving vertically downwards until another breath of air is necessary – rather a monotonous life on the whole, broken by feeding on minute plants, prawns, insect larvae and pupae as they swim up and down.

Cormorants and darters make their entire diet probably off these frogs and find food-getting an easy matter under these conditions. Ducks, on the other hand, are chiefly vegetarians and find abundant subsistence in the fringe of water lilies and weeds. According to the inhabitants, the number of duck vary considerably from time to time, and so are probably reduced in numbers by migration rather than by shooting, as has been thought.

It seemed almost a sacrilege to break the silence and peace of this bird and animal life by the roar of an out-board motor. The otters, however, were only curious and popped up to see what new creature this was that made such a noise under water; the birds only gazed once in bewilderment and then continued their perpetual feeding in the usual way.

At the nodal point and a short distance up the arms of the lake a few islands reach up to as much as a hundred feet. The summits of these have never been submerged but existed as high points and promontories in the original river bed and became islands when the valley was dammed back and the water level rose. One or two of these are as much as a mile long and afford perfect places for holiday homes, but since Uganda is a native protectorate, these islands are the property of the government in trust for the natives and no one can buy the land for building. One of the bigger islands is given over to a leper settlement, and a big hospital crowns the top. The place is run by the C.M.S. and two white nurses live there permanently. The doctor lives in Kabale and pays weekly visits to the place, and for this purpose has a home-made motor-boat. On another and smaller and flatter island the doctor has a bungalow where his family come for holidays, swimming in the cool waters, diving in off a home-made spring-board, the bottom of the lake shelves so deeply. No more ideal place could be found for the white population who live in the over-heated low lying towns of Kampala and the more unhealthy places in Uganda. Coming to this place after living in the bottom of the rift valley was like coming out of a steamy house into

a bright fresh spring morning. The cool air brought on attacks of malaria, and although generally the temperature of a warm English summer's day, wools and big coats were necessary.

The natives are a fine and healthy lot and, being closely allied with the Ruanda peoples across the international boundary, favour many of their fashions; the one as to hair-dressing being the most noticeable. The Ruanda, as many African tribes, spend considerable time daily in cutting their wooly fuzz into various shapes, getting a kind friend to shave the parts in between as religiously as a white man shaves his face; this is the style adopted by many of the local inhabitants. Some however, are members of other tribes and have gradually filtered into the area, induced by the prosperity of the country, while others are merely traders resident for a few days en route either to the Congo or the markets of Uganda. The travellers are mostly to be met around Bufundi and Chabahinga, since these places lie on the route from Kabale to the Congo.

In the bays and arms of the lake a quiet and peaceful population live in comfort and plenty. Their huts are built chiefly overlooking the swamps that lie in the sheltered bays; there are not a great number of them and large stretches of the countryside are still given over to forest and animal life. Most of their communication instead of being overland is by water, as their canoes show from the high state of evolution which they have reached. They are almost 'speed' models, far removed from the ordinary hulking dugout canoes. Instead of just a hole in the centre of a tree-trunk they shave the hull until it is just so thick as to be practical; and the bows are cut up and pointed so that as little resistance as possible is presented by a bow wave. The bigger canoes that hold six or more paddlers move at a tremendous speed through the water, as fast as the twelve-horse-power outboard could drive the craft. Their paddles give an impetus on every pull as a heart-shaped piece is cut at the bottom of a long handle, which makes a much more effective implement than the usual thin and narrow blade. A single man treats his canoe as part and parcel of himself, he turns, twists and backs it with no slackening of speed, more at home on the water than on land. If it is a one man canoe he will sit on an upturned block of wood, but if several people are working the boat they sit on the gunwales on either side and all work in concert.

A variety to the ordinary native diet is wild honey, which they collect either from natural nests in the wilder parts of the forest or else from hollowed-out logs of wood, the customary lures put up for bees all over East Africa. The bees use these suspended logs as hives and deposit their supply of honey inside, from where the natives collect it. Frequently smoke may be seen rising from a canoe as it lazily proceeds over the clear water or cuts its way like a knife through the surface. Instead of the incongruity of a canoe being on fire in mid-ocean, it is merely the occupant melting his next meal of honey just collected from his private hunting-ground.

Previously one of the great occupations of the natives was in hunting the situtanga. The swamps that lie at the heads of many of the little bays, where streams from the hills join the lake, are breeding grounds of this rather rare antelope, which is not found in many parts of East Africa and is always considered rather a prize by the game hunter. Here, however, he lives in hundreds in the many big and peaceful swamps. In size and build he is very like a bushbuck and is closely related to it, but living as he does in swamps and watery places, he has developed a long wide-spreading hoof, which gives the animal some purchase on the sodden clumps of papyrus and spongy bottom as well as being a help in swimming. His coat is longer and coarser than the bushbuck, the colour being more subdued to tone in with his surroundings. All these

characteristics seem to be the result of habitat, but the white tips to the horns seem merely for show. He spends all his time among the tall papyrus and can occasionally be seen in a clear patch leaping from clump to clump. Before the days of game-laws the natives would start at the inland edge of the swamp, and by ploughing thigh-deep in mud, by swimming or forcing their way through the papyrus, drive the whole swamp until the situtanga, disturbed by their shouts or by the burning papyrus, all accumulated at the water's edge to swim to the other shore. In the middle of the lake picked spearsmen stood ready in canoes as the petrified creatures swam from the pandemonium behind them, becoming easy prey as the spears were hurled through their beating hearts. This form of sport is now a thing of the past and the timid creature lives in peace, only occasionally molested by the European hunter, who more often then not will come away empty-handed since they offer such difficult targets always at great range.

As a result of the institution of game laws, the native's diet is entirely vegetarian unless he kills one of his precious cattle or sheep or eats one of his chickens. This he seldom does as it would merely be eating his own wealth, and so he lives on the produce of the land. The waters support no indigenous fish life at all in spite of the enormous amount of food that exists there for every kind of fish. To give the natives an occupation and provide trade and variety of food, several people have made attempts to introduce fish from other lakes, but the only successful effort resulted in the peopling of the inshore waters with a little cat-fish called nzonzi, which has developed in enormous numbers since its introduction in 1919 and provides a source of trade and wealth for the inhabitants. Attempts at bring other fish from Lake Edward or warmer waters have been unsuccessful, due to the change in temperature of the water and air and the long overland journey necessary for the completion of the work. Of those that survived the journey most died, and although one or two managed to adapt to the new conditions, the open waters are still unpeopled by fish.

The waters of Lake Bunyoni are cold enough for black bass, which have been so successfully introduced to Lake Naivasha, and it has been suggested that a similar sportsman's paradise might be developed on Bunyoni for the overheated people in the lowlands of Uganda.

## Joyce Gower

The following was written by Joy Gower (nee Sharp), Dr. Leonard Sharp’s youngest daughter, in 2009 entitled Memories of Life on Lake Bunyonyi.

For two periods of his life in Kigezi, my father, Dr Leonard Sharp was in charge of two hospitals at the same time, a general hospital at Kabale and Bwama leprosy hospital and settlement on Lake Bunyonyi. During these times he would often spend four days at Kabale and three at Bwama or visa versa. This meant my mother, sister and brother, helpers, dogs and other pets all going too. It must have been a challenge for my mother to be constantly preparing everything that was needed for the change of homes. But she was always cheerful. We made our home on Njuyera while my father spent his days at Bwama.

It was at this time that my mother’s landscaping and gardening talents developed. Both Dr and Mrs Sharp were involved in planting beautiful trees, shrubs, climbers, flowers, fruit and

vegetables on the island to make into a beautiful and attractive place not only for themselves but as a place of refreshment, enjoyment and serenity for others. There were orange and lemon trees, bananas, peaches, plums, a mulberry, a fig, guavas and various soft fruits.

Over the years Njuyera became famous throughout East Africa for its beauty. Apart from visitors who were invited to stay for a holiday, there were a great many day visitors who came across the lake to see it for themselves. All were welcomed and Mrs Sharp recorded their names in a book (which still exists). School and adult groups also came on outings and all were fed or entertained with sports, games and picnics.

When Dr Sharp brought children's groups to the island, his motor boat was decorated with flags for the occasion. There was the very rare European evening party for people from Kabale. These were light-hearted and enjoyable times but meant everyone staying overnight in tents, and hard work for the family to organise. A small holiday cottage was built in the 1950s for self-catering holidays or for honeymoon couples to stay.

When I was about six years old, we were returning from a medical itinerary to Kisoro. We had started our safari from Kabale and travelled as far as the lake by car, where we met the rest of our party, African helpers and medical orderlies, and porters to carry the necessary equipment, tents food etc. We had crossed the lake to the mainland at Bafundi and then walked over the increasingly high hills till descending into what we nicknamed 'the Elephant Valley' which was a part of the Kigezi bamboo forest. Its base was covered with tall grasses and thousands of red-hot pokers (kniphofias) and its sides by lofty bamboos.

The forest was home for buffaloes, leopards and a species of mountain elephant, so this was an exciting part of our journey. Climbing the next ridge named Behungi, we reached the top of the escarpment over-looking far below, that part of the Great Rift Valley, where Kisoro town is situated and admired the wonderful view of the volcanoes which form the boundary between Rwanda and the Congo.

We had camped there, the dogs securely tied in the tent from possible attack from leopards, before descending to Kisoro where we had stayed for two weeks. Now on our return it had been arranged that the large motor boat should meet us at the end of the longest arm of the lake 12 miles from the road-head where the car was parked, to cut down the long distance ahead on foot.

On the way my father was asked to see the seriously ill wife of a miner, who had a mine in the hills. This he did, and needing hospital treatment she was carried to the lakeside to return with us in the boat. We all climbed in, family, patient, dogs and more, but the motor boat engine would not start!

Eventually the only thing to be done was to hail a passing canoe and ask the owner to take Dr Sharp to where his small motorboat was moored. It was about 3pm and the hours went by, the patient moaned and the family and dogs were restless. It became very cold as darkness fell. There were only the stars above and fireflies. It was not till very late in the night that the faint sound of the motor boat was heard and we saw the light of a hurricane lamp swaying from its bows, and so we were towed back and eventually returned safely to Kabale.

Over the years this route was always enjoyed by us all. The walk to Behungi ridge and back can be undertaken in a day with an early start, it needs a guide, picnic lunch and drinks. Times have changed and 'The Elephant Valley' may no longer be as it was. It was always a well worth outing!

The lake looks peaceful but with the surrounding high hills, storms can develop very quickly. Strong winds and waves then endanger any canoe on open water. On such occasions we would watch out for canoes unable to reach the shelter of an island and then take part in a high speed rescues by motorboat.

Beside the boats my father built from galvanised sheet metal and rivets for the needs of the settlement, he also built some sailing boats and small craft for his family. His first sailing boat was made as early as 1922 and named 'Mary' after his mother. But others followed much later when the family was old enough to use them. It was there that we learnt to sail and used the boats to explore the lake or cross it to take walks on the mainland.

One boat was constructed from four sheets of corrugated iron to 'play about in' but sadly, one day an over vigorous thrust of the paddle and I overturned it, where upon it sank, and I had quite a distance to swim home. Swimming is safe for good swimmers. There is no bilharzias in the water and there are no crocodiles or hippos, but visitors must be aware that the land shelves very quickly into deep water within a very few feet from the shore.

Njuyera attracts a wide variety of birds. We possessed a reference book of African birds from which we identified and recorded all we saw. Once when having tea in the garden, a pied crow flew down and went off with our only butter dish. It flew with it over the lake and then back above the island where it was dropped unbroken. It was made of glass!

We played croquet on the lawn and the tennis court built on Njuyera was surfaced with lava ash, obtained from a distance away on the shore. The lake was formed by volcanic action when the original valley exit was blocked by eruptions. When my parents first went to Lake Bunyoni, there were thousands of frogs round the lake shores which made a very noisy chorus at night.

Lake dwellers caught the frogs, impaled them on sticks and smoked them. All the frogs disappeared when tilapia were introduced to the lake. A thriving fish industry followed for many years, but suddenly without warning the fish died and it has not been possible to reintroduce them.

