Peripheral Identities in an African State: A History of Ethnicity in the Kingdom of Buganda Since 1884

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Abstract

This thesis examines how the expansion of the Ugandan Kingdom of Buganda in the late nineteenth century stimulated complex and contrasting processes of assimilation and ethnic attachment. Re-orienting Buganda's history away from its frequently studied political and cultural heartlands, it analyses how incorporation within the kingdom's extended colonial boundaries shaped the experiences and identities of communities on the kingdom's peripheries.

This work engages with and builds upon new themes in Buganda's long historiographical tradition which have begun to critically address the importance of history from beyond the centre. Through extensive archival research as well as the use of oral histories, the thesis draws upon peripheral histories to provide fresh perspectives on the colonial Ganda state. By considering Buganda through its relationship to newly incorporated peoples, this thesis develops understandings of the relationship between the kingdom and British authorities, as well as of the often cited Ganda ability to incorporate strangers. This research further contributes to the significant literature surrounding identity in Africa arguing that the relatively autonomous position of Buganda within Uganda's colonial framework provides a distinctive setting in which to reassess notions of "invention" and agency in the development of twentieth-century African ethnicities.

Focusing on several regions brought into the kingdom at the outset of British imperial intervention, this thesis argues that variations in Buganda's responses to the populations of these territories encouraged disparities in the readiness of individuals and communities to accept participation in the Ganda ethnic sphere. Where assimilative processes were imposed in a coherent or oppressive manner they actively challenged continuity in "tradition" and identity and were less effective in facilitating ethnic adaptation.

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Abbreviations

Archive of the White Fathers Rome	WFA
Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies Rhodes House, University of Oxford	RHO
British National Archives Kew Gardens, London	BNA
Papers of E.M.K. Mulira Cambridge Centre for African Studies	CCAS
Church Missionary Society Archive University of Birmingham	CMS
Church Missionary Society Intelligencer Makerere University African Library	MUL CMS
Evidence Given Before the Privy Council Commission Copies in Personal Possession	ECPC
Indigenous and English Language Newspapers Makerere University African Library	MUL NEWS
Uganda Protectorate Unmarked Papers Makerere University Africana Library	MUL PRO
St Joseph of the Mill Hill Mission Archive Freshfield	MHA
Uganda National Archive Entebbe	UNA
Uganda National Archive, Secretariat Minute Papers Entebbe	UNA SMP
Wellcome Centre Archive London	WCA

Glossary

Biito	princely clan of Bunyoro, Kkooki, Bugerere and Buruuli
Ebitongole	Buganda chiefships created in the late 1700's
Ggombolola	Buganda sub-county
Lukiiko	Buganda parliament
Kabaka	King of Buganda
Kamuswaga	King of Kkooki, pre-1896; County chief of Kkooki, post- 1896
Katikiiro	prime minister
Lubaale	deity, hero-god
Mailo	approximately one square mile, implemented after 1900
Miruka	Buganda parish
Omukama	King of Bunyoro
Ssaza	Buganda county

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1: Fire at Kasubi

On the evening of the 16th March 2010 an intense fire swept through the royal enclosure at Kasubi Hill. As the flames spread across straw thatching and engulfed the immense grass hut structures housing the tombs of four of the Kingdom of Buganda's recent kings and their descendants, news of the loss of the UNESCO world heritage site filtered across the Ugandan capital, Kampala. Carried on radio airwaves and in the reports of mobile Boda-Boda drivers initial information was confused. By the time news reached a fellow researcher and myself around four miles from the scene, rumours had already begun to circulate as to the origins of the fire. There were suggestions of arson and even intimations as to the involvement of the national government of President Yoweri Museveni.[1]

On the morning of the 17th huge crowds of Ganda gathered at the location of the tombs to express their grief and anger over the loss of one of Buganda's key spiritual sites described by Buganda minister, Medard Ssegona Lubega, as the 'second biggest tragedy' in the kingdom's history.[2] The importance of ancestors and royal shrines in Ganda culture makes Kasubi a place of ritual and religious significance to the kingdom's population.[3] The public spaces of the main building housing the four tombs, the *Muzibu-Azaala-Mpanga,* also held the regalia of Ganda royal authority, while in common with other shrines royal spirits were traditionally believed to inhabit the rear area or *Ekibira* (forest) of the structure. The *Muzibu-Azaala-Mpanga* itself also embodied the interconnected roles of Buganda's clans in the overall collective through their contribution of specific 'reed rings' in the building's construction.[4] In short, the tombs are a

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[1] At the time of the events in question radio call-ins, comments on newspaper websites and conversations with Ganda within the city revealed a willingness to believe accusations of Ugandan government involvement.

[2] Quote from Ssegona taken from an interview with BBC Africa recorded in the article, 'Protestors Killed at Uganda's Kasubi Tombs,' BBC Online, 16.04, Wednesday 17th March, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/8572588.stm> (accessed, 18th March 2010); the first great tragedy being the abolition of the Kingdom by Milton Obote in 1966.

[3] For purposes of clarity, and following conventions used in other works, this thesis will follow a rule of dropping the prefix describing singular, plural or adjective. For example, where one might refer to a 'Muganda' (sing), 'Baganda' (plural), or 'Kiganda' (adj), this thesis deploys the term 'Ganda'. Similarly, when referring to the areas of study, 'Mukkooki', 'Bakkooki', and 'Kikkooki' become 'Kkooki', and so on.

[4] Benjamin Ray, *Myth, Ritual and Kingship in Buganda* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 139; Remigius Kigongo and Andrew Reid, 'Local Communities, Politics and the Management of the Kasubi Tombs, Uganda,' *World Archaeology*, 39.3 (2007), pp. 375- 378.

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powerful cultural and spiritual symbol.[5] Within the context of continuing rumours over government culpability then, the reaction of the Ganda crowd to President Museveni's arrival at Kasubi might have been anticipated. Attempts to prevent the President from entering the compound ended in violence as national security forces opened fire killing at least two people.[6]

When I arrived at Kasubi on the morning of the 18th the compound was once again full of people. The Ganda king, *Kabaka* Ronald Mutebi II, had declared seven days of mourning and the atmosphere was charged.[7] The large structures of deformed metal twisted by the heat of the fire were striking, as was the obvious emotion of many of the individuals present. The memory that has stayed with me most from that morning, however, is of the things that I was given. Moving with the crowd on the road outside the compound I was handed two items; the first, a badge bearing the flag of Buganda, and the second a black and white photograph relayed to me as showing the signing of the 1955 Buganda Agreement which officially reaffirmed the position of the kingdom within the wider Uganda Protectorate following a period of turmoil. While both items are undoubtedly available to tourists throughout the kingdom their presence at that location, at that time, symbolises many of the themes upon which this thesis will touch.

The simultaneous appearance of these two images at a site of cultural significance and in a time of trauma evokes a powerful statement on ethnic identity, patriotism, and royalism within the kingdom; key notions to be explored within this work. More than this, however, they reveal significant insights into Buganda's twentieth-century history, eloquently encapsulating the continued importance of historical events in contemporary collective consciousness. The images purport to represent two momentous actions in the twentieth-century Ganda historical record, two fixed points of renewal in a century long cycle. The flag, with its blue and white stripes carrying two spears, a shield and a lion, the symbol of the Kabaka , is a recent reincarnation of older ensigns designed for the restoration of the kingdom as an official cultural entity in 1993.[8] The kingdom was restored alongside other cultural institutions by President Museveni following its abolition twenty six years earlier in 1966 by former President Milton Obote. Mikael Karlstrom has analysed the growth of cultural and royalist nationalism within the kingdom at the end of the twentieth century and it is clear that

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[5] Although Kigongo and Reid also demonstrate that conflicts over the governance of the site itself have simultaneously embodied fracture lines within the wider Ganda community, Kigongo and Reid, 'Management of the Kasubi Tombs,' p. 380.

[6] 'Protestors Killed at Kasubi Tombs,' BBC News Online, 17th March, 2010.

[7] Given the common usage of the term Kabaka in Ganda historiography and the frequency of its application within this thesis it is no longer italicised beyond this point.

[8] The badge handed to me at Kasubi containing the Ganda flag was unfortunately damaged following my return from fieldwork and is not reproduced here.

since 1993 Ganda ethnic patriotism has continued to develop, largely in response to increasing difficulties in relations between the kingdom and the national Ugandan government which will be explored later in the thesis.[9] The image of the flag handed to me outside of Kasubi may therefore be understood as symbolising the continued importance of ethnic identity within Buganda in the present day. Complementing this contemporary statement the second image purports to capture a key moment in Buganda's colonial past. Governor Sir Andrew Cohen and Kabaka Mutesa II lean forward side-by-side over a wooden desk; faces concentrated, they appear to sign the 1955 Buganda Agreement as an audience looks on (See Fig. 1). It is a striking picture which, if authentic, has much to tell about the relationship between Buganda and Britain. Taken only two years after Cohen had personally signed a declaration withdrawing British recognition from the Kabaka over Ganda opposition to a proposed East African Federation, the image of Mutesa, now returned to his position, can be seen to illustrate the durability and agency of Buganda in their dealings with imperialism. Acting once again in his role as king and riding a royalist fervour which would last till independence, Mutesa's signature reconfirms Buganda's privileged position within the wider Protectorate, renewing many of the benefits accrued to the kingdom through their first official agreement with the British Protectorate in 1900. Moreover, the continued circulation of the image reveals the extent to which the history of the colonial era continues to reverberate with Ganda identity in the present day.

The flag and the photograph also demand further questioning. If they represent symbols of unity and durability, they also offer the opportunity to interrogate these ideals; to ask questions of the construction of the Ganda people. And that, in a sense, is the purpose of this thesis. The great public outpouring of grief over the fire at Kasubi which seemed to unite the kingdom in mourning and ethnic pride came only a little over seven months after serious riots within Buganda marked the culmination of increasing tensions between indigenous communities. Indeed, two groups, the Nyala and Ruuli, have sought to break out from Ganda cultural control and establish their own ethnic autonomy. In 1955 when Mutesa signed the Buganda Agreement the Nyala and Ruuli populations inhabiting the geographically peripheral northern counties of Bugerere and Buruuli were essentially considered to have ceased to exist; the historical record has shown such beliefs to be false. Indeed, while often spoken of by the colonial government, subsequent historians and even the Ganda themselves as an archetypal centralised and ethnically unified polity, Buganda's twentieth-century ethnic story is a much more complex account than has previously been imagined. Encompassing themes of attempted assimilation, centre-periphery relations and the motivations for ethnic change in a

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[9] Mikael B. Karlstrom, *The Cultural Kingdom in Uganda: Popular Royalism and the Restoration of the Buganda Kingship*, PhD Dissertation (Chicago, 1999).

colonial African context, analysis of this multi-layered narrative forms the key component of this dissertation.

1.2: The argument

The Kingdom of Buganda lies on the north-western shore of Lake Victoria and its inhabitants form the largest ethnic group within Uganda (See Figs. 2, 3, and 4 for maps of Buganda). Since 1993, the role played by the kingdom within the wider Ugandan state has come under increasing scrutiny. A trial of strength has developed as Buganda's representatives seek greater power through calls for a federal system of government and increased control over Ganda lands, while the national government of Yoweri Museveni has sought to block devolution of political authority and reinforce the official position that Buganda, and other kingdoms, are exclusively cultural institutions. One consequence of this internal conflict has been a resurrection of interest in Buganda's non-heartland counties. The kingdom has accused the National Resistance Movement (NRM) of attempting to weaken its cultural and territorial integrity by fostering secessionist movements in its border territories. The culmination of this policy is considered to be embodied by the case of Nakasongola and Kayunga districts in north-eastern Buganda where Ruuli (Nakasongola) and Nyala (Kayunga) communities have elected their own leaders and sought to declare autonomy from Buganda's cultural sphere. In September 2009 Nyala groups prevented the Ganda Kabaka from visiting Kayunga; an action which resulted in Ganda counter-riots and conflict with security forces which claimed the lives of twenty-seven individuals. The obvious tension in these two areas, however, has obscured the extent to which fears of similar movements in several other counties have proved without foundation. In the county of Kkooki, for example, the introduction of a Kkooki flag and anthem has found little popular support and has instead provoked a pro-Buganda backlash.

The contemporary interest in Buganda's "peripheral counties" has opened an opportunity for a timely reassessment of Ganda history, particularly within the period of colonial rule, but also stretching both before and beyond this timeframe. In particular, the current contrasts in allegiance to a Ganda ethnic and cultural identity demands historical investigation; for while contemporary politics have undoubtedly played a significant role, to understand Buganda's present day concerns it is necessary to address its past ethnic narrative. In doing so it is clear that a significant event in Buganda's history, one which continues to directly affect both Buganda and wider Ugandan society today, has been greatly understudied. Despite the weight of historiographical tradition which has surrounded the kingdom since its first indigenous historians began to write in the early twentieth century, only a partial and

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limited scholarly gaze has addressed the expansion of the kingdom in the last decade of the nineteenth century as a result of which Buganda nearly doubled in size. During this process a significant number of non-Ganda peoples were incorporated within the kingdom.

This rapid extension of Ganda power and the subsequent experience of those communities brought into the kingdom's immediate sphere have been analysed only in relation to its newest northern counties. Taken from the neighbouring Kingdom of Bunyoro in joint Ganda-British expeditions in the early 1890's, these territories, known as the "Lost Counties", remained vigorously contested by Bunyoro throughout the colonial period and have consequently been the subject of significant scholarship. In reality, however, only two of these seven counties, Buyaga and Bugangaizi, have received substantial attention, while the eastern counties, most interestingly Buruuli and Bugerere, now forming Nakasongola and Kayunga districts, have remained under-researched. Moreover, areas outside of the "Lost Counties" that were simultaneously brought into the kingdom are largely absent from its twentieth-century historical record. These other territories, referred to here as the "Acquired Counties" to distinguish them collectively from the "Lost Counties", are made up of Kkooki, Kabula and Mawogola to Buganda's south and west and the Buvuma and Ssese Island archipelagos on Lake Victoria. It is the intention of this thesis to illuminate the histories of these communities. Moreover, it is suggested here that the limited focus on the "Lost Counties" has led to a misrepresentation of ethnic processes of assimilation, adaptation and resistance within colonial Buganda.

Studies of the "Lost Counties" have tended to emphasise the roles played by Buganda and the British in attempting to effect a process of enforced assimilation stemming in part from a suppression of Nyoro, Ruuli and Nyala culture and language. Shane Doyle has further contrasted these processes with the laissez-faire Ganda reaction to the incorporation of the large numbers of immigrants who arrived in Buganda in the twentieth century.[10] It is argued here that Doyle's analysis must be extended; the differences in style of "Gandisation" were not determined by a divide between 'immigrant and indigene' but by a distinction between "Lost Counties" communities and everybody else. While often considered a highly centralised, ethnic entity with 'sharp borders', Buganda has a long history of incorporation and it has been more effective at successfully assimilating strangers in the twentieth century than the "Lost Counties" example would suggest.[11] Drawing upon the analytical gaze of history from beyond the centre, as well as on the literature of ethnicity in Africa, the thesis offers fresh perspectives on Ganda history by illustrating that a defining factor in determining the success and longevity

[10] Shane D. Doyle, 'Immigrants and Indigenes: The Lost Counties Dispute and the Evolution of Ethnic Identity in Colonial Buganda,' *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 3.2 (2009), pp. 284- 302.
[11] John Beattie, *The Nyoro State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 254.

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of ethnic change and assimilation was the nature of the centre-periphery relationship affecting non-heartland communities. In essence, processes of "Gandisation" were more effective when they rested not on attempted assimilation or "invention" but on the agency of peripheral communities. The "Lost Counties" were of crucial importance to Buganda's prestige and power in its long running feud with its rival Bunyoro and, consequently, the Ganda state sought to impose on cultural processes. While successful to some degree, this attempted assimilation also provoked significant resistance. In the "Acquired Counties", by contrast, communities remained economically and politically less integral to the Ganda centre. Lacking the gravitas of the northern counties these areas were not subjected to a coherent extension of ethnic hegemony and individuals were therefore able to layer a predominant Ganda identity on top of their own indigenous attachments. Patrick Harries has illustrated how new 'traditions' must build upon past experiences to be effective, and individuals within the "Acquired Counties" were able to utilise the context of their peripheral relationship to the Ganda state to build positive elements of being Ganda onto their own experience.[12] These new Ganda identities, though driven in part by the desire to access the trappings of colonial "modernity", were not simply shallow epithets worn as an ethnic pass to access resources from Buganda's privileged position within the colonial protectorate. The adoption of Ganda customs and language as a badge of their belonging within the Ganda state and their participation within the wider ethnic community illustrates a depth and content to their Ganda ethnic identity. This observation is borne out by the continued Ganda patriotism of such areas in the present day, and, more significantly, in the period between 1966 and 1993 during which time the kingdom had been abolished.

The thesis therefore contributes to an understanding of how peripheral peoples managed and debated their identities in the context of a strong central state within the colonial period; furthermore, it suggests revisions to the dominant theories of ethnic change within African history. In particular, Buganda offers an important case study within which to offer a fuller account of the extent of African agency in determining processes of ethnicity in the first half of the twentieth century. While systems of colonial rule impacted heavily on Ganda politics, culture and society, the actual role of European officials remained limited within the Ganda context. The story of "Gandisation" within Buganda's peripheries, while played out in the confines of an imperial prism, is a primarily African narrative. By adopting an analysis of peripheral identities within the Ganda state it is therefore possible to further our understanding of motivations and processes for assimilation within the kingdom, as well as on the nature of the wider relationship between Buganda and British colonial authority.

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[12] Patrick Harries, 'Imagery, Symbolism and Tradition in a South African Bantustan: Mengosuthu Buthelezi, Inkatha and Zulu History,' *History and Theory*, 32.4 (1993), pp. 106- 107.

1.3: Ethnicity in African history

Since entering the Oxford English Dictionary in 1953 ethnicity has become one of the most studied and contested terms in world scholarship across numerous disciplines; from political science to anthropology, from linguistics to history.[13] In African studies, analysis of ethnic identity has produced voluminous works encouraged in part by a propensity to view ethnic conflict as a peculiarly African endeavour at least until the eruption of European violence in the Balkans in the 1990's. Studies of ethnicity across the continent began in earnest from the 1960's as it became clear that what had been understood as "tribal" identities would not simply fade away in the face of modernisation and African nationalism. Imperial powers, African nationalists and American scholars in the 1950's had believed that the "progress" embodied in the political and cultural changes of colonialism, and the introduction of a market economy would force Africans from parochial "tribal" affiliations into wider associations based on the moral code of national identity.[14] Ethnicity however, as Vail has so aptly noted, 'failed to cooperate with its many would-be pall-bearers'.[15] Indeed, its importance only appeared to increase in a post-independence context in which the negative aspects of ethnic identity were highlighted by a retreat across much of the continent into what appeared to be "Political Tribalism", systems of patronage linked to corruption and state decline, and the perceived ethnic violence of genocide in Rwanda and electoral conflict in Kenya. Recent studies have highlighted that ethnicity must be understood as embodying positive as well as negative facets, and that ethnicity as a dividing factor has rarely offered the "mortal threat" to national governments that might have been feared; nevertheless, and with these addendums accepted, ethnicity remains a key node of analysis for many studies of the continent.[16]

Despite its continued importance to understandings of social, cultural and political interaction, however, ethnicity remains enigmatic as a concept; resistant to universal definition. In consequence, numerous explanatory theories have evolved to characterise the position of ethnicity within societies. The literature which surrounds these different positions in relation to Africa is well summarised by both Carola Lentz and Thomas Spear and this review

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[13] John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, 'Introduction,' in *Ethnicity*, eds. by John Hutchinson and Antony D. Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 3- 4.
[14] John Lonsdale, 'The Moral Economy of Mau Mau,' in *Unhappy Valley; Conflict in Kenya and Africa (II); Violence and Ethnicity*, eds. by John Lonsdale and Bruce Berman (London: James Currey, 1992), pp. 270-275.
[15] Leroy Vail, 'Ethnicity in Southern African History,' in *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*, ed. by Leroy Vail (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), p. 3.
[16] M. Crawford Young, 'Revisiting Nationalism and Ethnicity in Africa,' *James S. Coleman Lecture Series*, (UCLA International Institute, 2004), <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/28h0r4sr> (accessed, 15th May 2011).

will follow a similar structure to that adopted within these pieces. It is, however, essential for the reader of the thesis to begin with an understanding of ethnicity theory and so the arguments of Lentz, Spear and others are reviewed and tailored here for our particular context.[17] At the theoretical level three key schools of thought have often been identified in the study of ethnic identity. Although the method and context of their application has varied, and at times overlapped, primordialism, instrumentalism and constructivism have been historically considered as opposing analytic structures in the ethnic spectrum. Primordialism, deriving from the work of anthropologists Edward Shils and Clifford Geertz, sought to explain the continued power of ethnicity in newly post-colonial states through reference to 'primordial attachments' often expressed as a perceived common history, and ties of 'religion, blood, race, language, custom and region'.[18] Primordialists, then, have viewed ethnicity as a group identity drawing power from social bonds understood as being 'deeply rooted in the past'.[19] In Africa, application of the primordial theory suggested that the rapid socio-economic and political changes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century's encouraged Africans to seek 'psychological security' by reasserting a cultural history and collective destiny.[20] The unreality and incomprehensibility of the modern 'nation' state was mitigated through appeals to tradition, custom and ethnic identity.

Similarly, seeking to understand the resurgence of ethnic identities in new socio-economic contexts, instrumentalists underlined the malleability of ethnicity arguing that far from being a 'supra-historical process' ethnic identity was a social construct relying more on "we/they" boundary calculations than perceived immutable ethnic content.[21] This conception of the flexibility of ethnicity drew on the ideas of Barth who illustrated in the late 1960's that cultural signifiers and even language might vary within an ethnic community; what was essential was not the cultural content inside the ethnic boundary, but the boundary itself. While the boundary signifiers might change over time the processes of self-ascription and ascription by others continued the ethnic distinction so that, 'to the extent that actors use

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[17] Carola Lentz, '"Tribalism" and Ethnicity in Africa: a Review of Four Decades of Anglophone Research,' *Cahiers Des Sciences Humaines*, 31.2 (1995), pp. 306- 307; Thomas Spear, 'Neo-Traditionalism and the Limits of Invention in British Colonial Africa,' *Journal of African History*, 44 (2003), pp. 3- 27.
[18] Hutchinson and Smith, 'Introduction,' p. 9.
[19] See for example, Edward Shils, 'Primordial, Personal, Sacred and Civil Ties: Some Particular Observations on the Relationships of Sociological Research and Theory,' *British Journal of Sociology*, 8 (1957) ,pp. 130- 145; Clifford Geertz, 'The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Politics in the New States,' in *Old Societies and New States: the Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa*, ed. Clifford Geertz (New York: The Free Press, 1963), pp. 105- 157; Lentz, '"Tribalism" and Ethnicity in Africa'; Carola Lentz and Paul Nugent, 'Ethnicity in Ghana: a Comparative Perspective,' in *Ethnicity in Ghana; the Limits of Invention*, eds. by Paul Nugent and Carola Lentz (London: Macmillan, 2000), p. 4.
[20] Vail, 'Ethnicity in Southern African History,' p. 5.
[21] G. Carter Bentley, 'Ethnicity and Practice,' *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 29.1 (1987), pp. 25- 27.

ethnic identities to categorise themselves and others for the purposes of interaction, they form ethnic groups in this organisational sense.'[22] By underlining that ethnicity need not draw on a discourse of fixed historical ties, instrumentalists were able to suggest that ethnicity was an identity which might be strategically manipulated in pursuit of individual or communal goals.[23] In Africa, instrumentalists analysed the ways in which ethnic identity was mobilised, particularly by migrant workers to counter insecurity and competition in new urban settings, and by cultural elites as a political tool in pursuit of status.[24] Ethnicity, then, may be understood in terms of 'rational choice' theory which assumed that individuals desired material wealth and power which might be attained through joining an ethnic community.[25] Alternatively it might take the form of the appropriation and manipulation of symbols by cultural leaders to evoke an ethnic consciousness aimed at building a critical mass to ensure access to state resources or to build political constituencies.[26]

Despite their tenacity as analytic tools in continued discourse over ethnic construction, both primordialism and instrumentalism have been acknowledged as containing serious flaws when used in isolation. Instrumentalist arguments are often criticised for over-emphasising the utility of ethnicity and stressing material interests as the primary motivating factor for ethnic cohesion. Critiques of instrumentalism further highlight that it fails to account for participants' sense of the permanence of their identities and underplays the affective power of ethnicity which renders it such 'an effective means for political mobilization'.[27] While primordialism has sought to explain the emotional appeal of ethnicity it simultaneously fixes ethnic identity as a naturalistic and essentialist concept and denies the flexibility of identity which suggests that people choose to highlight different attachments depending on social context.[28] Moreover, in an African setting, although instrumentalism highlighted the flexibility of ethnicity in urban settings, Lentz has illustrated that neither theory significantly challenged the existence of rural

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[22] Fredrik Barth, 'Introduction,' in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social organisation of Culture Difference*, ed. by Frederick Barth (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1969), pp. 10- 15
[23] Hutchinson and Smith, 'Introduction,' p. 9; Lentz, '"Tribalism" and Ethnicity in Africa,' p. 306; Lentz and Nugent, 'Ethnicity in Ghana,' p. 4.
[24] T. Spear, 'Neo-Traditionalism and the Limits of Invention,' p. 17; for an excellent discussion of studies detailing instrumental ethnicity in an urban context, or as mobilised by political elites see, Lentz, '"Tribalism" and Ethnicity in Africa,' pp. 308- 315.
[25] See, Paul R. Brass, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison* (New Delhi: Sage, 1991), pp. 25-36; Abner Cohen, 'The Lesson of Ethnicity,' in *Urban Ethnicity*, eds. by Abner Cohen (London: Tavistock, 1974), pp. 9- 24.
[26] See, Michael Banton, *Racial and Ethnic Competition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 100- 139; M. Hechter, 'Rational Choice Theory and the Study of Race and Ethnic Relations,' in *Theories of Race and Ethnic Relations*, eds. by John Rex and David Mason (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 264- 267.
[27] Hutchinson and Smith, 'Introduction,' pp. 8- 10; Spear, 'Neo-Traditionalism and the Limits of Invention,' p. 17.
[28] Hutchinson and Smith, 'Introduction,' p. 9.

ethnic groups, or "tribes" as a fundamental aspect of African social order. This task fell predominantly to the discipline of history and historically-minded anthropologists, and the work of a number of scholars whose varying contributions have been broadly labelled as constructivist.[29]

Questioning the rigidity of rural and urban ethnicities alike, constructivist thought focused on the extent to which modern expressions of ethnicity, "tribalism", and tradition were "invented" by colonial authorities, missionaries, anthropologists and African intellectuals under colonial rule. Constructivism found its proto-expression in Aidan Southall's seminal article, 'The Illusion of Tribe' (1970) in which he noted that the colonial period had witnessed the rise of new ethnic identities or 'supertribes'.[30] The ideas found greater expression in the works of John Iliffe and John Lonsdale on British colonial Africa who argued that the reified ethnic units of colonial Africa were not direct descendants of discrete "tribal" entities as a primary section of anthropological and colonial theory had assumed; in fact, the defined ethnic communities of the twentieth century were often the product of colonial "invention". Pre-colonial Africa did not consist of a patchwork of culturally, politically and geographically defined "tribal" polities but of fluid, dynamic societies in which individuals participated in numerous and often overlapping social networks.[31] The introduction of European rule heralded the formation of new identities through Christianity, urbanisation and political association, but it simultaneously hardened ethnic communities into often larger more distinct entities through the ideology of indirect rule and colonial beliefs concerning the structure of "traditional" "tribal" life.[32] Where the authorities found stateless or more disparate societies, or where local authority did not correspond to a central chiefly ideal, the colonists encouraged the formation of hierarchical "tribal" units and conducted their administration of the colonies accordingly as ethnic conglomerates.[33] Variations of indirect rule were introduced across

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[29] Lentz, '"Tribalism" and Ethnicity,' p. 310; Bruce Berman, 'Ethnicity, Patronage and the African State: The Politics of Uncivil Nationalism,' *African Affairs*, 97.388 (1998), p. 310.

[30] Aidan W. Southall, 'The Illusion of Tribe,' *The Passing of Tribal Man: International Studies in Sociology and Social Anthropology*, ed. by Peter Gutkind (Reprinted from *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 1), (1970), pp. 34-39.

[31] John Lonsdale, 'When did the Gusii (or any Other Group) become a Tribe?' *Kenya Historical Review*, 5.1 (1977), pp. 122- 133; J. Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 318- 341; Lentz, '"Tribalism" and Ethnicity,' p. 317.

[32] For the impact of indirect rule on "tribal" formation see also, M. Crawford Young, "Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Class in Africa: A Retrospective," *Cahiers D'études Africaines*, 26.103 (1986), pp. 421- 495; Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 21- 67.

[33] In fact colonial authorities often assumed the absence of defined political and cultural units among acephalous communities to be a consequence of recent social breakdown. In southern Sudan Arabic slave traders were blamed for the apparent lack of chiefly authority; similarly, in northern Ghana "Tribal" authority was thought to have disintegrated through the incursions of Samore and other warlords in the nineteenth century; see C.A. Willis, 'Introduction,' *The Upper Nile Province Handbook: A*

Anglophone Africa from the 1920's and the famous circular of the Civil Secretary, Harold MacMichael, in Sudan in 1930 might have applied to any number of British colonies:

> The aim of government is to build up a series of self-contained racial and tribal units with the structure and organisation based, to whatever extent the requirements of equity and good government permit upon indigenous customs, traditional usage and beliefs.[34]

In Kenya, similarly, 'native reserves' were introduced in the central highlands which 'dictated that questions of belonging and identity had to be phrased in tribal terms'.[35] New ethnicities were nourished within this framework as African chiefs, elders and mission trained traditionalists produced "tribal histories" to add weight to their claims for access to state resources within the colonial context. As Iliffe famously noted in *A Modern History of Tanganyika* (1979), 'the British wrongly believed that Tanganyikans belonged to tribes; Tanganyikans created tribes to function within the colonial framework.'[36]

Constructivist ideas were given full expression by the eloquent contributions of Ranger and Vail in the 1980s. Utilising Hobsbawm's conception of the 'invention of tradition' in relation to the development of nationalist thought, Ranger argued that the alien nature of African society prevented easy connections between British theoretical conceptions and the reality of social contexts inhabited by African subjects. Unable to adequately grasp the complexity of African societies, officials "invented" neo-traditions for themselves, by drawing upon recently devised British institutions such as the regiment or the public-school, and for Africans, by emphasising a conservative chiefly framework of hierarchical states through their administration and by codifying what they took to be traditional custom through "customary law".[37] For Ranger, the 'invention of tradition' was conducted in collaboration between colonial authorities and vested interests within African societies who sought to manipulate reworked traditions to confront social disorder while enhancing their own status and control. Thus, paramount chiefs appealed to "tradition" in order to maintain or extend control over their subjects; elders appealed to "tradition" in order to assert rights over webs of patronage

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Report on Peoples and Government in Southern Sudan, 1931, ed. by Douglas H. Johnson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 52- 53; and Lentz and Nugent, 'Ethnicity in Ghana,' p. 10.

[34] H. MacMichael, cited in Ahmad Alawad Sikainga, *The Western Bahr al-Ghazal Under British Rule: 1895- 1956* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1991), p. 66.

[35] Timothy Parsons, 'Being Kikuyu in Meru: Challenging the Tribal Geography of Colonial Kenya,' *Journal of African History*, 53.1 (2012), pp, 68.

[36] Iliffe, '*Modern History of Tanganyika*', p. 318.

[37] Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Tradition,' in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 1- 14; Terence Ranger, 'The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa,' in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 211- 263.

through claims on land and women; men appealed to "tradition" to undermine new opportunities for women; and, finally, indigenous populations appealed to "tradition" to protect their customary rights against a backdrop of increasing labour migration.[38] Through this process of "invention" ethnic identities were solidified and given new credence by reordered neo-traditions which reified previously overlapping associations as members of clans, guilds, and kinship and religious groups.[39] Bruce Berman has further illustrated how access to new forms of capital at the state centre moulded the strategic context of African identity, encouraging Africans to mediate their own experience by adapting to British "tribal" designations.[40] The importance of African mediators was also stressed by Leroy Vail in his often quoted collection *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*. Here, he underlines the importance of culture brokers- understood by Vail as white missionaries, colonial officials and African intellectuals- to the formulation of ethnic identity and tradition. Vail draws on earlier ideas to underline that indirect rule encouraged African and European intellectuals to underline ethnic allegiance through the production of "tribal" ideologies.[41] Central to this process was the role of missionaries who consolidated local dialects into formal orthographic languages for the purposes of missionary schooling, religious services and the publishing of vernacular bibles. Among the Shona in Zimbabwe Ranger has argued that missionaries and converts created, 'discrete dialect zones by developing written languages centred upon a number of widely scattered bases', encouraging the consolidation of Shona sub-ethnicities, most notably Manyika and Zezuru.[42] For the strictest of constructivists then, ethnicity in Africa had to be understood as a construct of the twentieth century, and not an 'anachronistic cultural artefact from the past'.[43]

Theories of "invention" have proven extremely important in stimulating discourse around the role of ethnicity in African society. By focusing on ethnicity as socially constructed within the colonial context they have facilitated a greater understanding of the ways in which imperial administrators, missionaries and other European actors perceived African societies, and the manner in which they sought to impose their ideologies upon them. Furthermore, constructivist thought has encouraged insightful analysis into indigenous communities and individuals' manipulation of ethnic ties to influence the political and cultural environment of

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[38] Ranger, 'Invention of Tradition,' p. 254; See also, Charles Ambler, 'The Renovation of Custom in Colonial Kenya: The 1932 Generation Succession Ceremonies in Embu,' *Journal of African History*, 30.1 (1989), pp. 145- 156.
[39] Ranger, 'Invention of Tradition,' p. 248.
[40] Berman, 'Ethnicity, Patronage and the African State,' p. 313.
[41] Vail, 'Ethnicity in Southern African History'; Spear, 'Limits of Invention,' p. 18.
[42] T. Ranger, 'Missionaries, Migrants and the Manyika: The invention of Ethnicity in Zimbabwe,' in Vail, *'The Creation of Tribalism'*, p. 127.
[43] Vail, 'Southern African History,' p. 3.

the colonies. Nevertheless, a number of constructivism's central tenets are open to critique. Thomas Spear (2003), who has offered perhaps the most eloquent expression of discontent with the notion of "invention", argues that the overt focus on colonial formations of "customary law", "tribalism" and "tradition" has led historians to neglect the complexity of social processes. Moreover, just as Lonsdale has argued that modernisation theory in the 1950's and 1960's overstated the power and political will of colonialism to enforce national development, so Spear has illustrated that constructivism overstates the hegemonic ability of colonial authorities to manipulate African "tradition".[44]Indeed, he argues that far from acting as an incubator for ethnic "invention", the realities of the implementation of indirect rule actually limited the impact of British governance.[45] In essence, once colonial governments had appealed to the discourse of "tradition" they themselves became subject to its parameters, limiting their autonomy to act arbitrarily. An example of this phenomenon might be argued to be the maintenance of Asante statehood by British officials on the ground. Here, Ivor Wilks has argued that following the removal of the *Asantehene* by British authorities, Asante nationality was actually kept alive by the Chief Commissioners of the kingdom who filled the role of the deposed king following the loss of Asante's political independence in 1901.[46] Outside of Asante, Spear argues that by relying on chiefs as the conduits of "traditional" administration colonial authorities became dependent on the legitimacy of indigenous authority which was itself bound up with obligations to ensure community prosperity. While colonial rule empowered a patriarchal authority through the extension of chiefly powers this increasing sphere of influence simultaneously required chiefs to walk a balancing act between assuming ritual duties to ensure the health of their communities and redistribute wealth, while defending their position as the instruments of colonial administration. The necessity to maintain legitimacy within their locality limited chiefly autonomy within indirect rule and, consequently, conditioned the manner in which colonial power could be exerted.[47] Constructivism, then, underplays the extent of African agency beyond the level of the indigenous elite and overemphasises the colonial ability to impose its will unchecked upon African society. As Spear succinctly notes of constructivist thought; 'colonial power is taken for granted, while economic forces are neglected. Colonial duplicity overwhelms African gullibility. And African politics, often expressed in intense disputes over tradition, is neglected.'[48] The necessity to reconcile the divide between ethnic formation and individual and communal

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[44] Lonsdale, 'The Moral Economy of Mau Mau,' pp. 267- 277; Spear, 'Invention of Tradition,' p. 10.
[45] Spear, 'Limits of Invention,' p. 10- 11.
[46] Ivor Wilks, 'Asante Nationhood and Colonial Administrators, 1896- 1935,' in *Ethnicity in Ghana; the Limits of Invention*, eds. by Paul Nugent and Carola Lentz (London: Macmillan, 2000), pp. 68- 69.
[47] Spear, 'Limits of Invention,' pp. 10- 14.
[48] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

agency has been recognised by Ranger himself. In the 'Invention of Tradition Revisited' Ranger concluded that the use of 'invention' as an analytic concept undermined the historicity of ethnic identity; tradition was not 'invented' but, as in Benedict Anderson's famous phrase, 'imagined', by various actors over an extended period of time in a process of continual regeneration.[49] This thesis, then, seeks to explore African agency in the context of Buganda's post-1900 peripheries. In doing so it contributes to a growing body of "post-constructivist" literature which has increasingly begun to explore African adaptability within, but not defined by a colonial context. Building on the work of Spear and, for example, Michael Mahoney and Caroline Hamilton in South Africa and Timothy Parsons in Kenya, the chapters together undertake an analysis of the construction of identities as an African process, sometimes reacting to, but not delimited by colonial ideology.[50] Buganda's autonomy within the Uganda Protectorate allows for a more flexible analysis of processes of assimilation and ethnic allegiance in British colonial Africa.

While Spear highlights that 'imagined communities' suffer from similar theoretical limitations as 'invented traditions', particularly with regards to misrepresenting the impact of economic, social and political factors on shaping identities, the process of imagining evokes a longevity to ethnic formation and thereby highlights a further criticism of constructivism.[51] The emphasis within "invention" theory on the flexibility of identities in pre-colonial Africa has been extremely important in countering earlier notions of static "tribal" entities, and might be seen as encouraging the work of Kopytoff, whose characterisation of a frontiers-land of continual migration and society building underlines the dynamism of pre-twentieth-century Africa.[52] Similarly, undermining the notion of defined "tribal" units allows for greater analytic scope in reassessing our understanding of complexity by placing the emphasis of discussion on movement away from the centre rather than on a social stasis of hierarchical connections. Nevertheless, by emphasising the fluidity and multiplicity of pre-colonial allegiances scholars have sometimes removed ethnicity from the equation entirely, reinforcing the notion of "zero-

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[49] Terence Ranger, 'The Invention of Tradition Revisited: The Case of Colonial Africa', in *Legitimacy and the state in Twentieth-Century Africa*, eds. by Terence Ranger and Olufemi Vaughan (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993), pp. 62- 111; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), pp. 6-7.
[50] Michael R. Mahoney, 'Racial Formation and Ethnogenesis From Below: The Zulu Case, 1879-1906,' *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 36.3 (2003), pp. 559- 583; Carolyn Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1998); Timothy Parsons, 'Local Responses to the Ethnic Geography of Colonialism in the Gusii Highlands of British-Ruled Kenya,' *Ethnohistory*, 58.3 (2011), pp. 491- 523.
[51] Spear, 'Limits of Invention,' p. 6.
[52] Igor Kopytoff, *The African Frontier: The Reproduction of Traditional African Societies* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, (1987), pp. 4- 12.

point" at the inception of colonial rule.[53] By contrast recent work on border theory has illustrated that Africa, just the same as everywhere else, had a mixture of social and political boundaries ranging from fluid and overlapping to more defined cultural and geographical frontiers.[54] Moreover, while "tribal" boundaries might not have confined the conceptual horizons of Africans, this need not suggest that twentieth-century ethnicities had no roots in the past.[55] The works of Michelle Gilbert in Ghana and Ronald Atkinson in Uganda have illustrated the extent to which the roots of ethnic identities might extend well beyond even the nineteenth century.[56] Similarly, Richard Reid and Alexander Keese have noted the need to reassess African ethnicity by drawing greater connections between the evolution of identity over longer historical periods, and its contemporary expression.[57] Moreover, in a similar vein, Patrick Harries has noted that social traditions can be "invented" only in the sense that they build upon previous bodies of knowledge; 'they are not created anew but are rather manufactured or assembled, from an existing body of knowledge that, consciously and unconsciously, includes myth and symbol.' The attempted imposition of new 'traditions' and ethnic consciousness could only take root where it resembled some form of repetition.[58] Similarly John Peel has convincingly argued that to understand Yoruba Christian and Muslim identities it is essential to comprehend prior developments in Yoruba religious attachment.[59] In addition, Neil Kodesh has shown in the context of Buganda how the renovation of "tradition" through Christianity by Ganda elites utilised 'discursive practices whose roots lay deep in the history of Ganda social and political thought.'[60] As Spear notes, ethnicity is a dynamic historical process simultaneously embedded in the past and continually in creation. It is primordialism, instrumentalism and constructivism combined, and 'modern customs and political tribalism

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[53] As a concept "zero point" has been used in many different contexts but originates from the ideas of Lucy Mair over the anthropological necessity to study societies in change by interrogating the "zero-point" of culture contact after which change occurred, see Lucy Mair eds. *Methods of study of culture Contact in Africa* (London: Oxford University Press, 1938).
[54] Paul Nugent, 'Arbitrary Lines and the People's Minds: A Dissenting View on Colonial Boundaries in West Africa,' in *African Boundaries: Barriers, Conduits, and Opportunities*, eds. by Paul Nugent and A.I. Asiwaju (London: Cassell, 1996), pp. 37- 40.
[55] Ranger, 'Invention of tradition,' p. 248.
[56] Michelle Gilbert, 'No Condition Is Permanent": Ethnic Construction and the Use of History in Akuapem,' *Africa*, 67.4 (1997), pp. 501- 533; Ronald Atkinson, *The Roots of Ethnicity: the Origins of the Acholi of Uganda Before 1800* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994)
[57] See, Richard Reid, 'Past and Presentism: The "Precolonial" and the Foreshortening of African History,' *Journal of African History*, 52.2 (2011), pp. 135– 55; Alexander Keese, 'Introduction,' in *Ethnicity and the Long Term Perspective: The African Experience*, ed. by Alexander Keese (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), pp. 9-34.
[58] Harries, 'Imagery, Symbolism and Tradition,' p. 6.
[59] John David Yeadon Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), pp. 24- 25; Harries, 'Imagery, Symbolism and Tradition,' p. 6.
[60] Neil Kodesh, 'Renovating Tradition: The Discourse of Succession in Colonial Buganda,' *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 34.3 (2001), p. 512.

result from the impact of colonialism on traditions and forms of ethnic consciousness that lie in the past.'[61]

It is recognition of the need to investigate and historicise the multifarious forms of ethnic identity which defines the understanding of ethnicity within this thesis. Evidence available from Buganda's peripheries strongly suggests that no one theory is sufficient to explain the ethnic landscape of the colonial and post-colonial kingdom. Indeed, it is clear that Buganda's ethnic narrative provides a unique case study through which to offer fresh perspectives on limitations within the predominant schools, through an analysis which reassesses the impact of centre-periphery relationships on the construction of ethnic identity. The context within which Buganda extended its ethnic hegemony over previously distinct peripheral communities was certainly colonial. The arrival of the British was instrumental in determining the extension of the kingdom's geographical boundaries, and communities incorporated through this process certainly experienced many of the processes by which "invention" is argued to have occurred, including missionary education in Luganda, the imposition of Ganda chiefs and a colonial penchant for failing to distinguish between sub-identities. Nevertheless, constructivism alone does not explain the "Gandisation" of some of the new peripheries, any more than it can explain the failure of "Gandisation" in others. The impact of colonial governance on Buganda was curtailed to a greater extent than even Spear has considered through the signing of the Uganda Agreement in 1900 which gave the kingdom unprecedented autonomy in British East Africa. This is not to suggest that empire and all that it entailed politically, economically and psychologically did not impact heavily on Ganda society, but what is clear is that a policy of ethnic assimilation within Buganda, while facilitated by the Protectorate government, was driven by the Ganda themselves. Moreover, it is argued here that where kingdom and colonial authority combined in a sustained effort at "inventing" a Ganda identity and "tradition" within the area known as the "Lost Counties", they were less effective in inducing ethnic change. In the counties of Buvuma, Kkooki, Ssese, Kabula and Mawogola, by contrast, the impact of Ganda and European actors on ethnic identity was tempered by a laissez-faire approach to "Gandisation" driven by an evolving centre-periphery distinction in the relationship of these territories to the Ganda state. In these areas the adoption of Ganda identities was comparatively more successful and long-lasting. This subversion of the expected progress of ethnic expansion is best explained with reference to the necessity for historical continuity. That is to say, where ethnic expansion was actively encouraged and enforced within the "Lost Counties" the result was less assured; here, Buganda sought to undermine communities' cultural history as members of the neighbouring

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[61] Spear, 'Invention of Tradition,' p. 26.

kingdom of Bunyoro, thus provoking resistance and forging a Nyoro nationalism which in many ways continues to affect Buganda in the present day. In the "Acquired Counties", however, the lack of enforced assimilation facilitated the layering of Ganda identities over earlier traditions. The momentum for "Gandisation" emerged from within the peripheries themselves encouraged by the opportunity to reformulate their own identities in order to access resources accruing from colonial "modernity" and connect with the kingdom's powerful history by participating in the wider Ganda community. In a sense this argument mirrors findings in psychology and sociology which have concluded that successful acculturation occurs most frequently in societies where an ethnic "pressure cooker" is avoided through the absence of enforced assimilation. The application of such ideas in colonial Africa, rather than immigrant America, however, brings new complexities and enhances our understanding of ethnicity in imperial and post-independence contexts.[62]

Finally, one theory of ethnicity which has not thus far been discussed is that of the 'moral ethnicity' of John Lonsdale. In his seminal article, 'The Moral Economy of Mau Mau' Lonsdale argues that previous studies of ethnicity should be refocused to consider ethnicities as the site of 'changing moral arenas of political debate'. Ethnicity, then, is a site of struggle, comprising two key components; the first, 'moral ethnicity' describes the inherited moral sensibility which governs relations with others and sets the parameters of civic virtue. The second, 'political tribalism', denotes the inter-ethnic competition forged by colonial authorities under Indirect Rule resulting in factionalism and conflict for state resources.[63] Lonsdale's conclusions are extremely powerful and are utilised where possible within the thesis. Although, a relative paucity of evidence makes discerning moral debates within Buganda's peripheries a difficult task, the overall argument here provides a chance to re-situate and re-work Lonsdale's arguments within a Ganda context. The internal and external aspects of the 'moral ethnicity' theory correspond to the distinctions between "Lost Counties" and "Acquired Counties" populations. While in the "Acquired Counties" people on the peripheries adopted elements of Ganda 'moral ethnicity', in the "Lost Counties" local tensions, fuelled by overt imperialism, fed into larger 'national' struggles between Buganda and Bunyoro; the former seeking to maintain a colonial era domination and the latter to pursue its recuperation after the traumatic impact of colonisation. Chapter Five, in particular, demonstrates how "Acquired Counties" communities sought to participate in the wider 'moral community' of Buganda.