The cause of the loss of the fish has not been established. One theory was volcanic disturbance? Certainly tremors are felt at times on the lake which ruffle the water and can cause damage when the volcanoes on the Congo border are active.

Elspeth Huxley

Elspeth Joscelin Huxley (née Grant); was born in Kenya 1907; she was a writer, journalist, broadcaster, magistrate, environmentalist, farmer, government advisor and good friends of the Adamsons. She wrote 30 books and published The Sorcerer's Apprentice, 1948, which described a visit to Kigezi in 1946. She was awarded a CBE in 1962. She died in the UK in 1997.

I arrived after dark, and awoke next morning to a new scene. A thick white mist lay over the grass and lifted gradually to reveal a landscape of ridge after steep-sided ridge, rising one after the other to infinity. Hostile territory to a pilot: there does not seem to be a space flat enough to make a football field, let alone a forced landing.

There is a crispness, a brilliance in the air that speaks of altitude. Kabale itself is over 6,000 feet and those towering red ridges run up to 8,500 feet or more. The land looks fertile and smiling. Gardens are full of roses, the lawn Irish green. Yet the annual rainfall averages only 38 inches. The secret lies in distribution. There is no month without rain, which generally falls with gentle uniformity and not in wasteful torrents, and morning mists help to keep the vegetation moist and lively.

After breakfast, I set out with the Agricultural Officer to see a part of Kigezi. Red roads coil and zigzag round precipitous crests in a most accomplished manner, yet no engineers made them.

“These people,” Mr. Purseglove said, “have a natural eye for contour almost as accurate as a level. The contour strips are pegged by eye, and my instructors are seldom out by more than a few inches.”

Whole hillsides are under cultivation, from the narrow swampy bottoms to the precipitous crests, and all laid out in pocket-handkerchief plots. One wonders why the women do not slide off the hillsides while they are hoeing. Nevertheless there is a pattern to the scene. The plots are ribbed at close intervals by strips of elephant-grass.

“There is no soil erosion.” said Mr. Purseglove firmly.

At first this seems incredible. In so many other parts of Africa, cultivation on slopes much milder than these has disposed of nearly all the topsoil. But he would not be shaken. He gave two reasons for Kigezi's immunity: the soils natural resistance, and the practices of strip-cropping, combined with the planting of elephant-grass wash-stops along the contours of the hills. (Strip-cropping, as its name implies, consists in planting your crops in narrow parallel strips on the contour, to prevent soil wash.)

In other parts of Africa people have talked about strip-cropping for years, but in Kigezi they really do it – not just here and there but for miles and miles, on ridge after ridge, from top to base. How has it happened?

“Propaganda,” said Mr. Purseglove. “Constant propaganda. We work it like this. I hold a nine-day course for a group of chiefs. Back they go, and each chief in turn calls out all his cultivators for a day's party. A couple of my instructors go along. With their help, everyone turns to and

pegs out contour lines, and after this every man must keep this line – generally he plants elephant-grass – even if it runs right through his shamba.”

The utter treelessness of this country is its defect. A generation or two ago these hillsides were cloaked in fine natural forest, but the industrious Bakiga have razed it all, save for an occasional little patch spared for some magical reason. To find firewood is, perhaps, the tribesmen's greatest problem, and many families make do with the rhizomes of elephant-grass or papyrus. Tree planting is an idea that does not seem to have occurred to even the most up-and-coming African tribes.

“The richer a man is,” said the A.O., “the further he lives up the hill. A rich man has several wives to fetch water, so he can afford to live farther from the stream.”

Each of the homesteads, the usual cluster of round thatched huts, was equipped with an extra baby hut not usually to be found in the African 'village'.

“You see – a latrine to every home,” said Mr. Purseglove proudly. “We feel we've made real headway there.”

This was even more remarkable than the wash-stops. Except in the homes of a tiny minority privies are, throughout East Africa, still almost unknown, and diseases whose spread could be checked by simple hygiene – hookworm, amoebic dysentery, bilharzia – are rampant everywhere.

“People can be summoned before the native court for not having a proper twenty-foot latrine in good order,” said the A.O., “and to start with, some of them were. Now it's seldom necessary. I guarantee that if you walked from one end of Kigezi to the other you'd find hardly any offenders.”

Why should this extreme south-western corner of Uganda, remote from towns and Secretariats and other foci of progress, be so far in advance of so many places in the art of better living? Mr. Purseglove's explanation was the close and uninterrupted team-work between the D.C., himself and the doctor. Team-work, however, is not a monopoly of Kigezi's, and the Bakiga must surely be an especially amenable people.

“They take a lot of convincing,” Mr. Purseglove said, “but once they are convinced, they'll do a thing and see it through.”

Two factors, perhaps, have influenced their outlook. One is the chief's readiness to co-operate. Like most mountain-dwellers, the Bakiga had no hereditary system of rulers and the first British administrators brought in 'foreign' chiefs from Buganda. This worked better than might have been expected, and in due course the 'foreigners' were replaced by natives whom they had trained. Because the people were not tied down by hereditary allegiance to ruling families or castes, they were able to pick the best men for the job, and, it seems, did so. The chiefs are poorly paid (a gombolola may get as little as 50/- a month, and no more than 130/-) but they are

energetic and keen, and, perhaps because they are not severed from the people by blood or pride or wealth, they seem to have the people's confidence.

The other factor is the climate's healthiness. At this altitude there is no malaria or bilharzia, and for other reasons little venereal disease.

Unchecked by disease, the population has so multiplied as to raise the average numbers per square mile from 86 in 1928 to 155 in 1944. In other words the population has doubled itself in 16 years. Not all of this is due to natural increase. Many families from Ruanda settled here, until 1943 the government stopped all immigration. But over one-third of the whole population consists of children under ten, and calculations show that at the present rate, and without any more immigration, the tribe's numbers will double in the next thirty years.

There is no more room in Kigezi. Not only that, there is no room for the existing population, which in 1944 had reached a density of 717 people to the square mile in the most crowded places. This means that each family has an average of only 4½ acres on which to cultivate, build a homestead, graze animals and rest the soil. (In 1936, each had over 10 acres.) So land is being cropped year after year without grass leys, without fallows, and yields are dropping.

“Somehow we have got to move off about one-third of the whole population of Kigezi,” said the A.O.

We had halted behind two lorries to talk to a party of Bakiga assembled under some gum trees. Each man stood over an assortment of bundles: blankets, cooking pots, food, the usual mixed bag. These were emigrants about to start on their adventure. They looked phlegmatically cheerful. The chiefs were there to see them off, superior in trousers, sun-helmets and fly-whisks.

“It was touch and go at first,” said Mr. Purseglove, “and I wouldn't have believed that within a year we should have had to put a brake on emigration.”

Mr. Mathias and Mr. Purseglove, the D.C. and A.O. Respectively, spent many days searching for new land. They looked at much that was too hot and unhealthy for a tribe of mountain-dwellers, but at last they hit upon a large tract of country, about 70 miles from Kabale and quite uninhabited, on the upper reaches of an escarpment sloping down to the Lake Edward flats. The Bakiga had hitherto avoided it partly because of the game, pressing up the wooded valleys, destroyed their crops, partly because of its reputation for evil spirits.

A year was devoted to propaganda. Up and down the country, ideas were planted in people's minds. How many children had this man got? Six? Good, but where would his sons get land? Was the father's plot big enough to hold them? Of course not. Was any land lying idle? No? Then what would become of the sons? Had the Bakiga not come here from Ruanda several generations ago? Were men of today less bold than their fathers? The A.O. held brief courses for chiefs and sub-chiefs to bring home the dire fate of land persistently over-cropped – their land. The chiefs went back impressed. Then a new suggestion was made. Would some of the chiefs and people like to look at this new land?

A few agreed. Game scouts shot buffalo for a meat dinner, and several parties looked over the promised land from the shelter of a lone tree standing on a spur of the hills and called 'the dancing floor of the virgins'.

The turning point came when two of the most influential chiefs decided to trust the Government and back the scheme. They called for volunteers. The D.C. built huts for the settlers to live in until their own were ready, arranged to feed them until after the first harvest, provided free transport and stationed game scouts there to shoot buffalo and pig. For the rest, people had to fend for themselves.

Less than a year ago, the pioneers moved out. In theory each man could peg 12 acres, but in practice he was left alone to do as he pleased.

“If we had bothered them with a lot of rules and regulations,” Mr. Purseglove said, “they would have turned against the scheme. So we made only two rules: that they must cultivate along the contour, and they must dig pit-latrines. The rest can follow later: next year strip-cropping will be brought in.”

The first action of the pioneers was to build a small round cage in the bush for their chickens. These folks use poultry as a man exploring underground will use a flame: if the birds flourish all is well, but if they die it means that malign forces are about.

“It was extremely lucky for us,” said Mr. Purseglove, “that those chickens did well. If anything happened to them, the whole scheme might have flopped.”

To-day over 3,000 volunteers are settled, the vanguard of about 20,000, and the total cost has come to little over £2,000. This must be the cheapest and most efficiently run resettlement projects in the whole of Africa.

Less than a year ago, no sign of human life marked these ridges; elephant and buffalo, roan antelope and waterbuck kept the wooded gulleys and the grassy slopes. To-day the eye picks out clusters of shambas, and many round thatched roofs, and smoke rising from burning piles of vegetation. Outside a rough new hut, a woman was grinding sorghum on her quern; hens were picking round the clearing and from a patch of bush some men clasping billhooks emerged.

They were pleased, they said, with the land. Work was hard but you could see the profit, and there was plenty of firewood and good clear springs; but they missed their cattle and feared lest their children should get malaria. Cattle cannot be brought in because the gulleys are full of tsetse, but when the bush is cleared these are expected to go. The game has already gone to the plains below. To mourn this retreat is sentimental; even on the aesthetic plane, no doubt St. Paul's Cathedral is noble than then the swamps and forests which preceded it; nevertheless a herd of horned impala spring up like a rufous fountain has more beauty than a Bakiga woman stooping to her hoe, an elephant more grandeur than a tame goat.

Walking back to the car we passed a party of young men preparing for a wild pig hunt with spears, knives and a rabble of sad-looking dogs. Everyone was friendly and in high spirits, but an English-speaking ex-teacher who had been put in charge of the resettlement inquired:

“Is this for the benefit of the African or the European?”

The answer to me seemed obvious, and I said so. The young man looked dubious, and added:

“The people know that this is their country, and they do not want anyone to take it from them.”

Suspicion has roots deeper than bindweed, but nowhere could it be less justified, and one cannot believe that it thrives among the peasants. Yet, were conditions favourable, how quickly it would germinate!

The weak point of this lies in the future. What is to be the end? New land is not inexhaustible. The people increase at a geometrically progressive rate. Resettlement is a palliative, not a cure. What happens when all the empty land is filled? The Kigezi team has no answer; it is not their business. An answer will be demanded – sooner, perhaps, than many people calculate.

We drove back along a spectacular road over the mountains, with a sheer drop of perhaps three or four hundred feet on one side. As we climbed steadily higher, twisting and turning among the passes, forest reappeared. We looked down on to a dark-green canopy, and up at a tangle of thick roots hacked into by the road-makers. Once we were halted by a whisk of white, and stopped to watch a Colobus monkey spring from one tree to another with an easy grace beyond the range of the most skilled trapeze artist. He sat quietly on his new perch, his long white tail hanging down like a pendulum, beautiful in his thick fur with its broad bull's-eye stripes – a prince among monkeys.

Now the rain came on. We crept cautiously round hairpin bends, glancing down now and again to see the creamy glint of a river foaming below. Red runnels of water scoured the greasy surface. Once a fallen tree had halted us, and men appeared from hidden dwellings at the bottom of the valley, clambering up the hillside with the agility of goats. Each clasped his billhook, as much a part of his normal equipment as the office worker's fountain pen, and in a very little while the way was clear.

Our road climbed now to a saddle between two deep valleys and from its pommel, over 8,000 feet up, we could see at last the volcanoes. They lie in a long chain across Ruanda-Irundi, and on a clear day one can count most of the ten peaks which make up the Birunga range of mountains.

It was not a clear day, and we missed the grand spectacle; but clouds and rain brought the wild and fabulous beauty of a Turner landscape to the scene. Now one of the volcanoes, now another, half-emerged from a far bank of lavender cloud and floated mistily in a soft evening light. Only a tremulous outline could be apprehended, as though a veil, and a moment later, when your wandering gaze returned, even that outline had merged into a cloudy ocean.

The native names for all these peaks have a meaning. Muhabura, at one end of the range, 'he who shows the way', is the holy place of the Banyaruanda, where souls are brought after death for judgment, and the good ones remain to drink the beer and smoke the tobacco of the gods while the bad ones are flung into the crater. Another is called 'the father of teeth', and a third 'the hairs' – a reference, perhaps, to its giant groundsel and lobelias. The tallest of all is Karisimbi, 14,805 feet, 'the place of cowrie shells'.

These volcanoes are not extinct. Only ten years ago, one of them sprang to life and poured its lava into Lake Kivu. Their origins go back to a time before the earth knew human life, when the great rift valleys were formed by faulting, and these Birunga Mountains were forced up from the floor of the western rift to form a barrier which dammed a river flowing into Lake Edward. The trapped river grew into a lake, the present Kivu, which in course of time over-flowed into Lake Tanganyika.

As we watched, the slopes of the mountains continually solidified and dissolved as the misty like cloud thickened or drew aside to display for a few moments their pencilled outline. On all sides lay infinity, precipices, towering lonely hills and deep silent valleys: a tortured, fantastic landscape, crumpled and slashed by the mighty convulsions of planetary labour before ever life emerged: and even now, the subject of slow unmeasured forces which will continue to mould the earth's crust into new patterns long after man, that dubious parasitic species, has disappeared.

“You must meet Miss Hornby,” Mr. Purseglove said, “She's as much one of our institutions as the volcanoes.”

The house was in darkness when we called, but she emerged from cake-baking in the kitchen and carried a lamp into the small book littered sitting-room. In the shadows we could see that its furniture was simple and home-made, the floor of cement, with a worn carpet; the weak rays of the oil lamp could not reach through the rafters of a ceilingless roof into the thatch. Hard things are sometimes said of missionaries, but I have yet to see the Mission whose officers enjoy anything but the simplest and most frugal kind of existence.

“I have been in Kabale for twenty-five years,” Miss Hornby said, “and in Africa for thirty-three.” A quarter-century in one place, how many officials she has seen come and go, transient as swallows, how much closer she can approach to the minds and hearts of the people! Their language comes as readily to her tongue as her own.

Miss Hornby – a small, grey-haired, eager, wiry woman – is in charge of the education of girls in Kigezi. She was also its pioneer. Twenty-five years ago not only did no girls attend school, but respectable fathers were horrified at the suggestion that any should. For seven months after her arrival she tramped the back-breaking hills and swampy villages trying to wring from distrustful fathers permission to borrow just one daughter.

Gradually, here and there, she gathered a little band, but these girls were given to her, not lent; the fathers, regarding the whole thing as an exaction of tribute, washed there hands on its victims. And so, when Miss Hornby was summoned to England, she found herself with a school-full of girls who could no more go home than a collection of orphans. She resolved the dilemma

by marching the whole band more than a hundred miles to her nearest colleague and, when she returned from England, marching them back again.

Has 'education' brought more good or evil to the Bakiga? Looking back over 25 years, to the time of uncorroded tribalism, this Christian pioneer sees that both sides of the balance are weighted.

“Today people are much cleaner and healthier. Lice were everywhere then, people crawled with them. The woman would go off at sunrise with her baby on her back and work all day in the fields; at nightfall she'd return with a heavy load of firewood and start to cook; no wonder her person, her children, her hut, were filthy. To-day she still works hard, but life is not quite such a grinding labour.

“They're healthier, and they have greater opportunities. Then, a man had no choice but to be a peasant; to-day, if he sticks to his schooling, he can train as a teacher, a doctor, a clerk. Life is less cramped, there are wider horizons. But...”

But, she was thinking, these are in the main (though not wholly) material things. It is hard to describe in words the softening of moral fibre of a people, the dissolution of their ethics, and harder still for a missionary to admit what, I believe, many missionaries feel, that the Christian vision has not hitherto replaced the pagan yet valid morality of the tribe.

Of old the Bakiga observed, for instance, a strict code of sexual morals.

“There was no adultery.” A sweeping claim; but it was the custom for girls found pregnant to be hurled over a waterfall. Miss Hornby related how, in the early days, some converts carried from a swamp a young girl dying of starvation and exposure. She had been cast out by her parents, and it proved that her supposed pregnancy was in reality a tumorous swelling.

Such ruthless sanctions, cruel as they were, involved self-discipline, and preserved intact the family as the core of tribal life. Now both things are dissolving.

“Immorality is rampant, the sense of obligation to family and tribe has gone. People think first of themselves. Last year three of our women teachers here became pregnant, and we had to suspend out senior master, a Makerere man, for seducing a pupil of fourteen.”

Here is a constant bone of contention between Missions and their educated staff. The young men and women claim that their sexual behaviour is their own private affair. The Missions, for their part, feel unable to connive at the loose living of teachers and clergy whose example the children will follow. To set up one standard for white missionaries and another for their black converts would be to deny their own teaching of spiritual equality; yet a European missionary who seduced schoolgirls and openly lived with prostitutes could scarcely be tolerated.

When tribal discipline goes out the window, it seems, self-indulgence comes in at the door.

“It seems odd to say so, but I think education had gone too fast. Or perhaps it has not been the right education. We have one hundred and seventy girls at this school, and I am the only European teacher. Everyone of them will get married and bring up children of her own. The thing that matters most is that they should learn how to bring up children well. Yet only last year, the Education department did away with domestic science in the secondary course, and substituted geometry. That's all very well... Even to-day, I know of only twenty-six homes in the whole of Kigezi where I would be glad to stay, knowing I'd find myself with decent, clean, self-respecting families.

“But we must look to the next generation. We must pin our hopes to them. And I have faith that enough will grow up healthy, self-respecting and God-fearing to leaven the whole...”

Miss Hornby still goes out on foot safaris to inspect bush schools in remote places, clambering up mountains and wading flooded rivers. Recently, on the borders of the Belgian Congo, she noticed that the walls of a school had been freshly plastered with dung. Knowing that the people kept no cattle, she asked where it came from. It was buffalo dung. On the way back, she and her porters halted to allow a herd to cross the path just in front of them.

Cut off from the world by mountains, volcanoes, 'the impenetrable forest' and open country dominated by enemies, the people of Kigezi kept themselves very much to themselves until the war sucked out some of the young men. Now these are returning, and 'reabsorbtion'. Is a problem here as elsewhere.

Uganda has de-centralised its ex-soldier's training, and aims more at turning out the rough village craftsman than the semi-skilled tradesman. Here at Kabale African instructors, themselves not very skilled, teach a score of men the rudiments of carpentry, tanning, tailoring and pottery.

The place looks crude and the teaching casual, yet the idea is sound. To use a proper skill, the young men would have to seek jobs elsewhere, but as rough carpenters or tailors they can find plenty of work among their own people in their homes – that is, if they are content with small returns.

“The trouble is,” said the man in charge of 'reabsorbtion', “that they'd rather sell one chair for fifty shillings and do nothing for the rest of the month, than turn out five chairs for ten shillings each.”

The potters are to go out in teams, with their wheels, to make rough earthenware mugs, jugs and dishes that will sell at 20 cents each and, it is hoped, replace the gourds in general use. And the tanners will make leather shorts to replace the untanned and lice-harbouring goatskin, or expensive imported drill, using local materials only – lime from the nearby tile-works, wattle from the hills and castor oil from the shambas. If, in time, the male population strides over the hills in leather shorts, Kigezi will wear a most Bavarian air. It remains to be seen whether the new fashion, and the earthenware mugs and wooden tables, will catch on.

It is pleasant to go about the country and find one's eye solaced by attractive Roman-tiled roofs instead of repelled by corrugated iron; and fascinating to watch the dough-like clay rolled out

like pastry, sprinkled with a handful of brick-dust and patted down over a curved mould by the staff of the Native Authority's little tile-works. Local fundis trained by the White Fathers are building new headquarters and houses for the gombolola chiefs, of whom there are 31. The intention is to replace all the present makeshift habitations with semi-permanent tile-roofed buildings of brick and plaster.

Here no permits and shortages throttle enterprise. The soil yields clay and limestone, the hills wattle poles; home-made lime mortar replaces imported cement – everything is local and to hand. With unskilled labour hired at 10/- a month, and semi-skilled labour at about three times that figure, costs are wonderfully low and progress wonderfully rapid. (The cost of the tiles works out at about 12 for a shilling) These gombolola headquarters are the most unpretentious and pleasant I have yet seen, and their surroundings magnificent.

The waterfall which once tossed erring maidens to their death now turns the wheel of a flax factory, and a stench of rotting straw pollutes the little valley.

Before 1939 these fertile hills sent nothing out: everything grown here was eaten locally. And the Bakiga peasant had little chance to earn even the few shillings needed to buy the simplest things – tea and sugar, a pair of shorts, a lamp, a comb – or to pay taxes.

Then came the need for war production even in remote Kigezi, and flax was selected as the likeliest crop. The Government, taking something of a gamble, imported machinery from Northern Ireland together with a man to run it.

This expert had a hard struggle. Not a single person in all Kigezi had ever seen flax machinery, or for that matter any machinery, in action before. He had to train his labour from the very foundation. Now men at the scutching machines hold the long horse-hair bundles against a whirring shaft with a dexterity that looks impressive, at any rate to the uninitiated. These are ordinary local Bakiga who, the manager said, work an eight-hour day without flagging and like the monotonous but comparatively well-paid work. He is the sole European and the sole expert, yet a high proportion of his flax qualifies for top grades in an exacting English market. He spoke highly of the teachability of the Bakiga. For him, used to the bustle of Belfast, life must be lonely in this far-off valley, 20 miles or so from his nearest European neighbour and a hundred from a town of any size.

The flax is grown in little bits and pieces: a quarter of an acre is about an average plot. The cultivator sends in his bundle of ripe straw on his wife's head, and is paid a flat rate of a few cents a pound. Probably he makes no more than ten or fifteen shillings a year out of his crop, but even that is welcome: at least it will help to pay his annual tax of 13/-. The only other cash crop he can grow is high-nicotine tobacco, for which two factories operate. (Coffee was introduced, but had to be abandoned because the bug antestia got out of control.)

Few Bakiga families earn a yearly cash income of more than twenty-five or thirty shillings and half of this sum goes in taxation. The local millionaires are the ex-soldiers, who were paid fabulous sums while serving, and when they left presented with a fortune that passed the wildest

dreams of the richest cultivator. The chief result, here as elsewhere, was to enormously inflate the price of cattle.

In the whole region, with its 300,000 people, last year's output of flax and nicotine, the only two exports, were together worth £6,000. To increase production will be slow and difficult. As pressure of population rises, it becomes harder than ever for the peasant to spare even a quarter of an acre for a crop to be sold and not eaten, although his need for cash is great.

The testing of these two crops took place on the Government's experimental farm a few miles out of Kabale, and others are being tried to-day which may prove of equal benefit in future. (For instance sunflowers, rich in the fat so lacking in Bakiga diets.)

This must surely be the steepest and the most beautiful experimental farms in the world. From its upper levels you look down over Lake Bunyoni cupped in mountains, its forest-fringed margin serrated like a torn leaf. Mats of hyacinth-blue water-lilies cover its many creeks and inlets, and its quiet waters are the home of otters. Oddly enough, it contained no fish until they were transplanted. The explanation seems to be that Bunyoni is an accident, formed in comparatively recent times by an eruption of lava which dammed a river. At the north end of the lake we drove across a swamp which gives birth to a stream, and this in turn flows into Lake Edward: so that the beautiful Bunyoni is one of the ultimate sources of the Nile.

The climate of Kigezi is so kindly that experts believe that two years of grass to four years of cultivation can safely be recommended, instead of the usual half-and-half rotation.