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[62] John W. Berry, 'Immigration, Acculturation and Adaption,' *Applied Psychology: An International Review* 46.1 (1997), pp. 5- 10.

[63] Lonsdale, 'The Moral Economy of Mau Mau,' pp. 267- 270; John Lonsdale, 'Jomo Kenyatta, God and the Modern World,' in *African Modernities*, eds. by Jang Georg Deutsch, Peter Probst, and Heike Schmidt (Oxford: James Curry, 2002), pp. 50- 62; Berman, 'Ethnicity, Patronage and the African State,' p. 324.

1.4: Reorienting Ganda history

Buganda has a long and detailed historiographical tradition beginning with the records of nineteenth-century explorers, through the indigenous histories of the early 1900's and countless monographs of history and anthropology leading up to the present day. The essential outline of Ganda history is therefore well-known, and will not be extensively reproduced here.[64] In particular, continuing debates over the meaning of myth and tradition in relation to Buganda's specific origins and the role of the legendary founder, Kintu, will concern us only insofar as they underline a longevity to Ganda history, and where they reflect attempts by Ganda intellectuals to historicise a dominant Ganda identity.[65] What is clear is that by the end of the fifteenth century a number of clans, settled in the green hills and swampy valleys bordering Lake Victoria's north-western shoreline, had coalesced to form a small kingdom with the Kabaka at its head; although it is likely that he remained only *primus inter pares* among the various clan heads (*Abataka*). During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Buganda expanded out from its original nucleus in the counties of Busiro, Busujju, Mawokota and Kyadondo, and by the nineteenth century the kingdom extended from the Nile in the east to the Kingdom of Nkore in the west, and from Kkooki and the Haya States in the south to the Kingdom of Bunyoro in the north. This latter state it now rivalled for regional dominance. Buganda's position of power in the nineteenth century inspired its first European visitors to emphasise the kingdom's supremacy in the Great Lakes region and the uniquely centralised, ordered monarchical that they themselves perceived. Encouraged by interactions with the Kabaka and his leading chiefs, and residing predominantly in the royal capital, early explorers

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[64] For broad histories see: Apolo Kaggwa, *The Kings of Buganda*, trans and ed. by Ssemakula Kiwanuka (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1971); Ssemakula Kiwanuka, *A History of Buganda: From the Foundation of the Kingdom to 1900* (London: Longman, 1971); Christopher C. Wrigley, *Kingship and State: The Buganda Dynasty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Richard Reid, *Political Power in Pre-Colonial Buganda: Economy, Society and Welfare in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: James Currey, 2002); readers should however be aware that Kaggwa (the foremost Ganda chief post-1900) and Kiwanuka (himself a Muganda) had particular interests invested in their accounts, although this does not detract from the continued importance of their contribution.

[65] For discussions of Buganda's more distant past and the efficacy of Ganda myth, tradition and Great Lakes king lists see: Roland Oliver, 'The Traditional Histories of Buganda, Bunyoro and Nkole,' *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 85 (1955), pp. 111- 117; Kiwanuka, *History of Buganda*; C.C. Wrigley, 'The Kinglists of Buganda,' *History of Africa*, 1 (1974), pp. 129- 139; R.R. Atkinson, 'Traditions of the Early Kings of Buganda: Myth, History and Structural Analysis,' *History in Africa*, 2 (1975), pp. 17- 57; Christopher C. Wrigley, *Kingship and State*; Richard Reid, 'The Reign of Kabaka Nakibinge: Myth of Watershed,' *History in Africa*, 24 (1997), pp. 287- 297; Shane D. Doyle, 'From Kitara to the Lost Counties: Genealogy, Land and Legitimacy in the Kingdom of Bunyoro, Western Uganda,' *Social Identities*, 12.4 (2006), pp. 457- 470; Immaculate N. Kizza., *The Oral Tradition of the Baganda of Uganda: A Study and Anthropology of Legends, Myths, Epigrams and Folktales* (North Carolina: Mcfarland, 2010).

and missionaries underlined the reach of Ganda authority and the hierarchical nature of the state culminating in the exceptional power of royal authority. They emphasised the complexity of the kingdom's administration, the comparative efficiency of military organisation and the network of roads that crossed the country. The accounts of Buganda sent back by explorers such as John Hanning Speke and Henry Morton Stanley encouraged the British explorer, Richard Burton, to remark that the kingdom ranked alongside Asante and Dahomey as a pristine example of a unified African society; 'a compact despotism' infinitely superior to the "barbarous" polities of the rest of Africa.'[66]

The characterisation of Buganda as a highly centralised entity combined with the early adoption of Christianity by sections of the populace within the kingdom encouraged European perceptions of the Ganda as a more "civilised" African people on the ranking scale of nineteenth-century racial theory. The exalted position of Ganda society maintained its allure despite the politico-religious conflicts of the 1880's and 1890's which undermined the position of the Kabaka in favour of a new class of Protestant chiefs whose victory over rival factions associated with Catholicism, Islam, and adherents of the indigenous religion depended on support from incoming British imperial forces. The positive early encounters between the Ganda and Europeans fed into a synchronisation of Ganda geo-political interests and British strategic concerns which determined early colonial attitudes to the kingdom and its neighbours, with an expanded Buganda rising to fore under the new Protectorate system. The signing of the Uganda Agreement in 1900 formally incorporating Buganda into the Uganda Protectorate gave the kingdom unprecedented autonomy of governance within the colonial system. In particular, the emboldened chiefly class which had emerged victorious from the civil wars utilised their collaboration with the British to secure freehold (*mailo*) tenure over 8000 square miles of Buganda's best land; the 9000 square miles invested in the crown was comparatively less desirable, consisting largely of swamp and scrub-land. Buganda's long history, her regional role as 'the terror of her neighbours' and the complexity of its culture were further exhorted through the indigenous histories and colonial ethnographies of the early twentieth century; a small sample of which might include Apolo Kaggwa's, *Bassekabaka be Buganda* (1901) and, *Mpisa Za Baganda* (1905), John Roscoe's *The Baganda* (1911- written separately but from much the same material as Kaggwa's work), Prince Ggomotoka's, *Magezi Ntakke (The Wisdom of Termites*- which gives a Catholic account of Ganda history), Lucy

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[66] John H. Speke, *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile* (London: J. M. Dent & Co. 1988 [1863]); Henry M. Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent or; The Sources of the Nile Around the Great Lakes of Equatorial Africa and Down the Livingstone River to the Atlantic Ocean*, 2 vols (New York: Dover, 1988 [1878]); Richard Burton cited in, John Rowe, 'The Pattern of Political Administration in Pre-Colonial Buganda,' in *African Themes: Northwestern Studies; In Honour of Gwendolyn M. Carter*, ed. by Ibrahim Abu-Lughod (Evanston: Northwestern, 1975), p. 65.

Mair's, *An African People in the Twentieth Century* (1934), and Benjamin Zimbe's, *Buganda Ne Kabaka* (1939).[67]

The emergent perception of Buganda as a highly centralised, hierarchical "tribal" entity which developed from early characterisations, has it seems, impacted upon the focus of later scholarly literature which has often focused on issues of power- political, economic, and cultural - at the state centre. This trend has been exemplified by some of the key strands of Ganda historiography including a preoccupation with the religious wars of the 1880's and 1890's in, among others, works by Christopher Wrigley (1959), Anthony Low (1958), John Rowe (1964, 1970), and Michael Twaddle(1972, 1988).[68] Similarly, anthropologists and historians from the 1950's have debated the origins of Buganda's rise to pre-eminence within the interlacustrine region in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with particular focus on the kingdom's ecological advantages (Rowe, Kiwanuka, Kottack) and the consolidation of power in the figure of the Kabaka through the introduction of appointive chiefships at the expense of earlier forms of clan control (Southwold, Fallers, Mair, Low, Richards, Rowe, Young, Mafeje).[69] In addition, the relationship of the Ganda state and British overrule has also drawn significant research (Low and Pratt, Apter, Fallers, Roberts, Mamdani).[70] The breadth of Ganda

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[67] M.S.M., Kiwanuka, 'Notes,' in Kaggwa, *The History of the Kings,* p. 1; Kaggwa's early works have both been rendered (sometimes imperfectly) in later translations which are used within this thesis see, A. Kaggwa, *The Customs of the Baganda,* trans. by Ernest B. Kalibala (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934). John Roscoe, *The Baganda; An Account of their Native Customs and Beliefs* (London, 1911); Prince Ggomotoka, *Magezi Ntakke* (Kampala, 1931); Lucy P. Mair, *An African People in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1934); For Zimbe the translation used is, Bathlomew Zimbe, *Buganda and the King,* trans., F. Kamoga (Kampala, 1978, [1939]).

[68] Christopher C. Wrigley, 'The Christian Revolution in Buganda,' *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* 2 (1959), pp. 33- 48; Donald A. Low, *Religion and Society in Buganda, 1875-1900* (Kampala: East African Institute of Social Research 1958); John Rowe, 'The Purge of Christians at Kabaka Mwanga's Court,' *Journal of African History* 5.1 (1964), pp. 55- 71; John Rowe, 'The Baganda Revolutionaries,' *Tarikh,* 3.2 (1970), pp. 34- 46; Michael Twaddle, 'The Muslim Revolution in Buganda,' *African Affairs,* 71 (1972), pp. 54- 72; Michael Twaddle, 'The Emergence of Politico-Religious Groupings in Late Nineteenth-Century Buganda,' in *Journal of African History,* 29.1 (1988), pp. 81- 92.

[69] Rowe, 'Political Administration,' pp. 70- 71; Kiwanuka, History of Buganda, pp. 148- 149; C.P. Kottack, 'Ecological Variables in the Origin and Evolution of African States: the Buganda Example,' *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* 14.3 (1972), pp. 351- 380; Michael Southwold, *Bureaucracy and Chiefship in Buganda* (Kampala: East African Institute of Social Research, 1961); L.A. Fallers, 'Despotism, Status Culture and Social Mobility in an African Kingdom,' *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* 2.1 (1959), 11- 32; Lucy P. Mair, 'Clientship in East Africa,' *Cahier D'études Africaines,* 2.6 (1961), pp. 315- 325; Donald A. Low, 'The Northern Interior,' in *History of East Africa,* vol. 1. eds. by Roland Oliver and Mathews Gervase (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), pp. 169- 211; Audrey I. Richards, 'Authority Patterns in Traditional Buganda,' in *The King's Men: Leadership and Status in Buganda on the Eve of Independence,* ed. by L.A. Fallers (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 256- 293; Rowe, 'Political Administration'; Archie Mafeje, *The Theory and Ethnography of African Social Formations: the Case of the Interlacustrine Kingdoms* (London: Fountain, 1991).

[70] Donald A. Low and R.C. Pratt, *Buganda and British Overrule, 1900- 1955* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960); David E. Apter, *The Political Kingdom in Uganda: a Study of Bureaucratic Nationalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961); Andrew D. Roberts, 'The Sub-Imperialism of the Baganda,' in *Journal of African History,* 3.3 (1962), pp. 435- 450; Mahmood Mamdani, *Politics and Class Formation in Uganda.*

historiography ensures that beyond these major trends many other aspects of the kingdoms history have been addressed including, but not limited to: indigenous religion and symbolism, conversion to Christianity and the Christian church (Welbourn, Ray, Peel, Tourigny, Hansen, Ward);[71] immigration and urbanisation (Richards, Southall and Gutkind)[72]; and the rise of political parties in Buganda (Apter, Hancock, Kasfir).[73] Nevertheless, events and processes are predominantly analysed from the perspective of the state centre or with case studies drawn from Buganda's older heartland counties.

More recent contributions to Ganda scholarship have simultaneously offered fresh perspectives on many of the issues cited above, while exploring new avenues in the kingdom's history. Reid (2002), Hanson (2003), Médard and Doyle (2007), and Médard (2007) have offered revisions on long established depictions of the pre-colonial Ganda past, power dynamics within the kingdom, and Buganda's relationship with slavery.[74] For the colonial and post-colonial periods Summers (2005) Earle (2012) and Karlstrom (1999) have furthered our understanding of Ganda political thought and cultural nationalism, while Neil Kodesh (2010) has reinterpreted Ganda clan history.[75] A number of these works, alongside analyses of gender roles within the kingdom (Obbo, Musisi), have helped to broaden our understanding of Ganda history from beyond the centre.[76] Reid has noted that Ganda history has often been

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[71] F.B. Welbourn, 'Some Aspects of Kiganda Religion,' *Uganda Journal*, 26.2 (1962), pp. 171- 182; Ray, *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship*; John David Yeadon Peel, 'Conversion and Tradition in Two African Societies: Ijebu and Buganda,' *Past and Present*, 77 (1977) pp. 108- 141; Yves Tourigny, *So Abundant a Harvest: the Catholic Church in Uganda, 1879-1979* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1979); Holger Bernt Hansen, *Mission, Church and State in a Colonial Setting: Uganda, 1890- 1925* (London: Heinemann, 1984); Kevin Ward, "Obedient Rebels": The Relationship between the Early "Balokole" and the Church of Uganda: The Mukono Crisis of 1941,' *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 19.3 (1989), pp. 194- 227.

[72] Audrey I. Richards, *Economic Development and Tribal Change: A Study of Immigrant Labour in Buganda* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1954); Aidan W. Southall and Peter Gutkind, *Townsmen in the Making: Kampala and its Suburbs* (Kampala: East African Institute of Social Research, 1957).

[73] Apter, *The Political Kingdom*; I.R. Hancock, 'Patriotism and neo-traditionalism in Buganda: The Kabaka Yekka ('The King Alone') movement, 1961-1962,' *Journal of African History*, 11.3 (1970), pp. 419- 434; Nelson Kasfir, *The Shrinking Political Arena: Participation and Ethnicity in African Politics, With a Case Study of Uganda* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).

[74] Reid, *Political Power in Pre-Colonial Buganda*; Holly Hanson, *Landed Obligation: the Practice of Power in Buganda* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2003); Henri Médard and Shane D. Doyle, *Slavery in the Great Lakes Region of East Africa* (Oxford: James Currey, 2007); Henri Médard, *Le royaume du Buganda au XIXe siècle: mutations politiques et religieuses d'un ancien état de l'Afrique de l'Est* (Paris: Ifra-Karthala, 2007).

[75] Carol Summers, 'Young Buganda and Old Boys: Youth, Generational transition and Ideas of Leadership in Buganda, 1920- 1949' *Africa Today*, 51.3 (2005), pp. 109-128; Carol Summers, 'Grandfathers, Grandsons, Morality and Radical Politics in Late Colonial Buganda', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 38 (2005), pp. 427- 447; Karlstrom, *The Cultural Kingdom in Uganda*; John Earle, *Political Theologies in Late Colonial Buganda* PhD Dissertation (Cambridge, 2012); Neil Kodesh, *Beyond the Royal Gaze: Clanship and Public Healing in Buganda* (Evanston: Northwestern University, 2010).

[76] Christine Obbo, 'Dominant Male Ideology and Female Options: Three East African Case Studies', *Africa*, 46.4 (1976), pp. 371- 389; Nakanyike, Musisi, B, "Elite Polygyny," and Buganda State Formation,' *Signs*, 16.4 (1991), pp. 757- 786.

understood in centrist, elitist terms and has sought instead to analyse 'what Ganda power meant in real terms' across the kingdom.[77] Similarly, Kodesh has utilised critiques of expressions of social complexity as necessarily residing in societies exhibiting high degrees of centralisation and hierarchization, to move away from a focus on state power and instead pursue analyses of the strategies employed by Africans in constructing arenas of collective action. Applying this theoretical approach to Buganda he finds that clanship is not best understood through lineage models but as a connecting network for the transmission of knowledge and public healing.[78] The growth of interest in looking beyond the centre and the heartlands in Buganda is certainly encouraging, though much more work needs to be done, and it is within this growing tradition that this thesis hopes to contribute by reorienting Ganda history to consider the centre from the perspective of the geographical periphery through analysis of ethnic processes.

Indeed, Buganda's outer territories are little considered even within the new literature outlined above. The obvious exception to this rule, of course, lies in the historiographical tradition of the "Lost Counties". Taken from the Kingdom of Bunyoro by Ganda and British forces in the 1890's the "Lost Counties" of Bugangaizi, Buyaga, North Bulemezi, Northwest Buwekula, North Ssingo, Buruuli and Bugerere formed a point of conflict between Buganda and Bunyoro throughout (and beyond) the colonial period. A number of scholars have devoted attention to issues around the counties, including analyses of processes of "Gandisation", and these works are fully explored in Chapter's Three and Four.[79] While offering important insights into Buganda's relationship with its peripheries and the opportunities for ethnic change, work on the "Lost Counties" has been primarily concerned with Buyaga and Bugangaizi; the two territories returned to Bunyoro following Nyoro resistance to incorporation and a successful plebiscite in 1964. The eastern counties of Bugerere and Buruuli, and the histories of the Nyala and Ruuli communities resident there, have received particularly little scholarly attention. One study which does take Bugerere as its major focus is A.F. Robertson's, Community of Strangers. While Robertson's account of labour migration into the area in the 1950's is highly readable and rich in detail, a narrow focus and weak analysis of the historical information provided by informants limits its wider utility.[80] Moreover, the centrality of Buyaga and Bugangaizi to discussions of assimilation within Buganda has, we will show, clouded our understanding of ethnic processes within the colonial kingdom. Furthermore, outside of the "Lost Counties", at

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[77] Reid, Political Power, pp. 2- 4.
[78] Neil Kodesh, 'Networks of Knowledge: Clanship and Collective Well-being in Buganda,' Journal of African History, 49.2 (2008), pp. 197- 200.
[79] See particularly, Andrew D. Roberts, 'The Lost Counties', Uganda Journal, 26.2 (1962), pp. 194- 199; Doyle, 'Immigrants and Indigenes'; Elliott Green, 'Understanding the Limits to Ethnic Change: Lessons from Uganda's "Lost Counties," Perspectives on Politics, 6.3 (2008), pp. 473- 485.
[80] A.F. Robertson, Community of Strangers: A Journal of Discovery in Uganda (London: Scolar, 1978).

least four of the the five counties which were also formally incorporated within Buganda in the late nineteenth century, Kabula, Mawogola, Kkooki, and Buvuma have remained largely incidental to Ganda historical research.

Each of these areas is considered in the major works of Ganda history but largely only insofar as they impinged on the key narratives of the Ganda story; discussion of Kabula, for example, rests predominantly on its role as a safe haven for Protestant Ganda forces during the wars of the 1880's. Where areas such as Kkooki and Buvuma are given serious consideration, such as in the works of Médard , Twaddle, and Low they are analysed primarily in terms of their relationship and contribution to the pre-colonial Ganda state.[81] Similarly, indigenous Ganda histories relating to the nineteenth century are often concerned to emphasise the reach of Ganda influence, and the work of Kaggwa and others has consequently misrepresented the reality of Buganda's power over these territories prior to the imposition of colonial rule after 1893. A partial exception might be considered to be the history of Kkooki penned by E.M.K Mulira in 1971, but Mulira's interpretation too was influenced by his many years at the heart of Ganda politics.[82] It is important to note that Ssese has a stronger historiographical tradition than the other territories. A key centre of Ganda religion and integral to the kingdom's naval capabilities, Ssese is often considered to have been a fundamental part of the kingdom since its inception.[83] Its inclusion may therefore appear strange to some familiar with Ganda history. Nevertheless, while always closely linked to the Ganda mainland Ssese has a history of its own and there is evidence to suggest that its inhabitants were not considered fully Ganda prior to their official incorporation in 1900. The subsequent assimilation of Ssese communities within the wider Ganda sphere therefore similarly rested on a process of "Gandisation", although it is accepted that their adoption of Ganda identities represented a less significant reimagining of local traditions. These issues, as well as a full historiography of the five "Acquired Counties" are more fully explored in Chapter Two. It is clear, however, that a significant proportion of the colonial Ganda kingdom still requires its history to be written; it is this lacuna which our thesis intends to fill. By considering Buganda from the viewpoint of it's less central counties it is also hoped that a fresh perspective might be attained on the kingdom as a whole.

In particular, the thesis seeks to further understandings of Buganda as an assimilative state. The Ganda ability to incorporate strangers has provided the focus of works particularly

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[81] Médard, Le royaume, for example, pp. 440- 486; Michael Twaddle, Kakungulu, and the Creation of Uganda (London: Fountain, 1993), pp. 1- 3; Donald Anthony Low, Fabrication of Empire: The British and the Uganda Kingdoms 1890-1902 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 253- 256.

[82] CCAS, Mulira Papers, 'The Kingdom of Kkooki During the 19th Century,' 1971, EMKM/EP/2/1.

[83] For two key studies see: Ray, Myth, Ritual, and Kingship; and Richard Reid, 'The Ganda on Lake Victoria: A Nineteenth-Century East-African Imperialism,' in Journal of African History, 39.3 (1998), pp. 349- 363.

concerned with expansion, slavery and immigration. Médard has noted how slaves in nineteenth-century Buganda were able to attain positions of authority within the state.[84] Similarly, Reid has suggested that the use of un-free peoples in the kingdom's military structures indicates a level of integration with Ganda society.[85] In addition, Richards and Doyle have contributed to our understanding of kingdom responses to immigration and migrant labour.[86] The incorporation of indigenes, however, has remained understudied; particularly in the twentieth century. In considering assimilation and expansion among the Maasai in Kenya, John Galaty has noted how a 'strongly pronounced sense of personhood and group character...has been historically strengthened rather than weakened as the group as served as an ethnic vortex...by pulling neighbouring people into an orbit and, selectively, defining them as "Maasai".[87] In Buganda too, expansion and incorporation of peoples facilitated a rise to regional pre-eminence. Hanson, however, has demonstrated that assimilation could be a double-edged sword. Analysing the impact of slavery on Ganda society in the nineteenth-century she suggests that an increase in un-free peoples within the kingdom as the slave trade expanded, particularly within new *ebitongole* chiefships, weakened the bonds between chiefs and the Kabaka, and between chiefs and the wider population as ties of 'reciprocal obligation' deteriorated.[88] The contradictory impacts of assimilation are similarly evident in the twentieth century. Within the "Acquired Counties" the extension of Ganda hegemony encouraged new populations to affiliate culturally and politically with the Ganda centre; in certain of the "Lost Counties", by contrast, the extension of "Gandisation" provoked resistance which was to pose problems for the kingdom in the years to come. This study, therefore, seeks to shed further light on Buganda's relationship to non-Ganda peoples.

1.5: Sources

The communities which form the focus of our thesis are comparatively under-evidenced in relation to the wider kingdom. While an abundance of colonial files do remain detailing many aspects of late nineteenth and twentieth-century Ganda history, the predominant time-period

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[84] Henri Médard, 'Introduction,' in *Slavery in the Great Lakes Region of East Africa*, eds. by Henri Médard and Shane D. Doyle (Oxford: James Currey, 2007), pp. 27- 28.

[85] R. Reid, 'Human Booty in Buganda: Some Observations on the Seizure of People in War, c. 1700-1890,' in *Slavery in the Great Lakes Region of East Africa*, Henri Médard and Shane D. Doyle (Oxford: James Currey, 2007), p. 147.

[86] Doyle, 'immigrants and Indigenes'; Richards, *Economic Development and Tribal Change*.

[87] John G. Galaty, "The Eye that Wants a Person, Where Can It Not See?"' Inclusion, Exclusion and Boundary Shifters in Maasai Identity,' in *Being Maasai: Ethnicity and Identity in East Africa*, eds. by Thomas Spear and Richard Waller (Oxford: James Curry, 1993), p. 192.

[88] Holly Hanson, 'Stolen People and Autonomous Chiefs in Nineteenth Century Buganda: The Social Consequences of Non-Free Followers,' in Slavery in the Great Lakes Region of East Africa, Henri Médard and Shane D. Doyle (Oxford: James Currey, 2007), pp. 161- 174.

of our study, the special nature of the Ganda-British relationship resulted in the implementation of a smaller scale, less intrusive form of colonial administration within Buganda, and particularly within its outer counties.[89] Moreover, the tumultuous decades between Uganda's independence in 1962 and the ending of civil war in 1986 occasioned the sad loss of a significant body of evidence which may have shed further light on the history of Buganda's peripheries. In addition, during the course of this research in 2010 a number of Uganda's key archives were undergoing renovation including Makerere University Africana Library and the National Ugandan Archives at Entebbe. Nevertheless, a number of source repositories remain which, with careful reading still provide a framework for analysis of our respective areas. Outside of Uganda among the most noteworthy of these have been the files of the Protestant mission within Uganda, the Church Missionary Society based at Birmingham University, and those of their Catholic counterparts, the White Fathers and the Mill Hill Missionaries in Rome and Liverpool respectively. In addition, colonial and individual papers from the Institute for Commonwealth Studies, the National Archives in London, UK, Rhodes House Library, Oxford, Cambridge Centre for African Studies, Wellcome Centre Archive, London, and the archives of the School of African and Oriental Studies (SOAS), London, helped to flesh out specific events in Ganda history. Finally, the unpublished records of the evidence given before the Privy Council Commission on the "Lost Counties" in the early 1960's provided a wealth of information on the Nyoro relationship with Buganda. Within Uganda itself, key sources of evidence resided in the Ugandan National Archives at Entebbe and the archives of indigenous language newspapers at Makerere University in particular. These unpublished written sources have been supplemented by published indigenous histories, pamphlets, news articles and ethnographies and the use of oral testimonies, which have also facilitated analysis of post-colonial Uganda. In translating these sources, and in conducting interviews where Luganda was used in the entirety, the author was assisted by the excellent work of a number of research assistants.

Much of the oral history on which this thesis is based is concerned with personal memories of the relatively recent past; alternatively, it rests on what Wrigley has termed 'first-stage tradition' or 'historical reminiscence'. That is, at its furthest extent it draws upon the reported experiences of 'those who were old when today's informants were young.'[90] It therefore avoids to some extent the problems associated with 'oral tradition' of more distant history understood as 'recollections of the past that are commonly or universally known in a

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[89] This was particularly the case following reforms in British rule in Buganda under Governor Dundas in the 1940's, see Summers, 'Young Baganda and Old Boys,' p. 115.

[90] Wrigley, *Kingship and State*, p. 8.

given culture'.[91] Nevertheless, critiques of formalist or structuralist understandings of 'oral tradition' by scholars such as David Cohen and Justin Willis, have underlined the role of the individual in 'engaging in' historical knowledge.[92] Willis notes that while more recent histories have often been seen as unstructured, and free from the themes and clichés which may reduce their historical accuracy as they solidify into "tradition"; in reality, distinctions between 'oral tradition' and 'oral history' underplay the extent to which informants consciously dictate their own discourse. 'As informants, they too are historians, marshalling the facts in support of their arguments, and revealing only those details which they deem pertinent.'[93] Willis' contribution underlines the caution with which oral histories must be read. In the context of this thesis analysis of oral information has had to negotiate the possible impacts of current ethnic politics within Uganda. In a situation of tension between Buganda and the national government enquiries sometimes elicited overtly negative pronouncements within Bugerere, or conversely patriotic responses in other areas. While these discrepancies in the more voluble responses actually confirms one of the wider arguments of our thesis that "Gandisation" has been more successful outside of the "Lost Counties", it is also possible that in relation to the detail of their pasts informants were intentionally shaping history to fit their contemporary identities. Moreover, while interviewing was carried out on as wide a geographical range as was feasible, informants represent only a sample group of their respective territories; for example, the Ssese and Buvuma archipelagos contain hundreds of islands between them and it was possible to visit only a limited number. Nevertheless, Willis notes that oral history must be treated cautiously but not negatively and it is this approach which has been adopted here.[94] Oral testimony is integral to the uncovering of peripheral narratives and while recognising differences and inconsistencies in individual accounts, analysis of dominant trends when utilised with caution and corroborated with other types of evidence, has proved perhaps the most insightful avenue in our investigation. The histories of many of the areas considered here are really yet to be written and the men and women who remember the political and cultural make-up of these societies before independence are growing fewer. While recognising that the efficacy of their testimonies must be vigilantly examined, and, moreover, that they has been filtered through my own particular situated knowledge by utilising the oral histories of the areas it is hoped that the contributions of these communities to Ganda history might be better preserved.

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[91] David Henige, *Oral Historiography* (New York: Longman Higher Education, 1982), p. 2.
[92] David W. Cohen, 'The Undefining of Oral Tradition,' *Ethnohistory*, 36.1 (1989), pp. 9-11; Justin Willis, 'The Makings of a Tribe: Bondei Identities and Histories,' *The Journal of African History*, 33.2 (1992), pp. 192- 193; Justin Willis, *Mombasa, the Swahili, and the Making of the Mijikenda* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 13- 16.
[93] Willis, *Making of the Mijikenda*, p. 13.
[94] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

Finally, in this section, we must add a caveat to our analytical scope. Accessing the histories of peripheral areas is more difficult than addressing those of more central regions in which regional administrations are headquartered and, which are often better documented. Beyond this discrepancy there is a further lacuna in women's voices. It was hoped that such obstacles would be overcome by engaging female informants in the telling of oral histories but it proved difficult to find many willing participants. On reflection it is likely that this eventuality occurred due to resource restrictions relating to our fieldwork and limitations in sampling techniques used to find informants. While the body of interviewees encompassed individuals of differing socio-political backgrounds, ranging from chiefs to urban academics, from wealthy business owners to rural subsistence farmers, it was often reliant on recommendations as to those individuals or families with indigenous or long-term roots within the necessary localities. Such connections are subject to a male bias reflecting their perceived authority on local traditions and further research into non-heartland Ganda territories must redress this imbalance in order to provide a fuller picture of "Gandisation". Nevertheless, female voices are included within the thesis through the contributions of those women who did participate within the research; moreover, the impact of women on processes of ethnic change are further discerned through the gendered roles acted out in events such as clan inheritance.[95] Furthermore, without denying the patriarchal systems impacting on Ganda society - where Musisi has argued that processes in the pre-colonial period encouraged a stratification of genders - it is important to note that in terms of participation in education, religion and labour migration, in particular, Buganda had comparatively more equal weightings of men and women than many other African societies.[96] Consequently, women within peripheral communities would have experienced many of the same trends as their male counterparts. In addition, while women within the colonial period were subjected to increased restrictions and became the focus of male fears over moral and sexual health, there is little evidence to suggest that women within Buganda considered themselves any less Ganda than men. Indeed, Dimock has noted the assuredness with which representatives of the 'Mothers Union' in Buganda in the 1920's and 1930's referred to their Ganda identities in correspondence with both the Kabaka and the Protectorate government.[97] Similarly, the autobiographies of both Kabaka Mutesa II and *Katikiro* (Prime Minister) Paul Kavuma underline that during the Kabaka crisis of the early 1950's Ganda women played a leading role in organising petitions for the king's

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[95] Mair, *An African People*, p. 221.
[96] Musisi, "Elite Polygny", p. 785.
[97] Elizabeth Dimock, 'The Silence of African Women? A 1931 Protest of Christian Women in Buganda,' in *The Post-Colonial Condition: Contemporary Politics in Africa*, eds. by D. Pal Ahluwalia and P. F. Nursey-Bray (New York: Nova Science, 1997), pp. 55- 66.

return during his exile in Britain.[98] It is proposed here, then, that while further research to uncover the gendered aspects of "Gandisation" is required, within our own study it is possible to suggest that processes of ethnic change reflected significant similarities across the sexes.

1.6 Thesis structure

The thesis chapters are organised in a thematic structure designed to illustrate and analyse the varying factors evident in the narrative of "Gandisation" of peripheral identities. Chapter Two considers the history of our study-areas within the nineteenth century and offers a more detailed introduction to readers unfamiliar with the territories in question. Drawing upon evidence from outside of Buganda's heartlands, as well as on new theories in border studies, this chapter seeks to reassess Buganda's sphere of influence prior to the introduction of colonial rule, arguing that its domineering relationship with neighbouring states, while significant, has nevertheless been misunderstood. Moreover, by re-examining the realities of nineteenth-century experience Chapter One outlines two key arguments of the thesis. Firstly, that the official incorporation of Buruuli, Bugerere, Buvuma, Ssese, Kabula, Kkooki and Mawogola in the 1900 Uganda Agreement did not ratify a pre-existing cultural norm; "Gandisation" in one form or another was adopted or resisted during the colonial period. And, secondly, that while assimilation may have occurred within the twentieth century, it is essential to continue to interrogate the often implicit notion of "zero-point" at the arrival of British rule because more successful later adaptations built on earlier identities and traditions.

Building on the conclusions of Chapter Two, Chapter Three considers the nature of assimilative processes impacting upon the peripheries within colonial Buganda. While recording wider currents engaging all of the kingdom's newest territories including, in particular, the introduction of the language of Buganda, Luganda, through mission education and the church, the chapter further identifies key differences in the approaches of the Ganda and British governments to communities inside and outside of the "Lost Counties". It argues that while the prestige and rivalry associated with the former Bunyoro territories induced attempts at enforced assimilation, in the "Acquired Counties" an evolving centre-periphery relationship resulted in a laissez-faire approach to "Gandisation".

Building out of this analysis, Chapters Four and Five outline a new understanding of incorporation within twentieth-century Buganda. Together they illustrate that by extending an

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[98] Mutesa II, *Desecration of My Kingdom* (London, 1967), p. 22; Paolo Kavuma, *Crisis in Buganda 1953-55: The Story of the Exile and Return of the Kabaka, Mutesa II* (London: Rex Collings, 1979), pp. 56- 79; See also, Mukasa Parma-Ntanda, *Deposition of H.H. the Kabaka of Buganda: the Representative in London of the Women of Uganda Challenges Her Majesty's Government's White Paper and the Secretary of State's Decision* (Kampala: Women's League of Buganda, 1954).

analysis into post-colonial Uganda it becomes clear that coherent assimilation (or attempted "invention") was a less successful strategy of "Gandisation", than the less comprehensive forces for ethnic change engaging the "Acquired Counties". While recognising that each area had its own specific set of circumstances underlining its relationship with the Ganda state, Chapter Four illustrates that the dominant trends in successful incorporation lie in those areas where enforced cultural change was not attempted. Recognising this phenomenon Chapter Five seeks to analyse the motivations for adoption of predominant Ganda identities within the "Acquired Counties". Free from negative connotations associated with the suppression of culture this chapter finds that communities outside of the "Lost Counties" initiated their own momentum towards "becoming Ganda". Motivated in part by a desire to access colonial "modernity", individuals adopted Ganda culture. New Ganda identities were not shallow instrumental facades, however. They drew upon the power of Ganda ethnicity, were diligent in their performance of Ganda custom, built upon existing similarities in cultural forms, and sought to place themselves within the wider moral community of the kingdom. Most of all the adoption of Ganda identities was most successful where they could be layered upon indigenous knowledge. Whereas in the "Lost Counties" enforced assimilation created greater resistance over the attempt to introduce an ethnic "zero-point", in the "Acquired Counties" "being Ganda" meant a strong outwards-facing Ganda identity built consciously, or unconsciously, on the security of earlier traditions.

Chapter 2: Cultural, political, and geographical frontiers: borders and boundaries in pre-colonial Buganda

2.1: Introduction

In the second half of the nineteenth century Buganda was forced to respond to significant internal and external pressures. Navigating increased interaction with outside influences including Arab traders and European explorers and missionaries, the kingdom experienced social turmoil while simultaneously contending with the resurrection of the neighbouring power of Bunyoro to a position of regional strength. Nevertheless, despite complications in foreign policy and intra-territorial stability Buganda remained a dominant force in the interlacustrine region, although its ability to project its influence was limited by the internecine strife of the politico-religious civil wars of the 1880's and 1890's. The kingdom's pre-eminence among its neighbours for much of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has encouraged a clear historiographical focus on understanding factors- political, environmental, social, cultural- (see Introduction) considered to have contributed to its structural superiority to rival states. The centralised authority of the kingdom has been revaluated in recent years through new work on Buganda's economy, relationship to slavery, and clan structures but its relationship with surrounding polities and communities is still mostly considered from the perspective of the kingdom itself.[1] While, significant research has been carried out on nineteenth century boundaries, trade, slavery, warfare, and the extension of Ganda influence, the vast majority of this work has been inclined to an understanding of the region through an appreciation of the roles, powers and influence of the major kingdoms with Buganda at the core.[2]

Where cultural, political, and geographical frontiers have been analysed they have often formed part of a larger exercise of a theoretical re-building of the power lines of pre-colonial territories. As complex a work as Henri Médard's *Le royaume du buganda*, which offers new interpretations of Ganda power and perhaps the best description of nineteenth century political geographies, often maintains an outward gaze dominated by a Ganda persepctive; although Médard's work does contain insightful descriptions of Ssese, Kkooki and Buvuma in

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[1] For recent work which highlights varying factors leading to instability, decentralisation or multiple nodes of power see, Hanson, *Landed Obligation*; Médard, *Le Royaume*; Reid, *Political Power*; Kodesh, *Beyond the Royal Gaze*.

[2] Alongside work on Buganda the other larger Ugandan kingdoms have also drawn significant scholarship; to take just two significant examples, see, Beattie, *Nyoro State*; Samwiri Rubaraza Karugire, *The History of the kingdom of Nkore in Western Uganda to 1986* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

particular.[3] Nevertheless, the politics, culture and regional relationships of smaller neighbouring communities or polities are largely considered only insofar as they impact upon the narrative of the larger states in and of themselves, or in relation to their evolving connections with other larger polities. Moreover, those studies which exist which do highlight the histories of smaller states within the region have rarely dedicated their attention to the relationship between smaller and larger states by considering the way in which smaller entities used their own diplomacy and statecraft to ensure their survival in an arena of larger gladiatorial powers. The works of David William Cohen on the Soga states may well be considered to be the exception to this rule, and offer invaluable insights into Ganda, Soga interactions and political authority in the nineteenth-century Soga states.[4] While the limited space within this thesis does not allow for the extensive revision which this subject matter requires, this chapter seeks to offer new interpretations of regional interaction, particularly through analysis of Kkooki-Buganda relations.

Furthermore, this chapter seeks to analyse the construction of Buganda's boundaries with those territories that would come to form its outer peripheries in the colonial period. The emphasis on centralised structures of Ganda authority and the designation of the kingdom as a 'proto-nation' has encouraged perceptions of a relatively fixed geographical entity following the shift away from expansionism after the incorporation of Buddu *ssaza,* or county, in the early nineteenth century.[5] To successfully analyse the assimilation of peripheral areas within the twentieth century, therefore, it is imperative to understand not only how Ganda communities perceived their neighbours, but also how the pre-colonial peoples of Kkooki, Buvuma, Kabula, Ssese, Mawogola, Buruuli and Bugerere understood their political, cultural and geographical boundaries as far as this is possible. Given the lack of written evidence from Kkooki, Kabula, Buvuma, Ssese, Mawogola, Buruuli and Bugerere before the colonial period it is necessary to rely on oral tradition and the works of nineteenth-century Ganda and European authors. This being the case it is inevitable that Buganda remains the focal point for comparison and discussion in any assessment of boundary formation. It is possible, however, by shifting the focus from Ganda centre to border zones and neighbouring polities to offer a

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[3] Médard, *Le royaume.*
[4] For key studies of smaller states within the broad interlacustrine region see, Randall Packard, 'Chiefship and the History of Nyavingi Possession Among the Bashu of Eastern Zaire,' in *Africa,* 52.4 (1982), pp. 67- 86; David Newbury, *Kings and Clans: Ijwi Island and Lake Kivu Rift, 1780-1840* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin, 1992); David William Cohen, *The Historical Tradition of Busoga : Mukama and Kintu* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972); David William Cohen, *Womunafu's Bunafu: A Study of Authority in a Nineteenth-Century African Community* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977); David William Cohen, 'The Cultural Topography of a "Bantu Borderland': Busoga, 1500-1850,' *Journal of African History,* 29.1 Special Issue in Honour of Roland Oliver (1988), pp. 57- 79.
[5] Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 155- 156.

greater insight than has previously been offered into the cultural and political construction of those non-Ganda areas which would form its outer reaches by the beginning of the twentieth century.

The general conception of nineteenth-century Buganda as having been defined by relatively fixed borders while simultaneously wielding a sphere of political, military, and trading influence across the Great Lakes region is, with a few exceptions, not one which I would wish to contest. Indeed, while borders in Africa, as elsewhere, were never entirely impermeable barriers, the kingdom provides ample evidence for the growing border literature which suggests that constructivism and theories of "invention" have overplayed the all-encompassing fluidity of pre-colonial social, political and cultural boundaries. The emphasis placed on flexibility within constructivist theory remains significant in encouraging our understanding of differing types of complexity and the dynamism of identity and cultural frontiers, but as Paul Nugent has noted, Africa, like elsewhere, has boundaries of all different hues.[6] This not to suggest that all boundaries were constructed in the same manner across the kingdom or that peoples, culture, language and political influence were absolutely confined within state territory limits. Certainly, as Reid has demonstrated in his work on slavery, Buganda remained an open society in which assimilation was highly possible; moreover, connections in clan origins are clear from clan histories, and histories of migration within the region.[7] In addition, by the end of the nineteenth century Ganda influence clearly stretched into Kabula, a border county of the Kingdom of Nkore, and Bwera-Mawogola, a satellite of Nkore which was to become Mawogola. Nevertheless, Buganda did not control these areas and they remained predominantly non-Ganda in culture. With the exception of Ssese, then, which, as we shall see remained an interstitial zone, not quite in and not quite out of the kingdom until the 1890's, boundaries between Buganda and neighbouring communities were often recognised delineations. In particular, whatever the nature of the border in terms of defence, trade, and the extension of Ganda corridors of influence, boundaries usually retained

[6] Paul Nugent, 'Arbitrary Lines and the People's Minds,' p. 37.
[7] Reid, 'Human Booty,' in *Slavery in the Great Lakes Region* , p. 154; Cohen, *Womanafu's Bunafu*, pp. 3- 7; Carola A. Buchanan, 'Perceptions of Ethnic Interaction in the East African Interior: The Kitara Complex,' *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 11.3 (1978), pp. 410- 428. Buganda's clans are comprised of people who claim descent from a common male ancestor. Clans are composed of descending structures and subdivisions comprising the *masiga* (hearthstone), *mituba* (fig trees), *nyiriri* (lines), *lugya* (courtyards) and *nnyumba* (houses). The estates of these subdivisions are scattered throughout Buganda in patterns explained in clan histories through the migration of ancestors. (Defintion derived from Kodesh, *Beyond the Royal Gaze*, p. 10. The recent work Kodesh has also shown that these complex connections need not be perceived in purely kinship or lineage terms. Clanship also drew on notions of collective well-being: 'clanship provided the discursive and ritual cement with which communities sought to establish and then maintain the shifting connection between collective health and the composition of knowledge.' see Ibid., p. 6.

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a cultural and political construction as 'meaning carrying entities'.[8] In this sense, by the late nineteenth century while Ganda could certainly migrate to Kkooki and Vuma could intermarry with the women of Kyaggwe, these people were understood as having transcended the frontiers of their communities, even if, as in the case of Kkooki, no physical barrier had been crossed.