We panted up the steepest of hills, looking at plots with a moral: plots where maize had been grown year after year until the plants were sad and stunted, plots where maize following grass was all that maize could possibly be; plots manured and unmanured; plots strip-cropped and not strip-cropped; all, one may hope, convincing and impressive to visiting peasant, if not always for reasons we should approve.

To him, the European has a field of good maize and a field of bad; nothing could be more likely; no one ever doubted that the European held powerful medicines to bless crops or to blast them. It is almost impossible, even for these amenable and virtuous Bakiga, to believe that anything so trivial as the planting of grass or the placing of dung can lie at the bottom of it all.

And native medicine is not all superstition. The tireless Mr. Purseglove has a collection of plants used by local witchdoctors which numbers over a hundred species.

“This little creeping daisy,” he said, pointing to a common plant at our feet with tiny yellow-brown flowers, “is the native remedy for toothache. Chemical analysis shows that it really does contain a local anaesthetic. And one of the pygmy arrow-poisons in my collection contains a cardiac glucoside which I believe will be new to science.

“There is,” he added, “a fertile and as yet barely touched field for research in the study of these African medicines.”

The White Horse Inn is a surprise; you do not look for such a high standard of comfort in such a distant place. In the heyday of the tourist industry, Kabale was on the beaten track to the famous Parc National of the Belgian Congo, with its rare okapi and gorillas.

The white-haired fresh-complexioned proprietress moves energetically behind the scenes and in front of them, cooking food, inspecting rooms and chivvying guests into meals, for the bad East African habit of lingering for hours over drinks and dining at nine-thirty or even later is not tolerated here. Some visitors mutter about regimentation, but the management's view, that if the staff take the trouble to prepare good food the guests must take the trouble to eat it punctually, seems reasonable.

All the staff, now grown men, took service as untutored children when the Adamsons first came to this then unheard-of spot to build up their enterprise from the bare ground. Now, instead of rough rondavels with packing-case furniture, the stone-built rooms have private baths and electric light: small things, no doubt, but an individual's achievement.

So Mrs. Adamson was clearly piqued when one of the guests, an oil-man from the Middle East en route for the Congo, sitting at his ease by the fire after an excellent dinner, exclaimed:

“And to think that all this was made out of the natives.”

Mrs. Adamson was goaded into vigorous defence.

“Do you think they could do this for themselves? Every boy I've got I trained myself from a raw toto. And even now – last week I caught my head-boy pouring the contents of a flower-vase into the drinking-water jug because he couldn't be bothered to fetch clean water from the filter tank!

“A few months ago the Indian duka got in a batch of bicycles. My boys came to me in a body and asked me to buy them one each – asked me because they thought I'd see that the Indian didn't cheat them. And the bicycles cost fifteen pounds each. How many natives in Kigezi could produce fifteen pounds in cash? My boys get better pay than the chiefs. We've worked hard to make this hotel, worked very hard for fifteen years, and now that we have succeeded, the African is sharing the benefits... Who's made money out of whom?”

The oil-man was silenced, but his eye retained the glitter of an idée fixe: exploitation.

There is good food at the White Horse Inn, and (although it is licensed) no bar.

## John Heminway

John Heminway of the USA, describes three gorilla tracking trips made in 1961, 1964 and 1971 in No Man's Land: The Last of White Africa, (1983). The first time, aged 17, was with four school friends inspired by childhood dreams of gorillas and Alan Morehead's No Room in the

Ark. (1960). He is a distinguished author and film-maker and deeply involved in wildlife preservation and conservation.

First Trip, 1961
The crossing of Central East Africa took us two months and when we reached Kisoro we were scrawny, unbleached and filthy.

Unlike other Ugandan villages of a similar size, this one possessed both a white man and a hotel. The white man was Walter Baumgartel, an Austrian, who a few years before had proclaimed himself “the king of gorillaland”. The hotel, euphemistically called Travellers' Rest, belonged to him and evoked his rough and quirky nature. For a ratpack of schoolboys, it was as good as its name. The shower was almost hot, the sheets real sheets, although not so clean, and the food available in large quantities. For other travellers it was no such luxury. The guest book was punctuated with such remarks as: “The food would not be so tasty if the kitchen wasn't so close to the loo”, and “I'd rather live under canvas than stay here again”, and “Don't sit at Baumgartel's table if you value your sanity”.

We had already been warned in Kampala that Walter Baumgartel was a manic-depressive (I was too shy to ask what that meant), and that neither one of his extremes of temperament was much of a diversion for a guest. On the other hand, his hotel was said to be an experience we would never forget; its location one of the most breathtaking sites in the world.

The grounds of Travellers' Rest were well-clipped lawns, shimmering green, and beds of succulents, posing as flowers. The hotel was on the brow of a low hill. In three directions, small farms climbed towards mountain walls, obscured by clouds most of the day. The walls of the hotel buildings were wood and bougainvillaea, each one supporting the other. Baumgartel's major worry, so I found, was keeping the jungle at bay. Flowers bloomed overnight, moths were mutating from pupa to chrysalis in the blink of an eye, and the damp and rot seemed to turn even the newest object into something flaccid and familiar after a day or two.

But the Travellers' Rest was nonetheless an invigorating place. The evenings, despite the rain, were full of cosy charm with the machine-gun rattle of rain on the roof and the popping of green wood in the lounge fireplace. The mighty cloudbursts unfailingly scrubbed the sky clean of clouds just in time for the mornings. For all Travellers' Rest's singularities, the one I recall with the most nostalgia was its tomatoes. No matter how appalling the dinners, the tomatoes were always a tour de force. Their colour verged on purple, deep enough to make one's eyes smart. Grown wild in black volcanic soil, they needed no dressing, no salt, no pepper. They were already pungent and sweet, seasoned in the rain forest, so it seemed with chicory and garlic.

Walter Baumgartel was beside himself with the pleasure of being host to this vanguard of the Children’s Crusade. He was foremost a storyteller and in us he found the perfect audience – attentive, enthusiastic and thoroughly gullible. His waving arms told half his stories, evoking the looming volcanoes, girded by clouds. He spoke of them as the haunt of the mountain gorilla, an animal whose ferocity was only matched by a black leopard – the gorilla's natural enemy. It was clear that Walter Baumgartel planned to use the leopard as an alibi in the event we never saw gorillas. “I make no promises”, he said more than once. And all the time he tortured our

adolescent minds with intrigue of pygmies, gorillas, swirling mists and the occasional cannibal. Each morning he was a different person. Bleary-eyed from too many steins of brandy and looking uncomfortably fat, he would stand by the bar in silence, rubbing out stains on the counter with his elbow. One moment he would berate one of his African staff, the next he would deliver bear hugs to his cook, his waiters, the puzzled chambermaids. “You know,” he said to his bartender after one of these sweet and sour outbursts, “I luff you like mein own childt”.

By the time we set forth into the volcanoes I was prepared for disappointment. Our retinue consisted of seven barefoot porters and a fifty-two year old guide called Rueben Rwanzagire, who was then the eminence grise of gorilla country. His feet were hard as pine boards and sinewy enough to wrap around a taproot. Like Baumgartel he had a vivid narrative style. One of his stories was about a randy female gorilla who had fought him to the ground. By sheer cunning and sinew, Rueben had been able to slip away from under her and thwart her amorous advances. In telling the story Rueben required a translator and large clearing, for there was much coming and going, charges and cartwheels. He fell to the ground, fought his gorilla, growled through a toothless mouth and finally, after frantic bicycling of legs, secured his escape. The performance drew a burst of applause from the porters, and a big grin from Rueben. He was definitely the caretaker of these mountains. When he smiled, so did his men, when he moved they followed. Even Alan Morehead has quoted him as a major source of information about gorilla behaviour.

The final staging post with the cars was at six thousand feet above sea level. From here on the first day we climbed to twelve thousand through slippery, tangled ground cover. On several occasions I was sure I would be unable to advance another foot. But the sight of Rueben, bounding without effort as his lungs reprocessed the smoke from the rawest of African cigarettes, gave me bravado. At last, near the top, in the densest of jungles and on a slippery slope, Rueben gave us the alarm signal. There were gorillas ahead, he announced in a whisper. He had heard them feeding. We must advance with the greatest caution. We crept on our stomachs, collecting mud in our pants pockets, until Rueben indicated we were but a few feet from the gorillas. We waited. Rueben smiled, delighted to accommodate us on the first day of our quest. Suddenly there was a deafening crash of falling trees as three mammoth shadows plunged down the mountain a few feet from where we lay. For elephants they were small. Still, at two tons of animal, they little resembled gorillas. I looked at Rueben. For a so-called naturalist who had made a giant gaffe, he showed little embarrassment. He began to laugh, pointing to where the elephants had been, then holding his stomach to contain all the absurdity. He was beside himself: All the way down to our camp just the mention of the word ndofu (elephant) was enough to make him explode all over again.

We slept that night in metal huts on the saddle bridging the two volcanoes of M'gahinga and Muhavura. The next morning when I awoke, the door of my hut would not budge. I pushed several times with no effect. Finally, imagining that one of my school friends was playing a practical joke. I gave the door one violent shove. There was a sudden explosion of big hooves on wet mud, and as I opened the door, I was just in time to see a Cape buffalo beating his way down the mountains.

Rueben and the porters had been out looking for gorillas since before dawn. Now they were back, whistling to us from across the clearing, telling us in hushed voices to follow. We kept to

their footsteps and within ten minutes we reached a copse where Rueben showed us the beds from the previous night. They were fashioned out of willowy bamboo and the 'sheets' were made from layers of leaves. To prove the Posturepedic comfort of these beds Rueben reclined in one, curled himself up into an umbilical position, yawned and gave us a demonstration of falling asleep. Once again the performance was too much for the guides, who howled with laugher and only stopped when one of their members pointed to the far side of the gorge where a strand of heavy moss, suspended from the branches of a tree, was waving much too vigorously for the breeze. Five pairs of field glasses were immediately pressed into service as five schoolboys waited for this, the rarest of wildlife sightings. At last, after ten minutes, a large black cylindrical sphere, the shape of a bullet, emerged from the foliage. A gorilla's head, Rueben assured us. Female too, he added with leer. But from a distance of some hundred yards we could not even see its eyes. I then volunteered to accompany Rueben for a closer look while the others, well positioned, could film the first known instance of a white man being savaged by a gorilla.

The approach was on all fours, through stinging nettle that left large welts across forearms and face. When Rueben stopped, I stopped and counted the drops of sweat splashing onto the leaves beneath my face. After twenty-five minutes I was not sure where we were. Above us, the sun was totally obscured by the mantles of high branches, and even the slope, which had been steep in one direction for the first ten minutes was now steep in another, was disorientating. Surely, I thought, we must now be near that bullet head.

I stopped to look back and as I turned there was a furious bark, nearly on top of me. No more than fifteen feet ahead a gorilla burst out of the leaves. She stood nearly my height, her head surely twice the size of mine, hers bevelled by dark blazing eyes. True to legend, she rattled on her chest with her fingertips, creating a sound both deep and hollow, like a bongo drum. Fear, bluff, anger – she ran the gamut in about fifteen seconds. She might easily have charged us, broken us as if we were matchwood, but she only seemed to want to be left alone. In looking back on that high-speed moment, I would willingly say that I was scared. She was indeed frightening, but somehow my instinct was not to run. I was alarmed, too amazed in fact to take a picture, or, if I held a gun, to take aim. Her eyes demobilised me. anything I felt awkward, apologetic. Then she melted into the foliage – some four hundred pounds of primate gliding into the greenery. Hers was not a disappearance. It was a dematerialisation, and the sudden calm after her going left me unable to do much but giggle ridiculously like an adolescent.

One second became an hour. A memory evolves into a plateau. My gorilla soon assumed giant dimensions, but even after a year the story remained incomplete. In my mind I would start from the beginning, proceed from one instant to another, only to discover at the end that a component was lacking, as effectively in the story and my understanding of gorillas. I had had merely a flash of the animal: one freeze-frame. Both of us had been startled, and when the smoke of the moment had cleared I knew little more of gorilla than someone who read about them in an encyclopaedia or seen them in a zoo. Mine was like a hunting story – one brief unnatural moment.