This research, then, offers new insights into the application of Ganda power beyond its borders. That the larger kingdoms of Bunyoro and Buganda exerted significant regional power is evident enough through their foreign policy manoeuvring, control of trade, slave taking and tribute collection, and has been covered at length elsewhere. The conclusions drawn from Buganda's pre-eminence of position, however, have too often limited our understanding of the capacity of smaller states and neighbouring communities to direct their own destiny. The thrust of the early Ganda histories, later taken up in the works of scholars such as Ssemakula Kiwanuka and A.D. Roberts, which placed emphasis on Buganda' regional power and its raiding capabilities has remained a key node of analysis for Ganda history and a challenged but persistent mantra.[9] Even where the differing relationships which characterised Buganda's extra-territorial relations are analysed in detail therefore, such as in *Le royaume*, Médard is still primarily concerned with the history of the Ganda state, although he illuminates much else besides.[10] It is a contention of this chapter that a Ganda centric historiography has often failed to assert the extent to, and the manner in which those communities which would come to be Ganda were previously politically and culturally autonomous. Roberts' 1962 article on the 'Sub-Imperialism of the Baganda' strongly argued that, 'it is clear that the hegemony enjoyed by the Baganda under British overrule has been essentially the survival of a historic imperialism', and in the context of the peripheries the close relationship or influence between Buganda and some of its neighbouring communities undoubtedly provided a base level of facilitation for colonial-era assimilation.[11] Nevertheless, the Ganda heavy scholarship which has been concerned predominantly with the role of the larger kingdoms has often implicitly resulted in the portrayal of independent pre-colonial communities as simply 'Ganda in-waiting'. Moreover, it has been characterised by a failure to adequately document a variety of political and cultural systems which remained in existence until the arrival of the British in the latter stages of the nineteenth century. Colonial era anthropologists rarely ventured from the

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[8] Donnan Hastings and Thomas Wilson, *Borders: Frontiers of Identity, Nation and State* (Oxford: Berg 1999), p. 4.
[9] While the independence of surrounding polities is acknowledged in works such as Kaggwa and Zimbe and later Kiwanuka, the influence of Buganda in these areas is continually emphasised particularly through raiding: see, Kaggwa, *Kings*; Zimbe, *Buganda*; Kiwanuka, *History of Buganda*, p. 90; Roberts, 'Sub-Imperialism of the Baganda,' pp. 435- 450.
[10] Médard, *Le royaume*.
[11] Roberts, 'Sub-Imperialism of the Baganda,' p. 449.

kingdom's heartlands and consequently the culture, politics and language of the peoples of Kkooki and Buvuma have survived predominantly in the oral traditions of the areas. Similarly, the border cultures of Kabula and Mawogola, and of Buruuli and Bugerere in Bunyoro, have likewise received little attention.

It is important, here, to assert the framework within which we consider differentiations in frontiers of identity, ethnicity or culture in this chapter, and the thesis as a whole. The literature surrounding 'culture' is vast and usage of the term often renders imprecise its exact meaning. If by looking to the discipline of geography, which has conducted some of the more interesting work on culture in recent decades, we understand culture as a medium or idiom through which meanings are expressed' then our definition might apply to several groups within the interlacustrine region.[12] For example, it could be argued that in the nineteenth century there were broader agricultural and pastoralist cultures with similarities across political boundaries. Developing this recognition, it should also be clear that cultural and ethnic groups can be, but are not always the same thing.[13] Expressing culture as meaning evokes a plurality of attachments. The pastoralist and agriculturalist lifestyles of neighbouring communities within Kkooki and Kabula, for example, entailed differing cultural taboos through custom. In Kkooki, the ruling Biito family had taboos surrounding food including the eating of pork and eggs which were not shared by the rest of the population.[14] Even in Buganda there were localised differences in customary rituals. Kaggwa notes that members of the Mpindi clans of Kyaggwe undertook distinctive naming rites which marked them out from the rest of the kingdom.[15]

Nevertheless, while there might have been localised differentiations in custom within the areas that would form Buganda's periphery, histories of collective action in opposition to outsiders, as well as recollections through oral traditions, suggest a wider shared understanding and participation within in-group culture in most of the areas analysed. Moreover, while concepts of ethnic consciousness are extremely difficult to access even in well documented areas such as Asante and Buganda, it is nevertheless the contention of this thesis

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[12] Peter Jackson, *Maps of Meaning: An Introduction to Cultural Geography* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), pp. 180- 181.
[13] Further historiographical discussion of the relationship between culture and ethnicity can be found in, Jack Eller, *From Culture to Ethnicity to Conflict: An Anthropological Perspective on International Ethnic Conflict* (Michigan: University of Michigan, 1999), pp. 7- 17.
[14] Interview, J.M., Kampala, 10th April, 2010; CCAS, Mulira Papers, The kingdom of Kkooki During the 19th Century, EMKM/EP/2/1. Given the somewhat charged nature of certain aspects pertaining to ethnic identity within Buganda when interviews were conducted in 2010 names of individuals have been removed within the thesis and replaced with initials to ensure participants anonymity. Similarly, interviews are cited by county or city, eg. Bugerere or Kampala.
[15] Apolo Kaggwa, *The Customs of the Baganda* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), p. 104.

that recognised distinctions did exist within the pre-colonial interlacustrine region.[16] It is important, then, to acknowledge the space for further debate as to internal divides within the areas of study; perhaps in particular between Hima and non-Hima in Kkooki, the immigrant nature of Vuma society, and the difficulty of defining exactly the relationship between Nyala and Ruuli groups to the Nyoro cultural sphere. However, we might also consider communal cohesion in opposition to outsiders, an often bounded (although not impermeable) territory and aspects of shared customs which informed the culture of the regions in terms of how they understood their relationship to themselves, the land and others through language, religion and marriage practices. In doing so it is clear that, at the very least, a number of peoples of these territories participated in wider groupings with "we/they" categories formed to a large extent through inter-regional conflict. Moreover, by considering disparities in cultural markers across borders, and without intending to suggest an essentialisation or fixity of symbols of culture or negate internal differentiations, it remains evident that the Nyala, Ruuli, Kkooki, Vuma, and the peoples of Kabula and Mawogola, remained outside of the direct Ganda cultural sphere. It is from this basis that the thesis discusses issues over cultural boundaries, and, in following chapters, aspects of assimilation and "ethnic change". The exception to this rule is Ssese which occupied a different position in relation to the Ganda Kingdom, though it remained outside of heartland Ganda culture.

The chapter also provides a useful setting for a detailed exploration of the territories with which the thesis is concerned. The structure will consequently reflect this opportunity and address the differing regions in turn. While offering a general framework on which the reader will subsequently be able to draw in terms of grounding key peripheries in their historical and geographical setting, a region-based structure simultaneously allows for a more detailed discussion of previously academically un-recorded cultural and political structures. While each area will be discussed, information regarding some is relatively scarce, notably Mawogola and Buruuli, and so it is the intention that territories will be grouped into three key areas in order that necessary inferences might be made through close geographical, cultural, or political proximity to better documented regions. The chapter will therefore begin by discussing those communities of Kkooki, Kabula and Mawogola which would later form Buganda's south western boundary. It will then move on to address the cases of Buruuli and Bugerere to Buganda's north. These two counties were formerly part of Bunyoro and would form a third of its "Lost Counties", yet the pre-colonial landscape of the Ruuli and Nyala peoples has remained under-researched. Finally, the chapter will discuss the differing pre-

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[16] Jean Allman, 'Be(com)ing Asante, Be(com)ing Akan: Thoughts on Gender, Identity and the Colonial Encounter,' in *Ethnicity in Ghana; the Limits of Invention*, eds. by Paul Nugent and Carola Lentz (London: Macmillan, 2000) pp. 101- 102.

colonial experiences of the islands. While the Buvuma Islands draw significant comparisons with other latterly incorporated areas, the Ssese archipelago remains a unique case study which requires independent analysis.

2.2: Kkooki, Kabula and Mawogola: Buganda's new south-west

The three territories which came to form Buganda's new south-west were officially incorporated by the kingdom within the final decade of the nineteenth century. The consolidation of this arrangement was provided by Buganda's 1900 Agreement with the British in which Kkooki, Kabula and Mawogola were listed as full counties of the Ganda Kingdom. British officials present in Buganda at the time of these annexations often understood that they represented an extension of Ganda territory, but, unlike in the "Lost Counties", the limits of Ganda power were harder to ascertain. If officials, missionaries and explorers noted, for example, that Kkooki had been previously technically independent, the close relationship of the polity to its larger neighbour encouraged an impression of a satellite kingdom largely controlled from within the Ganda court at Mengo. Similarly, the presence of Ganda communities in Kabula and Mawogola, remnants of the armed groups who decamped there during the religious civil wars of the 1880's and 1890's, doubtless encouraged the perception of the validity of the transference of these areas to the kingdom.[17] In reality despite the significant influence exerted by Buganda over its neighbouring areas in the nineteenth century all three of these regions had maintained communities which were culturally, and, in Kkooki and Kabula at least, politically distinct from the Ganda Kingdom. Undoubtedly the most significant addition to Buganda in this region was Kkooki. Previously independent of each of the more powerful kingdoms, it was also significantly more populous than either Kabula or Mawogola. Consequently, it is to this polity which we turn first.

Kkooki

In 1895 Kkooki voluntarily relinquished its autonomy to Buganda.[18] The binding agreement which ratified this amalgamation was signed one year later in November 1896. The territory conceded by its ruler, *Omukama* (king) '*Kamuswaga*' Edward Ndaula II, bordered Buganda to

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[17]For the flight of the Ganda Christians to Kabula see: Apolo Kaggwa, *Ekitabo Kya Basekabaka beBuganda* (London: Macmillan, 1953), pp. 148- 153; Zimbe, *Buganda*, pp.203- 246; Rubaga Cathedral Archives, J. Kasire, *The Life of Stanislaus Mugwanya*, typescript translation, pp. 24- 26; Low, *Fabrication of Empire*, pp. 253- 265.

[18]E.C. Lanning, 'Notes on the History of Kkooki,' *Uganda Journal*, 23.2 (1959), p. 166; Vera Pawlikova, 'The Transformation of Buganda, 1894-1914,' *Asian and African Studies*, 6 (1970), p. 102.

the east and north, Nkore to the west and the Haya states to the south.[19] Similarly to Buganda, Kkooki consists of numerous hills and swamps; the latter particularly sited close to the key physical and spiritual location of Lake Kijanebalola at Kkooki's centre. It is, however, a dustier, drier place than central Buganda, with a covering of short grass attractive to pastoralist herders. A poem penned in the 1940's by Geoffrey Masefield gives a useful, if flowery indication of Kkooki's landscape:

The Hills that rise, the road that runs,

So white, so straight so true,

That is the way to rise and run,

The way for me and you.

By scattered bomas, past the kraals,

Beyond the last white farm,

Out in the bush where no one lives,

We will never come to harm...

... Not an adventurer comes back

To tell us of its thrills

But all have started where the road

Winds upward though the hills.[20]

Masefield's poetic licence, though, belies the relatively populous nature of the polity, particularly at the end of the nineteenth century. The 1911 census, the first which details Kkooki's population, records the county as having 19,686 inhabitants.[21] Moreover, this figure likely reflects a decline in population from pre-1896 levels due to increased emigration by people from Kkooki during the first decade of the twentieth century. Oral tradition indicates that this exodus was not compensated by incoming Ganda immigrants until later in the colonial period and the census figures underline that the wider immigrant communities of Rwanda, Nkole and Ziba, which would go on to form a significant proportion of Kkooki's

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[19] The title Kamuswaga derives from a Luganda corruption of Ndaula's name or nickname 'Kamusaaga' meaning 'one who jokes.' Following Kkooki's incorporation into the kingdom, however, 'Kamuswaga' became the designation of the leader of the *ssaza* chief of Kkooki. It is in this context that the term is used moving forward; CCAS, 'Kingdom of Kkooki,' EMKM/EP/2/1. Similarly to Kabaka, the terms Omukama and Kamuswaga are used frequently in the rest of the text and will remain non-italicised in later citations..

[20] Geoffrey Masefield, cited in CCAS, 'Kingdom of Kkooki,' EMKM/EP/2/1, derived from *This Springing Wilderness: Poems of Uganda* (Kampala, 1941).

[21] UNA, Uganda Protectorate Census Returns, 1911 (Entebbe Government Printer) (Hereafter, 'UNA Census Returns').

demographic, had not yet arrived.[22] The motivating factors for population movement stemmed predominantly from the area's relatively difficult climatic conditions. Repeated droughts and famine undermined both agricultural and pastoral modes of production in Kkooki's dry and hilly terrain.[23] This trend was noted by both British officials and missionaries such as C.J. Burden who recorded in 1910 that:

> The whole population of Kkooki is decreasing very considerably year by year; lack of rain and poorness of soil is driving the population into more favoured parts, such as Ankole and Budu, both neighbouring districts.[24]

Despite the difficulties of climate, agriculture remained a significant occupation in the pre-colonial kingdom, and 'particularly in the hills or on the slopes of ravines...called empanga...which are formed by the meeting of two high hills making an angle and are very rich in alluvial soil.'[25] Hunting, fishing and cattle keeping were also widely practised; the latter predominantly by the chiefly class of Hima pastoralists. Iron ore and bark cloth were Kkooki's major exports as it sought to exploit the markets of Buganda, Bunyoro and Ankole. Lying close to the trade routes snaking around the southern shores of Lake Victoria the Kkooki monarchy and chiefs also had direct contact with Arab traders from the east and took a percentage from goods entering this part of the East African region. The kingdom was particularly well placed to exercise some control over the increasing numbers of firearms entering the region which were traded near its southern border in Karagwe. Kkooki's rulers had built up a significant supply of these weapons by the end of the nineteenth century.[26] Taking into account high annual rates of tribute paid as protection to Buganda, Kkooki's ability to trade appears to have resulted in relative prosperity, for the kingdom's elite at least, by the later nineteenth century.[27]

In spite of its relative stability and autonomy from its foundation in the early eighteenth century to its annexation in the nineteenth, Kkooki, alongside other peripheral areas outside of the "Lost Counties", has received comparatively little scholarly attention. Moreover, those

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[22] Interview, B.K., Kkooki, 7th July 2010; Interview, S.M.S., Kkooki, 4th July 2010; UNA, Census Returns 1911.
[23] UNA SMP, DC Wyndham to DC Kampala, 9th October 1902, A8/3; UNA, Staff Correspondence, 'Annual Report, Buddu District,' 1905,' A8/3; UNA SMP, 'Annual Report, Buddu District, 1907,' A43/43.
[24] CMS, 'Letter from C.J. Burden, Buddu, 17th November 1910,' Annual Letter Book, ACC/B/G3 A7 AL 2.
[25] CCAS, 'Kingdom of Kkooki,' EMKM/EP/2/1; James R.L. McDonald, *Soldiering and Surveying in British East Africa, 1891- 1894*, 2nd edition (London: Dawsons, 1973), p. 291.
[26] Twaddle, *Kakungulu*, p. 2; Robert Ashe, *Chronicles of Uganda*, 2nd edition (London: Frank Cass and co, 1973), p. 202.
[27] Interview, S.M.S., Kkooki; Author Unknown, 'A Comparative Study of Traditional and Contemporary Social Services in Kkooki,' *Sociology Working Paper* 97 (Kampala, 1969), pp. 7- 13; Médard, *Le Royaume*, p. 127.

early references which do exist largely treat the formerly independent kingdom as a vassal state in waiting to the might of the nineteenth-century Ganda polity. The prominent early ethnographer of the Ganda, Roscoe, dismissed Kkooki as simply 'another tributary country' in only one paragraph of his seminal work, *The Baganda* (1911). Similarly, while Kaggwa always recognises that Kkooki had been distinct, his re-imagining of Kkooki history often emphasises the role of Buganda. This conception of Kkooki as understood through Buganda has also pervaded discussion of the area in the region's subsequent historiography. Scholars such as Michael Twaddle, Henri Médard, Anthony Low, and Michael Wright have characterised Kkooki as firmly tethered to Buganda's political machinations and implicitly, if not be design, to a lack of governmental policy outside of that dictated by Ganda overlords. Twaddle's account of the life of the soldier and politician, Semei Kakungulu, acknowledges that Kkooki had retained an autonomy within the first half of the nineteenth century but underlines that by 1875, 'Kkooki was now more than a tributary state....the Kkooki king was expected to attend council meetings at the royal capital of Buganda just like any other first-grade Ganda chief'.[28] Médard's analysis of Kkooki politics often accords with Twaddle's conclusions. Kkooki had been a close ally to Buganda since its break with Bunyoro in the eighteenth century and this relationship had inevitably resulted by the mid nineteenth century in the domination of the disproportionately weaker Kkooki by its larger, more powerful neighbour.[29] Indeed, Médard goes so far as to attribute to Kkooki the status of inhabiting a stage of advanced but blocked integration within Buganda alongside the kingdom's other small neighbours; notably the polities of Buha and Kiziba.[30] For Low and Wright, as for Médard, Kkooki's position vis-à-vis Ganda interests, is often intimated through reference to the participation of the kingdom in Buganda's civil wars in the 1880's. In addition, working from the diaries of Frederick Lugard who arrived in Buganda in the early 1890's, Low indicates that Kkooki had been tributary to the *ssaza* chief of Buddu County, the *Pookino*, rather than Buganda itself; and, moreover, that Kamuswaga had gained land in Buddu following the Christian defeat of Muslim armies in 1890.[31]

There is no doubt that by the nineteenth century Kkooki was firmly rooted in a sphere of Ganda influence. Kkooki forces often supplemented those of Buganda on campaigns commissioned by the Ganda Kabaka. The conquest of the *ssaza* of Buddu from Bunyoro by Ganda and Kkooki troops in the early nineteenth century provides perhaps the most striking

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[28] Twaddle, *Kakungulu*, p, 4.
[29] Médard, *Le royaume*, p. 162.
[30] Ibid., 215.
[31] Low, *Fabrication of Empire*, p. 256; F.D. Lugard, *The Diaries of Lord Lugard*, ed. by M. Perham, v. II, East Africa Dec, 1890- Dec, 1891 (London, 1959), pp. 196- 275; Michael Wright, *Buganda in the Heroic Age* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 10- 153.

example.[32] Evidence surrounding other smaller raids against Nkore or the Haya states to the south also appears to indicate that Kkooki forces acted as auxiliary raiding units in campaigns instigated or blessed by the Ganda king.[33] Similarly, the evidence for tribute payments is exceptionally strong. British records from the early 1890's indicate a significant level of tribute amounting in 1894 to Barkcloth 1000; Injembi (hoes) 1000; and Cowrie Shells c.1,000,000.[34] Moreover, Médard notes that British records show that Kkooki also variously contributed ivory, iron, sheep and goats.[35] Given its proximity to Buganda and under an alliance forged in mutual opposition to Bunyoro, the other predatory kingdom of the region, Kkooki inevitably acquiesced in the trans-border extension of Ganda influence.

Participation in a regional block, however, does not conclusively demonstrate a loss of sovereignty. The Ganda dominant focus of the majority of Kkooki surveys has prevented deeper analysis of the reality of Kkooki's position beyond its close links with its northern neighbour. By shifting the gaze to a Kkooki perspective it is possible to challenge assumptions based on an exaggeration of Buganda extra-territorial control and, by consequence, the inferred inevitability of a Buganda-Kkooki union. For instance, Twaddle's analysis of Kkooki's obligations to the Ganda court stem in part from the remarks of nineteenth-century western observers. Following a significant raid on Kkooki in 1875 by Ganda forces, Ernest Linant Bellefonds, then at the palace of Kabaka Mutesa in Buganda as an envoy of Charles Gordon, recorded that Lubambula, then Omukama of Kkooki, presented himself at the Ganda court to, 'make submission and to recognise the sovereignty of the powerful monarch of Uganda'. Similarly, three years later Emin Pasha noted that Lubambula had once again come north to pay his respects to his 'lordship', the Ganda king.[36] Both accounts are clearly accurate in their basic description of the presence of the Kkooki monarch at the Ganda court; yet, their designation of sovereignty is likely questionable inference rather than precise analysis. Interpretations of Lubambula's attendance would have rested predominantly on the explanations of the visitors' Ganda hosts. In addition, nineteenth-century observers were apt to believe in, and eulogise upon the regional dominance of the Ganda state. Affirming the extent of Ganda political and military influence within the interlacustrine region was of similar concern to Apolo Kaggwa whose works provide Twaddle another major source of information regarding Kkooki's nineteenth-century status vis-à-vis the Ganda Kingdom.[37]

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[32] Médard, *Le royaume*, p. 216; Roland Oliver, 'Discernible Developments in the Interior, 1500-1850,' in *History of East Africa*, ed. by R. Oliver and M. Gervase (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 189.
[33] 'Traditional Social Services,' pp. 8-9; Twaddle, *Kakungulu*, p. 1.
[34] UNA, Misc Correspondence, 'Letter to Colonel Colville, 26th September 1894,' A2/3.
[35] Médard, *Le royaume*, p. 131.
[36] E. Linant Bellefonds cited in, Twaddle, *Kakungulu*, p. 4; Sir J. Gray, 'The Diaries of Emin Pasha,' *Uganda Journal* 26 (1962), p. 88.
[37] Kaggwa, *Ekitabo*, p. 14.

While Twaddle's insights are drawn briefly as part of his extended biography of the politician, soldier, and adventurer Semi Kakungulu, Médard's investigation contains a much wider scope and is drawn from extensive investigation of Catholic missionary sources. His primary analysis, however, is similarly subsumed within an appraisal of Ganda regional politics. Discussion of Kkooki's internal governance and culture is inferred from what might be termed its "foreign policy" actions, the payment of tribute, and the participation of Kkooki forces in the Buganda civil wars of the 1880's and 1890's. The relationship between Kkooki and Buganda in terms of collaborative action and tribute payment has been noted and it is clear from the evidence of Catholic missionaries living in Kkooki that by the mid-1890's the Kkooki monarch was forced to present himself at Kampala or at the headquarters of the *Pookino* of neighbouring Buddu.[38] This is not conclusive evidence, however, upon which to base implications as to a lack of autonomy prior to the consolidation of British control. Moreover, for the earlier period, neither the alliance of arms nor the payment of tribute necessarily designate sovereignty or homogeneity as the fluctuating tributary status between Bunyoro and Buganda indicates.[39] Furthermore, Kamuswaga's role in the Buganda civil wars which Médard analyses as evidence of the Kkooki monarch's responsibilities towards his Ganda neighbours, may also be read as the intelligent strategy of a closely aligned, but still independent king. Médard highlights the role of Kamuswaga in support of the Ganda Kabaka, Mwanga, and of the Catholic faction between 1889-1892. As Mwanga sought to defeat a rival claimant to the throne, the Muslim Kalema in 1889, Kamuswaga was commanded to take control of his western army. Following the return of this force in 1891 Kkooki troops raided Protestant lands in Buddu as part of the Catholic conflict against Protestants in that year.[40] By 1892, however, Kamuswaga had broken with the Catholic faction and allied himself instead with the British-backed Protestants who now dominated Buganda.[41] Despite this new alliance, a growing friendship with the new Protestant *Katikiro*, Apolo Kaggwa, and Protestant missionary incursions into Kkooki, Kamuswaga still felt it necessary to supply a limited number of troops to Mwanga's doomed 1897 rebellion against the British and the ruling Protestant chiefs.[42]

By shifting the gaze of scholarly analysis surrounding these events from Buganda to Kkooki, it becomes clear that Kkooki actions may be read in ways other than those presented by traditional Ganda historiography. Far from a puppet ruler, Kamuswaga appears to have

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[38] See, WFA. Kkooki Mission Diaries, UG Kkooki: 1894- 1895, D.OR. 162.

[39] Médard, *Le royaume*, p. 154.

[40] Ashe, *Chronicles of Uganda*, p. 202.

[41] Ibid., 472- 486; Low, *Fabrication of Empire*, p. 253- 256.

[42] 'Katikiro' was the office of Prime Minister within Buganda; Kisayire, *Kkooki Under Ndaula: the first Kamuswaga and the last Omukama of Kooki* , thesis (Kampala: Makerere University, 1972), p. 25; Kaggwa, *Customs of the Baganda*, p. 168; For a fuller picture of the actions of Kamuswaga in the civil wars see also, WFA, Kkooki Mission Diaries, UG Kkooki, 1894- 1907, D.OR.162 and WFA, Rome, Quarterly Chronicles, 1890- 1892, fol 46-6/3.2- fol 54-4/5.4.

used the confusion of the civil wars to further a realpolitik which was entirely Kkooki in origin and design. While clearly forced to react to changes in the power balance within Buganda, the state-sanctioned raids into Buddu in 1891 and the offer of troops to Mwanga in 1897 indicates that the Kkooki government was pursuing a foreign policy strategy intended to defend and advance its own concerns and not those of its northern neighbour. Both actions risked retaliation from an increasingly powerful Protestant Ganda state and their British allies, yet the Kkooki hierarchy saw opportunities for plunder and a Florentine diplomacy of maintaining secretive support for all factions. In this sense Kkooki's actions mirror those of smaller states and communities on the peripheries of larger groups within East Africa. Richard Waller, for example, has noted how among the Masaai populations of Kenya residency on the periphery facilitated specific opportunities. While Kkooki represented a more bounded, centralised polity outside of Ganda culture, the actions of its rulers reflected the paths chosen by border Masaai groups in utilising their interstitial positions to draw on resources across boundaries and act as mediators or brokers for larger neighbours.[43] In this respect, the suggestion by the Nyoro historian John Nyakatura that Kkooki continued to maintain strong links with the Nyoro kings even as it moved more into the Ganda sphere is enticing. Nyakatura, however, was a "Lost Counties" resident and Nyoro patriot and his interpretation should undoubtedly be treated with caution.[44] Nevertheless, similarly to Kkooki the ability to exploit a somewhat ambivalent position among the Masaai groups became less sustainable around the time of the arrival of European control.[45]

Moreover, two rare articles considering Kkooki history penned in the early 1970's suggest similar conclusions over Kkooki independence. The first article was written by Eridadi Mulira. Mulira was from Kkooki, of royal descent and a member of the princely Babiito clan. He was the son of Nasanaeri Nathaniel Ndawula Mulira, a Kkooki prince taken to Buganda as a child in a slaving raid in the late 1875. Nasanaeri Mulira rose through the page system of the Ganda court during the turmoil of the 1880's, becoming first a Muslim and then a Christian before catching the eye of the missionary George Baskerville who eventually placed him in charge of his Church Missionary station at Ngogwe in the eastern Ganda county of Kyaggwe. Nasanaeri went on to become a *ggombolola* (sub-county) chief in Kkooki before retiring to Buddu in 1918. The life of his son Eridadi Mulira was to mirror the increasing "Gandisation" of Kkooki within the colonial period. Having left Kkooki at the age of twelve Mulira went on to attend the prestigious Kings College Budo, before studying at Makerere University and the

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[43] Richard Waller, 'Interaction and Identity on the Periphery: The Trans-Mara Maasai,' *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 17.2 (1984), p. 246.
[44] John. Nyakatura, *Anatomy of an African Kingdom: A History of Bunyoro Kitara* (New York: Anchor Press, 1973), pp. 238- 239.
[45] Waller, 'The Trans-Mara Masaai,' p. 246.

Prince of Wales Teacher Training College in Achimota, in the former Gold Coast. He married Rebecca Mukasa Allen, daughter of the leading Protestant chief Ham Mukasa and joined the Ganda elite. A teacher, writer, historian and politician he became a key figure in Buganda between the 1940's and 1960's due to his role in the 1953-4 crisis of the Kabaka's deportation, his philosophy of Christian nationalism, and his vision for a constitutional Ganda kingdom.[46] We will return to Mulira's story in later chapters. His 1971 contribution to Kkooki's history emphasised the kingdom's close relationship to Buganda as one might expect given his relationship to the Ganda hierarchy. Nevertheless, his writing infers that while the Omukama was inclined to defer to the Ganda Kabaka on certain issues the kingdom remained essentially culturally and politically distinct prior to incorporation: 'The Omukama was an absolute ruler and, although he paid tribute to the Kabaka of Buganda of iron hoes, cowrie shells, etc to keep the raids of Buganda away, yet in many ways his was an independent kingdom.'[47] Moreover, the second piece by S. Lwanga-Lunyiigo, a Ganda scholar in the School of History, Makerere University, similarly underlines that the kingdom was susceptible to the intrusion of Ganda culture and politics but reminds us that; 'Kkooki did not play the role of a pawn on the diplomatic chessboard; she was a major piece playing off one power against another.'[48] It therefore appears possible to re-insert an element of political will back into the hands of Kkooki's nineteenth-century decision makers and posit an element of autonomy from Buganda that has so far lacked acknowledgement.

This reality of Kkooki's retention of independence prior to the 1896 annexation is further underlined by the internal structures of the kingdom's governance which illustrate a break from the Ganda political system. Authority within Kkooki more closely resembled the systems of governance in the Kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara from which polity its ruling dynasty originated. Whilst the origin traditions for Kkooki are often contradictory in their detail, all sources agree that the first Omukama of the kingdom was Bwowe, a blood relative of the Nyoro king, Ruhaga.[49] Bwowe conquered the indigenous peoples of Kibale (south), Mayango (Central), Ddungu or Ggombe (North) and Bulaga (West) and unified them in the early

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[46] CCAS, 'Kingdom of Kkooki,' EMKM/EP/2/1; Caroline Howell, 'Mulira, Eridadi Medadi Kasirye (1909–1995),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/76275> (Accessed 5th July 2011) ; John Earle, 'Mulira's Constitutional Kingdom,' *The Daily Monitor*, 26th July 2012; For a recent reassessment of Mulira's life and political thought see Earle, *Political Theologies in Late Colonial Buganda*, pp. 66- 147.
[47] CCAS, 'Kingdom of Kkooki,' EMKM/EP/2/1.
[48] CCAS, Mulira Papers, S. Lwanga-Lunyiigo, 'The Foundation of the Babito Kingdom of Kkooki,' EMKM/EP/2/2.
[49] CCAS, Lwanga-Lunyiigo 'Babito Kingdom of Kkooki,' EMKM/EP/2/2; CCAS, 'Kingdom of Kkooki,', EMKM/EP/2/1; Apolo Kaggwa, *Ekitabo kya basekabaka bebuGanda, nabebuNyoro, nabeKoki, nabeToro, nabeNkole* (London: Luzac and Co, 1911), Appendix, p. 31; Lanning, 'Notes on the History of Kkooki,' pp. 162- 172; MUL PRO, 'The Incorporation of Kkooki into Buganda,' by Kizito Musoke, Buganda Government Papers, ACC.111; Interview, M.K., Kkooki, 7th July 2010.

eighteenth century.[50] These areas may have been loosely affiliated with the wider Bunyoro-Kitara Empire but they seem to have essentially retained their autonomy. The welding of the areas into a principality under Bwowe and his successors corresponds with the retreat of Bunyoro's borders within the eighteenth century.[51] Bwowe was succeeded by Kiteimbwa I whose murder at the royal court of Bunyoro is signalled in Kkooki traditions as the turning point at which Kkooki transferred her allegiance to Buganda.[52] Kiteimbwa I was succeeded by his brothers Mujwiga then Mugenyi. In the nineteenth century the kings comprised: Ndaula I (1810- 1835); the long reign of the most celebrated Kkooki royal, Kiteimbwa II (1835- 1870); Ssansa (1875- 1880) who was killed by forces from the Kingdom of Nkore; Lubambula (1880-1886); and Ndaula II (1886- 1910) who was ruling at the time of Kkooki's incorporation into Buganda.[53]

The Kkooki royalty belonged to a ruling group of Biito (princes) of the bushbuck clan who introduced a system of royal clan governance over their subjects. Kkooki royals appear to have maintained a bilingual court within which both Runyoro and Lukkooki were spoken. Moreover, the dominance of a particular patrilineal group differed significantly from Buganda where princes were claimed by their matrilineal clan.[54] Kkooki's systems of administration did reflect those of Buganda and other neighbouring kingdoms in a layered system of clan and regional leadership through which appointed officials controlled the four administrative areas. Yet the system of governance appears to have been less well developed with the small number of Biito rulers relying on indigenous structures of authority and a combination of Biito and local big-men to administer the territory. This system seems to have lasted until the latter years of the nineteenth century when authority became more centralised in the hands of the Omukama.[55] Mulira's history does refer to *abatongole* chiefs similar to the *ebitongole* chiefships which developed in Buganda in the nineteenth century, but it is unclear to what extent this is simply retrospective application of a Ganda term utilised to make sense of a roughly similar system for Ganda readers.[56] An ally and a tributary state Kkooki may therefore have been, and it was undoubtedly heavily affected by pre-colonial Ganda geo-politics. Nevertheless, when analysed

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[50] Kisayire, *Kkooki Under Ndaula*, pp. 3- 6; "Traditional Social Services," pp. 4- 5; Interview, M.K., Kkooki; CCAS, 'Kingdom of Kkooki,' EMKM/EP/2/1.
[51] Médard, Le royaume, pp. 107- 108.
[52] Note that some traditions hold that it was Bwowe, rather than Kiteimbwa who was killed by the Nyoro Omukama Duhaga who may have feared treachery but these appear less common, see MUL, 'The Incorporation of Kkooki into Buganda,' ACC 111. Médard, *Le royaume*, pp. 107- 108.
[53] Dates based on the calculations of Mulira, CCAS, 'Kingdom of Kkooki,' EMKM/EP/2/1.
[54] "Traditional Social Services," p. 4; Roscoe, *Baganda*, p. 187.
[55] CCAS, Lwanga-Lunyiigo, 'Foundation of the Babito Kingdom,' EMKM/EP/2/2.
[56] CCAS, 'Kingdom of Kkooki,' EMKM/EP/2/1; CCAS, Lwanga-Lunyiigo, 'Foundation of the Babito Kingdom,' EMKM/EP/2/2.

from a Kkooki rather than a Ganda vantage point it becomes clear that the kingdom retained an autonomy and separation from the Ganda centre.

This political independence was governed by the acknowledged limits of the Kkooki Kingdom. The borders which encompassed Kkooki provided an acknowledged boundary, which, while never static or impermeable, existed as a meaning carrying dividing line between inhabitants and outsiders.[57] That being said, Kkooki's frontier with Buganda embodied no physical boundary. No river or other significant geographical barrier separated the two kingdoms. As noted above, trade in iron ore and bark-cloth was a continuous cross-border activity.[58] Indeed, Reid has noted that Kkooki was likely Buganda's primary supplier of iron and Kkooki blacksmiths carried their expertise into the Ganda kingdom.[59] In addition, it is clear that slaving occurred between the kingdoms as indicated by the experiences of Mulira's father in the 1870's. Similarly, the Kkooki-Buganda boundary was porous enough to encourage limited population movements between the two kingdoms. The life of Semei Kakungulu, a man who would also later play a role among the Nyala before moving on to govern Busoga, is perhaps best indicative of this phenomenon. Twaddle records that Kakungulu's family arrived in Kkooki in the mid-nineteenth century as refugees from Buganda. First his father and then Kakungulu himself received chiefships from the Omukama and both attained positions of influence at the Kkooki court. Unlike his father, however, Kakungulu, subsequently re-crossed the boundary seeking the greater wealth and prestige offered by the Ganda monarch, Mutesa I.[60] It seems highly unlikely that the story of Kakungulu represents an isolated case. Indeed, the turbulent nature of eighteenth and nineteenth-century politics probably encouraged the frequent emigration of political dissidents to Kkooki's geographically adjacent territories; just as Ganda dissidents found positions in Busoga and other nearby states.[61] Similarly, Médard records that Kkooki farmers were resident in the plantations of Buddu in the 1890's where they came under pressure from increasing Catholic Ganda immigration following the allotment of Buddu to Catholic chiefs.[62] Moreover, by 1895 the White Father's mission in Kkooki was being visited by sizeable numbers of Ganda worshippers seeking baptism.[63] Finally, the history of a Kkooki's clans, while less than clear, seems to indicate influences from surrounding states suggesting migrations. There is little consensus on which of Kkooki's clans might have been within the area before the arrival of the Biito, except that they were very few. However, the older clans

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[57] Donnan and Wilson, *Borders*, p. 4.
[58] See also, David Schoenbrun, *A Green Place, A Good Place; Agrarian Change, Gender, and Social Identity in the Great Lakes Region to the 15th Century* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1998), p. 26.
[59] Reid, *Political Power*, pp. 76- 77.
[60] Twaddle, *Kakungulu*, pp. 4- 6.
[61] Cohen, *Womunafu's Bunafu*.
[62] Médard, *Le royaume*, p. 53.
[63] WFA, Kkooki Mission Diary, UG Kkooki: February, 1895, D.OR. 162.

seem to have been the yam, cow and monkey clans; the latter of which Lwanga-Lunyiigo links

to the Abahinda rulers of Ankole. While the bushbuck and grasshopper clans arrived from

Bunyoro with Bwowe and his followers, groups with totems including the heart, lungfish,

colobus monkey and edible rat may have held roots in Buganda.[64] In short, a number of

Kkooki's clans appear to have originated from different neighbouring regions. The Kkooki-

Buganda border, then, clearly remained flexible enough to allow the flow of human traffic.

The frontier with Buganda was, however, clearly recognised. Evidence suggests that

ebitongole on the Ganda side of the border were designated as providing defence across the

boundary zone. The chieftaincy held by one Mutatya Bunyaga on Buddu's southern borders in

the early 1880's was intended to guard Buganda's boundaries with Kkooki, Kiziba and

Karagwe.[65] Similarly, the actual frontier was understood as reflecting a precise geographical

position as indicated by both early British officials and missionaries who noted its position at

the foot of a hill on the main route into Kkooki.[66] Moreover, when Kamuswaga Ndaula was

presented with land in Buddu in the 1890's the legitimacy of the border appears to have been

swiftly reaffirmed by Frederick Lugard who, at the instigation of Buddu Catholics, swiftly

returned the lands to Ganda owners. The rapid response of Ganda landowners in forcing

Lugard's hand appears to indicate an unwillingness to accept the right of the Kamuswaga to

land tenure beyond an accepted Kkooki remit.[67]

The most compelling case for an acknowledged and distinctive boundary, however, stems

from acknowledged disparities in social customs across the divide. The pattern of a tributary and

close, but simultaneously distinct, political relationship with Buganda, is similarly reflected in

what can still be discerned concerning pre-colonial Kkooki culture and identity. It is well

documented that while interlacustrine social values and institutions retained numerous

similarities, cultural practices did differ between varying communities and this is evidenced by a

distinction in social norms and language across the Kkooki-Buganda border. Moreover, in a

modern context Malcolm Anderson has articulated how borders may impact on the very core of

the states they define by illustrating that borders are in themselves markers of identity.

Consequently, borders may be seen to have played a key role in the construction of national

identities and, are thus indispensable elements in the construction of national cultures.[68] In a

similar vein, the anthropologists Donnan and Wilson have underlined that borders can embody

[64] Lanning, 'History of Kkooki,' p.162; CCAS, Lwanga-Lunyiigo, 'Foundation of the Babito Kingdom,' EMKM/EP/2/2.

[65] Twaddle, *Kakungulu*, p. 20.

[66] UNA, Misc Correspondence, 'Letter from the Ankole Expedition, Uganda, 1893,' A2/3; CMS, A.B. Fisher, *Autobiography of Time in Uganda 1890*-1895, Book V, ACC84 3/1.

[67] Médard, *Le royaume*, p. 54; UNA, Misc Correspondence, 'Letter from Captain Williams, Uganda, 30th July, 1893,' A2/1.

[68] Malcolm Anderson, *Frontiers: Territory and State Formation in the Modern World* (Cambridge: Polity, 1996), pp. 1- 3.

meaning which transcends their practical purpose as political frontiers and form a significant facet of a state or people's cultural landscape.[69] The boundaries of a polity may form a cultural barrier or provide a forum for cross-border exchange, but borderlands are always actively engaged with their state and are often an important force in a state's relationship to its territory.[70] It is not the intention here to take whole theories built on studies of twentieth-century, primarily European, nation states and reapply them in a pre-colonial African setting; clearly such an exercise would be both futile and an extreme example of temporal and cultural relativism. However, the core conception underlying much of this modern scholarship, that is, the potential for borders or borderlands to play an integral part in the maintenance, evolution and construction of identity and culture, seems to retain some relevance for the communities who lived across Buganda's boundaries. And who, despite existing in the shadow of Ganda influence, retained a cultural separation characterised by an intra-versus-extra-territorial understanding.

The clearest and most important aspect of this intra-territorial Kkooki identity is found in the pre-colonial Lukkooki language. Lukkooki existed only as an oral language and very little is known about its early construction. It appears to have formed a branch of the Rutara sub-group of interlacustrine languages and was therefore closely related to Lunyoro, Kihaya and Runyankore. Rutara is descended from the same West Nyanza branch of the Great Lakes Bantu as North Nyanza, from which Luganda originates. The daughter languages of West Nyanza itself are understood to have around a 60% similarity rate and consequently the shared heritage of Lukkooki and Luganda further underlined by trade and political ties would have been relatively high.[71] Nevertheless, Lukkooki was more closely related to its northern and western neighbours than to the Ganda Kingdom.[72] In particular, the language spoken in the south and south-east of Kkooki has been noted as having contained many Kihaya words and expressions.[73]

The existence of a separate expression of everyday communication has often historically been seen as grounds for positing cultural difference in itself. While this is clearly not always the case as one identity group may at times operate a number of languages or dialects, in this instance the differentiation and the attendant features of a separate language do seem to suggest some level of distinction. Traditional music and celebrations, for example, differed from those in Buganda in their Lukkooki construction. Dances such as *Olugejja* were performed at harvest time and to celebrate the end of a year and involved women 'dancing in a line

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[69] Donnan and Wilson, *Border Identities*, p. 4.
[70] Ibid., p. 50; Michael Baud and William Van Schendel, 'Toward a Comparative History of Borderlands,' *Journal of World History*, 8.2 (1997), p. 235.
[71] Schoenbrun, *Agrarian Change, Gender, and Social Identity*, pp. 38- 47.
[72] CCAS, 'Kingdom of Kkooki,' EMKM/EP/2/1; J.E.G. Sutton, 'The Antecedents of the Interlacustrine Kingdoms,' *Journal of African History*, 34.1 (1993), p. 40.
[73] "Traditional Social Services," p. 4; Kisayire, *Kkooki Under Ndaula*, p. 3; Interview, S.M.S., Kkooki.

bending slightly forward while men facing them jumped into the air with greater vigour.' The drum (*Embuutu*) and the long drum (*Engalabi*) and the lyre (*Endongo*) and the flute (*Endere*) are the main musical instruments. The key actions of jumping up and down to the drums *Embuutu* and *Engalabi*, and the lyre, *Endongo*, (similar to the Ganda harp) distinguished performative Kkooki rituals from those practised by the Ganda whose dances predominantly incorporated 'shaking the waist'.[74] Moreover, aside from the natural differences encouraged by a separate language other cultural distinctions existed between Kkooki and Ganda society in the construction or importance of social institutions. Kkooki and Ganda marriage customs, funeral rites, and religion were relatively similar but some differences in custom were apparent and have remained part of a collective memory:

> Q: What of marriage ceremonies were they the same between Baganda and BaKkooki?
> A: No, there was a big difference. Here in Kkooki they never took time to convince the girl. If you as a boy saw a girl somewhere, you would alert friends and one evening you would go close to her home and abduct her. In case the father was there he would make an alarm and pursue them with spears...However, later on they would organise an introduction and in that occasion they pay a fine on top of bride price as fine for having beaten their father-in-law...In Buganda it was different; it was a smooth process. The parents of the boy and the girl used to meet beforehand to discuss marriage of their children.[75]

While marriage by capture likely remained an infrequent form of introduction several respondents recalled Kkooki traditions in which the practice featured as opposed to Buganda where "capture" seems to have been much less common.[76]

While information on traditional Kkooki religions is difficult to ascertain due to a reticence to discuss older forms of worship, limited evidence suggests that by the nineteenth century it comprised of the *Bacwezi-Kubandwa* spirit possession forms of traditional religion associated with many of the kingdoms of the Great Lakes regions, though not Buganda, as well as indigenous localised deities. Numerous small gods and spirits were worshipped and it was common practice for, 'every householder to build a *ssabo* (or temple) within his dwelling place. The *masabo* were huts made of grass and were looked after by women especially when their husbands went for wars or on distant journeys'.[77] This practice reflects similar activity in Ankole where grass huts were constructed next to the home as a place for offerings to

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[74] CCAS, 'Kingdom of Kkooki,', EMKM/EP/2/1; Roscoe, *Baganda*, p. 33; Interview, M.E., Kkooki, 5th July, 2010.
[75] Interview, S.M.S., Kkooki.
[76] Ibid; Interview, M.E., Kkooki; Roscoe, *Baganda*, pp. 82- 97; Kaggwa, *Customs of the Baganda*, pp. 98- 101; Mair, *An African People*, *pp.* 78- 103.
[77] Kisayire, *Kkooki Under Ndaula*, p. 7.

embandwa spirits.[78] Moreover, the prominence attached to the role of women mirrors an emphasis on the female role within wider *Cwezi-Kubandwa* worship.[79] The *Cwezi,* once thought to be a dynasty of early kings who conquered the Great Lakes region, are now generally considered to have been mythical deities, and varied *Cwezi-Kubandwa* structures across geographical locations may well reflect a combination of immigrant and indigenous beliefs. As Doyle notes: 'that Cwezi deities all had their own Nilotic mpako (pet) names, which were used by the initiated in their supplications, supports the argument that the incoming Nilotic Babito attempted to domesticate a pre-existing religious system'.[80] Moreover, while the exact relationship between *Cwezi-Kubandwa* and the state within the interlacustrine region remains unclear, it is likely that Babiito arriving in Kkooki with Bwowe and his successors utilised supposed dynastic links to *Cwezi* ancestors to assert legitimacy, as they had done in Bunyoro.[81] Nevertheless, many of the spirits of Kkooki appear to have been specific to that kingdom, living in important forests, lakes, rivers or hills; such as the great hill at Kiya. Furthermore, the ritual authority for rain making within the kingdom was concentrated in the hands of the Omukama who alone could delegate to a priest the right to hold one of the two official ceremonies on either the Kyettaka or Kkooki hills.[82]

As firmly grounded therefore, as the political, commercial, and cultural links between Buganda and Kkooki may have been, the smaller Kkooki Kingdom remained politically and, most importantly, to a large extent culturally, a distinct and viable entity until its 1896 annexation. The reassertion of pre-colonial Kkooki history as unique and separate from that of Buganda is in itself intrinsically significant as a counterweight to Ganda-centric analyses of peripheral territories. It is also key for determining the nature of Kkooki assimilation within Buganda during the colonial period. The underlining of pre-colonial political and cultural autonomy demonstrates that despite the similarities in interlacustrine culture and social formations the processes of assimilation by which the people of Kkooki became Ganda post-1896 were very real, if not always highly dramatic in terms of the distance between the two cultures.

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[78] J.A. Meldon, 'Notes on the Bahima of Ankole', *African Affairs* Vi (1907), p. 142.
[79] David Schoenbrun, 'Gendered Histories Between the Great Lakes: Varieties and Limits', *International Journal of African Historical Studies,* 29.3 (1996), pp. 461- 492; Iris Berger, *Religion and Resistance: East African Kingdoms in the Pre-Colonial Period* (Tervuren: Musée Royal De L'Afrique Centrale, 1981), p. 24.
[80] Shane D. Doyle, 'The Cwezi-Kubandwa Debate: Gender, Hegemony and Pre-Colonial Religion in Bunyoro, Western Uganda,' *African Affairs,* 77.4 (2007), pp. 563.
[81] Doyle, 'Cwezi-Kubandwa Debate,' p. 563.
[82] "Traditional Social Services," p. 21.

Kabula and Mawogola

The meagre historiographical attention directed towards pre-colonial Kkooki history nevertheless provides a veritable wealth of material when compared to that of its less populous northern neighbours Kabula and Bwera-Mawogola. While Kkooki has attracted at least some scholarship concerned with the relationship of the Kkooki polity to Ganda regional interests, Kabula and Bwera-Mawogola, at least with regards to nineteenth-century history have remained mired in their role as a refuge for Ganda rebels and bandits. This designation as haunts for exile Ganda can only be linked to the final decades of the nineteenth century, it has, however, undermined scholarship outside of this phenomenon and shaped, sometimes correctly and sometimes less so, how the areas have been understood. More often than not in Buganda's historiography Kabula and Bwera-Mawogola simply appear as counties tacked on to Buganda under the 1900 Agreement. Similarly, histories of Nkore- the polity which was to expand into the Kingdom of Ankole in the late nineteenth century- are predominantly concerned with the centre of the kingdom; the evolution of political control; and most often the conflict between pastoralist and agriculturalist which has affected Ankole's recent history.[83] Meanwhile, discussion of Bwera-Mawogola inevitably focuses on the period of the iron-age earth works at Bigo and the role of Bwera in the 'Bacwezi' period, understood by Caroline Buchanan as lasting between the 13th and 16th centuries.[84] Kabula and, in particular the recent history of Mawogola, have been so understudied that more research is required than is possible in the scope of this study. However, it will be attempted here to sketch out a rough outline of the pre-colonial terrain in which the two areas existed. It is hoped that by drawing upon slightly later colonial evidence as well as undertaking a joint analysis of Bwera-Mawogola with Kabula some of these limitations may be overcome. The value in a combined examination stems from the similarities which are apparent between the two areas. Numerous parallels may be ascertained including their positioning as border or satellite zones of the Nkore Kingdom, the prevalence of pastoralists in a difficult terrain, and links with Buganda. It will therefore hopefully be possible to draw tentative conclusions across Bwera-Mawogola and Kabula as a whole, using specific evidence where available to offer a more localised account.

Kabula and especially Bwera-Mawogola form part of the "cattle corridor" which stretches from the north-east of Uganda through Buganda and into Ankole and Kkooki. In the

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[83] See: Karugire, *Kingdom of Nkore*; Edward I. Steinhart, 'Ankole: Pastoralist Hegemony', in *The Early State*, eds. by Henry J. Claessen and Peter Skalník (London: Macmillan, 1978), pp. 31-51; Martin R. Doornbos, *Regalia Galore: The Decline and Eclipse of Ankole Kingship* (Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1975).

[84] Carole A. Buchanan, T*he Kitara Complex: The Historical Tradition of Western Uganda to the Sixteenth Century*, PhD Dissertation (University of Michigan, 1974), pp. 157- 165; See also, Renee L. Tantala, *The Early History of Kitara in Western Uganda: Process Models of Religious and Political Change*, PhD Dissertation (University of Wisconsin, 1989).

nineteenth century they were dry, hilly areas principally inhabited by pastoralist communities able to roam in search of water. Resources were scarce enough to prompt intermittent conflict between nomadic inhabitants struggling to ascertain the necessary essentials of life.[85] The relatively small number of agriculturalist settlements tended to cluster around natural resources such as the banks of the Katonga River in northern Mawogola.[86] Similarly to Kkooki famine and drought were constant threats to habitation in Kabula and Mawogola and the Ganda rebels who spent time there during Buganda's civil wars and the subsequent rebellion against the British by Kabaka Mwanga recorded Kabula in particular as a place of scarcity. The biographer of the Catholic chief Stanislaus Mugwanya, J.S. Kasirye, noted that the Ganda sheltering in Kabula had to constantly ration food highlighting that; 'since their sweet potatoes were scarce, they were often careful not to eat it all for fear that it might get finished in a little while, so they used to sing: "we do not know if sweet potatoes shall get finished."[87] Probably due to these climatic conditions the populations of Kabula and Bwera-Mawogola remained small. The first full census in 1911 records Kabula as having 5,499 inhabitants and Mawogola 3,237. These numbers may reflect a slight decrease due to the difficulties of counting a pastoralist population with a propensity for periodically crossing borders to escape taxation; nevertheless, it seems clear that pre- and early-colonial Kabula and Bwera-Mawogola were relatively sparsely populated.[88] Drawing upon the British official, Ternan, Low has noted that at Ganda instigation the British sought to remove the Nkole inhabitants of Kabula following its incorporation within the kingdom and resettle them in the heartland of Ankole.[89] If this action was carried out it might also explain Kabula's low population figures; however, given that half of the inhabitants recorded in the 1911 census remained Nkole it seems doubtful that the British put their plans into effect.[90]

These small communities on the boundaries of the Ganda Kingdom would certainly not have been unaware of the reach of Ganda power and would similarly have been firmly familiar with Ganda culture and language. Buganda's dealings with the Nkore Kingdom, while still fractious, remained comparatively more amicable than interactions between Buganda and

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[85] UNA, Staff Correspondence: Buganda, 'Report of a Tour Through Buddu and Bugangadzi, Kampala, 13th November 1903,' A8/3; MUL NEWS, 'Mawogola is Changing,' *Munno*, 25th July 1961.
[86] UNA SMP, 'Buddu District Monthly report for Jan 1907,' A43/3.
[87] Rubaga Cathderal Archive, Kasirye, Mugwanya, p. 30.
[88] UNA, Census Returns 1911; UNA, Staff Correspondence: Buganda, 'Buddu District Monthly Report for June 1903,' A8/3.
[89] While the pre-colonial form of Ankole was known as the kingdom of Nkore and the dropping of the pre-fix would thus render Munyankore, Banyankore etc as 'Nkore', the transformation of the earlier polity into Ankole within the colonial period means that for the sake of clarity this thesis uses 'Nkore' to refer only to the pre-colonial kingdom, while 'Nkole' is used as the shortened version throughout.
[90] Low, *Fabrication of Empire*, p. 265; UNA, Census Returns, 1911.

Bunyoro and conflict appears to have been less frequent.[91] Nkore provided less of a threat as a direct rival and was sometimes tributary to Buganda. Moreover, trade was active between the two kingdoms and Kabula resided on one of the key routes between the state centres. In addition, Bwera seems to have formed a key terrain for the restocking of Buganda's cattle wealth as suggested by raids listed by Kaggwa. Kiwanuka has also suggested that the authorities of Bwera were tributary to Buganda from the eighteenth century.[92] Most conclusively, by the latter stages of the nineteenth century both Kabula and Mawogola had served as shelters for political exiles and outlaw elements seeking refuge from Buganda. During the religious civil wars of the 1880's and 1890's Christian Ganda armies under Honorat Nyonyintono and then Apolo Kaggwa briefly settled in Kabula before launching new campaigns within Buganda's borders.[93] Similarly, rebels fighting on the side of Kabaka Mwanga during his uprising against in the British in 1897 also used Kabula and Mawogola as sparsely populated raiding posts. The two territories also provided sanctuary for the *futabangi*, 'hemp smokers', whose bandit-like groups exploited the chaotic nature of 1880's Buganda with apparent support from Kkooki and Nkore sponsors.[94] Clearly then, Ganda influence and internal disputes spilled across its western borders in the nineteenth century; although often in the form of rebellious groups.

As with Kkooki, however, the links which existed between Kabula, Mawogola and their powerful eastern neighbour have been clouded by linked histories during Buganda's civil wars. These connections have encouraged recent scholars to assert that; 'Kabula and Mawogola counties were also sucked into Buganda as an afterthought.....Since the Baganda had established a foothold in these two counties they became legitimate Buganda territory under the 1900 Buganda Agreement.'[95] By analysing Kabula and Mawogola outside of the traditional Ganda perspective, however, it is possible to underline that while the political and geographical boundaries which separated these territories from Buganda were somewhat hazier than in Kkooki, frontiers remained acknowledged, and a cultural separation was largely maintained prior to incorporation.

The sources detailing structures of political authority in pre-colonial Kabula and Bwera-Mawogola are extremely limited and often contradictory. The Bwera-Mawogola area had formed part of the Bunyoro-Kitara Empire, but Bunyoro seems to have lost what control it had

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[91] The Kingdom of Nkore existed until the arrival of the British in the late nineteenth century whereupon it was somewhat extended to the west. This greater area became known, through a lack of linguistic skills on behalf of the British officials as Ankole; Médard, *Le royaume*, p. 154.
[92] Kaggwa, *Kings*, for example, p. 131; Kiwanuka, *History of Buganda*, p. 85.
[93] Kaggwa, *Basekabaka*, pp. 148- 153; Zimbe, *Buganda*, pp.203- 246.
[94] CMS, Wilson to Marquess of Salisbury, October 1897, Precis Book 1, ACC/B/G3 A7 O 1898 56; Médard, *Le royaume*, p. 449.
[95] Zimbe, *Buganda*, pp. 19- 20; Samwiri Lwanga-Lunyiigo, *The Struggle for Land in Buganda, 1888-2005* (Kampala: Wavah, 2007), p. 2.

in the eighteenth century.[96] A number of sources speak of a Principality or Kingdom of Bwera thereafter but the exact structures of authority in place are difficult to determine.[97] Both Zimbe and Kaggwa suggest that Buganda had already extended significant influence over the area by the end of the 1870's. Zimbe records that Bwera-Mawogola had in fact been conquered by Mutesa I in the 1870's, while Kaggwa notes that one of the local rulers in the late nineteenth century, Mpandju, headed two governments; one of Buganda and one of Nkole.[98] In fact Mpandju's position seems to have been that of a semi-autonomous ruler of a pastoralist population of largely Nkole extraction in a borderland polity in the area between Nkore and Buganda. The Catholic Ganda Prince, Ggomotoka, describes Mpandju as a king, but not of royal blood and Zimbe and Kaggwa's accounts may well reflect his defeat by Ganda forces and a subsequent, more closely tributary relationship between the areas.[99] Buganda was clearly able to extend its influence into the area which seems to have been very sparsely populated.

The historian of Nkore, Samwiri Karugire, convincingly suggests, however, that the extension of Ganda power asserted in Kaggwa and Zimbe overestimates the reach of the kingdom's territory. Unlike in Kkooki and Buvuma, and the boundaries with Bunyoro, the border between Buganda and Bwera-Mawogola may not have been as readily interpreted, yet drawing on 'traditional songs' from Nkore and Kkooki, Karugire argues that the former frontier was much further inside 'modern Buganda': 'All the places mentioned in the second verse of the song ('Isansa's Song'- 1870's) are in Bwera, where many of the princes of Nkore, who were also leaders of mitwe (military units), lived.'[100] Karugire further suggests that these *mitwe* were stationed in Bwera to guard against attack from Buganda. The relationship of the *mitwe* and the princes to Mpandju is unclear, although it is possible given the relatively large size of the territory involved and its sparse population that both co-existed in the area formerly under the Bwera Kingdom. A further indicator that there might have been multiple authorities in the area is that Zimbe suggests that there were two kingdoms that Mutesa went to conquer; Wamala Mpango under Mpandju and Bwera under a 'king' called Muntu.[101]

To further complicate matters Steinhart suggests that the Nkore King, Ntare V extended his authority more firmly over Bwera-Mawogola in the later nineteenth century. This contention is evidenced by the existence of an Nkore chief governing Bwera-Mawogola when

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[96] Médard, *Le royaume*, p. 107.
[97] For example, Kiwanuka, *History of Buganda*, p. 189.
[98] Zimbe, *Buganda*, pp. 19- 20; Kaggwa, *Customs*, p. 168.
[99] Ggomotoka, *Maegezi Ntake*, pp. 71- 83.
[100] Karugire, *Kingdom of Nkore*, p. 213.
[101] Zimbe, *Buganda*, pp. 19- 20.

King Kahaya took the throne in 1897.[102] If the structures of governance in place in Bwera-Mawogola are difficult to discern, therefore, it nevertheless seems prudent to underline alongside Karugire that it is unlikely that the area belonged to Buganda as its Nkole population, which increased in the summer as pastoralists from the kingdom made use of grazing, would not have settled there.[103]

Kabula similarly represented a frontier zone for the Nkore Kingdom: an interstitial area in which political control over a majority pastoralist population was not well defined, at least prior to the later nineteenth century. Nevertheless, when the Christian Ganda rebels first arrived in Kabula they understood that they were now in Nkore territory and sent supplication to the king who allowed them to settle in the area temporarily. It is likely that Ntare V may well have taken the opportunity to utilise this rebellious force to guard his eastern borders against incursions from elsewhere in Buganda.[104] Moreover, he certainly wielded enough control over the region to send his chief, Mbaguta- later a powerful figure in colonial Ankole-to preside over the Kabula area, in which the Nkore princes 'brewed their beer'. In addition, the Ganda rebels were required to conduct raids and undertake labour duties for the king.[105] While the border separating Buganda from Kabula was clearly porous enough to encourage Ganda raids into Nkore through the area and to seem inviting for rebels from Buganda throughout the 1880's and 1890's, there nevertheless seems to have existed a recognised political distinction. The Ganda population of Kabula in particular may well have increased during the 1890's but the political systems of the area were not Ganda until the imposition of county status under the 1900 Uganda Agreement.

This division of Buganda's territory from Kabula and Bwera-Mawogola despite Ganda influence is similarly underlined by the maintenance of Nkole culture into the years of colonial rule. While we have acknowledged internal divisions in custom, it is the intention here to avoid, as far as possible, discussions over the extent of differences between pastoralist Hima and agriculturalist *Bairu* elements of Nkole culture. The relationship between these groups has been covered at length elsewhere and most commentators agree that despite variances, particularly in terms of lifestyle, taboos and family structure, co-habitation over several centuries ensured a significant degree of cultural and linguistic similarity.[106] Therefore, unless a

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[102] Edward I, Steinhart, *Conflict and Collaboration: The Kingdoms of Western Uganda, 1890- 1907* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 199- 200; See also, F. Morris, 'The Makings of Ankole,' *Uganda Journal*, 21.2 (1957), pp. 1- 15.

[103] *Ibid.*, p. 213.

[104] Rubaga Cathdral Archive, Kasirye, *Mugwanya*, p. 26.

[105] Wright, *Buganda in the Heroic Age*, p. 72.

[106] See: *Ibid*; K. Oberg, 'Kinship Organisation of the Banyankole', *Africa*, 11.2 (1938), pp. 129- 159; F. Lukyn Williams, 'Ankole Folk Tales,' *Africa*, 21.1 (1951), pp. 32- 40; J. Willis, 'Clan and History in Western Uganda: A New Perspective on the Origins of Pastoral Dominance,' *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 30.3 (1997), pp. 583- 600.

characteristic is particularly pertinent the elements highlighted will be those which briefly serve to illustrate some of the differences between Nkole and Ganda culture within the Kabula and Mawogola areas.

While the Ganda presence, particularly in Kabula, may have fluctuated in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the majority of the population of both counties remained culturally distinct from Ganda norms. British reports from the early 1900's indicate the significant problems experienced by new Ganda chiefs in policing the freshly created borders between Kabula and Mawogola and Ankole. Here, inhabitants continually ignored the artificially created boundaries which prevented them from migrating to other areas of their cultural and historic homeland to avoid famine, drought, taxation, and particularly forced labour in lieu of Hut Tax. As one official somewhat despairingly noted of Kabula, 'the greater part...is populated with natives of Ankole origin and when they are told to go to Entebbe they prefer to leave their plantations and settle in Ankole'.[107] These people spoke the Runyankole language of the wider Ankole Kingdom. Similarly to Lukkooki, Runyankole formed a subdivision of the *Rutara* branch of the *West Nyanza* segment of Great Lakes Bantu.[108] While it shared a heritage with Luganda, therefore, it remained a distinct language spoken by a significant number of people across relatively populous pre-colonial Nkore. Despite the presence of Ganda communities from the 1880's and the supposed extension of Ganda influence in the indigenous histories of Kaggwa, Zimbe and others, oral tradition suggest that Runyankole remained the dominant language of Kabula and Mawogola into the early years of colonial rule.[109] This continued use of a distinct linguistic form prior to the 1900 Agreement is similarly mirrored in naming practices which appear to have been situational or relating to Nkole clan structures. Moreover, Nkole clans differed from Ganda clans in that their use of up to three totems ensured that they were not entirely exogamous.[110] All traditions suggest that Ganda clan names were being used only by those Ganda immigrants occupying land from the 1880's; inhabitants of Kabula and Mawogola adopted Ganda clans only after their full incorporation within Buganda.[111]

Nkole culture dominated Kabula and Mawogola, then, as further underlined by marriage and celebration practices. In Buganda the dowry collected from the betrothed male

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[107] UNA, Staff Correspondence: Buganda, 'Buddu District Monthly Report for June 1903,' A8/3.
[108] Schoenbrun, *Agrarian Change*, p. 38.
[109] Interview, K.A., Kabula, 28th July 2010; Interview, P.K., Kabula, 26th July 2010; Interview, A.K., Kabula, 29th July 2010.
[110] John Roscoe, *The Banyankole: The Second Part of the Mackie Ethnological Expedition to Central Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923), p. 126.
[111] Interview, K.A., Kabula; Interview, P.K., Kabula; Interview, A.K., Kabula; Interview, H.J.W., Kabula, 27th July 2010; Interview, S.S.T., Kabula, 25th July 2010.

primarily consisted of calabashes of beer, bark cloth and later, cowrie shells.[112] By contrast, bridewealth in Kabula and Mawogola followed the wider Nkole format of the presenting of a certain number of head of cattle:

> The people here did it the Kinyankole way. In Ankole if you convinced a girl to marry, you
> would have to go to her parents and express your interest. They would then tell you the
> number of cows you must pay and the number would even go up to 20 head of cattle,
> sometimes 5, 10 or 15.[113]

This was also not solely a Hima ritual as has been underlined elsewhere in the Nkore Kingdom; "When one was going to marry, one would go and do labour service for the Hima...then one would be given cows and pay bride-price."[114] In addition to differences in marital custom the occupants of Mawogola and Kabula followed the traditional Nkole ceremonial dances such as *Ntogoro*, which, as in Kkooki, primarily involved jumping to the rhythm of accompanying drums. As has been noted this differed from Ganda dances which primarily involved, 'shaking the waist...(to) look as if one is being shaken by wind'.[115]

By altering the gaze of analysis to rest more firmly on the regional histories of Buganda's most recent south-western peripheries clear themes begin to emerge. The influence which emanated from the powerful nineteenth-century Ganda Kingdom was certainly felt by the communities of Kkooki, Kabula and Mawogola. In Kkooki, alliance, tribute, and protection characterised a relatively close relationship between the independent polity and its larger northern neighbour; while, in Kabula and Mawogola somewhat porous geographical borders and fragmented political control encouraged the appearance of a series of Ganda outlaws in the latter stages of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, Kkooki, Kabula and Mawogola retained, to varying degrees, an acknowledged political, geographical and, most importantly, cultural separation from the nineteenth-century Ganda Kingdom of which they were soon to become a constituent part. While they would undoubtedly have been familiar with Ganda culture and while clan migrations may have crossed boundaries in an area where population movement was often unrestricted and trade routes criss-crossed the region; the inhabitants of these three territories retained distinct languages and cultural characteristics which separated them from their Ganda neighbours. The communities of Kkooki, Kabula and Mawogola were not simply "Ganda in-waiting" on a logical historical trajectory towards their legitimate incorporation within the Ganda Kingdom. The expansion of Buganda in these areas did not, as

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[112] Mair, *An African People*, p. 80; Roscoe, *The Baganda*, p. 88.
[113] Interview, K.A., Kabula; Interview, P.K., Kabula.
[114] Willis, 'Clans and History,' p. 596.
[115] Roscoe, *The Banyankole*, p. 81; Interview, P.K., Kabula.

Kiwanuka has suggested, legitimise an already existent situation.[116] They were distinct socio-political groups corralled by circumstance and events into a new state in which forms of assimilation would be required to adopt the traits of their new rulers.

2.3: Buruuli and Bugerere: The eastern "Lost Counties"

The contested position of the Nyala and Ruuli communities of Bugerere and Buruuli as remnants of Bunyoro's "Lost Counties", coupled with the current politicking over their status within modern day Buganda has rendered attempts at historical analysis all the more complex.[117] While officials, lawyers and historians have drawn confident maps to indicate nineteenth-century Ganda expansion and the loss of land implicit in the "Lost Counties" demands, nevertheless, the pre-colonial political and geographical boundaries of these two territories remain confused. Relying primarily on the source material of European explorers, missionaries and early officials, who themselves often relied heavily on information fed to them by their predominantly Ganda guides, alongside oral traditions and early written Ganda sources it is difficult to pinpoint accurately spheres of influence or political structures. In Bugerere and Buruuli this trend has also been compounded, historiographically speaking, by their somewhat doubly peripheral nature. Much of their territory made up the far eastern edges of Bunyoro's nineteenth-century kingdom and once incorporated within Buganda in the 1890's they formed that polity's north-eastern borders. As such they have lacked the gravitas and interest for pre-colonial historians of those kingdoms' central counties. Similarly, they have proved less stimulating for "Lost Counties" scholars whose focus has inevitably rested on the more volatile interactions between Ganda and Nyoro inhabitants in the western counties of Buyaga and Bugangaizi which formed part of Bunyoro's pre-colonial heartland.[118] It is necessary, therefore, before any consideration of Buruuli and Bugerere within the colonial period, to attempt to renegotiate a path through the tangle of conflicting and contrasting traditions which surround this region's nineteenth-century history. If it is difficult, however, to chart the exact course of Bugerere and Buruuli history before British map makers and administrators began recording new boundaries and imported political systems, it remains eminently clear that whatever the exact location of their boundaries, the two areas remained politically and culturally distinct from Buganda until the 1890's.

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[116] Kiwanuka, *History of Buganda*, p. 139.
[117] The county of Bugerere was formed from an extended version of the pre-colonial Nyala area of Bunyala.
[118] See for example, Roberts, 'The Lost Counties,' pp. 194- 199; Green, 'Limits to Ethnic Change,' pp. 473- 485; Doyle, 'Immigrants and Indigenes,' pp. 284- 302.

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Pre-colonial Buruuli covered a significant area stretching from its southern border with Buganda in south Bulemezi to a northern boundary which reached from Lake Kyoga into more central Bunyoro. To the west and lay the Nyoro lands which came to form northern Bulemezi and to the east the county was bounded by the Sezibwa River. Bugerere, or Bunyala/Wunga as it appears to have been known, by contrast, formed a long island sandwiched between the River Sezibwa to the west, the Victoria Nile to east and Lake Kyoga to the north. Its southern boundary lay alongside the Ganda area of Bulondoganyi.[119] Both territories appear to have incorporated both pastoralist and agriculturalist elements within their populations and hunting, fishing and trade in and around Lake Kyoga were key activities to eastern Ruuli and northern Nyala respectively.[120]

The position of the Ruuli, and particularly the Nyala within Bunyoro, and their relationship to Buganda in the nineteenth century is extremely difficult to accurately characterise. Conflicting traditions, Ruuli, Nyala and Ganda, articulated at different times throughout the twentieth century have highlighted alternative political structures and vastly different boundaries within the territories. To offer some degree of clarity this discussion will restrict itself primarily to an analysis of the latter stages of the nineteenth century. In this regard, Buruuli by the later nineteenth century was under the direction of the Nyoro Princess Nyangoma and, subsequently, the paramount chief Kadiebo.[121] The origins of Nyangoma have been questioned. While some Ganda traditions have seen her as a Nyoro royal renegade and/or a brother of the *Namuyonjo*, the contemporary ruler of Bunyala, Ruuli histories indicate her status as an appointive representative of the Nyoro king.[122] Either way, the chieftainship of Buruuli appears not to have been hereditary and Kadiebo, a close ally of the Nyoro Omukama Kabarega in his succession conflict within Bunyoro in 1869, is suggested in Ruuli accounts to have received control of Buruuli in the 1870's as a reward for service.[123] The close links to the Bunyoro centre which such appointments imply, however, may well misrepresent the position of Buruuli within the kingdom. In fact it is likely that the rulers of this territory, while in theory subject to the Nyoro Omukama, in reality practised a greater or lesser degree of autonomy depending on the situation within the kingdom. Much of the information concerning Buruuli's paramount chiefs stems from a contemporary Ruuli community keen to highlight its Nyoro

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[119] Kaggwa, *Kings*, pp. 48- 51; A. Jenkins, '*A Note on the Saza of Bugerere, Buganda Kingdom,*' *Uganda Journal*, 6.4 (1936), pp. 204- 206.

[120] Mwogezi, Isabaruuli, *The History of Buruuli-Bunyala. An Account of the Seven Lost Counties Donated to Buganda in 1900* (Kampala: Earnest, 2004), p. 13; E. Bintizibu, *The Nyala Ethnic Group in Uganda: An Overview of their History, Cultural Practices and Development Challenges*, Pamphlet (2008), p. 3.

[121] Kaggwa, *Kings*, p. 4; Mwogezi, *Buruuli-Bunyala*, p. 22; Nyakatura, *History of Bunyoro-Kitara*, p. 126.

[122] Interview, S.M., Bugerere, 22nd July 2010 by Kristopher Cote: Reproduced with permission of author; Mwogezi, *Buruuli*, p. 20.

[123] *Ibid*, p. 22.

rather than Ganda connections; moreover, John Beattie has illustrated how political authority within Bunyoro dissipated gradually away from the kingdom's heartlands.[124] Indeed, some degree of political and cultural autonomy within Buruuli appears to be supported by slight linguistic and cultural differences between Ruuli and more central Nyoro communities. In addition, the Ganda historian Kiwanuka noted from interviews conducted within Buruuli, that prior to the nineteenth century:

> Buruuli was ruled by indigenous chiefs who, however, owed allegiance to the king of
> Bunyoro. But during the reign of Kyebambe III Nyamutukura, Nyangoma, a Munyoro
> Princess, ruled Buluuli, and henceforth the country was called Obuluuli bwa Nyangoma.[125]

Moreover, Ruuli histories themselves suggest an autonomy of power wielded by the territory's chiefs including 'being the overall commander of all the county security forces', and 'judicial powers which included presiding over capital cases. It was only in cases of gross abuse of power when the Bunyoro King would intervene.'[126] Despite some level of difference in actions and culture encouraged by the distance of much of the county from the Nyoro court, however, Buruuli remained within Bunyoro's notional boundaries and clearly retained a close allegiance to the kingdom.

In Bugerere the boundary between Buganda and Bunyala appears to have rested somewhat north of Kyaggwe, above the area known as Bulondoganyi which was under the control of the Ganda chief *Mulondo*.[127] Reid has noted that the early eighteenth-century Kabaka, Mawanda, 'is credited with the subjugation...of the river port of Bulondoganyi and the surrounding district.' Bulondoganyi was a strategic location for the eighteenth and nineteenth-century Ganda Kingdom as a place of 'great commercial and military importance'.[128] Moreover, Ganda influence seems to have extended up both western and eastern banks of the Nile in the area, although Médard notes that the Nile was still recognised as the eastern boundary of the kingdom.[129] North of the boundary in Bunyala the political structures in existence in the later nineteenth century are difficult to determine. Accounts suggest that the ruler of the territory in this period, the *Namuyonjo*, was a descendant of earlier members of the Biito clan who, similarly to Kkooki, had moved into the area of Bunyala. Also mirroring the Kkooki experience,

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[124] Beattie, *Nyoro State*, p. 255.
[125] Kiwanuka, translators note in Kaggwa, *Kings*, p. 4.
[126] Mwogezi, *Buruuli*, pp. 18-19.
[127] The name 'Namuyonjo' appears to have become a title by the end of the nineteenth century in much the same way as the Omukama of Kkooki, Ndaula Kamuswaga, transferred his name to the twentieth century post of Kkooki saza chief; Jenkins, 'Bugerere,' p. 204; H.B. Thomas, *Uganda* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), p. 10; Médard, *Le royaume*, p. 51.
[128] Reid, 'The Ganda on Lake Victoria,' p. 352.
[129] Médard, *Le royaume*, p. 51.

prior authority in Bunyala appears to have been split between a number of localised authorities who had attained some degree of autonomy from Bunyoro.[130] In an early study of the Nyala Father J. Roemelé noted that a number of these chieftaincies were based on clanship and claimed long historical traditions reaching back in Nyala accounts to the imagined period of the *Cwezi*. These claims are best treated as simply inferring a longevity to the positions of the clans within the area.[131] It is clear that political clan authority certainly survived into the nineteenth century when the holder of one of the chiefships, the *Kojjo* of the Mupina clan, was defeated in a conflict with *Namuyonjo* under whom Bunyala was subsequently unified.[132] Given that the Biito had been in Bunyala for some time before the nineteenth century, it is likely that *Namuyonjo's* "unifying" of the territory represents the outcome of internecine conflict. A theory also advanced by A.O. Jenkins and supported by Roemelé and Nyakatura both of whom indicate that *Namuyonjo* was indigenous to the area.[133] The relationship of the varying authorities, and subsequently Namuyonjo's unified territory, to the Nyoro state is a further knotted question. Political authority within the area was clearly subject to some degree of Nyoro control. During the war between *Namuyonjo* and *Kojjo* it is claimed that a party of clan leaders travelled to Bunyoro to ask the Omukama to intervene in the dispute.[134] *Namuyonjo* himself appears to have governed in the name of Bunyoro to some extent, and likely received support from the kingdom in his campaign. Moreover, in an interview with a respondent concerning the prominent Ganda chief Semei Kakungulu who was given control of Bugerere in 1895, Twaddle recorded that he was told that *Namuyonjo* was 'just a man of Kaberega (musajja wa kaberega)...He had a similar relationship to the Kabaka of Bunyoro as the Sekibobo (county chief of Kyaggwe) had to the Kabaka of Buganda- he was his man.'[135] The evidence of Nyakatura would seem to support this claim in that he refers to the existence of a county chief of Bunyala.[136]

Nevertheless, Nyakatura and Twaddle's informant likely overestimate the extent of Nyoro control. Other evidence indicates that *Namuyonjo* retained a significant degree of autonomy on the ground. Perhaps even more so than in Buruuli, pre-colonial Bugerere's peripheral position within the Nyoro kingdom, coupled with its comparative isolation between three significant bodies of water, left its nominally Nyoro ruler a certain freedom of action. The

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[130] Jenkins, 'Saza of Bugerere', p. 204; Robertson, *Community of Strangers*, p. 45.
[131] SOAS, 'The Banyala, fol. MS 380881.
[132] Interview, E.B., Bugerere, 8th May 2010; Bintizibu, *Nyala*, p. 10.
[133] Nyakatura, *History of Bunyoro-Kitara*,' p. 123; SOAS, 'The Banyala,' fol. MS 380881; Some sources claim that the first *Namuyonjo* was descended from the Nyoro royal family and given his position as a member of the princely Biito clan it is possible that this may have been the case, but a majority of traditions tie him to Bunyala.
[134] Jenkins, 'Saza of Bugerere,' p. 205.
[135] Twaddle, *Kakungulu*, p. 121.
[136] Nyakatura, *History of Bunyoro-Kitara*, p. 126,

ambivalence of *Namuyonjo's* position is perhaps most accurately intimated by Speke who encountered him on an attempted journey up the Nile in the 1860's. Referring to *Namuyonjo* as Omukama Kamrasi's 'frontier officer', Speke nevertheless records that, 'Nyamyonjo was...an independent chief, who listened to Kamrasi only when he liked. He did not like strange eyes to see his secret lodges on the N'yanza; and if he did not wish us to go down the river; Kamrasi's orders would go for nothing.'[137] Moreover, from histories recounted to him in the early twentieth century Father Roemelé suggests that while Bunyoro kept an advisor at *Namuyonjo's* court, he exerted a significant degree of autonomy within the area and rejected unwelcome Nyoro instructions.[138] As in Buruuli, the leaders of the Nyala, then, appear to have retained a distance from the Nyoro centre in the late nineteenth century. They nevertheless remained within the kingdom's orbit and it was to the Nyoro heartlands that they looked culturally and politically, not to the Ganda Kabaka.

The distinction between Buruuli and Bugerere and Buganda in the nineteenth century is reiterated by a joint border which, although allowing for spheres of influence, was far from porous. Indeed, Buganda's northern boundary provides a clear example of a frontier which was less fluid and permeable than work on pre-colonial social and ethnic boundaries within Africa would suggest likely. As Nugent has noted; African kingdoms, like most states, combined both military borders and trading posts and, consequently, 'the contention that Africans had a fundamentally different conception of boundary, which "placed more emphasis on its role as a link or bond rather than as a point of separation", is at best a half-truth.'[139] Across Africa scholars have highlighted the existence of controlled borders in pre-colonial states, most notably in the Sokoto Caliphate in Nigeria where the frontier was demarcated through the establishment of ribats or walled towns. The erection of such border controls provided a cultural as well as a political barrier dividing the lands of Islam from those of paganism beyond.[140] While the Buganda-Bunyoro boundary may not have been fortified to this extent, as evidenced by continued trade, military sorties and slaving, and corridors of extra-territorial influence, it nevertheless provided a clearly demarcated border zone separating political and cultural territories.

Early European sources, while admittedly confined geographically to limited sections of the border, particularly the boundary in Bulemezi at the Erugu River and the sections of the border in Bugerere on Nile route from the Egyptian trading post at Mruuli, indicate a boundary which was both recognised and perhaps intermittently guarded. In a letter of 1877 the

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[137] Speke, *Source of the Nile*, p. 437.
[138] SOAS, 'The Banyala,' fol. MS 380881.
[139] P. Nugent, 'Arbitrary Lines and the People's Minds,' p. 38.
[140] Nugent, 'Arbitrary Lines,' p. 36; Murray Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate* (London: Longsmans, 1967), p. 79.

infamous Emin Pasha noted of his journey south to Buganda that once he had crossed the swamps of the Erugu, 'we left Kabrega's territory behind us and found ourselves upon Mtesa's territory'.[141] Indeed, the distinction between Buganda and Bunyoro at the Erugu, impacted directly upon Emin's expedition. While the Ganda proved hospitable, the prospect of returning back across the boundary prompted him to note, 'we are now on the frontier of Kabrega's territory, and his people are hostile'.[142] Allowing for the poor reputation which Kabarega already enjoyed with Europeans in this period due to disagreements with the explorer Samuel Baker, it is nevertheless interesting that the CMS missionaries Wilson and Felkin travelling north out of Buganda were similarly informed that beyond the Erugu lay 'enemy country' and moreover, that military patrols roamed the border.[143] It is unclear from this description whether such patrols describe armed units for the defence of the border or merely raiding parties moving along the frontier. It is likely that in this instance the missionaries describe the latter as expeditions across the border were seemingly constant. Slave raiding was a major activity in Buganda within this period and significant numbers of slaves were taken from the kingdom's immediate neighbours. Similarly, Bunyoro had increased its involvement in the trade as its power expanded under Kabarega. Wilson and Felkin themselves describe a Nyoro attack on a village in the Kahura region of the boundary noting that, the 'owner' of the settlement had been killed by Kabarega's warriors only some three weeks before their arrival.[144]

If Wilson and Felkin's recollections may be taken as illustrating only the prevalence of raiding parties, James Grant, travelling with John Hanning Speke in the 1860's, seems to suggest the existence of border chiefs in the Nyoro side of the boundary. Recording his decision to retreat back into Ganda territory during an expedition to Bunyoro, he notes that he was warned by the 'frontier officer' that, 'if they ever attempted to cross the border again, he was bound in duty, agreeably to the orders of his king, to expel them by force'.[145] Reid has also noted that on the Buganda side of the border Kabaka Kamanya (1790- 1820) created an ebitongole chiefship in Bulondoganyi to protect the northern border from raiding and secure

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[141] 'Emin Pasha to Dr. Peterman, Uganda, Dec 18th 1877,' in Emin Pasha, *Emin Pasha in Central Africa: Being a Collection of his Letters and Journals*, ed. by G. Schweinfurth. F. Ratzel, R.W. Felkin and G. Hartlaub (London, 1888), pp. 30- 31.
[142] Emin Pasha, 'Of Trade and Commerce Among the Waganda and Wanyoro,' in E. Pasha, *Emin Pasha in Central Africa: Being a Collection of his Letters and Journals*, ed. by G. Schweinfurth, F. Ratzel, R.W. Felkin and G. Hartlaub (London, 1888), p. 132.
[143] C.T. Wilson and R.W. Felkin, *Uganda and the Egyptian Soudan*, v. 2 (Boston: Adamant Media Corporation, 2005), pp. 34- 35.
[144] Hanson, *Landed obligation*, pp. 84- 85; Shane D. Doyle, 'Bunyoro and the Demography of Slavery Debate: Fertility, Kinship and Assimilation,' in *Slavery in the Great Lakes Region of East Africa*, ed. by H. Médard and S.D. Doyle (Oxford: James Currey, 2007), p. 241; Wilson and Felkin, *Uganda*, vol. 2, p. 29.
[145] Speke, *Source of the Nile*, p. 440.

trading access on the Nile.[146] *Ebitongole* were often created for specific purposes and frequently placed on the frontiers of the kingdom with others in existence on Buganda's southern border and in Kyaggwe in Buganda's east.[147] Moreover, Benjamin Ray notes from his own sources that Buganda's borders were 'sharp' not only because they were visibly marked by rivers and the lake, but also because they were 'militarily and politically enforced.'[148] In addition, accounts are often emphatic in their articulation of the complications of crossing the Bunyoro frontier from the north or south suggesting a clear distinction of political territory. Travelling through the region in 1876 the American explorer, Chaillé-Long Bey, noted that his Ganda escort refused to enter Bunyoro territory. Moreover, when Chaillé-Long Bey himself reached a 'neutral' place on the Nile frontier he was blocked by 'Banyoro soldiers' and turned away.[149] However, perhaps the clearest description of the boundary comes from Speke who experienced considerable difficulties in his attempt to cross the frontier by travelling down the Nile. Speke's Ganda guide Kasoro, alongside those Ganda in his escort, steadfastly refused to cross out of Ganda territory. The recognition of a clear boundary is implicit in Speke's description:

> I was much annoyed by this interruption, but no argument would prevail on Kasoro to go on. This was the last village on the Uganda frontier, and before we could go any farther in boats it would be necessary to ask leave of...N'yamyonjo, to enter Unyoro....The Waganda wanted us to stop for the day and feel the way gently, arguing that etiquette demands it. Then, trying to terrify me, they said N'yamyonjo had a hundred boats, and would drive us back to a certainty if we tried to force past them, if he were not first spoken with, as the Waganda had often tried the passage and been repulsed.[150]

Despite the explorer's obvious disbelief and frustration with his 'cowardly' Ganda guides the party was indeed turned back violently by the war canoes of *Namuyonjo* who clearly resented the uninvited intrusion of a European-Ganda party into his territory. This passage suggests that, at least on some sections of Buganda's external borders with Bunyoro, the distinction between Ganda territory and those areas outside of it was real in both conception and political and social actuality. Indeed, further west, the border between Buganda and Bunyoro in the county of

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[146] Reid, *Political Power*, p. 138.
[147] Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, p. 85.
[148] Ray, *Myth, Ritual and Kingship*, p. 131.
[149] C. Chaillé-Long Bey, *Central Africa: Naked Truths of Naked People: An Account of Expeditions to the Lake Victoria Nyanza and the Makraka Niam-Niam, West of the Bahr al-Abied (White Nile)* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1876), p. 158; Chaillé-Long Bey, *Central Africa*, p. 157.
[150] Speke, *Source of the Nile*, pp. 436- 437.

Ssingo was noted by Lugard to be clearly recognisable at the Kamangoro River.[151] Beattie's conception of Buganda possessing 'sharp edges', therefore, clearly holds some weight, at least with regards to underlining that Bugerere and Buruuli existed firmly beyond a recognised frontier.[152]

While highlighting the delineated nature of the Ganda-Nyoro boundary, particularly in Buruuli and Bugerere, it is necessary to acknowledge that the borders were never absolutely static and impermeable. Ganda and Nyoro concerns clearly extended beyond the kingdoms' frontiers; often in the form of corridors of trading, slaving or military interest. Both kingdoms were increasing their activities with regards to regional and long-distance trade in the second half of the nineteenth century; particularly as firearms became increasingly important within the region.[153] Reid has noted the strength of trading links between Buganda and Bunyoro and it is clear that Ganda and Nyoro traders found little difficulty in traversing borders to attend markets for their wares, at the Nyoro capital, in the fish markets of Buruuli and elsewhere.[154] Moreover, Roscoe suggests that the border itself formed a site of exchange: 'Along the frontier of Bunyoro there were market-places, where the two nations, the Ganda and the Nyoro, met and sold good peculiar to their own countries; the Nyoro brought chiefly hoes and salt, and the Ganda barkcloths and plantains.'[155] The border somewhat paradoxically also provided the site for a lively trade in the materials and tools of war, which were often utilised in roughly the same areas in conflicts between the kingdoms. Furthermore, trade in military wares, salt and dried fish forged significant and well-travelled routes across the interlacustrine region. In the particular context of eastern Bunyoro a major trading post patronised by Ganda merchants existed at Bale on the Nile in northern Bugerere.[156] In addition, Reid has highlighted that economic processes in the kingdom were less centrally controlled than has previously been thought, suggesting that individuals in border regions may well have been able to pursue their own economic agendas.[157]

Moreover, as well as being open to Ganda traders, Buruuli and Bugerere were simultaneously susceptible to Ganda raids designed to capture people and cattle. Kaggwa lists a

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[151] RHO, Papers of Frederick Lugard, Official Reports and Letters, MSS Brit Emp. S. 30-59 s.51 fols.1-375.
[152] Beattie, *Nyoro State*, p. 154.
[153] Christopher Wrigley, 'The Changing Economic Structure in Buganda,' in *The Kings Men: Leadership and Status in Buganda on the Eve of Independence*, ed. by Lloyd A, Fallers (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 24- 28. For the Swahili trade routes into Buganda in the late nineteenth century see map in, Médard, *Le royaume*, p. 145.
[154] Reid, *Political Power*, pp. 136- 142.
[155] *Ibid.*, p. 139; Roscoe, *The Baganda*, p. 456. For Nyoro markets see also, G.N. Uzoigwe, 'Pre-Colonial Markets in Bunyoro-Kitara,' *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 14.4 (1972), pp. 422- 455. For a further examination of Buganda's pre-colonial economy, see Richard Waller, *The Traditional Economy of Buganda*, MA Thesis, (SOAS, 1971).
[156] Reid, *Political Power*, p. 141.
[157] Reid, *Political Power*, 141- 142.

significant number of these excursions including expeditions against Buruuli in the reigns of the Kabakas Suna II and Mutesa during which many women and cows were taken. Similarly, Mutesa launched a number of assaults against Bugerere including one in the 1870's during which his court favourite, Katumba Njabala, was killed.[158] Indeed, European sources, while recognising the existence of an acknowledged border, simultaneously noted that Ganda troops were able to accompany them on their journeys north. Thus, Wilson notes that on his return to Mruuli following a sojourn out of Buganda and Bunyoro, he was greeted by an escort of some 1500 Ganda troops and 400 porters.[159] Clearly, then, the Ganda-Nyoro frontier represented a traversable boundary of opportunity, influence and exchange as well as marking the edge of rival kingdom's internal political hegemony. Nevertheless, that Ganda and Nyoro citizens could and did frequently cross borders does not render the consensual acknowledgement of the boundary void. Ganda identity was tied up in this cross border movement, predicated as it was on its military prowess, the symbols and acts of war and the ability to dominate neighbouring communities.[160]

Buganda's northern frontier, then, might also be considered as a meaning-carrying cultural entity, symbolic of the "otherness" of those beyond. Similarly, Ray has argued that Buganda's borders were maintained through ritual means. Symbolic acts undertaken in border regions symbolised and maintained the unity of the Ganda state, and consequently, a Ganda identity. Sacrificial victims, both human and animal, were led across the frontiers with both Bunyoro and Busoga and sacrificed, 'to rid Buganda of dangerous diseases and to "cleanse" Buganda's armies when they returned from military expeditions'.[161] Kaggwa hints at the reciprocal links of culture and power which were played out between periphery and centre in Buganda in his description of the accession ceremony of new kabakas. In one instance, after completing several other rituals tied to his coronation, Kabaka Mukaabya ordered a burning piece of wood to be taken across the border and into Bunyoro, a symbolic act which Kiwanuka believes represented a desire to mark the edges of Ganda civilisation and purify its territory; 'the taking of a piece of wood to Bunyoro, a leading enemy territory, symbolised the casting away of evil'.[162] Such ceremonies therefore appear to have been tied to the maintenance of Buganda's political, cultural and spiritual integrity and wellbeing. They offered transcendent markers of the outreach of Ganda identity; a symbolic connection between Buganda's central heartlands and the border regions beyond, and a means by which to cleanse Ganda society throughout the

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[158] Kaggwa, *Kings*, pp. 127-156.
[159] Ibid.
[160] Reid, 'Human Booty,' p. 145.
[161] Ray, *Myth, Ritual and Kingship*, p. 132.
[162] Kaggwa, *The Kings*, p. 30; Note by M.S.M. Kiwanuka in Kaggwa, *The Kings*, p. 30.

kingdom's territory. As such these rituals internalised a figurative bounded identity; those beyond the cultural borders might be friend or foe, but they were not Ganda.