Second Trip, 1964

Three years later I returned to the Virunga Volcanoes. I had enticed a friend from university to join me, and as soon as I had raised the costs of my trip by working for two months in South Africa, he and I left for southwest Uganda.

When we reached Travellers' Rest, Walter Baumgartel was at pains to recognise me. He had grown slightly heavier, and his hair had changed from black to white without an intervening stage of silver. Where once he had been compulsively conversational, now he seemed dazed. There were many guests at the hotel, all of them refugees from the Congo. They had reached the hotel that morning, and some of the Belgian families were camped on the lawn, their pots and pans and boxes of diapers under groundsheets as protection from the rain. At dinner that night Baumgartel assumed his usual seat at the head of the largest table, but he said very little. He listened gravely to the refugees' accounts of the siege of Stanleyville. He shook his head morosely when he heard how nuns had been raped, housewives' eyes plucked out. He muttered only one remark about World War II and the Anschluss, and then he continued to shake his head with disgust. When dinner was finished, he abandoned us all at the table to retire to a corner where he listened to a wireless for more tales of cannibalism, just across the range of volcanoes. The crackling news, broadcast by the BBC World Service, seemed to lend even more strength to his private convictions, for he often nodded his head, sighed and once even slammed his brandy down on the side table as if he had just arrived at a decision. The hotel walls were only just standing. The rot had penetrated everything and the staff were brazenly taking advantage of Walter Baumgartel. Now, absolutely nothing – neither the generator, the kitchen nor the mosquito nets – worked. But Baumgartel was no longer concerned about niceties. Not even the gorillas mattered. The next morning when Rueben arrived to collect us Baumgartel dismissed us all as if we were irrelevant.

Rueben was now wearing boots, and as soon as we began climbing – this time up the volcano M'gahinga – I noticed his limp. The higher he climbed the more he suffered. The laughing and buffoonery which had accompanied my first ascent was no more, and his breathing was strained and aching. I asked him once whether he wished to pause on the trail. From the way he glared I knew I had paid him an insult. He never replied and continued to climb the near-vertical slope, pedalling in the mud. We followed an elephant path that travelled straight up the fall line and at ten thousand feet we stopped beside a gorilla's bed similar to the one we had seen three years before. This time, however, Rueben treated it with contempt: It was old, maybe even last year's. Coughing and fighting for breath, he stabbed his fingers at the dried shit and kicked all that remained with his boot. He picked up a few branches and broke them. No, he was not going to lie down in the bed. These gorillas had been here too long before. This was history.

We continued our climb, but it was clear from the way Rueben moved that he had no intention of finding gorillas, whether or not any remained on this volcano. Soon the light turned blue and Rueben swung his gnarled head in the direction from where we had come. He wanted us to believe that his limp was of little consequence, but as he slipped and fell along the muddy path returning to the hotel in the valley below, I thought that he would never again see another gorilla. Of all the Africans I had known he was taking old age the worst. When he fell, he grew angry with himself, and when he was making good progress his hands shook. We were still travelling when night overtook us. Now we could only follow the path by the sound of Rueben's voice. The business about the black leopard eating the gorillas and scaring them from one border to the next,

he said, was all nonsense, offered up to the guests of the hotel. The real culprits were poachers – pygmies starving in the Congo. And who was to blame them? They pressed the gorilla from one side; Ugandan farmers, hacking down the primary forest, were pressing them on the other. Much of Rueben's monologue was punctuated by coughs. At the end, he added that there was no one left on these mountains to stop the poachers, to stop farmers, to stop war. By now the air had grown cold, and our sweaters were steaming as we skated down the narrow path to the hotel. Rueben was repeating himself. ”The gorilla”, he chanted, “they've gone for good”.

The mountain gorilla has had the bad sense to inhabit three politically unstable African countries – Zaire (formerly the Congo), Uganda and Rwanda. What has traditionally saved this subspecies from extinction has not been its size or fierceness, but its nearly impenetrable habitat. Shrouded by mountain mists, dense ferns, thick strands of bamboo, it possesses very little needed by us bipeds. Its meat is an acquired taste (so I hear), and the land it inhabited farmers would clear only if there was no other land available. So the gorilla managed to endure, more or less, until about a decade ago. In these last years, however, war and overpopulation have upset the old truths.

The Congo revolution, in particular, drew a veil of secrecy over its well being. Shortly after we left Travellers' Rest, I learned that Walter Baumgartel returned to Austria, abandoning his hotel. A year later Rueben was dead. From then on, few outsiders dared look for gorillas on the Virunga volcanoes.

1971 Third Trip
This trip is prefaced by a meeting in 1971 with Dr. Jacques Verschuren in Stanleyville about whom he says

There was one insider, however, who had much to do with gorillas, Dr. Jacques Verschuren was then the head of the national park system in the Congo. While Dian Fossey, a towering occupational therapist from California, was getting all sorts of kudos for her coziness with gorillas in Rwanda. Jacques Verschuren lost twenty-three of his game guards to poacher's bullets, while they attempted to protect the game. It was a quiet unpublicised campaign, but those who were familiar with the Congo during those years had persistently told me of Verschuren's bravery and the selflessness of the national guards under him.

Later that year, he travelled with a film team to make a documentary about gorillas in Kahuzi Biega National Park, Congo, with Adrien Deschriever.

The journey from Entebbe took three days. The roads were red, and at the end of the day we were red too. In Uganda, driving through farm country, there is the sense that any crop can be planted and harvested in the space of twenty-four hours. Bananas are always ripe, the tea stands head high, the coffee smells of fine Italian expresso. In those days, nobody, it seemed, could be truly poor in Uganda. Children sprinted through the fields, arms waving, to shout “jambo” at us as we passed. The little ones were well rounded and never without a smile – the fertile human crop in a fertile land. Good rains, neat fields, proffered hands – Uganda was then a very comfortable country. Within a few years, all that was to change, of course, but to have known Uganda then is to feel sure now that the violence under Amin was never a product of African temperament. Amin was from the north. Some say he was not even a Ugandan.

We passed not far from the Travellers' Rest, by now derelict, and then crossed into the border into Rwanda. As soon as we passed the frontier we might have been on a different continent...

* * *

Chapter 7

Bibliography

Introduction
The bibliography (finalised May 2012) covers a selection of published texts, reports, dissertations and theses, and websites and, unlike standard bibliographies, includes sources that may be of use to future researchers, regardless of discipline. They are divided into general categories but there is overlap between them.

The listing attempts to be comprehensive by including as many sources as possible for those who wish to carry out specific research. Most dissertations and theses are from Makerere University and Mbarara University of Science and Technology, with a few from other universities, but not from Third Level institutions in Kigezi. Some of the more technical subjects are only lightly covered; bibliographies contained in the main sources will lead to more specialist literature, i.e. gorillas, soils and development.

Travel books are a late inclusion; they offer useful contemporary perspectives. Those listed below are the result of a trawl through the Uganda Society Library and focuses on the observant, insightful, not (much) judgemental and well-written but no useful bit of data was refused.

The majority of works are in English, reflecting the linguistic divide between English, French and German. There is a small amount of literature in German that covers the early colonial exploratory period for the area around the Virunga Mountains before 1912. There is a large literature in French that covers the colonial period (see Fr. Geraud's sources, 1972) and the natural sciences of the Albert National Park. Both languages are poorly represented here since it only lists what other English-writers have used.

In general, the literature relating to Uganda is country and language-specific for linguistic, political and administrative reasons. There is more inter-country literature for specific disciplines and issues within the natural sciences such as wildlife and park management.

While the bibliography attempts to be consistent problems arose with reports, working papers, conference papers, etc. It is not always clear if they were ever formally published, informally published or if they leaked out into the public domain. They are found in both the published and unpublished lists.

Another issue is the reference methodology, there are several systems used by Arts and Sciences and while the bibliography may not fit any of them exactly, it tries to be consistent. Two minor issues are capitalisation within titles sometimes used, sometimes not, depending on the source, and first names, sometimes given, sometimes not. When there are three, or more, joint authors, than only the first is given with et al.

Fountain Publishers in Kampala is an excellent source of books on Uganda. The Uganda Journal, published by the Uganda Society (originally Uganda Literary and Scientific Society, founded 1923), has various useful articles and detailed research would undoubtedly bring results; a reasonably comprehensive list is below in the various sections. A very useful bibliography covering the whole country is in Uganda – Studies in living conditions, popular movements and constitutionalism, ed. Mahmood Mamdami and Joe Olaka-Onyango, Vienna, 1993. An extract of files in the National Archives, Entebbe is included below.

Some articles are available on the internet and are either free or by subscription only. Copying the title into a search engine is the fastest way to establish e-publication. Note that some articles are available on both open source and fee-paying sites; there's no need to spend money when you don't have to. Development-related works are freely and easily available. Online coverage of older works is patchy.

Recent scientific journals, and the like, are mixed, depending on contracts with internet publishers. For the debate concerning open access versus subscription in the following 18th century Irish joke may be pertinent (Spirit of Irish Wit, London, 1811):

“Mr. Burke, author of the Sublime and Beautiful, going to a bookcase, and finding it locked, said, “This is a Locke on the Human Understanding”.

For non-academic websites – a word of warning – they tend to quote each other word for word without acknowledgement and it can be difficult to establish the original source or their credibility.

A Short History of Sources

The bibliography shows that in the period after independence intellectual curiosity was still strong following the English and European university tradition, particularly in Makerere University, originally East African University. However Idi Amin's hatred of and subsequent pogroms against those he perceived as 'intellectuals' brought original research and publishing to a sudden halt in most academic disciplines. Then the harsh world of economic reality set in and the function of books is now mostly utilitarian; to get a job, ideally with a degree, and sometimes books have to be used for work.

One possible interpretation is that books as a source of reading pleasure or to satisfy curiosity has become less common with less personal investment in knowledge for long-term personal development. Book costs are another inhibiting factor as the price may equal a week's wages.

According to James Tumusiime (Chairman and MD of Fountain Publishers), 2000:

“Moreover those bad times killed the book-reading habit as many teachers resorted to stencilling or photocopying occasional pages and some used past examination papers to teach from. There were children who came out of primary school never having handled a book.”

A review of the publications shows that the golden age of history was in the late 1960s and early 1970s when there were many significant publications of books and in journals. The majority (24) of theses and dissertations in Makarere University were published between 1968 and 1976, peaking between 1969 and 1973.

Between 1981 and 1992 a further five were published that are cultural, and contain some historical background, except for one that is a diocesan history. Another was published in 1994 and, since then, silence. This is mirrored in the Uganda Journal who have published many articles on Kigezi, history, development and natural sciences since 1934, the last was in 1982.

Two major exceptions are Festo Karwemera who has published many books on Bakiga culture, language and history in Rukiga and the late Bishop Ernest Shalita who published similar topics in Bafumbira in Rufumbira with two in English.

This is not to say that research is not carried out but the focus has completely changed, now the emphasis is on Community Development, including geographical and economic issues, and people – park interactions such as resource access, environmental impacts of harvesting wild plants and wildlife crop and livestock predation, and Natural Sciences, including micro-organisms, descriptions of flora and fauna, their populations, behaviours and ecologies.

The two main universities of Natural Science research, relevant to Kigezi, are Makerere and, to a lesser extent, Mbarara. The former has been active from 1990 and is strong on micro-organisms. The latter is more evenly spread from around 1988. The majority of Community Development publications are between 1993 and 2005. Overall 28 development theses have been published since 1992, peaking between 1999 and 2005; they have been in ones and twos per year since 2008.

Fifty four Natural Science theses have been published by both universities between 1988 to the present day with peaks between 1999-2000 and 2004-08. Current statistics may be an underestimate and depend on how often library databases are updated.

Publications on agricultural geography are sparse: one each in 1950, 1970 and 1989 and three in 1969 with later ones in 2002-2007; the latest may not have arrived on the internet yet, the source for many modern articles.