Current political issues render it difficult to determine the extent of cultural difference within the region as Ruuli-Nyala informants have clear motivations for highlighting attachments to the territories and their difference from Ganda culture. Moreover, there is a lack of agreement in the sources over how far Ruuli or Nyala culture accorded with Nyoro custom. It is not possible in the space available to conduct a full ethnographic account. Nevertheless, it seems likely that both areas remained more firmly in the Nyoro cultural sphere than that of Buganda. In Buruuli, in particular, customs are regarded as having closely resembled those of the Nyoro centre. Similarly, in both Buruuli and Bugerere the large numbers of clans- current estimates put the number of Ruuli clans at 129- mirrored the structures of Bunyoro; while the ruling system of Biito princes similarly resembled Nyoro governance. Nyoro custom, which appears to have closely resembled certain Ruuli-Nyala structures, has been covered at length elsewhere in formats more suited to an extensive analysis.[163] This being the case, it is prudent to confine ourselves here highlighting some brief areas where Ruuli and Nyala traditions seem to differ from Nyoro norms and those of their southern Ganda neighbours. Among the Nyala, for example, a significant number of clans are regarded as indigenous to the area; that is, they were in existence before the arrival of the Biito. In common with clans throughout the region, these groups shared common totems with those of Bunyoro and Buganda but were regarded as separate entities. Other clanship groups arrived later with the Biito, or from Buganda, such as the Lungfish clan. Moreover, the languages of the Ruuli and Nyala, Luruuli and Lunyala, differ slightly from Lunyoro. They are, however, closely related with similarities between Luruuli and Lunyoro today of around 70%. It is likely that in the pre-colonial era both formed sub-branches of the North Rutara branch of the West Nyanza, Great Lakes Bantu linguistic strand.[164] The difference between these eastern Nyoro dialects and Luganda was more easily recognisable by the early colonial missionaries in rare instances of clarity, during which brief intervals Luganda was not forced onto unwilling local populations. Thus R.H. Leakey noted of Buruuli in 1907 that, 'the natives of that district do not speak Luganda among themselves, though they more or less

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[163] See for example, John Roscoe, *The Bakitara of Bunyoro* (London, 1923); Beattie, *Nyoro State*; John Beattie, *Bunyoro: An African Kingdom* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1969); A.B.T. Byaruhanga-Akiiki, *Religion in Bunyoro* (Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1982); John Beattie, 'Aspects of Nyoro Symbolism,' *Africa*, 38.4 (1968), pp. 413- 442.
[164] One informant in particular argued that Lunyala was merely a dialect of Luruuli separated by its isolated location in Bugerere and in particular by a greater adoption of Kiganda words in colonial and post-colonial eras: Interview J.R., Bugerere, 5th May 2010; Cited from <www.ethnologue.com>, (Accessed 23rd March 2011); David Schoenbrun, *The Historical Reconstruction of Great Lakes Bantu Cultural Vocabulary; Etymologies and Distribution* (Köln: Koppe, 1997), p. 38.

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understand it; so I got some teachers...to preach and teach in Luduli, a dialect of Lunyoro, with the result that there has been a marked increase in Baduli readers'.[165]

Similarly, elements of Ruuli-Nyala custom differed from Buganda, Bunyoro and even each other; particularly among the Nyala:

> Q- What of culture? Is it different from Kiganda or Kinyoro culture?
>
> R- Another aspect which is very different is, for example, when a child is born, when they ululate they do it four times and then if I am the father of that child, I will know the child must be a boy...when it is done three times then I know the child is a girl. And when we are naming the child we propose for example, two names, it could be the names of ancestors...so with the two names what will happen is that we get two chickens and attach the names to them and then we throw them into the air at the same time, and the one that falls fastest that name will be given to the child. That is something that is not done in Buganda; you will only find that among us Nyala.[166]

Indeed, Father Roemelé suggested that Nyala custom especially differed from both Nyoro and Ganda norms influenced by local historical practice, as well as immigration into the area. While Bacwezi-Kubandwa constituted the major religion of Bunyala, local Nyala deities were also venerated. Moreover, Roemelé records specific marriage and burial rites which he attributes as solely Nyala.[167] Certainly, Nyala music involving the use of the Xylophone was distinctive from neighbouring communities and Nyala musicians were famous throughout the region. Most importantly for this thesis, these distinct cultural attributes, along with practices which linked them more closely with Bunyoro such as the predominance of finger-millet as a staple food over the cultivation of *matooke*, distinguished the Nyala and the Ruuli from their Ganda neighbours in the pre-colonial period.[168]

The "Lost Counties" of Buruuli and Bugerere, therefore, formed a slightly ill-fitting section of Bunyoro's eastern boundaries with somewhat autonomous rulers and localised evolutions in culture and language. Moreover, their position within the Great Lakes region has been contested by contrasting traditions concerning Ruuli and Nyala histories. Nevertheless, despite conflicting accounts over the exact nature of boundaries, political authority and culture it remains clear that these communities resided beyond an acknowledged frontier with Buganda. While the communities of Buyaga and Bugangaizi have provided the most obvious and fertile

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[165] CMS, 'Letter from R.H. Leakey, Ngogwe 1907,' Annual Letter Book, 1907- 1908, ACC/B/G3 A7 AL 2.
[166] Interview, E.B., Bugerere.
[167] SOAS, 'The Banyala,' fol. MS 830881; Roemelé's interesting, if at times confused and confusing work, offers an early discussion of Nyala custom.
[168] Beattie, *Nyoro State*, p. 247; Interview, P.N., Bugerere, 6th May 2010.

ground for distinguishing between pre-colonial Buganda and its post-1900 conquests, Buruuli and Bugerere offer a comparable, if less well documented zone of Ganda expansion over sets of peoples who were similarly removed from the kingdom's cultural hegemony prior to the advent of colonial rule.

2.5: The Buvuma Isles: an autonomous archipelago

Médard has suggested that for the people of nineteenth-century Buganda the outside world was divided into three distinct categories. The first comprised the more or less equal 'civilised' kingdoms of Britain and other European countries, Zanzibar, the Ottoman Empire, Rwanda and Bunyoro. A second group consisted of the 'tributary' states such as Busoga, Buhaya, Kkooki, Nkore, Karagwe and others. The final classification concerned the countries of the 'savages' notably Bakedi, Bamogera, Maasai, and, closer to home, the islands known collectively as Buvuma.[169]

If the Ganda considered the Buvuma Isles as somewhat less civilised they nevertheless desired to stamp their authority on this strategic archipelago which was well positioned to threaten the salt trading route across the lake from the Kyaggwe coast to the Kavirondo Gulf. Countless expeditions were launched against the islands in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries including an infamous 1875 excursion in which the Ganda, supported by the armed entourage of Henry Morton Stanley, were once again defeated. Indeed, the islands remained fiercely independent until 1893 when a joint Ganda-British expedition carrying a maxim gun finally pacified the dispersed populations; the archipelago only became a full and unified county of Buganda, however, as part of the 1900 Agreement.[170]

The retention of autonomy by the island communities is perhaps all the more surprising given their close proximity to both Busoga and Buganda shorelines. The archipelago spreads across the north eastern corner of Lake Victoria between Kyaggwe and the eastern Busoga shoreline. There are more than fifty islands in the chain which takes its name from the largest, Buvuma Island, lying some 25km south of the modern city of Jinja. The islands themselves were rather rockier, more forested and less lush than the environment of much of Buganda; although it is clear the islands had greater cultivation prior to the regrowth of the forests during the clearance of the islands in the early 1900's due to a sleeping sickness epidemic. According to local tradition the name Buvuma itself only came into existence sometime in the nineteenth century deriving from the Luganda verb *okuvuma*, 'to abuse', after an islander commented

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[169] Médard, *Le royaume*, p. 215.
[170] Lunyigo, *Land in Buganda*, p. 2; Twaddle, *Kakungulu*, pp.88- 91; Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent*, vol. 1, pp. 238- 241; Kaggwa, *Kings*, p. 168.

negatively on the Ganda Kabaka's appearance.[171] Nevertheless, by the mid 1870's the name was clearly recognised and is relayed in Stanley's account of his expedition to the island.[172]

The size of the Vuma population which Stanley describes is difficult to ascertain. The outbreak of severe sleeping sickness in the late 1890's and early 1900's which decimated the island populations makes it difficult to ascertain their pre-colonial strength. The early colonial figures for the islands are particularly unreliable and range from 9,000 to 14,000 in 1906/7 alone. What remains clear, however, is that the population decreased significantly from pre-colonial levels between the Ganda takeover in 1893 and the island clearances in 1908-1911. A report by Dr Christy of the Uganda Sleeping Sickness Commission in 1902 noted that, 'in Buvuma, which I have just visited fully two-thirds of the population have died off'; moreover, in 1908 alone 671 people succumbed to sleeping sickness. In 1895, however, Bishop Tucker placed the population solely for Buvuma Island at around 15,000. It seems clear, therefore, while querying the accuracy of the figures, that before the epidemic began to properly take hold, the islands, and Buvuma in particular, presented an impression of being relatively well populated.[173] For ease of understanding the different elements in this large complex of islands the term Vuma will be used to designate the differing peoples as has been the norm in historiographies of Buganda.

In relation to these accounts, the repetition of conflicts between Buvuma and Buganda in the 1800's appears to have prevented the retrospective extension of Ganda influence which has sometimes affected historical traditions in Buganda's other newer peripheries. In his *History of Buganda* James Miti noted that the Vuma, 'had always been noted for their independence. They always wanted to be a separate kingdom and scorned the idea of being subservient to another country and pay tribute to it.'[174] Nevertheless, the historiographical accounts of the islands which do exist have been largely considered in relation to Buganda.[175] Moreover, early Ganda historians were, inevitably, more concerned with Buganda's expeditions against, and subsequent incorporation of, the islands than with the history of the islanders themselves; although Kaggwa's works do contain some limited information.[176] Nevertheless, through European sources and oral tradition it is possible to reconstruct to some extent the nineteenth-

[171] Interview, B.N.K., Buvuma, 17th July 2010; Interview, B.J.C., Buvuma, 21st July 2010.
[172] Stanley, *Dark Continent*, vol. 1, p. 139.
[173] UNA SMP, 'Report on the Population of Uganda Kingdom, 1906-1907,' A43/211; UNA SMP, Hesketh Bell, H.M. Commissioner to R.H. Earl of Elgin, 23rd November 1906,' A43/317; UNA SMP, 'Report on Deaths From Sleeping Sickness, 1908,' A43/819; MUL CMS, 'Letter from Bishop Tucker, Buvuma,1895,' CMS Intelligencer, 1896, AF CHU/276 pp. 425- 427.
[174] SOAS, James Miti, A History of Buganda, trans G. Rock vol. 1, (typescript manuscript), fol. MS 77687, pp. 143.
[175] See Médard, *Le royaume*; Kiwanuka, *History of Buganda*, p. 138.
[176] See SOAS, Miti, *History of Buganda*, fol. MS 77687, pp. 163- 168; Kaggwa, *Kings*; Kaggwa, *Customs*, pp. 158- 170.

century relationship of this autonomous island group to their powerful Ganda neighbours. And, consequently, to illustrate that the expansion of Buganda at the Buvuma Isles' expense in the 1890's, coupled with the removal of communities to Buganda during the sleeping sickness epidemics of the early 1900's, ensured a historical break in which new structures of political and cultural hegemony impacted upon the island populations.

In Buvuma, unlike in the other non-island peripheries, a clear geological boundary separated the islands in their entirety from their Ganda neighbours. The lake provided an obvious point of distinction between island and non-island communities; simultaneously, however, it afforded a complex zone of interaction within which warfare, predation and trade ensured an interwoven relationship between the polities. Commerce, in particular, linked the islanders to their mainland counterparts. The lakeshore markets which lined Kyaggwe's waterfront were important centres for Vuma traders engaged in exchanges of dried fish and pottery. Fishermen and potters were key occupations within the islands and Vuma naval skills enabled large numbers of traders to exhibit their wares at mainland posts. Cloth also appears to have been traded across the lake.[177] Similarly, early colonial accounts infer that some of the islands' food was brought from the mainland; a trend which had probably, however, increased following sleeping sickness deaths amongst cultivators.[178] Non-free peoples may well also have formed a pillar of commercial exchange. Médard has noted that the size of the Vuma war fleet, the largest on Lake Victoria, suggests that they were heavily involved in the slave trade operating in the 'corridor of slavery' which 'existed in the nineteenth century starting at Lake Albert in Bunyoro and Toro and going through Buganda, then branching east to Busoga and south to Karagwe, Buhaya and Buzinza and Bukerebe'.[179] In 1894 the missionary Baskerville in Kyaggwe recorded that; 'the other day a woman arrived here very early in the morning saying that her people had taken her to the Lake to sell her to the Vuma and from subsequent enquiries it seems likely. She was learning to read, and they first burnt her book, and then took her off to sell her.'[180] Moreover, alongside the movement of peoples in this manner there is some evidence to suggest that the island populations replenished themselves through intermarriage with the peoples of neighbouring coastlines, and, in particular, the Kyaggwe lakeshore communities.[181] This might also explain Kaggwa's passing reference to the lakeside

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[177] Reid, *Political Power*, p. 141; CMS, Church Missionary Society Unofficial Papers, Journal of G.K. Baskerville, December 17th 1894, ACC 265 Z7; UNA, Captain Williams, A2/1.

[178] UNA SMP, 'Sleeping Sickness Report, 1907,' A43/314.

[179] Médard, 'Introduction,' in *Slavery in the Great Lakes*, p. 20.

[180] CMS, G.K. Baskerville, December 17th 1894, ACC 265 Z7. The reference here to learning to read represents the process of becoming Christian. The communities of Kyaggwe remained resistant to Christianity longer than other areas and the woman in question may well have been ostracised, or have ostracised herself on account of her new religion.

[181] Hamu Mukasa, 'Some Notes on the Reign of Mutesa,' *Uganda Journal*, 2 (1934-5), pp. 65- 67.

communities of Kyaggwe as resembling the 'Abavuma in language and manners'.[182] Indeed, even today Ganda from around Kampala refer to the Kyaggwe coast with suspicion and label the communities there night-dancers. It is also likely, however, that he was referring to trading communities operating markets for exchange with Ganda further inland.

If the forced exchange of un-free peoples, alongside other aspects of trade and possible familial ties, indicates a complex web of interlocking relationships between islanders and mainlanders through which culture, customs, and traditions were inevitably exchanged, the involuntary movement of peoples similarly highlights a persistent separation between the two entities. Slave raiding caused antipathy between the two polities and could lead to full scale conflict as Stanley recorded in 1875; 'Mtesa replied that he was now engaged in a war with the rebellious people of Uvuma, who insolently refused to pay their tribute, harassed the coast of Chagwe, and abducted his people.' Following the same campaign the missionary Robert Ashe in Buganda protested the removal of Vuma to the mainland by Ganda troops as spoils of war; similarly the account of Kaggwa's life by E.M.K Mulira notes that:

> Captain Williams stopped the Baganda from rooting women or little boys from Buvuma. When he ordered for a head count of all the people who had been rooted from Buvuma, they were 20,000, the Whiteman commanded for them all to be released and not to be carried to Buganda. [183]

While the lake simultaneously comprised both a physical boundary and a conduit, then, the predatory slaving engaged in by both sides suggests the fractious nature of the relationship between the two territories. The ability of the Vuma to participate in this cycle of skirmish and counter-skirmish highlights the military strategies adopted to maintain the islands' autonomy. Reid has stressed the extent of Ganda naval concerns across Lake Victoria, yet this lake-bound fighting force was continually matched and often bettered by Vuma expertise at canoe warfare. As the early Ganda historian and chief, Ham Mukasa, noted in his history of the reign of Mutesa I, the naval prowess of the Vuma had made the Ganda fear the inhabitants of the islands and, consequently, they had never been conquered.[184] Indeed, the historical narrative of the region rather suggests that far from being cowed by their powerful northern neighbour, the Vuma themselves, with their lighter canoes and rapid method of warfare, inspired fear and irritation in

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[182] Kaggwa, *Customs of the Baganda*, pp. 162- 170.
[183] Stanley, *Dark Continent*, vol. 1, p. 238; Ashe, *Chronicles of Uganda*, pp. 386- 388; E.M.K. Mulira, *Sir Apolo Kaggwa* (Kampala, 1949), pp. 286- 287.
[184] Reid, 'Ganda on Lake Victoria,' pp. 356- 357; Mukasa, 'Notes on the Reign of Mutesa,' pp. 65- 67.

Buganda where they earned themselves a reputation as brave, warlike and savage.[185] As elsewhere across Buganda's future peripheries, then, connections across boundaries were well developed and multi-layered, but nevertheless, political authority, customs and traditions remained separated by acknowledged frontiers. In the case of Buvuma the lake boundary was jealously guarded by islands which remained stubbornly opposed to the imposition of Ganda control.

This distinction between the pre-colonial states is further underlined by a separation of political authority. In this sense, not only did Buganda lack control over the internal policy of Buvuma administration before 1893, its system of government and culture of centralisation differed from that of its island neighbours. In Buvuma, in much the same way as in the chiefdoms of Busoga, constellations of territorial and clan authorities operated in differing cycles of conflict and co-operation dependent on internal relationships and external threats.[186] Moreover, as has been noted in relation to Kkooki, the Ganda model of kingship in which kabakas inherited their mother's clan affiliations differed significantly from surrounding polities. Across the islands, as in Bunyoro, Ankole, and Kkooki specific clans appear to have exercised political and in some sense hereditary authority.[187] Unlike in these contemporary kingdoms, however, political hegemony was not invested within a theoretical pastoralist ordination to rule. The predominant clans on Buvuma itself, the largest and more dominant of the inhabited islands, appear to have been Emamba (Lungfish) and Ensuma (Fish) kinship groups with parallel affiliations in a number of surrounding areas including Buganda. Indeed, Fallers and Kodesh have both noted that the Ganda Ensuma and Nswaswa (Monitor Lizard) clans claim ancestral lands (bataka) on the islands, likely a function of the migratory tendencies which have always supplemented the populations of the archipelago.[188]

Oral history within Buvuma records that in the late nineteenth century the chiefs of the Emamba and Ensuma clans, with numerous subdivisions throughout the islands, administered Buvuma as a split territory. In Magyo, to the south of the island, the right to rule appears to have rested with the head of the Emamba clan, Kisanje, while in the north, Kibondwe, leader of the Ensuma clan exerted political authority across the area known as Bulondogi (Busamizi).[189]

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[185] CMS, 'Letter from Mr F.C. Smith,' Annual Letter Book, 1891- 1892, ACC/B/G3 A7 AL; Médard, Le royaume, p. 245.

[186] MUL PRO, Uganda Protectorate Miscellaneous Records, Buvuma Island History Papers, 1937-1938, fol. 01/746967.

[187] The position of paramount chief does not appear to have been hereditary among individual families, nevertheless, the new recipient of the chiefdom would be chosen from eligible members of the same clan group.

[188] Lloyd Fallers, 'Social Stratification in Traditional Buganda,' in The Kings Men: Leadership and Status in Buganda on the Eve of Independence, ed. by Lloyd Fallers (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 77; Kodesh, Beyond the Royal Gaze, p. 72.

[189] Interview, M.N.N., Buvuma, 22nd July 2010; Interview, B.N.K., Buvuma; Interview, K.N.P., Buvuma, 19th July,2010; Interview, M.K.S., Buvuma, 18th July 2010.

Moroever, that Buvuma was split as oral tradition recounts is given further credence by the records of Captain Williams whose maxim guns helped subdue the island in 1893; in a letter of that year Williams remarked that: 'the Wavuma Islands consist of the large island divided like Sesse into two chieftainships.' Similarly, as the letter further infers- 'besides this there are the islands of Wsiria (Chief Kakuye) and 'Infaye' and the smaller ones-' other islands retained their own leaders and appear to have remained separate from the dominant authorities on Buvuma itself. On Lwajje, for example, the eighteenth-century inhabitants were ruled by one Kikyyata with familial links to Kyaggwe. [190] It is difficult to determine how far back these political systems originated and it may be that they were newer innovations imposed by eighteenth and nineteenth-century immigrants from other areas over more widely decentralised peoples. One tradition which was relayed concerning Kibondwe placed the ancestor of this position as having originated from Bunyoro in the early 1800's before arriving in Buvuma having passed through Buganda and Ssese:

> We are told that he found people called Bakenyi on the island but they did not have a ruler. So he befriended the people he found and being a clever man he started making some of them sub clan leaders (omutuba). He continued and went to Bugulu and there he had his 1st child and as we talk now the Kibondwe we have is the ninth descendant. Because he did not find an organised leadership in this area he himself became the chief of this part. [191]

By contrast Miti regarded the Kibondwe as a head of the Ganda branch of the Nvuma clan on Buvuma, although it is likely that this represents the amalgamation of the clans after Buvuma's incorporation. [192] The continual and steady immigration into the archipelago from a variety of surrounding territories including Buganda, Busoga, Bunyoro and areas of Kenya suggests that the periodical imposition of new immigrant authority was perhaps inevitable and the arrival of Kibondwe and Kisanje on Buvuma Island itself may have represented only the latest occurrence in a series of innovations. [193] In this sense Buvuma society might further be understood as comprising of a constellation of "multi-ethnic" roots as people were drawn, or brought as slaves from surrounding regions to different islands. In the period immediately prior to Buganda's 1893 expansion, then, the archipelago offered a multitudinous political and social counterbalance to the centralised hegemony of the Ganda kingship.

It is likely that the less homogenous structures of island authority, and in particular, the lack of a king, contributed to Ganda "othering" of the island communities as less civilised.

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[190] UNA, Captain Williams, A2/1; MUL PRO, Buvuma Island History, fol. 01/746967.
[191] Interview, M.N.N., Buvuma.
[192] Miti, 'History of Buganda,' vol. 3, fol. MS 77687, p. 50.
[193] Interview, K.N.P., Buvuma.

Audrey Richards noted from her fieldwork among the Ganda that within Buganda the Kabakaship stood for the 'whole system of ordered administration in the eyes of the Ganda, and also in those of their neighbours. The monarchy represents to the Ganda the "civilised government."[194] By extension, those societies within the interlacustrine region which did not contain centralised royal authority were considered to be inferior to the Ganda. Nineteenth-century explorer and missionary accounts reveal a perception of difference and scorn in attitudes to Buvuma communities. These interpretations were doubtless influenced by Ganda informants and the general perception of the local superiority of Ganda society among most European visitors to Buvuma. Thus, just as Médard has noted that Ganda found the islands uncivilised; so adventurers such as Stanley asserted that the Vuma were warlike people, inhospitable to outsiders, while missionary records outline that islanders were, 'in point of civilisation...far behind the Baganda' and 'living in the grossest ignorance and darkness'.[195]

Despite the immigrant nature of much of Buvuma society, histories and traditions of Buvuma Island in particular suggest that aspects of shared cultures had developed by the end of the nineteenth century. While custom and origins imbibed from origin societies including Buganda might have differed across the islands, the islanders themselves, nevertheless, participated in certain we-group processes which distinguished them from their Ganda neighbours. It has been illustrated above that the collective peoples of the islands, the Vuma, drew together for defence or naval excursions. Not to have done so would have left themselves open to Ganda aggression as even the largest island is unlikely to have contained a population great enough to have defeated the large armadas sent against them. Similarly, certain cultural markers appear to have been widespread across the islands including the removal of front teeth and well as the prominent cicatrisation of women's stomachs undertaken to ritually cleanse an individual.[196] In addition, as with the other areas over which Buganda was to extend its control, Luganda did not provide the lingua franca of island life. The exact construction of Luvuma, the language of Buvuma, appears to have altered island by island, being determined perhaps by the origin of the majority of immigrants within that community. Nevertheless, it appears to have remained mutually intelligible and was predominantly associated with the language of Busoga, Lusoga. Lusoga itself, stems from the same North Nyanza branch of Great Lakes Bantu as Luganda and it is therefore likely that Luvuma and Luganda were closely related. The inclusion of

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[194] Richards, 'Authority Patterns in Traditional Buganda,' p. 288.
[195] Stanley, *Dark Continent*, vol. 2, p. 139; MUL CMS, 'Letter from Bishop Tucker, 1895,' CMS Intelligencer, 1896, AF CHU/276, pp. 425-427; MUL CMS 'Diary of Miss Tanner, Buvuma, 1900,' CMS Intelligencer, 1901, AF CHU/276, pp. 789-790.
[196] MUL PRO, Buvuma Island History, fol. 01/746967; MHA, Church History Papers, H. Vester, 'The Baganda,' UGA Box. 48; Kaggwa does note the practice of scarification and of boring a hole through the lower lip in his discussion of taboos in *Customs*, p.104, though these customs appear mostly to have occurred in Kyaggwe and not to have been widespread across Buganda as a whole.

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a wide range of other dialects through immigration, such as Lukavirondo, however, may well have made Luvuma less easy to understand for Ganda who lived further from the lake and were, consequently, not used to dealing with the islanders.[197]

In addition, key foodstuffs within the islands differed from that of Buganda. Where *matooke* (banana/plantain) provided the staple food within the Ganda Kingdom; *obwere*, 'similar to white sorghum but with a longish seed,' was the dominant foodstuff on the islands alongside fish. This versatile crop could, like millet, be used to produce flour for bread, or the basis of alcoholic drinks or porridge.[198] The disjunction between nineteenth-century Buganda and Buvuma societies in terms of food is further underlined by the difficulties faced by Ganda, or even Ssese individuals in their attempts to evangelise in Buvuma. Unaccustomed to local dishes non-Vuma clearly disdained indigenous fare as H.W. Weatherhead noted in 1899:

> Another very interesting point in connection with this island... (Bagaya)... is the fact that the teacher Luka is an islander, a Musesse sent and paid for by the Sesse church... Luka was sent to answer to an appeal by Mr Martin Hall. He and his wife have bravely stuck to their work, though, he has had difficult times with the, to him, unaccustomed and hard food.

This was not an isolated incident and it seems that for many mainland Ganda individuals a spell on Buvuma meant, 'real self-denial as they cannot get their own food'.[199] To offer one final distinction, music seems to have varied across the lake divide particularly with regard to indigenous instruments. Male and Female respondent within the islands recalled that celebrations were accompanied by drums known as *Babitengeka*. Moreover, the dances which attended these drums were performed to Luvuma songs.[200]

While the Buvuma archipelago's lake-bound status necessitated interaction with surrounding mainland states including Buganda through trade, warfare and immigration, there nevertheless remained an acknowledged distinction of political and cultural autonomy prior to their 1893 incorporation. The inability of successive kabakas to overcome Vuma naval prowess offered a haven for communities of various origins to develop a shared language alongside similar diets and rituals. While Ganda may have considered their island neighbours less civilised, the Vuma themselves fought repeatedly

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[197] MUL CMS, 'Letter from Bishop Tucker, 1895,' CMS Intelligencer, 1896,' AF CHU/276 pp. 425-427; CMS, 'Letter from M.J. Hall, Kkooki, 1899,' Annual Letter Book, ACC/B/G3 A7 AL 1; Interview, E.K., Buvuma, 20th July 2010; Interview, M.K.S., Buvuma; Schoenbrun, Great Lakes Bantu, p. 38.
[198] Interview, M.K.S., Buvuma; Interview, K.N.P., Buvuma; Interview, M.L., Buvuma, 17th July 2010.
[199] CMS, 'Letter from H.W. Weatherhead, South Busoga, 1899,' Annual Letter Book, ACC/B/G3 A7 AL 1; MUL CMS, 'Diary of Miss Tanner, Buvuma,' CMS Intelligencer, 1900, AF CHU/276, pp. 789- 90.
[200] Interview, B.N.K., Buvuma; Interview, M.L., Buvuma.

to guard their independence and it is clear that the incorporation of the Buvuma Isles with British assistance in 1893 represented the inclusion of separate and unwilling territories.

2.6: The Ssese Islands: a case apart

The Ssese archipelago lies across the north western corner of Lake Victoria. The group consists of eighty-four islands of varying sizes from less than 10,000 square metres to over forty kilometres in length. The largest island, Bugala, lies closest to the Ganda shoreline in Masaka. Relatively fertile and with significant natural resources, particularly timber, pre-colonial Ssese appears to have supported a significant population of islanders. As in Buvuma, however, the ravages of early twentieth-century sleeping sickness epidemics, and the subsequent clearing of the islands, renders demographic accuracy nigh on impossible. Early colonial figures place the population at around 11,083 but this initial proto-census in 1906 was less than efficient in its execution; moreover, by the time of its publication sleeping sickness deaths were already peaking.[201] The reduction of a once buoyant populous was recognised by colonial officials such as Uganda's Commissioner Hesketh Bell who noted graphically in 1906 that: 'some of the Ssese group have lost every soul, while in others a few moribund natives crawling around in the last stages of disease are all that are left to represent a once teeming population'.[202] That the islands were relatively well populated prior to the twentieth century is similarly confirmed by traditions within the islands which indicate significant nineteenth-century cultivation, particularly on the largest inhabited islands such as Bugala and Bukasa. The islanders were predominantly fisherman and farmers and Kaggwa attributes the continued ability of Ganda Christians to feed their supporters and armies during the civil wars of the 1880's and 1890's to their productivity. Other occupations for males included forestry and enforced stints as oarsmen in Ganda naval expeditions.[203]

The islands on which these fishermen, farmers and foresters lived had a much more complex and overlapping relationship with the Ganda Kingdom than in the other areas which were to form Buganda's newest peripheries in the 1890's. Where Kkooki, Buvuma, and to some extent Mawogola retained an independent autonomy and Bugerere, Buruuli, and Kabula remained linked to their former kingdoms, nineteenth-century Ssese appears to have been something of an interstitial zone, neither fully incorporated, nor fully independent of the Ganda state. Moreover, unlike in the other areas of expansion oral histories within Ssese

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[201] UNA SMP, 'Population of Uganda Kingdom, 1906-1907,' A43/211.
[202] UNA SMP, Hesketh-Bell to Earl of Elgin, A43/317.
[203] Interview, K.L., Ssese, 6th August 2010; Interview, E.L., Ssese, 2nd August 2010; Kaggwa, *Customs*, p. 156.

record that while some differences may be discerned the majority of Ssese customs strongly mirrored those of Buganda. The somewhat ambivalent position of these lacustrine Ssese communities in relation to Buganda, coupled with their powerful spiritual importance to the Ganda kingdom has led to significantly more scholarship on the islands than elsewhere. The inability to accurately pinpoint Ganda-Ssese relations, however, has led to disagreements between kingdom scholars over the extent of Ssese's affiliation to the kingdom. For Kaggwa and other indigenous historians, as well as in the oral traditions of the island, Ssese has formed a part of the kingdom since the sixteenth century. According to Kaggwa and clan histories, Kabaka Nnakibinge asked a Ssese warrier, Kibuuka, to help in in a war against his Nyoro enemies; Kibuuka was killed fighting Bunyoro and became the Ganda deity associated with war. Moreover, Nnakibinge's successor, Mulondo, is said to have origins in Ssese. Kiwanuka, in particular sees this period as the end of Ssese independence.[204] More recent Ugandan authors have similarly accepted this dictum and place Ssese firmly within Buganda's boundaries from the sixteenth century reign of Kabaka Mulondo.[205] Médard, however, concludes that while the islands were closely related to the mainland, they were not fully incorporated until the end of the nineteenth century. This position is similarly supported by Ray and Reid who have underlined that before the British intervened Ssese retained a degree of political, and certainly cultural, autonomy from the mainland, and were often regarded negatively on the mainland.[206] The arguments of Médard, Ray and Reid are drawn upon here to consider Ssese from a more pointedly Ssese perspective.

It is clear that in the centuries prior to British intervention the relationship between Ssese and Buganda had been firmly entrenched through channels of exchange, co-operation and domination. Médard notes that Ssese and Buganda were interdependent on each other. Ssese exported fish, bark cloth, coffee, boats and religious expertise and Buganda provided Ssese with bananas. Moreover, during times of war or upheaval both mainland and island populations might migrate across the lake to seek refuge. In addition, Ssese contained significant forests vital to Buganda's navy.[207] The prominent spirits of the *lubaale* religion of pre-colonial Buganda, Mukasa and Kibuuka, gods of the lake and of war respectively, both originated from the islands and Mukasa's predominant shrine was housed on Bukasa.

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[204] Kiwanuka, *History of Buganda*, pp. 65- 67.
[205] Kaggwa, *The Kings*, p. 28; Kiwanuka note, in Kaggwa, *The Kings*, p. 9; Kiwanuka, *History of Buganda*, p. 66; Lunyigo, *Struggle for Land*, p. 2. While these narratives might be taken to represent the intervention of Ssese spirit (*lubaale*) mediums on behalf of Buganda, Médard, drawing upon Wrigely argues that it is likely that Mulondo arrived in Buganda from the east; hence the chiefship Mulondo in Bulondoganyi, Médard, Le royaume, p. 58; Christopher Wrigley, 'Kimera,' *Uganda Journal*, 23.1 (1959), p. 41.
[206] Ray, *Myth, Ritual and Kingship*, p. 132; Reid, 'Ganda on Lake Victoria,' pp. 358- 360; Reid, *Political Power*, p. 239.
[207] Médard, Le royaume, p. 59.

Moreover, a significant number of other Ganda deities were based or had shrines on the islands and Michael Kenny has argued that these were central to Ganda political and religious life.[208] These ancestor spirits are closely linked to the origin traditions of Buganda itself and include Wanja, Musisi, and Wanema, sons of Bukulu who, according to Kaggwa, arrived in Buganda with Kintu.[209] The position of Mukasa and Kibuuka within the Ganda Kingdom, in particular, illustrates the strength of Ssese's religious significance to pre-Christian and Islamic religion within Buganda. Ray and Kodesh have noted how these *lubaale* spirits originating from within the Ganda clans performed integral functions to the Ganda state and even offered a reference for Ganda identity by guarding borders and plugging clans into the cult of the state centre. Kibuuka, while originating in Ssese, had a major shrine in the north-west of Buganda and as the kingdom's god of war held a crucial role in defending the state from its traditional adversary, Bunyoro. In this sense, as Ray argues, spirits from Ssese played a key role in 'maintaining the political boundaries of the kingdom'.[210] Moreover, Mukasa was not only god of the lake but also keeper of the king's health and the mediums of both Mukasa and Kibuuka had compounds in the pre-colonial royal capital close to the Kabaka. Indeed, the link between Ssese and the central Ganda government was keenly felt with the Katikiro's *Ddhomola*, or staff of office, traditionally sourced from Bugala's abundant forests.[211] Ssese's religious significance, therefore, connected islanders and mainland Ganda through spiritual and political symbolism.

In addition, the linkages between the two areas were not confined to the sacred; more tangible connections of clanship also characterised the relationship. The emergence of Kibuuka from Ssese's clans indicates a closer association between Ganda and Ssese kinship groups than was present in autonomous areas such as Buvuma or Kkooki. This was also certainly the perception of some early Europeans who recognised the distinction between Ganda and Vuma or Nyoro but recorded of the Bassese that they were part of the Ganda as they 'come from the same stock'.[212] Moreover, neither Kaggwa nor Ssese oral tradition offers any acknowledgement of significant distinctions between Ganda and Ssese clans and indeed a significant number Ganda clans held *butaka* on the islands.[213] Kaggwa himself lists clan leaders within Ssese during the reign of Mutesa I as linked to the mainland groups such as, 'Semugala of the Nkima clan, Musala and Semubwala of the same clan,' and 'Serumaya of the Nvumu

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[208] Michael Kenny, 'Mutesa's Crime: Hubris and the Control of African Kings,' *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 30.4 (1988), pp. 595- 612.
[209] Kaggwa, *Customs*, pp. 112-115; Kaggwa, *Kings*, p. 9.
[210] Ray, *Myth, Ritual and Kingship*, pp. 366-367; Neil Kodesh, *Beyond the Royal Gaze: Clanship and Collective Wellbeing in Buganda*, PhD Dissertation (Illinois, 2004), p. 238.
[211] Benjamin Ray, 'Sacred Space and Royal Shrines in Buganda,' in *History of Religions*, 16.4 (1977), p. 368; Ray, *Myth, Ritual and Kingship*, p. 368; Kaggwa, *Kings*, p. 176; Lunyigo, *Struggle for Land*, p. 76.
[212] Kodesh, *Royal Gaze*, p. 238; Wilson and Felkin, *Uganda*, vol. 1, p. 148.
[213] Roscoe, *The Baganda*, pp. 133- 172.

clan' on Bugala. Similarly, on Bukasa the chief landlord was one Kayanda of the Nonge clan.[214] Moreover, Kodesh has offered detailed analysis of the place of Ssese in Ganda clan history and the role of Ssese clan individuals in maintaining the well-being of Buganda itself. The relationships and offices of the Lungfish clan, for example, intimately connected islands and mainland. The clan was prominently involved in lacustrine activities between the islands and the Ganda shoreline in Busiro and later provided the main canoe men for the Ganda fleet which was commanded by the clan's leader, Gabunga. Moreover, the Gabunga served as the Kabaka's intermediary with the mediums of Mukasa, spirit of the lake and healer to the king.[215] Moreover, some Ssese traditions hold that Kintu himself spent time within Ssese and returned to the mainland with members of the Lugave, Ekkobe and Envubu clans. These narratives offer still relevant implications for a perception of long-term clan histories.[216] It is possible, however, that the clans on the islands simultaneously maintained a sense of separation from their mainland counterparts. Contributors to the land enquiry conducted by Roscoe and Kaggwa in 1906 seem to suggest that Ssese branches of clans conducted customs without referring to the head of the clan in Buganda except in times of dispute.[217] Nevertheless, overall, it is clear that clanship connections were extremely close.

Furthermore, the extension of Ganda influence upon the islands was more direct than in our other areas of study. A number of mainland chiefs, including the Queen Mother, Prime Minister and Treasurer, held estates on the islands, and, as Reid has noted, these probably made use of local collaborative elites.[218] Buganda may well, therefore, have exercised control over Ssese through a system of amenable indigenous leaders. Through these local chiefs and spirit mediums the Ganda Kabaka could make his wishes known and ensure that Ssese's deities attended upon him when he so required. Similarly, the king was able to heavily involve the Ssese in the nineteenth-century evolution of Ganda naval prowess. Individuals from the islands were enlisted to fell timber and construct canoes and Ssese men were forced to undertake long distance journeys across the lake as the pressed oarsmen of patrols and expeditions.[219] Clearly then, the islands were subject to the internal demands of the Ganda state and formed a significantly more integral part of the kingdom, spiritually and politically, than those areas which were periodically allied or tributary within Buganda's wider regional sphere.

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[214] Kaggwa, *Customs*, p. 156.
[215] Kodesh, *Beyond the Royal Gaze*, pp. 46- 47; For further discussion of the role of other Ssese clans see, Kodesh, *Beyond the Royal Gaze*, for example, pp. 63- 64 for the history of the Otter Clan.
[216] Kaggwa, *Customs*, p. 156; Interview, E.L., Ssese.
[217] RHO, Enquiry into Native Land Tenure in the Uganda Protectorate by Rev. J. Roscoe and A. Kaggwa, Submission of Danieli Kaganda and Jomesu Semaga, MSS. Africana. S. 17, p. 102 (Hereafter 'Enquiry').
[218] Kaggwa, *Customs*, p. 170; Reid, 'Ganda on Lake Victoria,' p. 359.
[219] Kaggwa, *Kings*, p. 176; *Ibid.*

If Ssese enjoyed close ties to Buganda in the pre-colonial era, however, its physical separation from the kingdom reflected the atypical nature of its position; part integral to Ganda identity and politics, part outsider. Paradoxically, the islands may have retained a separation from the Ganda state based on their physical disconnection from the mainland and, simultaneously, their centrality to Ganda spirit world. The natural barrier provided by the lake appears to have resulted in a certain degree of autonomy. While the clan leaders and *lubaale* mediums may well have been linked to the mainland by extended kinship networks their authority in the islands outside of Ganda-owned estates was not confined by the resident presence of kingdom officials. Indeed, while the affairs of the lake were monitored by the Ganda *Gabunga*, the chief of canoes, unlike elsewhere in the kingdom the islanders were not subject to the authority of *ssaza* or *ggombolola* (sub-county) chiefs.[220] Instead, the islands appear to have been split between varying and overlapping authorities including the mediums of the various shrines on the islands. Certainly, the Ssese clan elders of the 1930's, while firmly entrenched within the Ganda system, relayed to British officials that their lands had previously been under their political control prompting one official to note that:

> The chiefs were hereditary, as was not the case in Buganda, each ruling his own island or
> islands, while the Gabunga, who lived on the mainland acted as the go-between to convey
> the Kabaka's instructions etc to the island chiefs. I think the Kabaka interfered very little at
> all with the interior economy of the islands.[221]

While these claims were clearly influenced by a desire to ensure the retention or attainment of land within the islands during their post-sleeping sickness resettlement, the spread of political authority across a section of indigenous chiefdoms is similarly recorded in the oral traditions of islands which did not have one leader until 1900 because, 'none of them could willingly accept the other to become the overall chief of Sesse.'[222] Moreover, if the chiefs and spirit mediums of Ssese were resistant to encroaching local authority, they proved similarly reluctant in acquiescing to the whims of the Kabaka. Kaggwa recalls how the spirit Mukasa, represented by Ssese spirit mediums, was called to the royal capital of Kabaka Mutesa I to give an oracle for the sick king. Mutesa, however, refused the price demanded for divination of 'ninety women, ninety slaves, ninety cows and nine hundred cowry shells' and the angry *lubaale* priests refused to prophesy returning to their island where "Mukasa" now remained refusing to attend upon the king. This haughty response to the Kabaka's requests coupled with Mukasa's

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[220] Reid, 'Ganda on Lake Victoria', pp. 358- 260.
[221] UNA, Papers of the Ssese Land Resettlement, AH. Cox, Provincial Commissioner, Buganda, to Land Officer, Kampala, 2nd March 1936, fol. 4999. (Hereafter, 'UNA, Ssese').
[222] Interview, E.L.,Ssese.

ability, or more precisely the ability of those mediums who divined his will, to control the comings and goings on Lake Victoria, even of the Kabaka himself, appears to illustrate a fragmented nineteenth-century relationship between powerful island mediums and the Ganda royalty.[223]

This interpretation is evidenced by Ray who has noted that relations between the Kabaka and the *lubaale* hierarchy had become strained by this time. Similarly Low and John Peel have suggested that Buganda was experiencing an increasing secularisation in the nineteenth century.[224] In this case we might see the very ritual importance of Ssese to Buganda as a key determinant of its interstitial position. It is possible that as a religious site of some of the more powerful Ganda gods, the Ssese Islands suffered by association with their powerful priests. Moreover, the close connection drawn between the Ssese and the spirit world in the mind of mainland Ganda may well have encouraged perceptions of the islands as hyper-spiritual. Perhaps nothing represents this perceived "otherness" of the islanders better than the persistent stories of cannibalism which pervaded mainland discourse about the islands.[225] Harry Johnston, the architect of the 1900 Buganda Agreement under which Ssese was formally incorporated as a county, noted in 1902 that his Ganda informants relayed stories concerning the existence of a 'secret society' known as the *Basezi*. The *Basezi*, according to Johnston, had a 'morbid taste' for disinterring and eating corpses, and moreover, were confined predominantly to Ssese; 'the natives of the Ssese Islands have an ill fame among their fellow Ganda of the mainland, as suspected cannibals'.[226] The ghoulish interest with which Johnston relays this information perhaps hints at exaggeration, nevertheless, the focus on Ssese indicates a wider conception of the islanders as somehow "other". Stories surrounding cannibalism in Africa have often been linked to notions of power through concepts of 'eating' or 'appetite' and within Ssese such accusations might reflect suspicion over "witchcraft" and the potent forces channelled by mediums on the islands.[227] Alternatively, or perhaps relatedly Paul Richards has noted that fears surrounding 'Leopard Societies' and 'Leopard Men' and human sacrifice in Sierra Leone reflected concerns over the absence of good governance and social disorder.[228] The inability of the Kabaka to actively control the spiritual authorities of Ssese may similarly have produced a reaction against this disordered non-Ganda society.

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[223] Kaggwa, *Customs*, p. 116; For a further examination of these events and the relationship between the island spirits and the king see, Kenny, 'Mutesa's Crime.'
[224] See Low, *Religion and Society*; Peel, 'Ijebu and Buganda,' pp. 116.
[225] Kenny, 'Mutesa's Crime,' p. 602.
[226] Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, vol. 2 (London, 1902), pp. 692- 693.
[227] See, Stephen Ellis, *The Mask of Anarchy; The Destruction of Liberia and the Religious Dimension of an African Civil War* (New York: New York university Press, 1999), pp. 2- 10.
[228] Paul Richards, 'Witches, Cannibals and War in Liberia,' Review Article, *Journal of African History*, 42.1 (2001), pp. 167- 169.

A further source of conflict governing Ganda and Ssese perceptions of each other stemmed from the relationship of men from the islands with Ganda warfare. Reid has noted how Ganda naval commanders forced islanders to participate in expeditions as oarsmen, viewing them as 'merely their means of transport' while Ganda were warriors; because of these roles in war it is likely that, 'the arrogance inherent in the Ganda military ethos led many soldiers to look down upon Sesse'.[229] Indeed, the Ssese only seem to have fought alongside the Ganda when attacking other lacustrine targets such as the Vuma.[230] The men of Ssese were, therefore, necessary to Buganda but not on an equal footing within it. Indeed, conditions for Ssese oarsmen were harsh as the missionary Mackay recorded in 1881; 'the canoes are all built by the Bassese, who are the very slaves of slaves...on Mutesa's orders, they are obliged to leave their homes and paddle all the way to Usukuma & back, receiving no pay and no food for any journey.'[231] This casual rough treatment of the island men seems to reflect Ssese's in-between status at once linked to, but not wholly of the kingdom. Moreover, Nicholas Ssewanyana has noted that by the late nineteenth-century Ganda demands for Ssese oarsmen would have a significant effect on the islands' economy. An official based on the islands complained that in 1898 that the people of Ssese were regarded as inferior within Buganda and that the 'severe strain upon the island labour resources was so serious as to endanger the canoe service, now so essential with the increasing demands on the Victoria Nyanza lake transport.'[232] Ganda descriptions of their island neighbours were predictably unflattering. Stanley noted that the islanders, 'because of their coal-black colour, timidity, superstition, and general uncleanly life, are regarded as the helots of Uganda'.[233] Such denigrations may also have resulted from a lack of experience of islanders in heartland counties as Roscoe informs us that until the latter stages of the nineteenth century many Ssese had never visited the mainland.[234] In addition, the difficulties insinuated in these, at times turbulent, interactions are further underlined by the continued raiding of the islands by Ganda parties into the late nineteenth century. Following a period of habitation on the island in the early 1880's the missionary, C.T. Wilson, noted that, 'the Village chiefs, moreover, used frequently to beg me to protect them from the depredations of the Waganda...who, according to their custom on arriving at a village, began to plunder the huts.' Similarly, raids against the island are known to have been launched under the rule of Mutesa I.[235] While other central areas of the kingdom

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[229] Reid, 'Ganda on Lake Victoria', p. 359.
[230] Médard, Le royaume, p. 245.
[231] Alexander Mackay, cited in Reid, 'Ganda on Lake Victoria', p. 359.
[232] Nicholas K. Ssewanyana, *The Legendary Kingdom* (Kampala: Ssewanyana, 2008), p. 86.
[233] Stanley, *Dark Continent*, vol. 1, pp. 212-214.
[234] John Roscoe, *Twenty-five Years in East Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921), pp. 61-62.
[235] Wilson and Felkin, *Uganda*, vol. 1, p. 232; Kaggwa, *Kings*, pp. 160-161.

did experience slaving expeditions, no other integral territories of the kingdom seem to have suffered the harsh treatment meted out to the islanders and these continued *razzias* suggest the sustained interstitial status of Ssese before Buganda's 1890's consolidation with British assistance.

This stereotyping of "uncivilised" island communities, familiar also from contemporary perceptions of Buvuma, is perhaps all the more strange when applied to Ssese where customs and traditions largely reflected wider Ganda norms. In religion, marriage customs, and funeral rites, and in clan structures, dress, and diet Ssese social and cultural models appear, from the limited evidence available, to have been extremely similar to Ganda practices.[236] The sole decisive break from wider kingdom culture appears to have been the retention of the Lussese language into the twentieth century. Lussese, like the other largely unwritten peripheral languages of Buganda, is difficult to trace. Most commentators, however, placed its late nineteenth-century form as a cross between Luganda and Lusoga; though perhaps closer to the latter.[237] This raises intriguing possibilities over Ssese origins and the subject requires further linguistic research in a study dedicated solely to that end. What is clear, however, is that Lussese was different enough from Luganda for early Europeans to comment on its effect on their missionary efforts within the islands. As the Reverend Martin Hall noted in 1898:

> Recently a band of voluntary workers have been going out visiting in the gardens after the afternoon class and have, I believe, ere this preached the word in every house on this part of the island. This visiting can only be done by the Bassese as the old people in the gardens speak Lussese, and scarcely understand Luganda at all.[238]

This variance in the construction of communication may well have contributed to the "othering" of islanders who didn't speak the language of the Kabaka in their everyday interaction. Other island variations included the use of Lussese based naming practices and the preservation of a few unique foodstuffs which could not be found on the mainland. Chief among these were the root vegetable *enumbu*, which 'tasted like ginger', and a sauce named *masinya*.[239]

The story of Ssese then, is a case apart. While the other territories formally added at the end of the nineteenth century have strong claims to pre-colonial independence of one form or

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[236] Interview, E.L., Ssese; Interview, K.S.W., Ssese, 5th August, 2010; Interview, L.S., Ssese, 3rd August 2010.

[237] Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, vol. 1 (London 1902), p. 713; WCA, Journal of A.R. Cook, Oct 3rd 1899, PP/COO/B6.

[238] MUL CMS, 'Extracts From Annual Letters: Rev M.J. Hall, Sesse, 1898,' CMS Intelligencer, AF CHU/276, pp. 598- 600.

[239] Interview, E.L., Ssese; Interview, K.L., Ssese.

another, Ssese's interstitial position was more complex. Firmly linked to the kingdom by clanship, economy, tradition and proximity, the islands nevertheless remained marginalised and this peripherality resulted in the evolution or retention of autonomous political and cultural elements. Similarly, it encouraged a distrust and dismissal in heartland Ganda communities of their island neighbours who felt them less civilised and fit to be treated as fodder for forced labour. It is likely then, that the island communities, retaining their own language and chiefs, remained apart from a wholly Ganda identity. The inclusion of the Ssese archipelago as a fully-fledged county of the kingdom in 1900, therefore, would necessarily have entailed a recalibrating of Ganda influence and cultural hegemony. Nevertheless, it is clear that Ssese culture was much closer to Ganda norms than any of the other areas considered here, and as such it is clear that the acquisition of predominant Ganda identities would have been facilitated by connections with long historical traditions between the two regions. Indeed, increased proximity with widely practiced Ganda norms and increased acceptance within the wider Ganda sphere may in many cases have been enough to encourage "Gandisation", although knowledge of indigenous traditions was also to some extent retained as we shall see. Elderly informants within Ssese recalled being told that the sleeping sickness removals had helped to cement the relationship of the Ssese to the Ganda through intermarriage and familiarity and that this process helped the islanders because it began to break down 'the habit of belittling us like they used to do before'.[240]

2.7: Conclusion

The central themes of Ganda history have often obscured the manoeuvrings and political and cultural distinction of those communities which lay across its borders. Concern with the great kingdoms of the region has rescinded the capacity for action of smaller states and, consequently, their subsequent incorporation within the Ganda Kingdom, while acknowledged, has caused little pause for thought. This chapter has argued that by realigning our gaze to assess the two-way interaction between Buganda and the communities which came to form its outer counties in the twentieth century it is possible to readdress this historical lacuna and to re-examine the kingdom's relationship with smaller neighbouring states. Médard has suggested that the relatively autonomous states closest to Buganda, including Kkooki, were at an advanced but blocked state of integration into the kingdom; highly dependent on Ganda protection but unable to assimilate fully because of the

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[240] Interview, E.L., Ssese; Interview, R.E., Ssese, 8th August 2010.

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depredations of slave raiding and military expeditions for plunder.[241] While it is clear that the kingdom of Buganda did retain significant political and cultural influence throughout the interlacustrine area through warfare, geo-politics, slavery and trade, it has been suggested here that smaller societies remained able to maintain an autonomy of action despite the presence of their powerful neighbour. In Kkooki, Buvuma and Ssese, and among the Nyala and Ruuli connections to dominant states did not prevent local authorities from pursuing their own agendas, playing off larger entities against each other and taking advantage of times of instability or disorder to enact their own agendas.

Moreover, the chapter has underlined the conclusions of previous studies in considering the extent to which the Ganda Kingdom was bounded by differing border structures which acted as both delineations and conduits but were nevertheless acknowledged frontiers, with the exceptions of the more complicated cases of Ssese and Mawogola. These boundaries permitted the movement of peoples, ideas, commerce and culture, but similarly appear to have been frequently and easily recognised. Buganda, then, suggests that recent scholarship on pre-colonial borders is right to emphasise that the fluidity attributed to African social structures in debates around the origins of African ethnicity, while extremely useful in highlighting the dynamism of much of the continent, has to some extent clouded our understanding of variations in the distinctions between communities.

In addition, determining the nature of these pre-colonial cultural, political and geographical boundaries offers a foundation for considering processes of assimilation in the twentieth-century kingdom. By moving beyond the Ganda centre to consider the nineteenth-century position of those territories which would be incorporated in 1900 it is possible to shed light on the history of communities which existed according to their own determining factors and cultural mores and not just in relation to the desires and demands of the Ganda state. This process is essential as it opens up twofold possibilities; firstly, it contributes to an understanding of territories and peoples which have remained greatly understudied in the Ganda historiographical tradition. Secondly, through analysing these areas in terms of their own historical trajectory, as well as their relationship to the Ganda state, the retention of localised and indigenous identities suggests the necessity for colonial-era assimilative processes as "Gandisation" encouraged acceptance of new cultural markers and ascriptions. Moreover, by better understanding these societies before their incorporation it is possible to more positively analyse the layering of Ganda identities onto indigenous traditions. It is from this basis that the remaining chapters will turn to consider how processes of inclusion, exclusion and resistance played out in Buganda's new post-1900 peripheries.

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[241] Médard, Le royaume, p. 215.

Chapter 3: An identity imposed? Assimilative processes in the colonial Ganda state

3. 1: Introduction

The establishment in Chapter Two of the character of the pre-colonial distinctions between Buganda's post-1900 territories and the core of the kingdom itself offers a necessary platform from which to address subsequent processes of assimilation. The retention of a political, and more importantly, a linguistic and cultural separation across acknowledged boundaries with Buganda before the 1890's underlines the necessity to understand the processes by which these differentiations in identity-politics and socio-cultural constructions dissolved, or failed to dissolve, during the twentieth century. It is analysis of these developments which forms the key component of our discussion in subsequent chapters. Understanding varying forces for "Gandisation" working upon Buganda's new communities is key to comprehending the roles of different actors in socio-cultural change. Or, to put it another way, the dichotomies between state centre and periphery, colonial and indigenous, inclusion and marginality, and adaption and resistance are illuminated by the way in which individuals and communities became, or did not become Ganda.

The role of the Ganda and British authorities within this context of incorporation is of paramount importance. By considering the content, potency and origin of assimilative processes it is possible to better understand the evolution of ethnic identities within the colonial period. Moreover, by considering the extent of the influence exerted on assimilation by Ganda and British governments it becomes evident how little information exists detailing Buganda's relationship with its newest counties post-1900. While the two western "Lost Counties" of Buyaga and Bugangaizi have received significant scholarly attention, the manner by which the populations of seven of Buganda's twenty counties were brought into Ganda society remains essentially unknown. The infamous Ganda attempts at coherent assimilation and "invention" within the "Lost Counties" have remained at the forefront of investigations into identity change within Buganda in the twentieth century. Given the simultaneous inclusion of several other counties alongside Buyaga and Bugangaizi around 1900 it might be assumed that Buganda would have acted similarly in Kkooki, Kabula, Mawogola and Buvuma, other peripheral areas with correspondingly distinct pre-colonial histories. It is certainly the case, as will be emphasised, that the less frequently discussed eastern "Lost Counties" of Buruuli and Bugerere underwent similar processes of intensive integration, albeit in the face of less active resistance. It is the contention here, however, that by addressing the narrative of Buganda's lesser known peripheries alternative assimilative processes are revealed to have

been working within the kingdom. While Buganda and its colonial ally Britain actively sought to bring Nyoro communities within the Ganda fold through a sustained policy of political, cultural and linguistic imposition, they remained less concerned to ensure the "Gandisation" of other newly incorporated populations. The peoples of Kkooki, Buvuma, Kabula, Ssese and Mawogola, far from being the object of intense assimilative policies, were required by circumstance to adopt the status of peripheral counties. A combination of comparatively smaller populations, a lack of resources, and the absence of high political stakes surrounding ethnic capital ensured that neither colonial nor Ganda governments saw fit to undertake a sustained enforcement of Ganda "identity". Moreover, whereas in the "Lost Counties" prestige politics dictated a Ganda-British union on the desirability of ethnic homogenisation, in the "Acquired Counties" a lack of coherence in assimilative processes was revealed by disputes between the two powers arising from disagreements over indigenes' rights.

This is not to suggest that forces driving the reification of identities did not exist within the "Acquired Counties". Certainly the communities incorporated by Buganda in the later nineteenth century subsequently resided within the framework of the wider British Protectorate. Colonial officials within Uganda were no less susceptible to perceptions of the "tribal" African than administrators elsewhere and the colonial state was run along broadly "tribal" lines either through the "traditional" kingdoms of central Uganda or districts in the north and east.[1] The attachment of Buvuma or Kkooki to the colonial Ganda state might therefore seem to offer supporting evidence for the weight placed on systems of "Indirect Rule" in contributing to the expansion and consolidation of "tribes" within the colonial period.[2] Similarly, it is clear that certain of the key tenets of constructivist theory might be discerned within Buganda's extended boundaries. The role of missionaries in propagating and codifying languages often remains understood as a key determinate of twentieth-century linguistic associations. In Buganda the extension of Luganda through missionary education, bible texts and church services facilitated processes of assimilation, although such interventions were rarely conceived as an active policy of extending ethnic homogeneity, at least above a personal level. This linguistic impact combined with the piecemeal imposition of Ganda chiefs, the intentional or unwitting falsification of census data, and the movement of peoples, to draw peripheral peoples into the Ganda cultural sphere.

Nevertheless, Buganda remains an intriguing and in many ways unique case-study for considering these processes due to its comparatively significant levels of autonomy within the Protectorate system. The intrusion of colonialism into Ganda political, social and psychological

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[1] Kasfir, *Ethnicity in African Politics,* p. 86.

[2] See, M. Crawford Young, "Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Class in Africa: A Retrospective," *Cahiers D'etudes Africaines,* 26.103 (1986), pp. 421- 495; Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*; Iliffe, *History of Tanganyika,* pp. 314- 318.

life was, as elsewhere in colonial Africa, a tangible development encouraging significant changes between 1900 and independence in 1962. This was particularly the case with regards to the relationship between the majority of the population and political and landowning elites, and the connection of the Ganda to the land. Holly Hanson has demonstrated how the colonial experience in Buganda, the increase in the cash economy and labour demands, and the introduction of freehold land impacted on the ties which bonded Ganda society together.[3] Colonial ideology similarly affected notions of morality, well-being and the role of women in society.[4] Moreover, on a political level the 1900 Agreement which delineated respective Ganda and British spheres of authority and their relationship to each other underlines the imposition of a power hierarchy topped by Europeans. R. Cranford Pratt noted in his classic study of British overrule in Buganda the significance of the extension of colonial authority over the kingdom through the Agreement. Newly elected kabakas, chiefs and ministers required approval of the Protectorate authority to confirm them in office while chiefs might be dismissed on grounds of failure to fulfil duties set by the British. Moreover, the Kabaka was required to solicit, and more importantly follow, the advice of Her Majesty's Representatives before implementing the resolutions of the Ganda parliament, the *Lukiiko*. Most important of all were two articles which gave British overrule its widest definition: 'Article 20...freed Her Majesty's Government from the Agreement "should the Kabaka, chiefs or people of Uganda pursue a policy which is distinctly disloyal to the British Protectorate". Article 6 promised recognition of the Kabaka so 'long as the Kabaka, chiefs and people of Uganda shall conform to laws and regulations instituted for their governance'.[5] In addition, Pratt notes that following the end of the First World War in Buganda, as in many other colonies, colonial intervention increased as the Imperial powers became more confident in the consolidation of their position. In 1925-6 the Provincial Commissioner in Buganda, J.R.P. Postlethwaite asserted British control by removing the elderly but still powerful Protestant chief Apolo Kaggwa from his position as *Katikiiro* (Prime Minister) and while colonial intrusion relaxed a little with the proposed introduction of reforms under Governor Charles Dundas in the 1940's, riots thereafter encouraged a reassertion of British hegemony through the appointment of "loyal" chiefs.[6]

The application of British power within Buganda, however, was significantly more curtailed than these events might suggest. Low and Pratt have noted how Buganda's special

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[3] Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, pp. 125- 267.
[4] Carol Summers, 'Intimate Colonialism: The Imperial Production of Reproduction in Uganda, 1907-1925,' *Signs, 16*.4 (1991), pp. 787- 807.
[5] R. Cranford Pratt, 'The Politics of Indirect Rule: Uganda, 1900-1955,' in Donald Anthony Low and R. Cranford Pratt, *Buganda and British Overrule: Two Studies* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 184- 185.
[6] Pratt, 'Politics of Indirect Rule,' p. 208; John R.P. Postlethwaite, *I Look Back* (London: T. V. Boardman, 1947), pp. 100- 119; Kavuma, *Crisis in Buganda 1953-55*, p. 8.

status vis-à-vis the British was in many ways enshrined within the 1900 Agreement and its later amendments, giving the kingdom an autonomy of action perhaps not enjoyed by any other state in British colonial Africa. The 1900 Agreement, for instance, was not simply imposed onto the Ganda, but worked out through months of consultation between leading chiefs, missionaries and the British representative Harry Johnston. Furthermore, the final document enshrined numerous privileges, particularly for the Ganda elite, not least of which was the acquisition of roughly 9,000 square miles of freehold land known as *mailo* to be distributed between the Kabaka and the chiefly class. Moreover, leading chiefs used the Agreement to access the most desirable *mailo* plots leaving the Protectorate government with the remaining allotment of less fertile land.[7] In addition, the Agreement itself became a frame of reference within colonial Ganda politics to which kingdom officials could appeal, reducing the ability of British administrators to make ad hoc alterations to governance within the kingdom. Whenever the Protectorate government sought to extend its control of Buganda affairs the Agreement proved a thorn in the side of senior British officials who lamented their inability to enforce policy change without reference to the 1900 document.[8] As Pratt records: there was, 'hardly a single extension of Protectorate control in the period that did not at some preliminary stage precipitate a warning from some senior government officer that it was precluded by the Agreement'.[9] Moreover, during the 1953 Kabaka crisis both colonial administrators in Uganda and in England as well as Ganda advocates for the Kabaka's return sought to utilise the terms of the Agreement to justify their positions.[10] In addition, the religious basis of the Agreement by which the *ssaza* counties and positions of authority were bound to be shared out between Protestant, Catholic and Muslim candidates- with power residing predominantly with the Protestant hierarchy- limited British autonomy of action within Buganda. The Ganda Regents, three leading chiefs who essentially governed the kingdom comprising of the *Katikiiro* (Kaggwa until 1926), the Chief Justice (originally the Catholic chief Stanislaus Mugwanya) and a Treasurer- retained appointment of chiefs' right down to the *ggombolola* level and these structures remained religiously based. For example, when a *ggombololaship* came available in Bugangaizi in 1910 the *Lukiiko* and Kaggwa tried to impose a Protestant candidate but Mugwanya, the leading Catholic chief, objected and a Catholic was chosen instead. This process indicates 'how even a relatively minor appointment could result in disputes rising to the highest levels of the Ganda system'. This deeply ingrained

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[7] Donald Anthony Low, 'The Uganda Agreement of 1900,' in Donald Anthony Low and R. Cranford Pratt, *Buganda and British Overrule: Two Studies* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 35- 96; Pawlikova, 'Transformation of Buganda,' p. 118.
[8] Pratt, 'The Politics of Indirect Rule,' p. 208.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] The memoirs of Paul Kavuma, *Katikiiro* at the time of the Kabaka's deportation underline this process; see Kavuma, *Crisis in Buganda.*

bargaining between the parties restricted the colonial governments' room for manoeuvre: 'the government could not act independently; it had to take Ganda leaders into account, and they opted firmly for candidates from their own parties.'[11]

Analysing this disjunction between Ganda and British authority Glenn McKnight has sought to query conceptions of Indirect Rule as having been imposed independently of African circumstances and resulting in the top-down, 'unrestricted arbitrary authority' of Europeans working through African collaborators. [12] In an article in 2000 entitled 'Land, Politics and Buganda's "Indigenous" Colonial state,' McKnight underlines that the assumptions of scholars such as M. Crawford Young and Mahmood Mamdani on the hegemony of colonial authority have resulted in perceptions of an administrative and political system in which customary law may have been constructed through conflicts between Africans and the state but in which, in the final reckoning, policy was dictated to Africans by British officials in a one-way flow of influence that negated a wider impact for African agency. [13] By contrast, McKnight questions the absolute, hierarchical authority of the colonial state by examining the 1920's *Bataka* crisis within Buganda. The *Bataka* crisis has seen significant research in recent years sufficient that it need not be sketched out fully here. Suffice to say that the *Bataka* movement ostensibly centred on disaffection among Buganda's clan heads (*Bataka*) over loss of clan lands as a consequence of the imposition of *mailo*. In reality, while *mailo* was a key issue, supporters of the *Bataka* encompassed a wide section of Ganda society, men and women, young and old, unhappy with their place in the colonial kingdom and their relationship to the Ganda and Protectorate states.[14] McKnight notes that the playing out of this conflict illustrated the extent to which there remained key issues within colonial states which Europeans impinged upon but did not create or control. Indeed, the *Bataka* crisis underlined that fracture lines within Buganda's indigenous governance could influence Protectorate policy. The imposition of the 1928 *Busuulu and Nvuuju Law* which provided greater security for tenants on *mailo* land and effectively undermined *Bataka* leaders by severing their 'ability to represent peasant

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[11] Hansen, *Mission, Church and State*, p. 326.

[12] Glenn McKnight, 'Land, politics, and Buganda's '"Indigenous" Colonial State,' *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 28.1 (2008), p. 65.

[13] McKnight, '"Indigenous" Colonial State,' p. 65; Crawford Young, *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 44- 46; Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*, p. 49.

[14] For further descriptions of the *Bataka Crisis* see, McKnight, "Indigenous" Colonial State'; Summers, 'Young Buganda and Old Boys,' pp. 109- 128; Summers, 'Radical Politics in Late Colonial Buganda', pp. 427- 447; Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, pp. 205- 227; Donald Anthony Low, *Buganda in Modern History* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), p. 89.

discent as tied to *Bataka* land claims', indicates how colonial policy was forced to respond to requirements for social harmony.[15]

Buganda, then, might be understood as retaining a greater degree of influence within the colonial system than traditional conceptions of imperial authority suggest was possible. This thesis seeks to explore such relationships further through analysis of assimilation and identity within the colonial period. Within this wider framework this chapter illustrates how the varying processes affecting "Gandisation" were predominantly Ganda-led. While the study operates within the colonial context and does not neglect the importance of external actors in encouraging incorporation and the development of ethnic norms, it is clear that these processes must be considered as part of a wider understanding of indigenous processes affecting peripheral identities. In this way the chapter contributes to debates surrounding ethnicity and identity within African history by building on the work of scholars such as Michael Mahoney in considering colonial intrusion into ethnic politics as part of wider indigenous narratives.[16]

The differing nature of Ganda reactions to non-Ganda residents has been previously addressed by Shane Doyle in an article entitled, 'Immigrants and Indigenes: The Lost Counties Dispute and the Evolution of Ethnic Identity in Colonial Buganda'. Here, Doyle has illustrated how colonial Ganda society reacted in a fundamentally different manner to migrant agricultural labourers compared to the populations of the "Lost Counties" where Nyoro irredentism and political rivalry evoked a widespread desire within Buganda to assimilate Nyoro populations and underline the legitimacy and strength of Ganda rule in the contested region.[17] This is a useful model from which to consider non-Nyoro peripheral counties and the similarities are openly evident. As Doyle notes, while some basic assimilative aspects remained applicable to all non-Ganda including the use of Luganda and the necessity of loyalty to the Kabaka, the Ganda authorities made little attempt to incorporate migrant workers. In a comparable manner, the peripheral populations of the "Acquired Counties" remained outside of the state's assimilative efforts. Doyle's analysis therefore provides a framework from which to explore contrasting attitudes to assimilation.

It is not, however, a one size fits all model. The distinction between immigrants and indigenes is broken here; in the "Acquired Counties" indigenes did not provide a target for sustained assimilation. Moreover, Ganda responses to their necessary cash crop migrants could be openly hostile. Economic migrants provided agricultural labour reserves but their

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[15] McKnight, '"Indigenous" Colonial State,' p. 81; The Busuulu and Nvuuju laws formed a body of legislation introduced early in the twentieth century to regulate labour obligations (busuulu) and ground-rent (nvujju) owed by individuals to the state.

[16] Mahoney, 'Racial Formation and Ethnogenesis,' pp. 559- 583.

[17] Doyle, 'Immigrants and Indigenes,' pp. 284- 302.

residence in and among the Ganda unsettled a host population which feared that increasing numbers would result in land alienation and undermine the stability of the Ganda state. In addition, the threat of sickness was often associated with immigrants, and those from Rwanda in particular, who reached Buganda after long journeys and appeared in a state of poverty and exhaustion and, consequently were regarded as vectors for disease.[18] The relationship between the Ganda centre and their new non-Nyoro peripheries, by contrast, was largely non-committal. Ganda in Busiro, a central heartland county, might fear the intentions of their Rwanda neighbours, but would be less likely to hold serious concerns over the indigenous populations of Kkooki or Buvuma. Indeed, if they were neither trader nor migrant it is possible that they rarely thought of such places at all. And herein lies the crux; the sustained assimilation of the "Lost Counties" was replaced in the "Acquired Counties" by a centre-periphery relationship within which peripheral communities were neither coherently assimilated nor actively discriminated against. They occupied a liminal zone within which they were subjected to various incorporative processes but remained free of sustained, coherent assimilative efforts. In consequence, where you lived in colonial Buganda determined the extent to which the Ganda state considered your "Gandisation" important. This chapter, therefore, extends Doyle's analysis arguing that by addressing non-Nyoro peripheries as well as migrant workers it becomes apparent that the coherent assimilation of the "Lost Counties" was only one avenue for incorporation within the colonial period. In truth, the forceful, active assimilation experienced in Mubende District, Buruuli and Bugerere was the exception, rather than the rule.[19] Within the "Lost Counties", an area key to Ganda prestige, population size, prosperity and power within the colonial system, a directed, coherent assimilation characterised Ganda and British response to inhabitants whose irredentism posed a threat to the status quo. Elsewhere across Buganda's newly cemented territory, however, in the less threatening and prosperous Kkooki and Kabula, Buvuma, Mawogola and Ssese, assimilation encompassed piecemeal processes of British and Ganda intrusion lacking the steely edge of sustained ethnic homogenisation. It will be acknowledged here that the clearances of the Buvuma and Ssese Islands during the sleeping sickness epidemic in the early twentieth century represented a rather brutal exemption to these wider processes.

To demonstrate the varying forms of assimilation within the kingdom and the reasons for their existence in different contexts the chapter comprises three key sections. The first will consider the case of the "Lost Counties" arguing that here, the Ganda and British authorities pursued an active policy of attempted ethnic change provoked by the importance of the

[18] M. Lyons, 'Foreign Bodies: The History of Labour Migration as a Threat to Public Health in Uganda,' in *African Boundaries: Barriers, Conduits and Opportunities*, ed., Paul Nugent and A.I. Asiwaju (London: Cassell, 1996), pp. 133- 134.
[19] Mubende District comprised the western "Lost Counties" of Buyaga, Bugangaizi, and Buwekula.

territories in question. The second section will focus on the extent to which un-coordinated assimilative processes were brought to bear on "Acquired Counties" communities through the imposition of external actors. The third and final section will demonstrate the evolution of a centre-periphery axis between marginalised peripheral communities and the Ganda heartlands illustrating that the relative unimportance of the non-Nyoro peripheries resulted in an ambivalence at the centre towards active "Gandisation" within the "Acquired Counties" territories.

3.2: The "Lost Counties": attempting absolute assimilation

It is inevitable that any consideration of identity alteration within twentieth-century Buganda should begin by acknowledging the single largest dispute over ethnic attachment and integration within the Uganda Protectorate in the colonial period. The bitter wrangling between Buganda and Bunyoro over the counties incorporated by the Ganda with British collusion in the 1890's has provided a rich vein of research for analysing Buganda's assimilative qualities and the "limits of ethnic change".[20] Scholars from AD Roberts to John Beattie, who himself penned an analysis of the Nyoro claims in Mubende for the 1962 Privy Council Commission, to recent analyses by Doyle and Green, have sought to understand the complex interactions between Ganda government and the inhabitants of the disputed counties.[21] In short, the "Lost Counties" narrative is a well-worn tale. Its discussion here, therefore, may well cover some familiar ground. Nevertheless, an exploration of Buganda's northern peripheries is essential to understanding the contrasting assimilative processes at work within the colonial kingdom. By demonstrating, in line with Doyle, that the Ganda government within the "Lost Counties" pursued a policy of assimilation which was coherent, prolonged and actively targeted at incorporating recalcitrant Nyoro populations within the kingdom, the extent to which the contemporary peripheries of the "Acquired Counties" experienced a more fractured, piecemeal approach to identity alteration becomes more openly apparent. Moreover, where "Lost Counties" analyses have traditionally focused on Buyaga and Bugangaizi, the two counties returned to Bunyoro by referendum in 1964, it is the intention here to use examples and evidence from the eastern counties of Buruuli and Bugerere wherever possible. It is no coincidence that the two western counties have formed the backbone of historical discussion. It was here, in the colonially demarcated district of Mubende, that a section of the Nyoro population created a committee dedicated to the repatriation of the territories to Bunyoro.

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[20] Green, 'Limits to Ethnic Change,' pp. 473- 85.
[21] Roberts, 'The Lost Counties,' pp. 194- 199; ECPC, Statement by J. Beattie, January 17th 1962; Green, 'Ethnic Change'; Doyle, 'Immigrants and Indigenes.'

Here also, were the tombs of the former kings of Bunyoro and a resistance to integration indicated by colonial census data. If the Ganda role in the eastern territories has tended to be overshadowed by these more obvious flashpoints, nevertheless, it is clear that tactics of assimilation varied little across the breadth of the new northern peripheries. In Buruuli and Bugerere, as in Buyaga, Bugangaizi, Bulemezi, Buwekula and northern Ssingo, the Ganda government sought to undermine local networks of clientship and patronage and destabilise communal attachments to systems of identities through a variety of methods.

The emphasis placed by Buganda on the necessity for colonial era incorporation within the "Lost Counties" stemmed from the unique relationship between the kingdom and its northern Nyoro neighbour and was influenced by both historical and contemporary events. By the time European explorers, missionaries and later colonial officials arrived in the region a fraught relationship had already existed between the two rival kingdoms for several centuries. Buganda's rise to regional pre-eminence in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and Bunyoro's subsequent pre-colonial resurgence under the Omukama Kabarega only served to heighten tensions.[22] Although the Bunyoro King was recognised as the sole peer to the Kabaka the Nyoro people were regarded disdainfully by Ganda, and war with Bunyoro did not follow normal rules.[23] Moreover, genealogies were contested between the two states in competitive attempts to provide rhetorical proof of regional pre-eminence through links to the ancient empire of *Kitara* from which many of the Great Lakes kingdoms were believed to have originated.[24]

On the arrival of European explorers, missionaries and subsequently the British authorities in the 1890's, Buganda's elite skilfully manipulated these outsiders, turning them against Bunyoro and underlining their primacy within the region.[25] The success of the kingdom in this venture is best evidenced through the "Lost Counties" themselves, where Ganda aims at expansion at the expense of Bunyoro coincided with British desires to retain trade routes to the north and secure their base within Uganda. These new territories represented Ganda victory in an extended struggle for primacy and came to be seen within Buganda as a reward for their alliance with the British under which the kingdom's power was considerably extended and its dominance within the new Protectorate assured. The "Lost Counties", then, signified Ganda supremacy and their retention became a matter of prestige for the Ganda government, the Kabaka and the wider population. As Audrey Richards noted from personal experience in

[22] Rowe, 'Pattern of Political Administration,' pp. 71- 72; Semakula Kiwanuka, 'The Emergence Of Buganda as a Dominant Power in the Interlacustrine Region of East Africa, 1600-1900,' *Makerere Historical Journal, i* no.1 (1975), pp. 19- 31.
[23] Doyle, 'Immigrants and Indigenes,' p. 288.
[24] Doyle, 'From Kitara to the Lost Counties,' p. 460.
[25] Médard, *Le royaume*, pp. 153- 220.

the 1960's; 'no Muganda, educated or uneducated...was willing even to consider Bunyoro's case...It is a matter of prestige.'[26] Moreover, the "Lost Counties" were home to a significant population spread across the different territories. The incorporation of these numerous communities contributed to Buganda's demographic strength within the colonial set-up wherein the kingdom was able to boast the largest number of inhabitants. Similarly, the "Lost Counties" offered greater opportunities to access physical wealth. In Bugerere and Buruuli, for example, the environment suited the cash crop production of cotton in which Buganda became heavily involved during the colonial period. Moreover, by the 1950's Bugerere had become the main producer of bananas for consumption in Kampala.[27]

In addition, the emergence of a significant Nyoro resistance to Ganda rule in the twentieth century, both in the counties themselves, and most importantly at the instigation of Bunyoro, required a concerted Ganda response. Previously shunned by the British due to King Kabarega's prolonged resistance to the imposition of western rule by the 1920's Bunyoro had begun to redeem itself in the eyes of the colonial authorities. In 1933 the kingdom finally received its own Agreement governing its relations with the colonial state. The Nyoro king, Tito Winyi, and the Bunyoro government used this thawing of relations to resurrect the "Lost Counties" debate, and attempts to have the territories returned to Bunyoro would dominate the Nyoro colonial experience thereafter.[28] By the end of the colonial period, the "Lost Counties" issue had resulted in the need to form a dedicated commission to enquire into the dispute. In 1962, under pressure from Bunyoro, the Foreign Office consented to an investigation by the Privy Council, acting as the supreme court of appeal for inhabitants of the Commonwealth, led by Lord Molson. In addition, the Munster Commission which was set up to investigate the relationships between Native Administrations at independence was similarly forced to engage with the issue. While these commissions recommended the return of Buyaga and Bugangaizi to Bunyoro, the eventual referendum on the counties in 1964 was an expression of Nyoro persistence in precipitating the return of lost lands. Moreover, the importance of the issue to both kingdoms is evidenced through the huge amount of column inches dedicated to it in indigenous language newspapers of the period, as well as in the underhand tactics employed on both sides as they sought to secure a decisive victory in the referendum. The Ganda government, for instance, attempted to flood the western counties with new Ganda migrants in 1963 and 1964, a project undermined by the requirement that

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[26] Audrey Richards, 'Epilogue,' in *The King's Men: Leadership and Status in Buganda on the Eve of Independence*, ed. by L. Fallers (Oxford: Oxford university Press, 1964), p. 387.
[27] John Iliffe, *Africans: The History of a Continent* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 216.
[28] Doyle, 'From Kitara to the Lost Counties,' p. 462- 463; Justin Willis, 'A portrait for the Mukama: Monarchy and Empire in Colonial Bunyoro, Uganda,' *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 34.1 (2006), pp. 116- 117.

voters must have been registered in the counties in 1962 to be eligible to participate.[29] The forceful assimilation attempted within the "Lost Counties" by Buganda must therefore be viewed within this wider context of inter-kingdom hostility. Buganda's newest northern territories were simply too important to be left to develop themselves. In response to Bunyoro's claims for the return of the counties Buganda sought to fully assimilate the indigenous Nyoro populations in a process of "Gandisation" which would irrevocably incorporate land, traditions and populations within the Ganda political and cultural sphere.

The conquest of the counties and the introduction of Ganda political hierarchies

The relationship between Buganda and its newest northern counties differed from contemporaneously incorporated territories from the outset. In 1893 British Commissioner Henry Colvile launched a large scale assault on Bunyoro with the aid of over 14,000 Ganda soldiers. With the European scramble for African territory in full swing, Bunyoro was to be pacified to open up Equatoria Province and the southern Sudan for administration; the opportunity for war loot would also serve as a timely distraction from simmering political and religious tensions which threatened further internal conflict and the position of the British base within Buganda itself.[30] Although the war within Bunyoro was to continue for a further six years the initial stages of the encounter saw a rapid British and Ganda advance into the kingdom's southern territories and by April 1894 Colvile had announced the annexation of all lands south of the River Kafu, the "Lost Counties", to Buganda. Taken by conquest the new area was subsequently portioned out to maintain the balance of power between the Protestant and Catholic factions within Buganda with the Catholics receiving the western counties of Buyaga and Bugangaizi and the Protestants taking the larger eastern territories including Buruuli and Bugerere.[31] Of the "Acquired Counties" only Buvuma suffered military defeat and occupation in a similar manner. Buvuma, however, did not endure the sustained brutality which was to characterise the Bunyoro campaign and the initial years of Ganda control. In an earlier expedition in 1891 Lugard recorded of his Ganda troops that, 'before we left Unyoro, the Waganda as usual were firing all the houses in every direction and devastating the enemy's country.' This pattern of violence against indigenous Nyoro populations was to continue unabated as the nineteenth century drew to a close. As Ganda chiefs moved into the

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[29] See for example, MUL NEWS, *Uganda Eyogera*, 1961- 1962 series; *Obugaga Bwa Uganda*, 1961 series; *Omukulembeze*, 1964 series; 'Buganda Loses Case: It will Also Pay Costs,' *Omukulembeze*, 31st October, 1964.
[30] Henry Colvile, *The Land of the Nile Springs: Being Chiefly an Account of How We Fought Kaberega* (London: Edward Arnold, 1895), pp. 49- 109; Archibald R. Dunbar, 'The British and Bunyoro-Kitara, 1891-1899,' *Uganda Journal*, 24.2 (1960), pp. 229- 241; Doyle, 'Immigrants and Indigenes', p. 291; Low, *Fabrication of Empire*, p. 121.
[31] Roberts, 'The "Lost Counties"', p. 194; Doyle, 'Immigrants and Indigenes', p. 291- 292.

territory of their traditional enemy repression formed a significant tool for political control and civilian communities faced violence and the threat of virtual enslavement. One local officer, a Lieutenant Forster, noted that he had 'received many complaints of the oppression of the Wanyoro by the Waganda in the ceded districts.' Indeed, the impact of the British supported Ganda occupation was to so severely affect Bunyoro's population that it formed one of the primary factors for its early twentieth century decline.[32] The Ganda response to its new northern subjects, therefore, conformed to a distinctly violent trend which was far more evident than among its other newly incorporated territories.

The initial brutality of the occupation receded somewhat by the early decades of the twentieth century as Buganda began to gain a firmer foothold across the counties, although by this time a significant assault on Nyoro social and political structures had already taken place. In particular, and more stringently than in any of the "Acquired Counties", the 1900 Agreement between the kingdom and the British eroded ties between sections of the Nyoro population and their land as *mailo* allotments were grasped by Ganda chiefs. Of the 2,995 square miles allotted within the disputed territories only seventy ended up in the hands of leading Nyoro, although in his anthropological study on Bugerere A.D. Robertson noted that some Nyala also received *mailo* allotments.[33] Green has argued, in line with the conclusions of the 1962 Privy Council Commission that the transference of Nyoro lands to often absentee Ganda landlords may be mitigated in light of the widespread dispossession of non-chiefly Ganda in the same settlement. In other words, as the commission noted; 'the justification for the 1900 Land Settlement may be debatable, but we are satisfied that it was applied uniformly to Baganda and Banyoro.'[34] Such analysis clearly underplays the socio-ethnic component involved in this type of military expansion and redistribution of wealth through land ownership. While significant sections of Ganda society sought to overturn the land gains of the chiefly classes in 1900 through the *Bataka* movement of the 1930's and 1940's, Nyoro complainants tended to emphasise not only a break with traditional land tenure systems but also the non-Nyoro status of most land-holders within the counties. As one respondent to the Privy Council noted; 'Buganda annexed the land as soon as she came into power. As a result the Banyoro became the servants (if not the slaves) of the Baganda, who automatically

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[32] Lugard, *Diaries of Lord Lugard*, V. II, p. 175; Doyle, 'Immigrants and Indigenes,' p. 295; Quoted from Shane D. Doyle, *Crisis & Decline in Bunyoro : Population & Environment in Western Uganda 1860-1955* (Oxford: James Currey, 2006), p. 82; Shane D. Doyle, 'Decline and Delayed Recovery in Bunyoro, 1860-1960,' *Journal of African History*, 41.3 (2000), pp. 437- 441; Lieutenant Forster's concerns reflect the sympathies felt by some individuals towards Bunyoro's plight, but wider British policy concerning the use of Ganda representatives to govern territories across the Protectorate consistently reinforced the Ganda occupation.

[33] BNA, Lost Counties of Bunyoro, Privy Council Commission Report by Lord Molson, CO 822/2786; Robertson, *Community of Strangers*, p. 47.

[34] Green, 'Limits to Ethnic Change', p. 477; BNA, Molson Commission, CO 822/2786.

became landlords.' Even if Ganda clans and communities were dispossessed in a similar way to their Nyoro neighbours it would be wrong to undermine the double impact felt by Banyoro as their system of land tenure was not only altered, but developed to suit the desires of an "alien" land holding cohort.[35] Moreover, unlike their Ganda counterparts, Nyoro who sought to buy territory as prosperity increased found themselves subject to a further dislocation in their hereditary connections to the land. Buying *mailo* allotments entailed recognition by the Kabaka of the lineage connections of the individual involved and, consequently, Nyoro claimants were obliged to adopt, publicly at least, membership of a Ganda clan. This was further aggravated by a common desire on behalf of Ganda owners to only sell to those with Ganda names. In addition, laws of succession within Buganda dictated that land transfers were adjudicated by clan heads adding further pressure on Nyoro recipients whose formal recognition of tenure depended on their Ganda name and connections.[36]

In addition, much of this newly redistributed land was to be administered by imported Ganda chiefs in an active policy of Ganda overrule. It might be argued that the presence of Ganda officials in the "Lost Counties" merely reflected a wider kingdom policy of alternating *ssaza* and sub-county chiefs according to need rather than area of birth and that some "Lost Counties" indigenes were similarly able to enter the kingdom administration in other areas, particularly Nyala from Bugerere. This is certainly the case put forward by elderly Ganda respondents and officials within the counties.[37] While there is clearly some basis to these claims and indigenes were indeed sometimes able to enter government elsewhere, the scale of Ganda control of the hierarchies of authority within the "Lost Counties" belies the claims of equality of opportunity which such assertions are intended to illustrate. By contrast the current *Issabaruuli* (cultural leader) and Ruuli historian, Mwogezi, asserts that, 'the chiefs, from the lowest, (village chief) to the highest, (county chief), were all Baganda'.[38] Operating within his own contemporary agenda the *Issabaruuli* overstates the case; nevertheless, it is clear that beyond the level of *miruka* chief, positions within the "Lost Counties" until at least the 1950's were almost entirely filled by Ganda born elsewhere within Buganda. Even those submissions to the Privy Council which demanded the right to remain within Buganda tended to

[35] ECPC, Statement 14 , John Tibalaka and P. Katendo, United Mubende Party, Buyaga, 1961; ECPC, Statement 3, Samson Lawrire Senkasi, Buruuli, 1961.