Overall about 50% of theses cover Natural Sciences, mostly from 1990, and the balance is made up of an equal number covering historical and community development topics, the former in the early 1970s and the latter from 1990 to the present day. Probably 75% of them are after 1990, with a rise from 2000.

Issues Arising

The rises indicate an increase of access to third level education; a growth of the science sector in universities and the realisation of the importance of community development in the economic health of the nation. However there has been a decline in historical and cultural research perhaps reflecting the current pre-occupation of the utility of knowledge rather than pure intellectual curiosity that is non-productive in economic terms.

However, past events and culture can have economic impacts as, for instance, the practise of property customary law. These laws are deeply embedded in society from pre-colonial times though heavily modified by the practices and evolution of English law in the colonies as society developed from conquest to globalisation, 1880-1960, followed by legal interpretations of post-independence judiciary (whose probity has sometimes been questioned), now being influenced by international banking institutions whose legal framework of property law is diametrically opposite and attempts to tie aid to 'land reform', often with little understanding of the issues involved.

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Nizeyimana F., Diversity and antimicrobial resistance patterns of selected enteric bacterial isolates in mountain gorillas, domesticated ruminants and humans in and around Mgahinga NP, 2005
Nkurunungi J. B, A survey of the gastro-intestinal helminths of the wild mountain gorilla and man in Bwindi Impenetrable Forest NP, 1997
Nkurunungi J. B., The availability and distribution of fruit and non-fruit plant resources in Bwindi: their influence on gorilla habitat use and food choice, 2003
Nizeyi J. B., Non invasive monitoring of adrenocortical activity in free-ranging mountain gorillas of Bwindi Impenetrable Forest NP, 2005
Ocen M., The status and ecology of duikers, cephalophus SPP at Mgahinga Gorilla NP, 2000
Omoding James, Status, distribution and ecology of butterflies in the Bwindi Impenetrable forest, S.W. Uganda, 1992
Rwego I. B., Prevalence of observed clinical signs in mountain gorillas of Bwindi Impenetrable Forest NP, 2004
Rwego B. I., Occurrence of salmonella shigella and camphylobacter infections in mountain gorillas of Bwindi Impenetrable Forest NP and Mgahinga NP, 1999
Sewagudde S. W., An assessment of some mountain gorilla food parameters during the dry season in Bwindi Impenetrable Forest NP, 2003
Ssebide B. J., Daily ranger-based symptom observations and health monitoring of habituated mountain gorillas in Bwindi Impenetrable Forest NP, 2008
Tito Agaba, The influence of modernity on the socio-economic living patterns of people: a case study of the Twa people of Muko, Kabale District, 2002 (not on IFTC website) Mbarara University of Science and Technology
Tuslime F. M., Diversity and distribution of bryophytes in the three forest types of Bwindi Impenetrable Forest NP, 2006
Twinomugisha Dennis, The status and ecology of the golden monkey (Cercopithecus mitis kandti) in Mgahinga Gorilla NP, 2000
Twinomugisha Dennis, The conservation status and determinants of the golden monkey (Cercopithecus mitis kandti) abundance in Mgahinga Gorilla NP, Uganda, 2007
Twongyeirwe R., Dynamics of forest cover conversion in and around Bwindi Impenetrable Forest and impacts on carbon stocks and soil properties, 2010
Werikhe S. E. W., Ecological survey of the Gorilla Game Reserve, South West Uganda, 1991
Yatuha Jane, The breeding ecology of the Stripe-breasted Tit in Bwindi Impenetrable NP, south-western Uganda, 2005

Institute of Tropical Forest Conservation
The Institute of Tropical Forest Conservation acts as advisors and supervisors for Mbarara University of Science and Technology, Makarere University and others worldwide. The list of MSc. and PhD dissertations and theses is taken from their website; which have some summaries while hard copies of most are in the IFTC library. Online copies are planned in the future.

They include natural science and human – national park subjects. The list does not include development theses and dissertations relating to the area submitted to MUST but done independently of the ITFC. For theses and dissertations concerning other national and international locations with ITFC involvement, see their library list, pp.37-40.

Accessing the ITFC library in Ruhija takes a little preparation and it is advisable to contact them in advance. You maybe eligible to stay in their guest house; it is necessary to stay the night unless you have organised transport. Public transport: Ruhija to Kabale leaves at 6am and returns 11am (times as of 9/2011). Library hours are from 8-9am to 5pm; they have their own source of electricity and internet wireless connections.

Andama Edward, The status and distribution of carnivores in Bwindi Impenetrable NP, S.W. Uganda, 2000
Andama Edward, Invasive potential of Mauritius thorn (Caesalpinia decapetala) (Roth) Alston and its use to deter crop raiding by wild animals around Bwindi Impenetrable NP, Uganda, 2008
Baker Julia, Evaluating Conservation Policy: Integrated Conservation and Development in Bwindi Impenetrable NP, Uganda, 2005
Berry John P., The chemical ecology of mountain gorillas (Gorilla gorilla beringei) with special reference to antimicrobial constituents in the diet, Cornell University, 1998
Bitariho Robert, The abundance, distribution and use of montane bamboo in Bwindi Impenetrable
Byarugaba Dominic, Stingless bees and Batwa, 1998
Byarugaba Dominic, Utilization, abundance, distribution and domestication of wild yams (Dioscorea sp.) in and around BINP, SW Uganda, 2004
Docherty Mary Teresa, Survey of attitudes toward natural resource conservation, development and tourism in South Western Uganda, Duke University, 1993
Fedrigo Melissa, Estimating biomass in the mountain region of Bwindi Impenetrable NP, Uganda, using radar and optical remote sensing, 2009
Ganas Jessica, Foraging strategies of Mountain Gorillas in BINP, Uganda, 2008
Greenfield J. Z., Behaviour and ecology of four primates in the impenetrable forest, Uganda, Wesleyan University, 1988
Hegner Anna Belinda, The empowerment of women in Kigezi. Changes in gender relationships in rural Uganda, University of Aarchus, Denmark, 2000
Jacobson Jade, Valuing Vegetables: an Assessment of the Development and Conservation Impacts of an Agricultural ICDP on the Edge of Bwindi Impenetrable NP, Uganda, 2010
Kajobe Robert Foraging behaviour of equatorial afrotropical stingless bees, University of Utrecht, 2008

Karlowski Ursula, Sekundäre Sukzession im afromontanen Nebelwald: Dynamik, Mechanismen und Schutz der biodiversität in zwei Habitaten des Berggorillas (Mgahinga Gorilla und Bwindi Impenetrable NPs) und im Echuya Forest, Uganda, 1995
Kasangaki Aventino, Effects of anthropogenic disturbance on stream fish assemblages of Bwindi Impenetrable NP South western Uganda, 2007
Mbonigaba E.R., A Comparative Study of Baboon and Blue Monkey Ecology in and around Echuya Forest Reserve, south-western Uganda, Draft MSc thesis, 2002 (This may never have been completed, reference from Babaasa, 2005)
Musinguzi J., The impact of fire on the forest dynamics in Bwindi Impenetrable National Park, South Western Uganda, 2004
Lacey Ian, A study of land cover change in Bwindi Impenetrable NP (BINP), Uganda using satellite imagery analysis, 2009
Langbroek Else, Analysing the impacts of bark harvest on Rytigynia kigeziensis in Bwindi Impenetrable NP, Uganda, 2010
Lejju Julius, An assessment of the status of exotic plant species and natural vegetation types of Mgahinga NP, S.W. Uganda, 1999
Muhwezi Alex Bataamba, The ecology of raptors in and around the impenetrable forest, S.W. Uganda, 1990
Musasiizi Joel, Bush pig density, distribution and crop raiding trends in the northern sector of Bwindi Impenetrable NP, S.W. Uganda, 2000
Musinguzi James, Regeneration of burnt areas, 2006-7
Mutebi Nsubuga Anthony, Genetic analysis of the social structure in wild mountain gorillas (Gorilla berengei berengei) of Bwindi Impenetrable NP, Uganda, 2005
Mwesigye Vincent M., Crop raiding by Baboons (Papio anubis) around Bwindi Impenetrable NP, S.W Uganda, 1997
Nkurunungi John Bosco, Intestinal parasites infection of humans and gorillas, 2001
Nkurunungi J. Bosco, The availability and distribution of fruit and non-fruit resources in Bwindi; their influence on gorilla habitat use and food choice, 2003
Ocen Mark, The status and ecology of duikers, Cephalophus spp. at Mgahinga Gorilla NP, 2000
Oloyo Collins, An assessment of granting local people restricted access to use of BINP resources as a means of reducing the level of illegal and unsustainable utilization of the resources, 2001
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Plumtre A., Plant-Herbivore Dynamics in the Birungas, Bristol University, 1991
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Safari Chrispine, The impact of Lantana camara L. on the forest structure and composition in Bwindi Impenetrable NP, Uganda, 2007
Scott P. J., Fringe benefits: minor forest product collection within buffer zones as a potential tool for conflict resolution in the Impenetrable (Bwindi) NP, Uganda, Agricultural University of Norway, 1992
Ssali Fredrick, The impact of elephants on trees in Bwindi Impenetrable NP, South Western Uganda, 2011
Stas Suzanne, Analysing the impacts of bark harvest on Ocotea usambarensis in Bwindi Impenetrable NP, Uganda, 2011
Strugnell N. C., A remotely-sensed study of the Vegetation and Terrain of Bwindi Forest South West Uganda, University of Hull, 1994

Weber A. W., Conservation of the Virunga Gorillas: A Socio-economic Perspective on Habitat and Wildlife Preservation in Rwanda, University of Wisconsin, 1981 (not on IFTC website)
Wild R.G., Plants from the park: establishing community harvesting of plants as a conservation tool at Bwindi Impenetrable and Mgahinga Gorilla NPs, Uganda, University of Cape Town, 2001

Mbarara dissertations and theses in preparation or completed (with some duplication between above and below list) and to be posted on the ITFC website; note that some have been in preparation since 1993. For details and updates see the ITFC website

Eilu Gerald, The natural regeneration of canopy tree species following human disturbance in Bwindi Impenetrable Forest, Uganda
Kajobe Robert, Foraging behaviour of equatorial afrotropical stingless bees: habitat selection and competition for resources
Kamatenesi Maud, Utilization of the medicinal plant 'Nyakibazi' (Rytigynia spp) in the multiple use zone of Bwindi Impenetrable NP, Uganda
Kyoshabire Medius, Medicinal plants and herbalist preferences around Bwindi Impenetrable Forest, Uganda
Lightbrown Richard, Armed conflict and forests: an assessment with particular reference to Impacts of the Rwandan conflict in southern Kigezi region, Uganda, 1990-2000
Muhanguzi Geoffrey M., Farmers' response to cultivation of indigenous forest trees around Bwindi Impenetrable NP
Natukunda Flavia, Feeding ecology and crop-raiding patterns of the red-tailed monkey (Cercopithecus ascanius) in Bwindi Impenetrable NP, S.W. Uganda
Olivieri Andrea, Forest gaps in the Bwindi Impenetrable NP
Sikoyo Michael George, Economic valuation of the multiple use of forests: The case of Bwindi Impenetrable NP, Uganda
Strugnell Nicholas C., A remotely-sensed study of the vegetation and terrain of Bwindi Forest, S.W. Uganda

Other Sources

For a 2012 assessment of Ugandan archives see Africa Studies Centre, University of Michigan, USA.

The Rukiga Historical Texts and Bufumbira Historical Texts lodged in the Makarere University Institute of Social Research contain oral traditions from Kigezi collected by Benoni Turyahikayo-Rugyema for his thesis. The Uganda Wildlife Authority has a number of unpublished natural science research documents on the national parks. CARE International, has commissioned research on development issues and human-wildlife interactions since 1990.

The National Archives, Entebbe, has a collection of original documents and reports of the colonial Kigezi District administration, post-independence district administration and its successors. Some of these publications are also in the Kabale District Administration Archives and Makerere University.

The Entebbe archives have suffered from document theft, so that sources referenced in early literature may now not be available. According to Vokes documents relating to Nyabingi has disappeared while Carswell comments on the inadequate catalogue. The final destination of provincial archives, i.e. the Western Province, needs to be established.