[36] Audrey Richards, 'The Assimilation of Immigrants,' in *Economic Development and Tribal Change; A Study of Immigrant Labour in Buganda*, ed. by Audrey Richards (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1954), p. 173; BNA, Molson Commission, CO 822/2786; ECPC: Proof of evidence taken by G. Coles, Barrister at Law, Isaka Irumba, Bugangaizi; Proof of evidence taken by G. Coles, Barrister at Law, Eriya Botha, Bugangazzi,; Proof of evidence taken by G. Coles, Barrister at Law, Igenatio Kaijakwamya Sserunkuuma, Buyaga.

[37] EG. Interview, S.M., Bugerere, 7th May, 2010; Interview, CN, Bugerere, 8th May, 2010.

[38] *Issabaruuli* is the title taken by the cultural leader of the Ruuli though its origins appear to be as recent as the 1980's; Issabaruuli Mwogezi, *History of Buruuli-Bunyala*, p. 36.

acknowledge the lack of responsibility held by members of the indigenous community. As one respondent from Buruuli noted,

> At first only Baganda were appointed chiefs but nowadays as the Baruuli have
> advanced in education, they are being appointed chiefs and all the miruka chiefs
> in Buruuli are Baruuli...Therefore, we urge the Kabaka's government to appoint
> us to responsible posts.[39]

The exception to this rule might possibly be considered to be Martin Luther Nsibirwa, the Ganda Prime Minister assassinated in 1945 on the steps of Namirembe Cathedral in Kampala after trying to restore order following the 1945 *Bataka* and cotton riots. A close friend of Apolo Kaggwa in whose enclosure at the royal capital he grew up, Nsibirwa rose through the Ganda government ranks becoming *ssaza* chief of Bugerere in the 1920's and then treasurer and Prime Minister for the kingdom. Some traditions claim Nsibirwa as having Nyala heritage and he is cited by Ganda as an example of integration within the "Lost Counties". Conversations held by the author in Buganda, however, reveal disputes as to Nsibirwa's actual heritage, with some conjecture that he may also have been born in Ssese. If Nsibirwa was born in Bugerere he is undoubtedly an extreme exception to the norm among Nyala in the colonial period, his rise facilitated by his early introduction into Kaggwa's circle.[40]

In the 1950's and 1960's Ganda policy began to evolve beyond a simple narrative of assimilative repression into a multifaceted incorporative approach. Concerns over the status of the counties in an independent Uganda and continued pressure from Bunyoro encouraged Buganda to seek to entice "Lost Counties" elites. The number of Nyoro chiefs greatly increased and more scholarships for secondary and university education were allocated.[41] Medical and educational facilities were also improved within the counties as the Ganda state sought to present a less discriminatory approach both to the populations of the counties and to the Protectorate government. In truth, however, even as Ganda policy evolved beyond simple repression Nyoro sub-chiefs continued to be viewed with suspicion by the Ganda government. Moreover, more so than elsewhere, as we shall see, indigenous chiefs whether Nyoro, Nyala or Ruuli were either discarded or forced to adopt the cultural insignia of Ganda identities. By 1962 although five of the eighteen sub-county chiefs in the western counties could claim Nyoro ancestry, such officials continued to be closely monitored and could be

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[39] ECPC, Statement 31, Zekiga Katora, Kakoge, Buruuli,1962.
[40] See, Apter, The political kingdom in Uganda; Low, *Buganda in Modern History*, p. 94; Caroline Howell, Martin Luther Nsibirwa, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/76/101076274/> (Accessed, 10th February 2012); Peter Mulira, 'Banyala-Baganda Conflict Can Be Settled Peacefully,' *New Vision*, 16th September, 2009.
[41] Doyle, 'Immigrants and Indigenes,' p. 297.

dismissed or transferred for disloyalty for a variety of acts including 'associating with the Mubende Banyoro Committee or failing to record Nyoro as Ganda in birth registers'.[42] Furthermore, access to scholarships was firmly predicated on identifying as Ganda. As Doyle has noted, 'the growing resources of the Ganda state were an effective means of limiting Nyoro self-assertiveness. Promotions, like scholarships, were believed to be available only to those Nyoro who were prepared to use a Ganda name and avoid irredentist organizations.'[43] For those Nyoro who reached positions of power in the 1950's access to authority and resources was explicitly linked to obedience to "being Ganda" which, crucially, entailed a rejection of previous socio-cultural attachments. The violence of the military conquest, the comprehensive redistribution of land and the widespread imposition of Ganda chiefs all serve to underline, therefore, the comprehensive manner in which Buganda set about re-programming social and political structures within the "Lost Counties". This coherent, forceful imposition of Ganda hegemony illustrates an essential assimilative policy entrenched within alterations to the levers of power. The new counties would be Ganda; governed by Ganda and owned by Ganda.

The repression of culture and falsification of census data

Buganda's rules of access to land ownership and administrative positions were a means by which to control and incorporate the prosperous and the educated. For the wider Nyoro, Ruuli and Nyala populations, however, Buganda developed other strategies to stimulate assimilative change. These tactics ranged from enforced re-naming to the suppression of cultural practices. In addition, use of the Lunyoro language was repressed and colonial census data was used by Buganda in an attempt to cloak the continued existence of significant Nyoro populations. Widespread pressure exerted on Nyoro, Nyala and Ruuli to take Ganda names formed a baseline for successful integration. Doyle has noted that more than a quarter of all witness statements to the Privy Council commission alleged that the complainant had themselves had to alter their name, or had been required to give a Ganda name to their children. The necessity of taking such a name was usually emphasised by Ganda officials at a juncture when the individual involved required something from the kingdom. Prime examples included needing to register a birth, attend school or pay taxes. As has been noted, it was also often necessary to take the name of a Ganda clan when buying or seeking to inherit land. Much of the evidence for this concerted effort towards re-naming encouraged by the kingdom government stems from the western counties where it represented an allegation

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[42] *Ibid.*, p. 296; ECPC, Misc Statements, Memorandum by the Katikiiro of Bunyoro Kingdom, Mr Z.H. Kwebiha, Uganda Constitutional Conference, 1961.
[43] Doyle, 'Immigrants and Indigenes,' p. 297.

repeatedly addressed to the 1962 Privy Council Commission.[44] The continual pressure to use a Ganda name was clearly a keystone issue for many Nyoro in areas of Buyaga and Bugangaizi and its influence could pervade an individual's adult life:

> The Baganda introduced the system of naming our children Kiganda names...Not only did they do this to our children but also to grown-ups. I am a good example. On my baptism at N.A.C. Kikoma, my Kinyoro name, Igwahabi was refused and I was named Sekandi which is a Kiganda name...I did this very unwillingly. When paying poll-tax, I was forced to use the Kiganda name by the Buganda Government. It was only in 1951 that my Kinyoro name was accepted to be written on my poll tax...On my getting married I refused to use the Kiganda name. The missionaries agreed with me in this matter because they wanted me to get married.[45]

By 1962 a significant majority of the commission's submissions from Buruuli and Bugerere remained in favour of remaining within Buganda. While most were Ganda incomers, some indigenous individuals also argued strongly for remaining in the kingdom. Yet it is clear that similarly imposed cultural processes existed within these eastern counties. As will be explored in Chapter Four, modes of resistance to "Gandisation" took different forms here than among their compatriots in the western counties.[46] Those who retained Nyala or Ruuli identities offered remarkably similar accounts of Ganda actions. As one respondent living within Bugerere at the time noted: 'when Baganda started ruling us...from 1900 the ssaza chiefs or leaders here could not allow anybody to identify himself or herself as a Munyala...I myself, told you I am B-------, but when I was baptised they never allowed me to be baptised with that name, they called me Bugolwa.'[47]

Moreover, in the eastern counties as in the west, clan names were imposed by Ganda chiefs to their own advantage when redistributing land:

> I am headmaster of Kakoge Primary School. I am a Muruuli. Baruuli speak a different dialect from Banyoro, but regard themselves as Banyoro. I had to abandon my Kinyoro clan and join a Kiganda clan. I was forced to do so because the head of the Kiganda clan has so much power, particularly in deciding the inheritance of a man when he dies. In each clan there is a Mutongole, Muluka and Gombolola "chief" for the clan, parallel to the Government chiefs, who are responsible for supervising the members of their clan under

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[44] TNA/PRO, Molson Commission, CO 822/2786; ECPC, Statement 77, Laboni T Musoke, Bugangaizi, 1962; ECPC, Statement 3, Buruuli; ECPC, Statement 30, Fesito K. Mugenyi, Masindi, 1962.
[45] ECPC, Statement 80, Amoni Igwahabi, Bugangaizi, 1962.
[46] MUL NEWS, 'Conflicting Views on the Lost Counties,' Uganda Argus, January 29th, 1962.
[47] Interview, E.B., Bugerere, 8th May 2010.

customary law. If the clan wishes to hold some ceremony it raises money by an unofficial levy on its members, varying from 10/- to 40/- per head, with a reduced levy for wives and children. Banyoro and Baruuli are forced to pay the levy; the clan chief asks what is their totem and then says which Kiganda they belong to.[48]

In addition, across the "Lost Counties" Nyoro, Nyala and Ruuli complained of similar consequences for resisting the "Gandisation" of names. Particularly pertinent in this respect was the impact on indigenes' education. It was widely understood that to secure secondary or university bursaries a Ganda name and clan was a necessity. Applications required the recording of a candidate's ethnic group and had to be approved by a variety of Ganda officials culminating in the kingdom department of education. It is clear across the counties that where candidates referred to themselves as anything other than Ganda bursaries and places in educational institutions tended not to be forthcoming. This was a process highlighted by the Mubende Banyoro Committee in their rejection of Ganda governance; 'at present the Buganda Government awards bursaries and scholarships only when our children have renounced their own tribe.'[49] The consistency of these claims across the counties coupled with the clear sanctions involved in refusing to alter naming practices undoubtedly indicates that the pervasive process of re-naming in line with acceptable Ganda custom represents more than local prerogative by specific officials. The Buganda Kingdom government in collusion with its "Lost Counties" representatives pursued, until at least the 1950's, a coherent and prolonged policy of identity alteration through a "Gandisation" of Nyoro, Nyala and Ruuli names.

A similar trend may be discerned in the kingdom's attempts to suppress indigenes' language and cultural practices. In common with the rest of Buganda, the "Lost Counties" administration used Luganda as its lingua franca. In courts and schools, medical centres and churches Luganda pervaded the lives of local communities. It was, as the Molson Commission noted, 'only natural and reasonable that the Kabaka's government should insist on the use of a single language throughout its judicial, administrative and educational systems.[50] Moreover, a number of commentators and witnesses in the 1950's and 1960's noted that while Lunyoro, Luruuli and Lunyala might have been distinct from Luganda they were not so far removed as to cause serious problems for translation. As one group of Banyoro seeking federal independence for Mubende argued; 'Luganda and Lunyoro are so related that it cannot be

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[48] ECPC, Misc Statements, Akisoferi Wandera, Kakoge, Buruuli, 1962.
[49] ECPC, 'Statement 45, Erisa Kalise on behalf of the Mubende Banyoro Committee, Mubende, 1962; See also: ECPC, Statement 77, Bugangaizi; ECPC, Statement 3, Buruuli; ECPC, Misc Statements, Teachers Based in the Lost Counties, Mubende, 1962; ECPC, Statement 36, Polycarp Kwebiha, Kampala, 1962.
[50] BNA, Molson Commission, CO 822/2786; Green, 'Limits to Ethnic Change,' p. 477.

difficult for any person who hears both languages spoken daily (as Banyoro people in Mubende do) to understand and speak Luganda.' While this may well have been the case, nevertheless, Luganda was not the first language of the Nyoro communities and as a member of the Uganda Languages Board underlined to the Privy Council Commission; 'spoken Runyoro is more different from spoken Luganda than the spelt languages are, therefore, it must be to the disadvantage of a child brought up to speak Runyoro to have to hear his first school lesson in the language of a different group of the same family.'[51] Moreover, while the use of Luganda may well have reflected a general policy across the kingdom, the rigid application of a singular form of official communication within the "Lost Counties" appears to have been much more stringent than in other areas. Recent Ruuli and Nyala accusations against Buganda allege that their languages were virtually extinguished amongst those remaining within the counties through an intentional suppression of their usage within everyday life. 'On pain of jail or other punishment' Lunyala and Luruuli were systematically removed from official arenas including schools; moreover, those who continued to practice their indigenous dialects were treated as 'backwards' by their Ganda neighbours.[52]

Given the current political situation of hostility between Buganda and the Nyala and Ruuli cultural groups it is of course necessary to temper such accusations by acknowledging the possibility of their post-independence origins. Nevertheless, Ruuli-Nyala allegations of enforced language suppression chime closely with the experiences of western counties Nyoro as described to the commissions of the 1960's. Here, it is clear that Nyoro using their indigenous language might face sanctions from Ganda or European officials. The official status of Luganda within the native administration ensured that the use of *Lunyoro* in court could result in charges of contempt. Furthermore, individual witnesses felt that the imposition of Luganda within the "Lost Counties" school system had curtailed their educational attainment:

> When I was young I went to Bujuni Roman Catholic Mission School. Both the Father and
> the teacher were Baganda and they refused to allow me to speak anything but Luganda.
> This made it very difficult for me and kept me back in my lessons. They also selected a
> Muganda boy called Noah whose task it was to write down the name of any boy who
> spoke Lunyoro either in or out of school and report it to the schoolmaster...This has
> happened to many people who are Banyoro. I ran away from that school because I was
> badly treated. Many others did likewise; it was not an unusual thing.[53]

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[51] ECPC, Statement 79, Mubende United Party, Bugangaizi, 1962; ECPC, Misc Statements, Memorandum from Brian Edmond Kirwan, Superintendent of Police, Member of the Uganda Languages Board, 1962.
[52] Mwogezi, *Baruuli-Nyala*, p. 40; Bintizibu, *The Banyala Ethnic Group*.
[53] Doyle, 'Immigrants and Indigenes,' p. 293; ECPC, Misc Statements, Byengonzi Evidence taken by J. Pearlman, Solicitor, Nyarwayo Village, Bugangaizzi, 1962; ECPC, Misc Statements, Yoanna Capabusa, Evidence taken by G. Coles, Barrister at Law, Buswekera Village, Buyaga, 1962.

Given the intent with which the kingdom government pursued the use of Luganda within the "Lost Counties" and the similarities in repression throughout, it seems plausible to assume that Lunyala and Luruuli did indeed experience the same negative pressure in public life as Lunyoro to the west. Moreover, Nyala and Ruuli traditions also appear to indicate that they suffered from the same undermining of local cultural practices as their western neighbours as Buganda sought to instil Ganda custom at the heart of the "Lost Counties" communities. As part of this process non-Ganda marriage, death and birth rites alongside music and dancing were actively discouraged and sometimes punished by the authorities. In its final report the Molson Commission concluded that while there was no 'official ban on Banyoro dancing' within the counties, 'it is possible that the Buganda authorities may from time to time take justifiable exception to the scurrilous or seditious words which may accompany the dancing.'[54] This clarifying caveat is certainly revealing. In fact, despite the claims of the commission to know of only one actual case of punishment for practising Nyoro customs, the suppression of such rituals formed a significant theme in "Lost Counties" grievances.[55] Some allegations even asserted that the witnesses themselves had been imprisoned or fined for performing non-Ganda ceremonies. Although such actions were clearly more common in the western counties, particularly Buyaga and Bugangaizi where the Mubende Banyoro Committee remained active, they certainly also formed a stratum of identity imposition to the east. In Buruuli in particular witnesses claimed to have been confined to prison by Ganda courts for acts such as the removal of teeth in the Ruuli-Nyoro style.[56]

The suppression of culture was designed to underscore a new Ganda allegiance within the counties; a process also mirrored in the approach of the kingdom and the British to the collection of census data. In 1921 all of the "Lost Counties" remained over 60% Nyoro, with the figures for Buruuli and Bugerere slightly lower than in west but still running at 86% and 75% respectively.[57] By 1931, however, census data appeared to reveal that the Nyoro population had all but disappeared, reduced to just one per cent of the total "Lost Counties" population. The repetition of this result in 1948 caused an outcry in Mubende District as Nyoro leaders contested the results arguing that returns made by Ganda chiefs had proved highly fraudulent. A carefully conducted recount in 1950 in the three western counties

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[54] BNA, Molson Commission, CO 822/2786.
[55] ECPC, Misc Statements, Kosima Gusaliire, Evidence taken by J. Pearlman, Solicitor, Kisengya Village, Buyaga, 1962; ECPC, Misc Statements, Yozefu Rukyalekere, Evidence taken by J. Pearlman, Solicitor, Kiryanga Village, Buyaga, 1962; ECPC, Misc Statements, Timuteo Kasambura, Evidence taken by J. Pearlman, Busana Village, Buyaga, 1962.
[56] ECPC, Misc Statements, Aligizanda Bigirwa, Evidence taken by J. Pearlman, Solicitor, Kigingo, Buruuli, 1962.
[57] UNA, Census Report, 1921; The Ruuli and Nyala were counted as either 'Banyoro' or 'Baganda' on the census forms attributing them a different identity from the start.

indicated the extent of the falsification of data revealing that between 85% and 90% of Buyaga and Bugangaizi were still Nyoro.[58] In the eastern counties, under less pressure from recalcitrant populations a recount was ruled out by British and Ganda authorities and so it is impossible to know what percentage of Ruuli and Nyala might have retained a non-Ganda identity. The counting of "Ganda" in Nyoro, Ruuli and Nyala areas was an effective tool in the Ganda assimilative process. Local chiefs acting as census enumerators were able to influence the outcome of results on the ground, either through intimidation or by simply refusing to record Nyoro as Nyoro. As one respondent to the Privy Council Commission noted: 'Baganda numbers seem higher because the chiefs and clerks (Baganda) make sure that ordinary people put down kiganda names. Only those from the north, Acholi, Langi etc are allowed to put down different ethnic groups.'[59]

Until challenged this process of skewing the ethnic map of the kingdom had been tacitly accepted by the British authorities. Following the 1948 census, however, the British were careful to ensure in the following 1959 report that in the western counties British officials rather than Ganda chiefs collected data; although Doyle argues that even these measures could not prevent falsification in south Bugangaizi and Buwekula.[60] By contrast, preventative measures were not thought necessary for Buruuli and Bugerere where the Molson Commission, based on evidence from British census officers in the central counties, declared that the 1959 results showing a 2.2% and 0.5% Nyoro population respectively were entirely accurate. Indeed, as we shall consider in the next chapter, significant assimilation may well have taken place, but nevertheless, the dramatic alteration in numbers suggests a level of foul play among these eastern counties. Buruuli and Bugerere were not included in the 1950 recount which illustrated the extent of falsification in the west and though it is likely that their returns, like those of Buwekula, may well have shown a significant fall in Nyoro numbers, the actual figures for 1948 indicated no Nyoro population whatsoever. Moreover, the failure to extend British protection to the census process in the eastern counties in 1959 undoubtedly affected returns even if the census may have revealed a significantly reduced indigenous population. Respondents to the Privy Council Commission from Buruuli certainly complained that they had been returned as Ganda. As one headmaster from Kakoge told the commissioners:

> In the 1959 census all the younger generation and our children were recorded as Baganda-
> the intention is to transform us into Baganda. I, my wife and three children were registered

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[58] Doyle, 'Immigrants and Indigenes,' p. 294; Green, 'Limits to Ethnic Change,' p. 479.
[59] ECPC, Statement 3, Buruuli; ECPC, Statement 77, Bugangaizi.
[60] Doyle, 'Immigrants and Indigenes,' p. 295.

as Baganda. In my Batongole there are seven families of which two are Baganda and five Baruuli. All were recorded as Baganda.[61]

Clearly, then, the local Ganda authorities across the length and breadth of the counties were concerned to illustrate an increased "Gandisation" of local communities at the expense of indigenous inhabitants through officially recording the existence of a comprehensive Ganda majority.

It is by assessing the multifaceted aspects involved in Ganda control of its new northern territories that the kingdom's evolving relationship with "Lost Counties" communities is brought to the fore. Through this process Buganda's assimilative capabilities are rendered into an articulate approach to the intentional, attempted "Gandisation" of key twentieth-century populations. From an initial violent revelation of the arrival of a new hegemonic power through to the comprehensive acquisition of land and political capital, Buganda sought to actively undermine traditional social structures. Moreover, the forceful imposition of Ganda names, language and cultural practices and, significantly, the repression of their indigenous counterparts illustrates the extent to which the colonial era "Lost Counties" constituted a zone of coherent active assimilation. Indeed, the widespread, multi-layered and, most importantly consistent manner in which Ganda authorities sought to undermine indigenous language, custom and cultural practices, indicates the extent to which cohesive homogenising processes were actively implemented and encouraged in an attempt to instigate and evidence the "Gandisation" of local communities.

3.3: Forces for assimilation in Buganda's non-Nyoro peripheries

The coherent assimilative policy discussed thus far was a reaction to the acquisition of key counties of former Bunyoro sovereignty. In this case Ganda prestige and prosperity demanded an active assimilation characterised by multi-faceted interventions. As shall be illustrated later in this chapter, this coherent assimilative effort was not matched by Ganda and British interventions within the "Acquired Counties". Nevertheless, assimilative processes were in evidence within these areas which encouraged the adoption of Ganda identities. It is perhaps important to reiterate here that individual and communal agency need not automatically be understood to have been undermined by such interventions. Indeed, it is essential to bear in mind that the assimilative processes encouraged amongst Ssese or Kabula communities

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[61] ECPC, Misc Statements, Akisoferi Wandera, Evidence taken by E. Nugee, Barrister at Law, Kakoge, Buruuli, 1962; ECPC, Abyasali Bantana, Evidence taken by E. Nugee, Barrister at Law, Namunkaga, Buruuli, 1962.

undoubtedly represented only one reaction in a constantly evolving progression building upon cultural interaction. A dominant Ganda identity could not be built by outside forces alone. It had also to be "imagined" by, for example, the people of Kkooki themselves as one more development in an evolving understanding of the attachments that characterised Kkooki "indigeneity" following on from previous events such as the imposition and collapse of Bunyoro rule.[62]

While underlining that peripheral communities were not passive recipients of enforced assimilative processes, nevertheless, it is clear that elements of a wider trend towards assimilation did occur across the "Acquired Counties". Forces external to the peripheries themselves, both Ganda and most importantly European, imposed upon linguistic and political life and introduced ethnic classifications which fed into a movement towards the adoption of Ganda cultural mores as a key determinant of identity. To begin with, Buganda's expansion over the "Acquired Counties" at the end of the nineteenth century was both sparked by, and facilitated through a fortuitous collision of Ganda and British interests. Just as a conquest and redistribution of territory in Bunyoro suited the political and strategic designs of both Buganda and Britain in the area; so the 1893 defeat of the Vuma by Ganda forces assisted by the Maxim gun of Captain Williams simultaneously subdued a thorn in the kingdom's side and pacified an obstacle to British trade and travel by the lake route from the Kyaggwe coast to the Kavirondo Gulf.[63] Moreover, it was the declaration of the 1900 Agreement between Britain and Buganda which, without consultation, formally incorporated areas such as Ssese and Kabula within the Ganda governmental sphere. In addition, the emphasis which the British placed on Buganda's advanced 'degree of civilisation' ensured that as the kingdom expanded Ganda individuals and political practices were often favoured in newly incorporated areas.[64] Furthermore, the central location of the site of first contact between the majority of Europeans and the kingdom ensured that these external actors naturally engaged with heartland Ganda customs and constructed their interpretation of the wider kingdom from these localised traits.

This section will therefore discuss the extent to which external actors intervened in the acquisition of Ganda identities among the communities of the "Acquired Counties". It will do so by focusing on several specific themes. Firstly, and perhaps most importantly, it will address the introduction of Luganda by European and Ganda intermediaries as the language of the classroom, the church and the court. As elsewhere in British colonial Africa this process of

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[62] As noted in the Introduction the term 'imagined' may be understood in the context of Benedict Anderson's famous text on the origins of nationalism. While Thomas Spear and others have critiqued the term in an African ethnic context it retains a usefulness in its implication of collaboration and longevity in the processes by which "identities" or attachments are constructed. See Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp. 6-20; also, Ranger, 'Invention of Traditions Revisited,' pp. 62- 111.

[63] Lwanga-Lunyigo, *Struggle for Land in Buganda*, p. 2.

[64] Lugard, *Diaries of Lord Lugard*, vol. 1, p. 209.

linguistic homogenisation was predominantly driven by missionaries and catechists; overall, as Crawford Young has noted, this 'mission-based language codification project provided a crucial basis for the emergence of larger categories of ethnic consciousness.'[65] Secondly, the section will consider the extent to which Ganda chiefs and their control over land tenure were imposed in peripheral areas other than the "Lost Counties". Thirdly, the British and Ganda role in the falsification of census data will be addressed. As is apparent from "Lost Counties" narratives the ability to disguise ethnic associations through official misrepresentation was a key component in the kingdom response to Nyoro, Ruuli and Nyala communities. In the "Acquired Counties" indigenous communities are often similarly absent from official data records highlighting a wider kingdom phenomenon of what Doyle, citing evidence from the 1962 Privy Council commission, has referred to as a need to 'write them as Baganda'.[66] Finally, the imposed geographical dislocation of Buvuma and Ssese Islanders during the early twentieth-century sleeping sickness epidemics will be analysed.

The "Lost Counties", then, were not the only site of twentieth-century processes of assimilation affecting indigenous communities within Buganda. The influence of external actors, particularly Europeans, was felt throughout the kingdom's peripheries and the evolution of ethnic and cultural identities responded and reacted to the linguistic, political and social forces that such intervention entailed. This section will examine such processes in detail and reveal the manner in which local communities adapted to these less coherent but still powerful drivers for "Gandisation".

Language

The role of language in defining and demarcating ethnic identity remains a contested axis in theories surrounding identity formation. Even among those scholars who have firmly emphasised the essential content of ethnic attachment, the necessity for linguistic unity as a classificatory element has proven controversial. While scholars such as LaPage and Tabouret-Keller have highlighted the role of language as a common ethnic bond, Anthony Smith has rejected language as a key identifier of ethnicity emphasising that its malleability and dependency as a cultural category reduces its usefulness when deployed in an ethnic context.[67] Nevertheless, language and dialect have consistently formed the basis for discussions of identity evolution in twentieth century Africa. In particular, the impact of

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[65] Crawford Young, 'Revisiting Nationalism and Ethnicity in Africa,' p. 14.
[66] ECPC, 'Evidence taken by E. Nugee, Barrister at Law, Kakumiro, Bugangaizi, 1962, cited in Doyle, 'Immigrants and Indigenes', p. 292.
[67] LePage and A. Tabouret-Keller, *Acts of Identity; Creole Based Approaches to Language and Ethnicity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Anthony Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin, 1991), p. 21.

European actors such as missionaries on the consolidation of previously disparate tongues has retained a longevity of scholarly attention less successfully achieved by other aspects of theories concerning the "invention" of tradition within colonial Africa. The power of this concept lies in its ability to offer tangible insights into the re-constitution of ethnic norms at both a general theoretical level as missionaries standardised a variety of spoken vernaculars into more restrictive formal written languages, and at an everyday practical level as these newly unified languages were taught daily in church and in school. It offers, moreover, an accessibility of study due to the ability to measure the increase in usage of a particular dialect or written form.

In addition, while wider constructivist ideas have been undermined by evidence highlighting pre-colonial ethnicities, the necessity of African agency, as well as the limited power of the colonial state and its collaborators, the missionary impact on language codification continues to offer numerous and concise case studies. Perhaps the best description of these missionary-led processes remains Ranger's 1983 article, 'Missionaries, Migrants and the Manyika'. Here, he describes how Europeans undertook to provide African students and Christian converts with formalised written languages. These new standardised languages contained a formal orthography and a regular grammar structure for ease of teaching and use in the increasing number of vernacular bibles. In Zimbabwe, however, the particular dialects chosen often represented those of leading converts advantaging highly localised vernaculars which now became standardised through control of literary production encouraging the consolidation of sub-ethnicities among the Shona.[68] These newly formalised languages of the bible and the school room often became by extension the common tongue of an extended network of communities and began to act as instigators and identifiers for an expanded ethnic consciousness. Similar processes have been identified across Africa; for instance, among the Yoruba, Igbo, and Hausa in Nigeria, the Luba in the Belgian Congo, the Tsonga-speakers of South Africa, and the Nuba of southern Sudan where Justin Willis has illustrated the intentional encouragement of a Nyamang dialect by CMS mission stations as they sought to counteract the spread of Arabic.[69] While instigated by external actors the

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[68] Ranger, 'Missionaries, Migrants and the Manyika,' pp. 126- 127.
[69] See , for example, John David Yeadon Peel, 'The cultural work of Yoruba Ethnogenesis,' in *History and Ethnicity*, eds. by Elizabeth Tonkin, Malcolm Chapman and Maryon McDonald (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 198- 215; Henry Garuba, 'Language and Identity in Nigeria,' in *Shifting African Identities*, eds. by Simon Bekker, Martine Dodds, and Meshack Khosa (Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 2001), pp. 7- 20; Bogumil Jewsiewicki, 'The Formation of the Political Culture of Ethnicity in the Belgian Congo, 1920-59,' in *The Creation of Tribalism in southern Africa*, ed. by Leroy Vail (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 324- 49; Patrick Harries, 'Exclusion, Classification and Internal Colonialism: the Emergence of Ethnicity Among the Tsonga-Speakers of South Africa,' in *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*, ed. by Leroy Vail (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1989) pp. 82- 117; Justin

codification of linguistic forms in bibles or dictionaries inevitably also encompassed indigenous understandings and debates. As Derek Peterson has noted in a Kenyan context missionary grammars worked to colonise the language of the Gikuyu but they were also subject to Gikuyu discourse; 'if the dictionary was to be useful for missionary purposes, then its authors were necessarily compelled to enter into the idiomatic lexicon of local conversations over power, property, and wealth. Gikuyu dictionaries were therefore internally unstable and multiply voiced: in their pages, missionary authors gave voice to the Gikuyu languages of class and politics.'[70]

In Buganda both the indigenous elites acting as 'cultural brokers', to borrow Vail's term, and the dialect with which the missionaries were most familiar hailed from the kingdom's heartland counties.[71] During their long association with the kingdom from the late 1870's both Protestant and Catholic missions had developed a dialogue with leading chiefs whose early vernacular histories they encouraged. Such works, as already noted, tended to emphasise Buganda's dominant relationship with neighbouring states. Moreover, most missionaries arrived in Buganda through Entebbe and the kingdom capital and this initial site of contact often provided a schema by which peripheral regions would be judged and managed. In addition, the early adoption of Christianity within Buganda's heartlands encouraged perceptions of the "civilised" nature of the Ganda in comparison to their neighbours. Thus, life on the island archipelagos was considered more "barbarous" than among the true Ganda communities of the homeland counties and the missions brought Ganda catechists to areas such as Kkooki and Kabula to assist them among communities who were believed to be less well developed and apt retain their paganism. Furthermore, early missions located within peripheral areas but near borders often actively encouraged Ganda attendance; particularly if their denomination was failing to acquire the requisite amount of indigenous readers. In Kkooki, for instance, the Catholic White Fathers Mission sought Ganda adherents from Buddu for their Kkooki station to compensate for the Protestant influence in the region.[72] It is of little surprise then that when the missions concluded early in the process that teaching should be carried out in the vernacular to avoid the "denationalization" of bible readers and school attendees, missionaries well versed in Ganda custom and folklore and

Willis, "The Nyamang are Hard to Touch": Mission Evangelism and Tradition in the Nuba Mountains of Condominium Sudan,' *The Historical Journal*, 46 (2003), pp. 89- 114.

[70] Derek Peterson, "Colonizing Language?" Missionaries and Gikuyu Dictionaries, 1904 and 1914,' *History in Africa*, 24 (1997), p. 256.

[71] Vail, 'Ethnicity in Southern African History,' p. 2.

[72] For instance: MUL CMS, 'Diary of Miss Tanner, Buvuma,' CMS Intelligencer, 1901, AF CHU/276, pp. 789-790; MUL CMS, 'Diary of Miss H.D.I. Soctt, S. Kyaggwe,' CMS Intelligencer, AF CHU/276, 1901, pp. 734- 735; MUL CMS, 'Letter from Rev E.C. Gordon, Buganda,' CMS Intelligencer, 1896, AF CHU/276, p. 750; WFA, Ssese Mission Diary, Bumangi, UG Ssese: February 1896, D.OR.164; WFA, Kkooki Mission Diary, UG Kkooki: November 1894, D.OR.164.

accompanied by Ganda catechists should have operated religious and educational institutions in the language they themselves knew best.[73] Consequently, they chose Luganda.

The importance of Luganda's post 1900 hegemony should not be underestimated. Alongside the pervasive missionary roles in local religious networks, mission schools predominated within Buganda over the first quarter century of British rule just as indigenous communities were adapting to their new political and social context. For children attending mission schools it is likely that teaching in Luganda increased understanding of Ganda histories and traditions and encouraged perceptions of the relationship between Ganda identities and Christianity. Moreover, the pre-colonial local languages of the "Acquired Counties", with the exception of Runyankole, were exclusively verbal. Although Lukkooki, Luvuma, and Lussese continued to be spoken, therefore, the adoption of Luganda in religious and educational instruction prevented their formal written rendering and denied them an official recorded usage. No text book, bible, or dictionary was penned in these indigenous tongues. Occasionally, specific missionaries attempted to use local vernaculars to alleviate the hardships encountered in their ministry. In 1907 in north Bulemezi, one of the "Lost Counties", R.H. Leakey had Ganda teachers speak in a local Luduuli dialect to facilitate exchange. Similarly, in Ssese in 1899, Rev E.C. Gordon sent Lussese speakers out into the gardens to converse with non-Luganda speaking elderly inhabitants.[74] Moreover, in Kkooki Catholic missionaries initially incorporated Kkooki songs into their services.[75] Such experiments were generally short-lived, however, and failed to impact on the wider processes of *"Lugandisation"* infiltrating the life of the varying "Acquired Counties" communities.

Moreover, the impact of the missions was compounded by the colonial government's use of Luganda as the official language of the entire kingdom. Just as in the "Lost Counties", legal and political systems were conducted in Luganda; it was in this language also that colonial officials dealt with local dignitaries and conversed with communities on itinerations designed to assess agricultural and administrative development. The missionary C.M. Lewin's observations for the Nyoro areas of Buyaga County may just as easily have applied to Kabula or Buvuma when he noted that: 'the people are very shy...and know but little Luganda...daily it is becoming more necessary for them to speak it as all their chiefs being Baganda, all cases and disputes are heard in that language.'[76] The major consequence of Luganda's introduction as the primary mode of communication for official interaction, faith, and educational

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[73] Alfred Robert Tucker, *Eighteen Years in Uganda and East Africa* (London: Edward Arnold, 1908), p. 150.
[74] CMS, 'Letter from R.H. Leakey, Bulemezi 1907,' Annual Letter Book, ACC/B/G3 A7 AL 2; CMS, 'Letter from E.C. Gordon, Kome 1899,' Annual Letter Book, ACC/B/G3 A7 AL 1.
[75] WFA, Kkooki Mission Diaries, UG: Kkooki, January, 1896, D.OR. 162.
[76] CMS, 'Letter from C.M. Lewin, Buwekula, 1901,' Annual Letter Book, ACC/B/G3 A7 AL 1.

achievement, was not merely the necessity to learn a new tongue, however, but the gradual marginalisation of local languages. The Lussese, Luvuma or Lukkooki tongues which had acted as signifiers of small pre-colonial identity groups and the Runyankole which identified an Ankole origin were undermined in everyday social use. While Lussese, Luvuma and Lukkooki continued, and continue to exist, their lack of written application ensured that by the 1920's-1930's the majority of members of these communities, particularly those of a younger age group, spoke Luganda as a first language. The role of Luganda in schools, in particular, appears to have been key to the side-lining of indigenous dialects. Both in the mission schools up to 1925, and following the official takeover of education by the Protectorate government thereafter, the sole language of education within Buganda, at primary, secondary or tertiary levels of education, was Luganda.[77] Among elderly interview participants within the "Acquired Counties" the increasing use of Luganda was considered essential. As one gentleman in Kkooki succinctly noted: 'in schools they taught Luganda, bibles were written in Luganda, there was therefore no way Lukkooki would have survived...there is a saying that, ekitazaire kieweka; meaning that if something does not give birth to a young one, it ceases to exist.'[78] The imposition of Luganda as the language of the classroom would have encouraged both participation in the Ganda sphere through everyday interaction, as well as an engagement with Ganda history, morals and traditions transmitted through traditional Ganda forms of linguistic communication such as epigrams, folk tales, songs and moralistic riddles. Consequently, the widespread usage of Luganda facilitated numerous levels of engagement with Ganda culture and its forms and structures carried lessons for inhabiting Ganda identities.

As elsewhere across colonial Africa, therefore, the sites of the classroom and the church hall provided spaces within which a different linguistic template could be passed onto the new generations of Buganda's post-1900 communities enveloping and acquainting them within the wider sphere of Ganda vernacular histories, legends and folklore.[79] The rapid advancement of mass Christianisation in Buganda, coupled with high levels of educational enrolment ensured that this process was particularly significant.

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[77] A. Beck, 'Colonial Policy and Education in British East Africa, 1900-1950,' in *Journal of British Studies*, 5.2 (1966), pp. 115- 138; R.M. Walsh, 'Education in British East Africa,' in *New Blackfriars*, 33 (1952), pp. 22- 32.

[78] Interview, M.B., Kkooki, 8th July 2010.

[79] Immaculate N. Kizza, *The Oral Traditions of the Baganda of Uganda: A Study and Anthology of Legends, Myths, Epigrams and Folktales* (North Carolina, 2009), pp. 1- 17.

Political structures and census falsification

Language was not, however, the only force for assimilation at work in the "Acquired Counties" within the colonial period. The imposition of Ganda chiefs as well as a generalised approach to ethnic ascription within official data were not confined to "Lost Counties" territories and must also be considered in this wider geographical sphere. To begin with the question of the political system then, the British predilection for Ganda officials was cleverly exploited by the kingdom. Both new peripheral territories and Buganda's nearest neighbours were subject to the arrival of Ganda administrators. It is well documented that as the British sought to regulate the new protectorate with a minimum of manpower and resources the kingdom's ready-made administrative system provided an apparently legitimately African governance framework to be exported to neighbouring territories. It did not matter to the Protectorate whether the new areas of Ganda influence comprised the comparatively similar polities of Bunyoro, Ankole or Toro, or the entirely different social systems of eastern and northern Uganda, 'the permanent officials in the country made a point of ruling where possible through kingships and chieftaincies which could be reformed along Buganda lines.'[80] To carry out this bureaucratic remodelling Ganda officials were imported on the ground. The story of Semei Kakungulu's adventures in Busoga and Teso, though in many ways unique, offers a glimpse of how Ganda luminaries could exploit the British demand for controllable administrative structures in its under-officiated new territory.[81]

Similarly, in Kkooki, Buvuma, Ssese, Kabula, and Mawogola indigenous chiefs risked being replaced by incoming Ganda individuals sent by the kingdom and often encouraged by colonial officials who felt that local administrators were less effective. As will be explained, however, this practice was much less widespread and coherent than in the "Lost Counties". Nevertheless, throughout the counties Ganda from the heartland areas were sometimes favoured, particularly at the sub-county level or above. In the initial deployment of chiefs under the 1900 Agreement newly created counties were often handed over to the control of former holders of the offices of *Mujaasi* (commander of the army) and *Gabunga* (commander of the canoes). It might be suggested that the transference of such individuals carried connotations of a military takeover and indicated a desire on the part of the Ganda state to remind local communities of their subservience to the kingdom. Moreover, the process may have reflected established Ganda norms in opening up new areas to Ganda control through the establishment of *ebitongole* chiefships in the nineteenth century to integrate uncultivated

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[80] Roberts, 'Sub-Imperialism of the Baganda,' p. 438; See also, Low and Pratt, *Buganda and British Overrule*; Twaddle, *Kakungulu*; and H.B. Thomas, 'Capax Imperii- The Story of Semei Kakunguru,' *Uganda Journal*, 6.3 (1937), pp. 125- 136.
[81] For the role played by Kakungulu in the early years of British control see; Twaddle, *Kakungulu*; Thomas, 'Capax Imperii,' pp. 125- 136.

or peripheral regions through exploitation of captured peoples.[82] Since the religious wars there had been a necessity for both a Protestant and a Catholic candidate for both posts and it was these men who initially took control as duplication of offices ceased leaving a surplus of chiefs in the heartland counties. The protestant *Mujaasi*, for example, became the *Mugerere* (*ssaza* chief) of Bugerere, while the catholic holder became the chief of Bugangaizi. Similarly, the protestant *Gabunga* was made *Kweba* of Ssese, while the catholic *Gabunga* became the *Mububi* (*ssaza* chief) of Buvuma.[83] Moreover, those indigenous chiefs felt less capable by visiting British officials could find themselves replaced by more 'trustworthy' Ganda candidates. In 1911, for instance, two *ggombolola* chiefs in Kkooki believed by the British DC to be negligent were replaced by Ganda individuals to improve efficiency. Similarly, in 1921, an increase in the productivity of the work of the *Mububi* was credited to the imposition of 'a Muganda' at the head of one of Buvuma's more important sub-counties.[84] Moreover, more often than not the top position of county chief was taken by a Ganda candidate at the beginning of his administrative career. At different times the *ssaza* chiefs *Mububi* of Buvuma, the *Kweba* of Ssese, the *Lumana* of Kabula and the *Mutesa* of Mawogola were all Ganda sent from other areas of the kingdom. If such officials performed well in these less prestigious peripheral posts their reward might well be a move to a bigger, more centralised county. For these administrative chiefs the post-1900 territories represented a staging post on a career in administration but usually at the lower rungs of the ladder reflecting their less prestigious and desirable nature. Thus in 1920 the *ssaza* chief of Buvuma, Yosefu Nsingisita, was 'promoted' to Buwekula (Mubende District).[85] Moreover, in areas where a Ganda *ssaza* chief was not imposed Buganda or the British Provincial Commissioner might seek to install Ganda administrators as advisors to indigenous officials. In Kkooki, the retention of the office of the Kamuswaga was greeted with a lack of enthusiasm by British officials who found these Kkooki rulers to be inefficient and so a Ganda clerk and a kingdom chief to act as advisors were installed at Rakai, the capital of colonial Kkooki.[86]

The examples of such impositions are numerous but perhaps the most important aspect of this process is that the arrival of Ganda chiefs and administrative systems altered the hierarchies of "Acquired Counties" societies and directed the communal gaze inwards towards centralised Ganda authority at the heart of the British Protectorate. Power within Buganda effectively resided in the hands of the Protestant hierarchy which emerged out of the civil wars

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[82] Hanson, *Landed obligation,* pp. 83- 84.
[83] Low, 'The Uganda Agreement of 1900', p. 96.
[84] UNA SMP, Buganda Annual Report, 1912- 13, A46/424; UNA SMP, Buganda Annual Report, 1922, A46/439;
[85] UNA SMP, Buganda Annual Report, 1920, A46/427.
[86] UNA SMP, 'Report on a tour through Kkooki by D.C O'Neil, 17th December 1912,' A46/668.

of the 1880's and 1890's, at least until the surge in affection for the Kabaka following his deportation in 1953. Moreover, the personal appeal of the kings waxed and waned in the colonial period; Mutesa II, for instance, was in many ways a comparatively unpopular Kabaka prior to his deportation due to allegations of extra-marital affairs which undermined his moral authority among his Christian Ganda constituency.[87] Nevertheless, his appeal as a cultural figurehead for the kingdom remained a powerful draw for peripheral communities where his benevolence and authority was expounded by imported Ganda officials. The infrequent visits of Kabakas Daudi Chwa II and Muteesa II were orchestrated as significant state events as a description from Kkooki in 1943 indicates:

> At the borders of Budu and Koki people waited with drums. People waited anxiously here at Rakai with everyone looking for a strategic position so as to be able to see the Kabaka. Because of too many people present only the gombolola chiefs and miruka chiefs, princes and princesses of Koki were given seats....Kabaka started by entering the palace....he then walked to the office, the people outside were organised in lines and they all knelt and clapped their hands.[88]

Even if his practical autonomy was often limited by the chiefly hierarchy and the colonial state, the Kabaka still symbolised both the political and cultural essence of Buganda and the filtration of his veneration into the kingdom's newest counties was a significant staging post in assimilative processes. The expansion of Buganda's highly centralised and effective political system over the peripheral counties, therefore, brought them administratively into the kingdom while simultaneously underwriting its own authority via the figure of the Kabaka particularly in the latter years of colonial rule.[89]

The Ganda political system which these new officials represented would have been more or less recognisable to the peripheral communities over which it was imposed in 1900 depending on previous experience. In Kabula the imposition of the centralised authority from the Ganda centre instead of from the admittedly distant royal capital of the kingdom of Nkore may have provided relatively little fundamental change to the socio-political context. In Buvuma, however, the hegemonic authority of a wider kingdom represented a clean break

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[87] See, Kevin Ward, 'The Church of Uganda and the Exile of Kabaka Muteesa II, 1953-55,' *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 28.4 (1998), pp. 423- 424; See also SOAS, Miti, 'History of Buganda,' vol. 3, fol. MS 77687, pp. 160- 168, for numerous letters from *Bataka* leaders in the 1920's which criticise the Kabaka for his "immorality", ie- Yowasi Kabali, Joswa Naluma, Yusufu Mukasa, to Chief Secretary, July, 1922, 'The present king is averse to the progress of our country as he leads our youth astray....in fact he has one school girl in his palace whom he enticed away and whom he still keeps with him as his own wife in the palace.'
[88] MUL NEWS, M.K.L. Juko, 'Ssabasajja Kabaka Visits Kkooki,' *Matalisi*, 2nd October 1943.
[89] Karlstrom, *Cultural Kingdom*, PhD Diss pp. 30- 31.

with the past. Nevertheless, in all cases the application of the Ganda political model emphasised the incorporation of the counties within Buganda. The necessity to look to the kingdom for direction and redress and to recognise the Kabaka as the font of cultural and political authority provided a compass for peripheral communities. And that compass pointed towards the seat of Ganda power at Mengo.