A list of official documents compiled by Mamdami (1993) gives a useful index; an extract with references to Kigezi and Western Provinces is given below in the same order as their text with document reference numbers (when given). It excludes the substantial files relating to international boundaries - this is well known, a précis appears in the main text - but includes files on 'occupation of Mfumbiro district'. References to various individuals who are likely to have been from Kigezi have been included. Some notes (in italics) have been added.

3851: Legal: Native courts in Kabale
2471 J J B G: Western Province quarterly reports, 1920, 1927, 1914, 1919
4926: Kigezi: Punitive expeditions against Ndochibiri
2489: Kigezi: Nindo and his sub chiefs paying tribute to Msinga, Sultan of Ruanda
5006: Nyindo – deportation of
7816: Native Affairs: poll tax in western province
5571: Native Affairs: Ninabatwa (witch doctor) deportation of (A previously unrecorded Batwa?)
3576: Kumba, murder in Rukiga (now called Ikumba)
1450: Ankole & Kigezi monthly reports 1910
1450A & B: Kigezi monthly reports 1911 & 1912
6466: Native Affairs: Kanyaruanda deportation of (Batwa military leader who served with Katuregye and Nyindo, surrendered to Belgian military took his son hostage during the Nyindo rebellion)
U2/14: Annual Report on the Western Province 1935
Western Province Annual Report 1948
4526: Raids and Punitive expeditions in the Kigezi District
53 (1941): Historical and Political Notes (West)
146 & 146A: Native Administration: Nyabingi and Kabale defence 1919-23 & 1928
438: Kabale Station defence precautions
3173: Kigezi: Ndungutzi – native chief deportation of death: settlement of estate (which one?)
147/09: Mfumbiro District, occupation of: parts I, II, III
5583: Native Affairs: Kanzanyira d/o Maesi (witch-doctor) Deportation of (probably from: Kyante, similar name to Kanzarina)
3897: Kigezi Agents, 17/4/1914
4754: Kigezi Chieftainships
1700 Western Province Census 1911
1981: Kigezi: Fighting by Natives, sentences passed on natives of Makaburri's county
3634: Military: Western Province troop movements 18/11/13
3314-3314P: Western Province annual reports 1912-27
Uganda Protectorate: Annual Reports of the Western Province, 1936-46
3176: Kigezi: Murder of a native captured in German territory
3174: Kigezi: Kumba, police officer for
4572: Public Works Department: roads in Western Province, construction of

2923: Western Province Districts and Boundaries
657: Military: Board at Kigezi on bayonet scabbard nos. 52 & 110
147/109: Mfumbiro District, Part I and occupation of
12741: Lease of Habukara island in Lake Bunyoni to Dr. L. E. S. Sharp (c. 1929)

Kabale District Archives
There is no actual archive; closed files and documents are kept in storerooms but unfortunately have been allowed to fall into chaos and disarray. There are various filing systems but no working index. It is believed that some documents were destroyed in the 1970s to make way for new files. Carswell wrote that research is difficult but the 'rewards enormous'. It is planned to organise and calendar the records but the finance required for archivists, shelving and proper storage is currently (2012) lacking. The current active records section is indexed. The following list is taken from Vokes (2009) with some additions.

C. Admin. 27: District history and historical notes
Dev.4/1 II: Kigezi Resettlement Scheme
Dev. 4/3 VI: Resettlement in Toro
Dev. 4/3 VII: Resettlement in Toro
Dev. 4/10 I: Resettlement in Toro, Kibale, etc.
Kigezi District Annual Report, 1928
Kigezi District Annual Report, 1949
Kigezi Police Quarterly Report for the 3rd quarter of 1935
Uganda Monthly Intelligence Report, No. 13, June 1922
DC to PC Western Province, 21 September 1917
DC to PC Western Province, 30 September 1917
DC to PC Western Province, 3 March 1928
DC (Toro) to ADC (Land Settlement) Kigezi, 16 September 1957
J. R. Mcd Elliott, Acting DC, 20 March 1925
Philipps to PC Western Province, 1 January 1929
S. C. Dwankey to DC Kigezi District, 23 September 1949
Summary of Lukiko Case: Kinyoni son of Nyabuhende vs. T. Tebanyururwa, 15 October 1937

On a visit to the archives in August 2012 I noted Kigezi District Annual Reports: 1921-3, 1930-3, 1943, 1945, 1948-9, 1954, 1957 & 1958 and two criminal case registers from the late 1920s to early 1930s; these list offences and sentences for murder and execution to riding a bicycle without a light and small fine. None from the above list were seen.

UK Colonial Records
The Foreign Office and Colonial Office have extensive files in the Public Record Office, Kew, London. The main classes of documents (Carswell, 2007) from the Colonial Office Series are CO 536, CO 822, CO 537 and CO 892.

County Record Offices and Universities have collections of private papers. Rhodes House Library has some collections; Carswell (2007) lists the first three:

J. R. McD. Elliot's diary, District Officer of Kigezi in the early 1920s (MSS. Afr s 1384)

Snowden Papers, includes a Report to the Director of Agriculture on a tour of Kigezi District, 1929, (MSS. Afr s 921)
D. W. Malcolm Papers, he was Secretary to Lord Hailey, and visited Uganda for a month, 1935-6, (MSS. Afr s 1445)
Bessel Papers, He served in Uganda 1931-55, photos, scrapbook & letter from Rev. Joseph Nicolet re Nyabingi article (Ms. Afr. s. 1561)
Coote Papers, re Kivu Mission, 1909-11 & correspondence 1955-7 (Ms. Afr. s. 1383)
Lanning papers, archaeology & anthropology, 1949-56 (Ms. Afr. s. 1329)
Philipps JET, Typescript of Nyabingi article (Ms. Afr. s. 1384 ff.474-93)

It is also home to part of the Pitman collection; it includes the annual Uganda Game Warden reports, 1925-51 among other literature. His main papers and collections (55 boxes, 8 folders, and 10 volumes) are held by the National History Museum, London; a calendar is online on the National Archives website, (NHM Catalogue BRN 299618 or Z MSS PIT NHM). He also donated collections to the Hebrew Museum, Liverpool Museum, Royal Albert Museum and American Museum of Natural History.

From the same library, The Edgar Barton Worthington papers, (Mss Afr. S 1425), were published, edited by J. M. Cockayne, in 1971.

Other district commissioners and officials may have left private papers, though an archival search to find out who they were and when they served is required first. For the pacification period, J. M. Coote, G. E. E. Sullivan and Adam Scott, all District Commissioner during 1910-20 are an obvious starting point.

Of interest would be J. E. T. Philipps who served twice around 1920 and 1928; i.e. his dealings with local affairs; his geographical and historical notes and correspondence concerning the pacification of Kigezi up to 1920; and his perspective and dealings with the East African Revival, C.M.S. missionaries and the Balakole movement c. 1928-1930.

He donated 41 items to the British Museum (see their online catalogue) and the first gorilla shot in the Empire. He discovered Lutra paraonyx philippsi. The Bulletin of Entomological Research, vol. 8, 1917, records a donation of 50 Haematopota. The Pitts-River Musem has a ritual iron spearhead, used in rainmaking ceremonies, from Mpororo from 1921. He wrote two articles on the Mufumbira volcanoes (1913) and Nyabingi (1928).

Rev. John Roscoe's Kigezi field notebook and other unpublished writings from his time as leader of the Mackie Ethnographic Expedition, 1919-20, would be a valuable source, as would the writings and observations of other expedition members.

Belgium and Germany
There is no information on what is available in Belgian and German national and other archives. It appears they have never been researched. They should provide supplementary information on border affairs and relationships. For instance Duetches Kolonialblatt may have more than the few references to mountain gorillas and Nyabingi discovered by previous researchers. There are numerous references to German military expeditions in the Virunga Mountains and north in the

late 19th and early 20th centuries, i.e. von Gotzen, Von Trotha, Lengheld, von Bethe, Pfeiffer, Richard Kandt and Richard von Beringe.

There may also be personal papers of pre-independence Belgian and German civilian residents surviving in their respective countries.

Japan
The Itani archives cover a trip made by the founders of the Institute of Primatology and National Monkey Centre to Kisoro, as part of a trans-Africa expedition, in 1957. Photos and notes (mostly in Japanese) are online via Kyoto University's Institute of Primatology.

USA
The Mary Edel archives are held in the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library, New York.

Church, Missionary and Relief Society Archives
The Archives of the Bishop of Uganda is held by the Uganda Christian University Library Archives Section, Mukono, Kampala. A calendar is online.

Protestant archives are primarily from the Church Missionary Society and Ruanda Mission who have extensive published and unpublished books, pamphlets and documents. Of particular relevance are Ruanda Notes and CMS Newsletter. Their archives are split between their own archives in Oxford and the University of Birmingham library.

The Girl's Friendly Society's archives are in the Women's Library, London. The archival locations of the British Leprosy Relief Association and Mission to Lepers need to be established.

The White Fathers central archives are in Rome and have been little researched. The Chronique Trimestrielles and Rapport Annuell are two of their internal publications, which may have had only a limited circulation. It is not known what happened to diocesan archives during the transition from the White Fathers to Ugandan administration and clergy; whether they are still in the dioceses or transferred to Rome. Uganda Episcopal Conference Secretariat is at Plot 672, Hanlon Road, Nsambya Hill, Kampala.

The personal papers of priests who came from a number of different European countries are probably in French, and, perhaps, another European language, including English given their relationship with the colonial government. If they have survived they could be anywhere in Europe or possibly Uganda. The historical notebooks and manuscripts of Frs. Geraud and Nicolet would be a real find. See Fr. Geraud's sources, 1972, for other examples.

Some bibliographies list documents held in parish offices that were written by long-departed priests. One example is: The history of Bufumbira and its neighbours written by Fr. Rukasi, an undated manuscript in Rubanda Parish.

The Church of Uganda and Roman Catholic archdioceses have archives and libraries in Kampala while local diocesan offices and parish offices may have some material. A Calendar of Documents held by parishes is long overdue. There do not appear to be any diocesan archives.

Third Level Colleges
Of the local Third Level institutions, the most extensive is Bishop Barham University who have research papers, theses and dissertations (A List of Dissertations or Research Papers has an incomplete index by title but not by author) relating to Kigezi since its elevation to university; research papers go back to 1994. It also has a number of booklets commemorating diamond (i.e. 1984 and 1994) and other anniversaries of various church institutions as well as pamphlets. They have a small locally relevant evangelical section.

Archives held by other Colleges in Kabale and Kisoro are still to be calendared.

Photography Archive
The website of the History in Progress Uganda has an excellent and growing collection from all over Uganda. It includes photos taken by Mary Edel, which have not been included here but some have been published in Gorilla Highlands.

Bishop Barham University has a fascinating album of photos taken from the albums of Dr. Len Sharp, entitled Ruanda General and Medical Mission - Kigezi and Ruanda 1921-1934. It was compiled and presented by Joyce Gower (nee Sharp) and Geoffrey Stanley Smith on behalf of their families.

Rastifarian Perspective
The website, Heritage Africa, has various articles on the Bakiga and Nyabingi written by a Mukiga, Ianick Mugasa

* * *

## Chapter 8

### Lighter Side of Uganda

Living in Uganda had other compensations, the political antics were very entertaining, as any Mahogany follower will tell you. After the 2011 elections the papers had many articles of newly elected councillors coping with juju fetishes hidden in obscure bits of furniture and left behind by the losers in revenge.

The swearing-in ceremonies were also celebration times for the victorious councillors, their families and supporters. In Ntungamo the officiating clerk deemed that no candidate could have more than five guests due to lack of space but had to abandon the rule when one arrived with his

eight wives. Five lived in his house and another three were dotted around the town. Photos showed a very happy celebrating family. He was elected with a large majority as people believed that if he could look after eight wives he could look after a council.

Meanwhile it emerged that the MP of the same area had five wives when he inquired about paternity leave, explaining that “some needed it more than others”.

By contrast, in another district in the north west, a councillor had problems with his two wives fighting to be beside him. Diplomatically he had one on either side; but a photo showed the wives looking daggers-drawn at each other while the hapless male, with an arm over each shouder, smiled inanely to try and hide the fact he had no control over them whatsoever. Whether he'll be any more successful as a councillor remains to be seen.

It wasn’t all hard work; I had free time in Kampala to enjoy its traditional night life. All that’s missing are the pool tables.

Figure 106 Drawing by Elspeth Huxley, c. 1965

Here are some sideways looks at life in Uganda, written at odd times in 2011-12,

Kigezi and Switzerland
Ugandans often compare Kigezi with Switzerland and it is a little known fact that William Tell once shot a bunch of matooke off a gorilla's head with a bow and arrow by orders of Nyabingi.

Otherwise what do the two countries have in common?

Well, Uganda has no snow, glaciers, ski slopes (we are working on it as soon as we work out the details of this fiddly climate change business), wealth, well paid jobs, alpine meadows or St Bernard's with kegs of brandy.

Switzerland has no gorillas, volcanoes, rain forests, tropical rain storms, obushera, waragi or corruption and is very deprived.

In fact the only thing that they have in common is that there are as many potholes in Ugandan roads as there are holes in a Swiss Emmental cheese.

GET REAL!

Letter to the Editor
Dear Sirs
It has been often said that 386 MPs is far too many for Uganda and comparisons have been drawn with Kenya, 222 MPs, and Tanzania, 317 MPs. If we adjust for their populations (36.5m & 45.1m) than Uganda should only have 212 MPs, following Kenya, or 245, following Tanzania.

However it must be remembered that, according to Ugandan government statistics, Ugandans are only 17% (1:6) as productive as Kenyans and 25% (1:4) as productive as Tanzanians. So if fact to reach their levels of output the number of MPs needs to be increased, i.e. to reach the Tanzanian level than 980 MPs; but if Uganda aspires to Kenya than 1,272 MPs are needed.

Maybe one of the reasons that Uganda is in such a mess is because there is only one president, when the country needs four or six. Whether these should be different individuals or clones of the current president is an open question. No doubt President Museveni would prefer the latter option, but either way there will need to be as many First Ladies...

But then there is a conundrum if this principle is applied to the general population. Should each man have 4-6 wives or each woman 4-6 husbands? Or both?

Yours Sincerely

Another Letter to the Editor
Dear Sirs

According to Yowari Musaveni (New Vision, 24/5/2011) “The problem with Ugandans is that they are undisciplined, unserious, alcoholics and extravagant”. Several months later on a state visit to Rwanda he said that Ugandans were thieves. According to NRM loyalist, Justus Muhanguzi, (New Vision, 3/8/2011) “The scrapping of the graduated tax has turned the majority of adult male village folks into lazybones who spend their productive time drinking and gambling hours on end”.

Obviously there has been little improvement since the early 20th century when, according to Kigezi District Commissioners, c.1920, “The Batutsi are of no economic value, their chief asset seems to be a remarkable attainment in the art of high-jumping” and “The Bahororo generally are an unsatisfactory tribe of poor physique and little promise of improvement.”

Therefore it can be seen that money and governance are wasted on Ugandans. With this in mind, I have A Modest Proposal. The whole strategy of our beloved president should be revamped. It is no longer necessary to spend money on such trivial things like education and health while investment on infrastructure such as roads, electricity and water is wasted. Instead everybody should be taxed so that they have just sufficient food to eat since otherwise it will be spent inappropriately.

There will be no need to worry about inflation; it does not matter if people don't have enough to eat since medical research has shown that too little food is healthier than too much. All non-food items can be taxed at 50%, this will cut down on unnecessary expenditure and imports while increasing the president's income. His 2011 proposal to nationalise import and distribution under the control of the NRM is a master-stoke of the highest calibre.

Corruption will no longer be an issue except where the president's income is concerned; the solution for these evil thieves is to lock them away for ever, or for as long as they live since spending money on feeding them is unnecessary.

To increase income further the civil service, MPs, local government, police and army can be disbanded; security can be made over to Gaddafi loyalists who were so badly treated by traitorous Libyans, the perfidious West and their lackeys. All income should flow directly into the president's coffers for important expenditures and affairs of state. For example the air force needs to be made stronger since six jets are hardly enough. Meanwhile the lakes are unprotected and need at least 2-3 nuclear submarines per lake so that the president's assets may be protected, ten would be adequate.

Then there is all this unseemly debate on the presidential succession. Critics seem to believe that in 2016 he will be too old and should be put out to pasture, what a joke! He will be in the prime of life! Obviously our beloved Museveni should be made President for Life without the need to pander to the inappropriate whims of democracy, a western imposition of dubious merit. One can only laud those who support Museveni's re-election in 2016 but they should focus on removing that ridiculous age-limit in the current constitution.

Even when the sad time comes when he passes over he can still remain in office and be President for Ever as there are many qualified mediums that can pass on his instructions from over the

Great Divide. The main advantage is that he can indulge in his favourite activity; the efficient and effective micromanagement of Uganda; his great love.

Political opposition will become a thing of the past. If anybody has the temerity to resist than his heavenly powers will put these to an end, that's what lightning is for.

Yours Sincerely

An ardent Museveni loyalist

Yet another Letter to the Editor
Dear Sirs,
Recently many Ugandan officials attending the 2012 Olympics in London were criticised for the level of their allowances; far higher than the athletes. But this is a good thing. They are members of our elite who are doing Uganda a great honour by representing the country on the international stage and of course, they must be well rewarded to show appreciation. The athletes, on the other hand, what do they do? Jump over things and run around in circles – and some are even too lazy to do even that and stop running after 100 metres! – Not a good advertisement for Ugandan productivity!

In fact, these people should pay the officials for the shame and embarrassment they caused by losing hopelessly. We can only sympathise for the mortification they felt when yet another athlete failed and it is only right that these should be made pay for their pathetic efforts.

Yes, one of them won a medal for eating a Marathon chocolate bar the fastest and Ugandans lost the plot totally. Large amounts of money were raised for him, which is completely wrong. It is well known that poor people don't know what to do with money; they squander it in a plebeian manner without regard for any aesthetic sensibilities and soon there is nothing left to show for it but some useless material things like furniture For instance, I was shocked to read he has only one wife!

Far better to give it to the Olympic officials who did Uganda proud by gracing London with their presence; they are epitomes of Olympus's realms. They know the proper way to spend money and will do themselves and the country proud; their acquisitions will be a shining example and inspiration to us all.

So let us give three well-deserved hearty golden cheers to the Olympian officials as a mark of our undying admiration and appreciation.

Yours Sincerely

Day in the Life of an UMEME Switchman
(Inspired by the New Vision satiric series on occupations)

7am: The sun is streaming in the window as I'm rudely awakened by my wife. “There's no power” she says. I reply “What do you need the power for, isn't the sun shining?” I tell you, education is wasted on women. I go back to sleep.

8.30am: I yawn, stretch, and demand my breakfast. Herself arrives with my tray and says “There's still no power”. I don't what all this fuss is about electricity; my up-country brother was telling me that he was fixing a hole in his roof when someone from UMEME asked him if he wanted the light in. He said “No, I'm trying to keep the light out.” We agreed that it was a very silly question.

9am: I get out of bed ready to face the new day.

10.30am: I wander into work having met a few friends over a beer.

11.30am: Having gone around the building greeting and chatting with all the bosses (they're all very nice to me; they learnt the hard way) I ascend to my 'throne' and there's the switch. I contemplate it for a few moments and, with a sigh, turn it on. So, are you happy now?

Midday: I turn off the switch for safety reasons, its lunch time.

2.00pm: I stroll in after a leisurely meal and contemplate the switch. It's important that they don't overheat from too much use so I decide to wait 30 minutes. Replacing switches is a tedious business; they have to be flown in especially from China. I'm very fussy about my switches. I won't have any American or European makes; they're a load of rubbish. And they have to be flown in one at a time since they have to be fresh. A switch after its sell-by date is a dangerous weapon; could be used during a Walk to Work walk to work. Anyway, I've already had three months on paid leave this year so I'll wait another month.

2.30pm: Eeeeh! There's a lightning storm. I turn off the power and hide under the table.

3.30pm: You're complaining that the power is going on and off? Have you no sympathy? Do you know how difficult it is to control a switch when you have hiccups? I try my granddad's cure of drinking out of a glass backwards but, as I have no water, I use waragi. This doesn't work so I do it standing on my head with a second bottle of waragi. That seems to work but have a third bottle just to be sure. But now I have a sneezing fit.

4pm: I turn off the switch and go to apply for an occupational hazard grant.

4.30pm: The hiccups and sneezing have made me light-headed so I leave work early; having made sure that the switch is off. I wrap my charm, blessed by a witch-doctor-priest, around the switch that makes men impotent and women ugly; nobody messes with my switch while I'm taking a well-deserved rest over the weekend. This is important; once, and I cringe in shame to remember it, I forgot and Uganda had electricity for the whole weekend! There was no end of moaning when I turned it off on return. People get spoiled if they think they can have electricity all the time.

5.50pm: I drop by my brother's shop – he sells generators – to discuss family affairs. No! No! It is a total co-incidence that I get a major contribution from the excellent profits. That's just his way of saying thank you in appreciation for my loyal patriotic service to the country.

8pm: I go to my secret flat into the loving arms of my mistress and get myself in the mood with an obushera schnapps cocktail...

Images
I love the image described by Hansen of a mountain gorilla family sitting around in a circle enjoying a communal buffet meal of ants and termites off a favourite rotting log in Bwindi NP. The picture would be complete with a maitre d'foret emerging, asking “And would like wine with that, Sir?”

Street art is alive and well in Kabale, as is the night life...


Figure 107 Street art, Kabale

Some descriptions defy imagination. In 1919 colonial authorities sent out spies dressed 'in plain clothes' to find rebels. What do they mean? Goat skins? That was the most common form of native attire. Were they as shifty-looking, skulking around village compounds, as the modern 'plain clothes' policeman?

And from the Buhoma Hospital:

Figure 108 EEEEEH!!! The latest preventitive against HIV infection

A True Story
Kabale to Ruhiga, Uganda, September 2011
Even short trips can be fraught with problems. The distance between Kabale and Ruhiga is 36km of which 12km each is tarmac, rough well-used murram and rougher road through Bwindi NP. As is standard, vehicles leave villages early in the morning and return early afternoon, everybody having bought or sold produce and supplies in local town markets, wholesalers and retailers.

The pick-up left early from Kabale, around 10.45am with the usual miscellany of a dozen people and their supplies, often to be sold in village shops. After about 7km there was a loud crashing noise from the back and I watched the rear wheel wandering off while we shuddered to a screeching halt. The back axle had snapped. This was not going to be fixed quickly and I thought it impossible to fix by the side of the road though I was careful to say that I was not a mechanic. Even so I discussed alternative transport with an elder who told me that he would arrange.

Figure 109 Waiting for the mechanics


Figure 110 They arrive!

Figure 111 Two hours later...

An hour later, two mechanics arrived from Kabale and they replaced the axle by 4pm when we were on the way again. But not before argumentative negotiations about the price that took 20 minutes as the driver reluctantly handed over his hard-earned fares piecemeal. All was fine till about 10km later when the axle snapped again around 5pm. Obviously nothing was going to get repaired this late, just before sunset, and as we were in a part that had no houses nearby we had to spend the night covered by tarpaulin on the road side. Luckily no rain, but we were covered with heavy mountain dew in the morning.

There apparently was a small restaurant some distance away but most of us ate sweet and Irish potatoes that were robbed from sacks and roasted in a small fire. Most were still half-raw because of the lack of wood, which is heavily scavenged by locals. During the night I decided I wasn't going to hang around waiting for the mechanics to arrive in the morning. I estimated it was around a 12km walk to Ruhiga.

By 6.45am I packed up, started walking and luckily got a lift with a couple of government officials going gorilla tracking who also kindly instructed their driver to deliver me to the ITFC, my final destination. I arrived about 8am after 21 hours; it would have been quicker to walk. How long it took everyone else I never found out.

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Figure 112 Kagarama: Author looking south over Nyabingi infused hills around Lake Bunyoni

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