As Ganda administrators moved in, the communities over whom they exerted authority in the name of the kingdom and the colonial government were simultaneously experiencing a more insidious process of ethnic re-identification. In the "Lost Counties" the issue of being counted as Ganda on census information became contentious in the 1930's and 1940's as Nyoro populations began to apprehend the consequences of their official non-existence.[90] In the "Acquired Counties" this issue was never raised as a bone of contention with the Ganda or colonial state but the communities of these peripheral territories were nevertheless largely absent from official data with those indigenous to the colonial kingdom being counted predominantly as Ganda. It is unclear from the evidence available to what extent the "Gandisation" of census data in these areas represented a conscious attempt to misrepresent local ethnic identities as was the case in areas such as Buyaga, Bugangaizi, Buwekula and even it seems Buruuli and Bugerere. The lack of complaints from Kkooki, Vuma, Ssese or other communities in the colonial record, in vernacular newspapers, and in oral history narratives suggests that although members of these populations would have been aware of the conflicts over identification in the former Bunyoro counties, they themselves chose not to question their new Ganda status. Moreover, it is of course difficult to ascertain from records where misrepresentation ends and actual assimilation begins. We will return to this issue in more detail in the next chapter. Suffice here to note that the omission of sub-ethnic headings on colonial census data was perhaps even more all-encompassing outside of Nyoro areas.

Kkooki provides by far the most obvious and the earliest example of this "Gandisation" of terminology. Where Nyoro communities began to disappear from the ethnic register after 1921 the term 'Bakkooki' or any identifiable derivative was entirely absent from the documentation of even the first conducted census in 1911. Indeed, the population of Kkooki in this year was deemed to be overwhelmingly 'Baganda' with 18,334 individuals to, for instance, only 994 'Banyankole'.[91] It is likely that Kkooki's voluntary incorporation within the kingdom prompted this early ascription of a purely Ganda status and with a lack of resistance to its implementation officials undoubtedly saw little reason to change the terminology on later forms. Moreover, given that the ssaza chief of Kkooki was the Kamuswaga himself, it seems evident that the Kkooki hierarchy was complicit in the re-designation of his population. For the

[90] Doyle, 'Immigrants and Indigenes,' pp. 292-294.
[91] UNA, Census Returns, 1911.

islanders of Ssese and Buvuma official data recorded their distinct status until 1921 after which all sub-ethnic categories disappeared from the census documents. In 1921 itself, the Ssese population was placed at around 8,342 'Bassese' compared to 734 'Baganda'; in Buvuma the divide was even greater with 7,937 'Bavuma' to only 354 'Baganda'.[92] It may seem strange that in 1921, a decade after the islands has been declared unliveable due to the sleeping sickness epidemic, officials should separate the islanders from the Ganda population amongst whom they now lived. However, the clearances of the islands and the problem of sleeping sickness itself had lodged firmly in the psyche of the colonial authorities who had undertaken significant measures to eradicate the disease and it is likely that this association between islanders and epidemic resulted in the continuing distinction. Moreover, as the census was being conducted both local collectors and colonial officials were well aware that repatriations to the islands were about to get underway and land claims were being discussed and this may well have underlined islander identities at the time when data was being collected.[93] These specific localised circumstances up to 1921 might also explain why as European authorities elsewhere across Africa became more concerned with distinguishing ethnic distinctions through Indirect Rule and "Native Administration" amid fears over the development of "racial or nationalist groups, the use of "sub-ethnicities" in Buganda outside of the "Lost Counties" all but disappeared.[94] Nevertheless, even allowing for rapid assimilation as the twenties moved on it is clear that the terms 'Bassese' and 'Bavuma' simply disappear from the register thereafter. In Kabula and Mawogola the situation appears to have been less consciously manipulated as 'Banyankole-Bahima' continued as designations on the census forms. Moreover, assimilation and migration of Hima groups explains an initial growth in Ganda inhabitants, although the increase of Ganda from just under half, to three quarters of the population between 1911 and 1921 is seemingly high and may also indicate some degree of falsification.[95]

The generalised writing of inhabitants as Ganda never became controversial outside of the "Lost Counties" but it nevertheless existed elsewhere as a terminological tool undermining, consciously or unconsciously, the complexity of ethnic identity in Buganda's outer territories. Moreover, it is clear from the involvement of both Ganda and "Acquired Counties" officials on the ground that the census data issue was not an imposed "tribal" ideology from the colonial state; the "Gandisation" of returns represented a process of collaboration between indigenous and colonial officials. The relationship of this process to the actual "Gandisation" of peripheral communities is difficult to ascertain without the petitions of

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[92] UNA, Census Returns, 1921.
[93] See, UNA, Papers of the Ssese Islands Land Settlement Report, fol. 4999.
[94] Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*, pp. 90- 102.
[95] UNA, Census Returns, 1911; UNA, Census Returns, 1921.

complaint launched in areas such as Buyaga and Bugangaizi but it would be unwise to discount the importance of ethnic ascription in this case. As Barth underlined in 1969, ascription by others is a key determinant of group identity and evolving Ganda attachments in the "Acquired Counties" were likely encouraged by the dissolution of "we/they" distinctions from the perspective of both the peripheries, and the centre.[96]

The sleeping sickness clearances

Finally in this section considering processes of assimilation among peripheral communities it is necessary to address a unique case of 'physical' "Gandisation". In analysing identities within Buganda in the colonial period, the removal of several thousand individuals from their island homes and their resettlement in the kingdom's central, heartland counties must inevitably be conceived to have played a role. While the repatriation was only temporary, lasting around a decade for those islanders who returned home in the first waves, it coincided with the initial engagement between islanders and mainland Ganda as full inhabitants of the same state. The impetus for this process occurred in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the initial years of formal colonial rule as trypanosomiasis, otherwise known as Sleeping Sickness, began to take hold of Ssese and Buvuma as well as coastal regions of mainland Buganda.

By the end of the nineteenth century the wooded lakeshores around Lake Victoria and on the numerous islands of the Ssese and Buvuma archipelagos were thick with *Glossina Palpalis*, or the tsetse fly; the main vector carrying the deadly infection.[97] Named for the fatigue and lethargy it causes in those infected, sleeping sickness also often results in a severe fever and a swelling of lymph nodes across the body. It was these symptoms in particular which were used by colonial medical professionals, officials and missionaries to rapidly calculate infection rates among inhabitants of tsetse infested areas.[98] Sleeping Sickness occurred in various regions at different times across Buganda but its rate of incidence in the islands in the early 1900's amounted to a severe epidemic. The crowded landing sites of the islands were a perfect breeding ground for tsetse flies, as were the mainland stages used as

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[96] Frederick Barth, 'Introduction,' in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organisation of Culture Difference*, ed, F. Barth (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1969), pp. 9- 39.

[97] Colonel David Bruce, A.E. Hammerton, and R.H. Bateman, 'Sleeping Sickness in Uganda- Duration of the Infectivity of the Glossina Palpalis after Removal of the Lake Shore population,' in *Journal of Royal Army Medical Corps*, v. xv, 2 (1910) pp. 133- 139; WCA, Papers of Colonel David Bruce, Sleeping Sickness Notes, 1899-1910, Box 20, WTI/RST/G/28/15; WCA, Albert Ruskin Cook Papers, Journal of A.R. Cook, 1896- 1921, Box 2, PP/COO/B/13/33; UNA, Misc Correspondence: Relating to Missionaries, Businessmen and Government Agents, Annual Report on Uganda Kingdom, 1903- 1904, A6/18.

[98] For instance in 1904 the CMS missionary H.W. Weatherhead listed gland enlargement incidence in Ssese and Kome for the doctors at the Sleeping Sickness Commission lab at Entebbe. His admittedly somewhat un-scientific investigation indicated somewhere in the region of a 50% infection rate among the islanders; WCA, Papers of Colonel David Bruce, E.D.W. Greig to D. Bruce, July 1904', Box 20, WTI/RST/G27/4.

markets by Ssese, Vuma and Ganda. Moreover, these trading locations drew inhabitants from unaffected inland areas of Buganda such as Buddu or Kyaggwe and exposed them to the flies as they sought to purchase pottery from Buvuma or fish from Ssese.[99] The extremely high rates of mortality within the islands have already been highlighted in Chapter Two. To reiterate, however, precise figures are difficult to ascertain and guestimates by officials appalled at the scene unfolding before them almost invariably showed significant tendencies towards exaggeration. Claims of over 95% death rates as standard across the islands may be discounted. Nevertheless, between 1905-1908 alone some 8000 deaths were recorded in the islands with the death rate decreasing year on year as the population dwindled. Moreover missionary evidence and oral tradition from the late nineteenth century suggest comparatively populous island societies.[100] In Buvuma in 1895, Bishop Tucker believed the population of that one island alone to stand at around 15,000 souls; while in the Ssese archipelago some 6,400 individuals were Protestant readers by 1897. Given the continued popularity of traditional religions in the islands due to their long association with the old gods, as well as the presence of Roman Catholic missionaries a much larger population seems to be suggested, and it is probable that the total would have been at the very least three times this size. The first comparatively well organised census in 1911, therefore, which indicated a Ssese community consisting of around 10,000 individuals and a Vuma group of around 5,000 represents a drastic reduction in populations from pre-colonial levels, although reports that 11,000 Vuma had been removed from the islands in 1909 suggest that some "Gandisation" of census data might also have been at work.[101]

To fight the spread of infection the colonial authorities initially set-up sleeping sickness camps at several locations on the mainland and on Bugala Island in Ssese to which those infected were supposed to be confined. In addition, landing sites were cleared of vegetation to eradicate the tsetse fly habitat and inhabitants of the main lakeshore were prohibited from living and working within the fly infested zones with villages relocated two miles inland.[102] The

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[99] WCA, Papers of Colonel David Bruce, Hesketh Bell to Secretary of State, 1908, Box 20, fol. WTI/RST/G28/4; UNA SMP, Sub-Commissioner Leakey to Deputy Commissioner, 11th February 1907, A43/314.
[100] WCA, Hesketh Bell to Secretary of State, Box 20, fol. WTI/ RST/G27/4; UNA SMP, 'Report on Deaths From Sleeping Sickness, 1908,' A45/39.
[101] MUL CMS, 'Letter from Bishop Tucker, Buvuma, 1895',' CMS Intelligencer, 1896, AF CHU/276, pp. 425-427; MUL CMS, 'Statistics on the Work by Bishop Tucker,' CMS Intelligencer, 1897, AF CHU/276, pp. 178- 188; UNA, Census Report, 1911; UNA SMP, 'Report on the Population of Uganda Kingdom, 1906-1907,' A43/211; Kirk Arden Hoppe, 'Lords of the Fly: Colonial Visions and Revisions of African Sleeping-Sickness Environments on Ugandan Lake Victoria, 1906-61,' Journal of the International African Institute, 67.1 (1997), pp. 888- 89.
[102] UNA SMP, A. Gray to Deputy Commissioner, 3rd February 1908, A43/348; UNA SMP, 'Sleeping Sickness Commission, Reports VIII- XV, 1907- 1916,' A43/65; UNA SMP, 'Sleeping Sickness Clearance Scheme, March 1907,' A43/83; UNA SMP, 'Report on Segregation Camp for Buddu, February 1907,' A43/42.

islands, however, presented a significant problem. While restrictions were imposed on market locations, trading routes and population movement, the lake and its mainland shore were far too large for the colonial authorities to effectively police. Islanders were reluctant to alter their way of life and, moreover, were often reliant on the mainland for food, particularly as high death rates sapped the pool of ready agricultural labourers and fisherman.[103] In 1907 British officials such as Sub-Commissioner Leakey were calling for the institution of a lake patrol to 'effectively insure against the islanders coming in their canoes and landing in other than cleared landing stages'.[104]

The Ganda regents were similarly worried by the continued presence of islanders outside of quarantined areas. In a letter sent in the same year Apolo Kaggwa, Stanislaus Mugwanya and Zacharias Kisingiri enquired of the now Governor, Hesketh Bell, about the possibility of water police to restrict Vuma landings.[105] Moreover, other officials were beginning to suggest increasingly stringent measures as their exasperation over the inability to control Sleeping Sickness increased. The District Commissioner for Masaka in early 1908 submitted recommendations for the introduction of legislation making it a criminal offence for a 'Mussese to be found in the mainland without being in possession of a certificate of their freedom from sleeping sickness signed by the M.O. Ssese'.[106] This necessity to police the movement of islanders due to the disease undoubtedly represented a further compelling motivation for retaining distinctions of Vuma and Ssese from mainland Ganda in census data and official administration prior to 1921. Moreover, Kirk Arden Hoppe has noted how many of the policies implemented to combat the disease reveal patterns of thought in colonial imaginings about their African subjects. The conclusion that sleeping sickness spread through contact between human beings shifted concern away from the environment and onto Africans themselves who were now seen as ill-disciplined, vectors for the disease unwilling to heed scientific advice. Africans, not ecological conditions were to blame for 'the disorder of their environment that allowed fly infestation, for living in the "bush"-in essence, for being disordered themselves'.[107]

In addition to the problem of quarantining specific sites while preserving some level of human mobility the colonial and Ganda authorities were facing resistance to internment within the camps. In Ssese, where a camp and two doctors were resident, islanders were

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[103] WCA, Papers of Colonel David Bruce, Sleeping Sickness Report by Dr Christy, October 1902, Box 20, fol. WTI/RST/G26/1.
[104] UNA SMP, Sub-Commissioner Leakey to Deputy Commissioner, 11th February 1907, A43/314.
[105] UNA SMP, A. Kaggwa, S. Mugwanya, and Z.K. Kisingiri to F.H. Leakey, Sub-Commissioner, 5th December 1907, A43/ 314.
[106] UNA SMP, Minute Paper, 1908, Deputy Commissioner Baines to Sub-Commissioner Leakey, 20th May 1908, A44/130.
[107] Arden Hoppe, 'Lords of the Fly,' pp. 888- 89.

willing to submit to medical assistance. Buvuma, however, was left without a camp of its own due to medical personnel shortages and was prevented from acquiring a doctor despite pleas from its *ssaza* chief, the *Mububi*.[108] Given this shortage of care the Vuma were required to attend the sleeping sickness camps on the mainland; primarily Kyetume Camp in Kyaggwe some twenty miles east of Kampala. This presented a further problem, however, as many were either too sick to travel or feared making the journey to camps which were rapidly acquiring a deadly reputation. The camp at Buwanuka in Busiro, having been in existence the longest, had acquired through its death-roll a 'specially sinister reputation'. But at Kyetume too officials noted that island chiefs could not persuade people to attend the camp for treatment as the Vuma 'did not know Uganda and had all sorts of curious ideas about our camps'.[109]

The failure of preventative measures and the necessity for a more permanent solution were hinted at by Leakey later in his 1907 report to the Entebbe government where he noted that, 'the Bavuma draw their food supply largely from the mainland, and we cannot, therefore, as long as there are inhabitants on the islands, absolutely prohibit communication between islands and mainland.'[110] Hesketh Bell, with the concurrence of his medical advisors had himself similarly come to the conclusion by 1907-8 that as long as the islands were inhabited sleeping sickness would continue to spread. Drastic action was required to halt the advance of infection; the islanders would have to be removed from their lake-bound homes. The relocation solution was further backed by medical evidence provided by the Sleeping Sickness Commission that tsetse flies could harbour sleeping sickness for up to two years; only a total absence of human vectors might therefore break the cycle. By 1908 the decision had been reached as Colonel H.R. Bateman of the Commission noted in his recollection of the period:

> Sir Hesketh Bell, the Governor of the Protectorate at the time, 1908, decided on the complete evacuation of all those areas in Uganda which were infected with the Tsetse Fly...An arbitrary distance of two miles inland from the water's edge of the infested lakes and rivers was deemed to be an infected area. This involved the depopulation of the islands of Ssese, Buvuma, Kome and all other islands in Lake Victoria and also the whole of the two mile strip of the 1,900 miles of the northern shore of Lake Victoria.[111]

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[108] UNA SMP, A Gray to Deputy Commissioner Entebbe, 3rd February 1908, A43/348.
[109] WCA, Papers of Colonel David Bruce, Governor of Uganda to Secretary of State, January 1908, Box 20, fol. WTI/RST/G28/4; WCA, Papers of Colonel David Bruce, 'Report by A.C.H Gray, Chief Medical Officer,' December 1906, Box 20, fol. WTI/RST/G28/4.
[110] UNA SMP, Sub-Commissioner F.H. Leakey, to Deputy Commissioner, Kampala, 1st February 1907, A43/314.
[111] Colonel H.R. Bateman, 'Research and Reminisces: Uganda 1908-1910,' in *Uganda Journal* 15 (1951), p. 26.

Hesketh Bell's memoirs reveal that the Colonial Office in London initially opposed his depopulation scheme fearing that the dislocation would result in conflicts over land and significant resistance.[112] In this instance the Colonial Office was proved right. The clearances represent the one case of serious conflict between the Ganda state and its post-1900 non-Nyoro peripheries. Islanders, understandably reluctant to leave their homes and land resisted relocation.[113] Joint Ganda and British expeditions were launched against the islands to forcibly remove the populations and it is likely that islanders perceived these parties, which they often met with open resistance, as extensions of nineteenth-century Ganda military and slaving expeditions and responded accordingly. Violence erupted on the islands. In 1909 the Ganda *Mububi* working with the sleeping sickness officials was wounded in a battle with resistors. In 1910 a group of armed Ganda posing as sleeping sickness guards looted several islands in Buvuma taking property and enslaving several people. Indeed, between 1909 and 1911 when the majority of communities were finally persuaded to resettle conflict was common and island *shambas* were destroyed by Ganda and British parties.[114] Islander resistance to being relocated is further illustrated by the determination of many to return to the islands. While the administration gazetted all lake islands closed in 1909 only a small number of islanders had been moved to the mainland by July that year. Similarly, although a significant number of Vuma communities were reported to have been removed to the mainland by November 1909, by May 1910 many had returned to the islands arguing that they were dying on the mainland anyway.[115]

The sleeping sickness removals, then, represent the exception to the argument put forward within this thesis concerning the relative lack of resistance from "Acquired Counties" communities to "Gandisation" and the more productive, less forceful relationship which emerged between non-Nyoro peripheries and the Ganda centre. In this instance islanders actively resisted the interventions of Ganda and British authorities. The period of significant conflict, however, remained relatively limited by comparison to resistance in the "Lost Counties" and oral histories from within the islands recount little animosity between island settlers and mainland Ganda once the clearances had been completed; although in the difficult terrain of the many islands it is similarly clear that some inhabitants managed to remain undetected throughout the period. Moreover, while the Ganda hierarchy was undoubtedly willing to use the removals as an opportunity for the extension of Ganda control and to enrich themselves, they were also genuinely concerned over the possibilities of the epidemic

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[112] H.H.J. Bell, *Glimpses of a Governor's Life: from Diaries, Letters, and Memoranda* (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co, 1946), pp. 160- 164.
[113] See, Hubert P. Gale, *Uganda and the Mill Hill Fathers* (London: Macmillan, 1959), p. 287.
[114] Arden Hoppe, 'Lords of the Fly,' pp. 91- 94.
[115] *Ibid.*

spreading throughout the mainland. The resettlement of the islands then did not represent a coherent assimilative effort on the part of the colonial or Ganda state in the same way as the enforced suppression of customs in the "Lost Counties". In addition, the clearances and the desire to return to their lands undoubtedly required islanders to maintain and utilise claims to indigenous status even as they increasingly adopted Ganda signifiers as their outward layer of ethnic identity. This process similarly underlines a key contention of this thesis: that in the "Acquired Counties" individuals and communities, after the end of the violence in 1911, were better able to incorporate and utilise indigenous attachments as part and parcel of their new Ganda identities.

This complementary process is exemplified through the experiences of the islanders on the mainland. Interestingly, Hoppe suggests that the islanders themselves sought assurances that they would retain political distinction under their own hierarchies once relocated.[116] This was a policy supported by the British with Ganda co-operation. In recommendations diametrically opposed to those being issued contemporaneously in Buruuli, Bugerere and the other "Lost Counties", Leakey distributed instructions highlighting that for political reasons it was desirable that the islanders 'should be kept as complete units, preserving their identity, and not merged into the Baganda race', and, consequently, that they should be 'controlled by their own *ssaza* and sub-chiefs'.[117] In some ways then, the communities once settled on the mainland became resident in a '*ssaza* within a *ssaza*'.[118] From the British perspective it is likely, however, that such apparent concern for cultural distinction in fact reflected a desire to retain an integrity to the island groups, the better to observe communities considered potential reservoirs for infection. In consequence, between 1908 and 1920 when a re-population of the islands began the political integrity of the island counties was maintained and *ggombolola* and *miruka* chiefs, predominantly Vuma or Ssese, remained in their positions.

Nevertheless, while the islanders remained administratively separate from their new mainland neighbours, socially and physically communities inevitably began to dissipate. The population of Ssese, in particular, was spread across a number of counties as a result of the relocation. Oral histories reflect this mobility as family traditions recall members who dispersed across Kyaggwe, Buddu, Busiro and Mpigi and even as far as Mubende district.[119] Such traditions also suggest that inter-marriage became more common during this period. These marital unions helped to break down barriers which existed between the communities.

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[116] Hoppe, 'Lords of the Fly,' pp. 99- 100.
[117] UNA SMP, , Provincial Commisioner Leakey to Chief Secretary, Kampala, 3rd June 1911, A46/675; Church of Uganda Archive, Mukono, 'Summary of Rural Deaneries, 1918-1920,' Box 70, fol. 4, S/R1.3.
[118] Rubaga Cathedral Archive, 'Notes on Buvuma Parish, 1901- 1976,' by S. Kate, 1977, fol. D/31/6; MHA, Papers of E. Grimshaw, 'A Short History of the Apostolic Vicariate of the Upper Nile,' UGA 31.
[119] Interview, N.E.., Ssese, 4th August 2010; Interview, K.L., Ssese.

As one elderly historian of Ssese who was himself born on the mainland after his parents had fled the epidemic noted;

> They did intermarry...it...helped reduce stigmatisation because initially the people
> were being under-looked....There are singers who composed songs with messages
> intended to abuse the Ssese people. But after intermarriages the habit reduced
> gradually. Some people made many friends at the mainland and did not come back
> to Ssese.[120]

In addition, many individuals seeking land seem to have attached themselves to mainland branches of their clans; they sought out their 'blood brothers' on the mainland.[121] Among the Vuma the population spread was much narrower and most individuals seem to have remained in Kyaggwe. Some never made it to Buganda at all and settled in the nearer shoreline of Busoga. Nevertheless, individuals were often required to leave islander communities and settle in predominantly Ganda areas to ensure access to land. Among these individuals intermarriage was also significantly higher than would ordinarily have been the case and a number of those who returned to Vuma following the end of quarantine had mixed Ganda-Vuma parentage.[122] Moreover, the social pressure to use Luganda as the primary means of communication would have been far greater in these mainland locations than may otherwise have been the case if communities had retained their lake-bound status. Schooling was more prevalent than had been the case in the islands and children of individuals resident on the mainland learned Luganda in the classroom. Communities therefore experienced tendencies both towards "Gandisation" as well as the retention of their island status.

In the early 1920's communities began to return to the islands as they were slowly opened up. Families and individuals returned to reclaim their land. Newspaper reports throughout the twenties and thirties noted that numbers of people returning were increasing and encouraged others to do likewise. As *Munno* noted in 1921, 'the Bassese were extremely happy to be able to return to their islands.'[123] The story of these returnees suggests that the removals might be considered as reflecting the complexity of the processes of changing identities occurring among the islanders. The clearances encouraged adoption of Ganda cultural norms through familiarity and intermarriage and many other Vuma and Ssese chose to stay on in their new communities. Taking the admittedly unreliable census figures of 1911 and

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[120] Interview, E.L., Ssese; Relaying the stories of their parents respondents in Ssese continually noted that intermarriage had occurred at a higher rate during the residency of the islanders on the mainland.
[121] Interview, E.L., Ssese.
[122] Interview, B.N.K., Buvuma; Interview, E.K., Buvuma.
[123] MUL NEWS, 'Ebifa Mu Ssese,' *Munno*, November 1921.

1948 as a rough guide, and acknowledging that the categories adopted by the British left little room for subtleties of identity blurring by failing to recognise islanders remaining on the mainland, it is still clear that the populations of the islands significantly decreased within this period.[124] These shortfalls are undoubtedly indicative of communities remaining in mainland Buganda and evidence of the extent to which the islanders were willing to embrace their acceptance into Ganda territorial and cultural spheres. Simultaneously, however, islanders retained attachments to their indigenous homeland which, as will be explored shortly, were utilised in discussions over land tenure during the resettlements.

It should be clear at this juncture, then, that the "Acquired Counties" were subject to external forces propelling communities towards an increasing acceptance of the norm of predominant Ganda identities. Language, key to the success or failure of assimilation in the "Lost Counties", was similarly crucial within other peripheral territories where Ganda and European actors enforced the homogeneity of Luganda through education, religion, law and administration. Its use in the pulpit and the classroom was particular pertinent preventing the setting down of pre-colonial tongues such as Luvuma, Lussese or Lukkooki and rendering them obsolete for the tasks of daily twentieth-century life. In addition, the imposition of Ganda structures, tangible in the case of the arrival of chiefs and administrative systems, and phenomenological in the writing of peripheral communities as Ganda, realigned the dominant hierarchies of peripheral counties and redirected the communal gaze towards central Ganda authority in the guise of the Kabaka and his leading chiefs. Finally, the Sleeping Sickness epidemic proved a catalyst to physical "Gandisation" through the forcible removal of island communities from the geographical margins and their resettlement in the kingdom's heartland counties. All of these processes impacted upon the societies of Kabula, Kkooki, Ssese, Buvuma and Mawogola as they sought to re-calibrate their own position in a fast changing colonial world. Moreover, the influence of assimilative currents would have been all the more pervasive in the early decades of British rule as Buganda sought to consolidate its position within the Protectorate and its newest territories attempted to define their own status within the kingdom. It is important, however, not to overplay the assimilative forces at work. Powerful they may have been, particularly on the islands, but they were also disparate and not sustained. Unlike in the "Lost Counties", the "Acquired Counties" suffered no coherent effort over a prolonged period towards assimilation from Ganda or British authorities; indeed, the forces working upon the "Gandisation" of peripheral identities in these territories were,

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[124] Interview, M.K.S., Buvuma; Interview, S.T., Buvuma, 16th July 2010; Interview, J.N., Ssese, 7th August 2010; UNA, Ssese Island Resettlement Papers, 'Land Settlement, 1933,' fol. 4999; UNA, Census Returns 1911; UNA, Census Returns 1948.

overall, conflicting, disjointed and rarely centrally organised. The final section of this chapter now turns to consider this phenomenon.

3.4: Assimilation in the "Acquired Counties": an incoherent application

As we have seen, the "Lost Counties" represented prestige and influence, as well as danger through their irredentism, to colonial era Buganda and this encouraged a coherent model of assimilation or attempted 'invention' of Ganda identities within the colonial period. The position of the "Acquired Counties" within the colonial context was markedly different. Lacking both an external touchstone willing to propagate the idea of ethnic re-unification in the model of Bunyoro, and without resistance among internal communities, they offered no threat to Buganda's position within the Protectorate. The loss of these communities never needed to be contemplated and so Buganda's prosperity, along with its increasing "nationalism" or "federalism" in response to the prospect of independence, remained untroubled by the development of these territories. Moreover, the "Acquired Counties" remained, for the most part, comparatively less desirable than other areas of Buganda during the colonial and immediately post-colonial period. The land on which their communities lived, particularly in Kabula, Mawogola and Kkooki, was often affected by drought and occasional famine and retained a high degree of pastoral migration. Meanwhile on Lake Victoria, as we have seen, sleeping sickness left Buvuma and Ssese depleted in population and counting the cost of arable land returned to the forest during the quarantine period. In addition, when consulting available documentary evidence and local oral histories the impression is inescapable that in a situation somewhat typical of centre-periphery relations in states lacking in comprehensive internal infrastructure, medical and educational developments were more slowly integrated in these geographically and culturally less central areas. There is little evidence, that such areas were actively discriminated against by the Ganda government in Mengo; indeed, medical and schooling provisions across Buganda were extremely well developed in comparison to other areas of the Protectorate and British East Africa and the "Acquired Counties" did receive their share.[125] Nevertheless, some retention of ethnic chauvinism surrounding the importance of older Ganda territories coupled with logistical problems, distance from Mengo, and the relatively low population of a number of counties appears to have combined to enhance the peripheral, somewhat backwater feel of many of these geographically marginal areas.

In essence, lacking in prestige, wealth, and ethnic resistance movements, the "Acquired Counties" attained a status opposed to that of the "Lost Counties". While, the northern

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[125] Walsh, 'Education in British East Africa,' pp. 26- 29.

counties drew Buganda's attention, the "Acquired Counties" slipped into a centre-periphery relationship requiring comparatively little indigenous or colonial government time and resources. The "Acquired Counties", then, pose an interesting framework in which to consider assimilation and identity. Processes of incorporation here were different to the "Lost Counties" or in other territories of British Africa, for example Ghana, where central elites sought to actively and coherently reimagine an extension of ethnic identification in response to events challenging their position within the colonial framework. In the "Acquired Counties" the attention of the Ganda elites at Mengo was drawn only sporadically in relation to specific events from which they could profit.[126]

Building upon the findings of Doyle, the analysis here suggests that the coherent assimilative processes experienced by "Lost Counties" inhabitants were unique in colonial Buganda. Unlike the migrant wage labourers contrasted by Doyle, however, in the "Acquired Counties" it was indigenes, not immigrants, about whose incorporation the kingdom remained indifferent. Within Buganda there was concern over the number of economic migrants and these individuals were consequently subject to conflicting processes of incorporation influenced simultaneously by ethnic chauvinism and a mobility in Ganda society which provided routes to re-identification. The peripherality of "Acquired Counties" communities, however, ensured that they remained largely outside of a Ganda discourse of dealing with strangers.[127] Here, then, among indigenes of the colonial kingdom, coherent assimilation was largely absent and almost never centrally directed. Cultural suppression, as witnessed in the "Lost Counties", was never actively pursued, while the introduction of Ganda political and social structures remained somewhat uneven. Moreover, where "Lost Counties" assimilative processes witnessed collusion between Ganda and British governments, as will be discussed below, in the "Acquired Counties" disagreements and confusion filtered through the special relationship between Protectorate and Kingdom resulting in contested intentions in peripheral counties, sometimes resulting in their protection from further official "Gandisation". This final section, therefore, will firstly consider the position of the "Acquired Counties" within colonial Buganda and emphasise their separation from the "Lost Counties" context. Secondly, it will analyse a lack of coherent assimilation within the counties illustrating the extent to which communities remained free from cultural and linguistic repression and all-encompassing political "Gandisation". Finally, the conflicting spheres of governance of Buganda and the British Protectorate will be assessed through two significant case studies. In the first, British attempts to remove Kamuswaga, ssaza chief and former prince of Kkooki, along with a number

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[126] Sandra E. Greene, 'In the mix: Women and Ethnicity Among the Anlo-Ewe', in Ethnicity in Ghana; the Limits of Invention, eds. by Paul Nugent and Carola Lentz (London: Macmillan, 2000) pp. 29- 48.
[127] Doyle, 'Immigrants and Indigenes,' p. 291.

of his indigenous colleagues were thwarted by the Ganda Regents with the backing of the *Lukiiko* based on informal agreements made by the kingdom at the time of Kkooki's incorporation. In the second, by contrast, the British themselves became embroiled in a discussion of ethnicity, identity and indigeneity in their attempts to protect the rights of islanders from the encroachment of mainland Ganda landlords during the Sleeping Sickness repatriations of the 1920's and 1930's.

A centre/periphery relationship

The particular rivalry shared between Buganda and Bunyoro in their quest for recognised interlacustrine dominance was rarely matched in Ganda relations with other neighbouring kingdoms and polities. While Buganda may have felt itself superior to Ankole and meddled in its affairs, and while Buvuma's independence may have been viewed as a continuing anomaly to be righted through conquest throughout the nineteenth century, these relationships rarely reached the levels of acrimony present between the two most powerful states. In reality the territories from which the "Acquired Counties" originated lacked the military, political and economic power to unsettle Buganda. In addition, unlike Bunyoro, their historic claims were far from grand enough to challenge the kingdom's historiographies of regional pre-eminence. Moreover, a number of the areas enjoyed varying degrees of co-operation with Buganda in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As discussed in Chapter Two Ssese in particular, existed in a liminal zone; culturally, spiritually and politically tied to the kingdom, but nonetheless beyond its direct boundaries. Kkooki too had a long history of inter-kingdom collaboration; while all, including Ankole and Buvuma, offered up varying levels of tribute at different times. The absence of demands for repatriation of territories or communities may well have stemmed from these formative relationships. The previously independent polities of Buvuma and Kkooki, and to some extent Mawogola, had no external political community to demand their return. In addition, Ankole forfeited any claims to its errant territories and made no attempt to have Kabula reinstated within its boundaries or its influence over pre-colonial Mawogola recognised. The reasons behind this reticence were relatively simple and pragmatic. Not only was Ankole's relationship with Buganda less stormy than that between the kingdom and Bunyoro but, unlike the latter, Ankole itself expanded at the advent of British rule, amply compensating for the loss of its two eastern territories. The pre-colonial Nkore Kingdom was much smaller than its twentieth-century, Ankole, incarnation. In the late 1890's and early 1900's several polities to Nkore's west and north-west were incorporated fully within the kingdom including the Bashambo chiefships of Igara and the areas of Kajara to the south-west

and Bunyaruguru, adjacent to Lake Edward.[128] Consequently, Ankole's bargaining position with regards to Kabula and Mawogola was significantly weakened and to question their acquisition by Buganda would have been to reopen its own boundary and settlement issues. The "Acquired Counties" lacked, therefore, the necessary external pressure required to maintain a position high at the top of the Ganda political agenda. While Bunyoro's consistent attempts to persuade the British to return its land and populations forced Buganda to react with an intensity of assimilative activities, no such processes were required in peripheral areas void of outside representation. While the "Lost Counties" remained a topic of concern and a problem to be solved for the Ganda *Lukiiko* and the Kabaka, as well as for the British, the "Acquired Counties" drifted from the dominant narratives of colonial Buganda.

In addition, Kabula, Mawogola, Kkooki, Buvuma and Ssese were comparatively less populous, less wealthy and less well developed than other counties within the kingdom and, consequently, lacked the prestige of larger, more productive areas such as Buddu or Kyaggwe. The population figures for these territories under colonial rule illustrate the extent to which they remained somewhat apart from a more generalised tendency to growth across the kingdom driven by immigration into areas with land and work available; the Ganda themselves actually suffered relatively slow demographic growth within the period.[129] Taking into account the populations of Ssese and Buvuma which were reduced by those who remained on the mainland following repatriations, boundary alterations, and the loss of population from Buvuma when it was reclassified as having sleeping sickness in 1943, a fall more than compensated for by migration from Rwanda and Ankole into Mawogola, the "Acquired Counties" percentage of the total Buganda population fell from 6.5% to 4.2% between 1911 and 1959.[130] Other counties more attractive to migrant workers and prosperous enough to support population growth increased in size and in the case of areas such as Buddu and Busujju quadrupled their populations between these dates. Similarly, with its capacity for coffee and banana production immigration into Bugerere increased from some 10,000 inhabitants in 1931 to over 130,000 in the late 1960's.[131] Kkooki, by contrast, sustained no growth at all between 1911 (19,686) and 1948 (19,408) and its communities only began to increase in size in the final decades of Protectorate rule. Kabula similarly sustained only modest growth between 1911 and 1948 before suffering a decline in the period prior to the 1959 census, possibly due to the absence of Hima pastoralists at the time collectors visited the

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[128] Low, *Fabrication of Empire*, pp. 270- 274; Doornbos, *Regalia Galore*, pp. 59- 62; Steinhart, *Conflict and Collaboration*, p. 191.
[129] Summers, 'Intimate Colonialism,' pp. 787- 789; J.M. Fortt, 'The Distribution of the Immigrant and Ganda Population Within Buganda,' in *Economic Development and Tribal Change*, ed. by Audrey Richards, 2nd edition (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 77.
[130] UNA, Census Returns 1911; UNA, Census Returns 1959.
[131] Iliffe, *Africans*, p. 216.

area.[132] Indeed, the only county to undergo a sustained and significant demographic increase was Mawogola which benefitted from boundary changes by incorporating sub-counties from Buddu and Kabula and where availability of land and ideal conditions for pastoralism attracted Rwanda and Rundi immigrants who represented the second largest ethnic grouping in 1948, as well as Hima from Ankole who constituted the third most numerous group.[133] As Buganda's population more than doubled, however, between 1911 and 1959, the "Acquired Counties" demographic increase was much lower than the rest of Buganda as a whole, with the exception of Mawogola and to some extent Kkooki after 1948 (See Fig. 5 for population densities in Buganda, 1959).[134]

Screened from the limelight by their lack of involvement in prestige politics and missing the rapid population growth required to extend their influence in the *Lukiiko,* where number of inhabitants was a determining factor in deciding the total number of county representatives, these *ssazas* were often further isolated through logistics, environment and resources.[135] This is not to say that they were coherently and actively discriminated against by the Ganda state as was often an accusation within the "Lost Counties".[136] Indeed, analysis of health care statistics in particular indicates that at least by the end of British rule smaller peripheral population sizes were often served by a greater number of medical beds per 1000 people than in more heavily populated areas. In 1958, for example, Buvuma, Kabula and Ssese made up three of the top four counties with 2.5, 2, and 1.5 beds per thousand inhabitants respectively, perhaps reflecting the need to make such centres worthwhile given the difficulties in medical provision in maintaining very small institutions. By contrast densely inhabited areas such as Buddu had less than 0.3 beds per thousand. Overall, by the late 1950's and early 1960's Buganda as whole could offer its residents around 0.6 beds per thousand individuals while the "Acquired Counties" had a slightly higher ratio of around 0.7.[137] These figures must be understood in relation to geographical reality and it is pertinent that inhabitants of central heartland counties would have had less distance to travel to reach the government hospital at Bombo (South Bulemezi) or Mityana (Ssingo), or the kingdom's only

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[132] UNA, Census Returns 1911; UNA, Census Returns 1959; UNA, Census Returns 1948.

[133] Ibid; Phillip G. Powesland, 'Notes on Statistics,' in *Economic Development and Tribal Change*, ed. by Audrey Richards, 2nd edition (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1973), Appendix A, pp. 254- 260.

[134] *Ibid.*

[135]MUL NEWS, 'Buddu, Ssese, Bulemezi: Opinion Page,' *Munno,* 23rd November, 1961.

[136] BNA, Molson Commission, CO 822/2786; MUL NEWS, 'The Countries Annexed to Buganda Demand for Schools,' *Munno,* 15th May, 1924; ECPC, Statement 36, Kampala; ECPC, Statement 37, Eriya Kabyanga, Kampala, 1962; ECPC, Statement 39, People of Bujjeje, Buwekula, 1962.

[137] MUL PRO, Unmarked Government Papers, Buganda Annual Medical Report: Mengo District, 1958, (Entebbe Government Printer); MUL PRO, Unmarked Government Papers, Buganda Annual Medical Report for 1959: Mengo District, 1960, (Entebbe Government Printer); MUL PRO, Unmarked Government Papers, Buganda Annual Medical Report for 1960: Mengo District, 1961 (Entebbe Government Printer); MUL PRO, Unmarked Government Papers, Buganda Annual Medical Report for 1961: Mengo District, 1962 (Entebbe Government Printer).

health centre situated at Mpigi in Mawokota. Nevertheless, such statistics belie suppositions of a centralised, co-ordinated discrimination. Similarly, although often slow in their distribution, resources do not appear to have been withheld from "Acquired Counties" administrations as part of a conscious generalised plan. Both British and Ganda governments contributed resources to development, for instance, steamers to facilitate trade and travel on the islands and boreholes and reservoirs to combat drought in Kabula, Mawogola and Kkooki. By 1953, Masaka district, encompassing these three counties as well as Buddu, accounted for fifty-seven of Buganda's sixty-seven dams while Mubende District had none.[138]

Despite the theoretical parity with which these counties appear to have been treated, however, there is little doubt that progress and development tended to occur more slowly over a greater time period and that the areas themselves remained comparatively less prosperous through the majority of the colonial period. In 1903 Acting Deputy Commissioner, Stanley Tomkins, considered that areas such as Kkooki, Kabula and Mawogola should never have been accepted as counties within the kingdom because they were simply unable to pay their way.[139] Kabula, Mawogola and Kkooki possessed cattle wealth from their Hima inhabitants, although less so after the great rinderpest epidemics of the early 1900's. On the islands after resettlement rubber, coffee, silk, clay and timber were produced as cash crops often exploited by Ganda landlords from the mainland. The impact of the colonial economy, however, had undermined Kkooki's trade in iron, firearms, bark-cloth and un-free peoples from which much of its income had derived; indeed, these exports may well have been severely disrupted as early as the 1880's as civil unrest in Buganda spilled across the border in Kkooki. Buganda's main export until the latter half of the colonial period was cotton, with coffee increasingly significantly thereafter. Cotton had been introduced into Buganda in 1902 in response to the need to support the Lancashire cotton trade. British officials, and through them Ganda chiefs placed a considerable emphasis on successful growing and chiefs were sometimes fined or removed from their position if cultivation was not proceeding as quickly or efficiently as the district official desired.

The kingdom became the mainstay of the Protectorate's cash crop economy and by 1913 nineteen of the twenty ginneries in Uganda were in Buganda and Busoga. By 1919-1920, of the 162,000 acres of cotton grown in Uganda, 137,000 acres were in Buganda and Eastern province; moreover, cotton production increased significantly in the 1920's. By the 1950's Ganda had increasing access to cash economy fuelled by cotton and coffee and personal

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[138] MUL PRO, Uganda Protectorate Annual Reports, 1953-1955 (Entebbe Government Printer), CN GEU (05) 3; UNA SMP, Buganda Annual Report, 1923, A46/ 432.
[139] UNA, Staff Correspondence: Buganda, 'Report on a Tour Through Buddu by Stanley Tomkins, Acting Deputy Commissioner, 19th March 1903,' A8/3.

incomes had increased dramatically.[140] It is difficult to be absolutely sure how much the "Acquired Counties" contributed to Buganda's cash crop system as it proved impossible to ascertain a break-down of Buganda's economy by *ssaza* during the course of this research. Figures for Buganda's districts, however, indicate that cotton and coffee acreage was comparatively lower in the south and south-western district of Masaka than for the central District of Mengo between 1939 and 1956. Given that Buddu, the major county in Masaka District, was a significant contributor to the cash crop economy it is likely that this indicates relatively lower contributions from the Kkooki, Mawogola and Kabula where rainfall was less assured and populations smaller.[141] Indeed, British officials commenting in the early 1900's noted that Kkooki was not particularly conducive to the growing of cotton.[142] Working from the inference of other officials on the ground it also seems that while Ssese offered a more enticing prospect following the resettlements, particularly with regards to cotton and timber, the problems associated with cultivation on the disease threatened, rockier terrain of the archipelagos combined with the drier, less predictable climates of Kkooki, Kabula and Mawogola, appears to have restricted these counties' capacity to participate fully in the colonial economy.[143] For example, in 1902 Buganda's large eastern county Kyaggwe contributed RS 55, 881 in overall taxes to the Protectorate government. In Kabula in the same year, by contrast, only RS1275 was raised.[144]

These apparent inconsistencies in wealth and prosperity seem to have endured for much of the colonial period. In 1959-61 the average price of *mailo* land per acre within Buganda, as recorded by H.B. West, was 80 shillings. Within the "Acquired Counties" this figure rested at only 59 shillings, a figure which is anyway likely too great as the price for land in Mawogola appears suspiciously high as West notes.[145] In addition, reporting on the 1940 debate within the *Lukiiko* concerning the repeal of the *Buusulu* and *Nvuuju* Law which governed tenants' relationships to *mailo* owners, the Luganda language newspaper, *Matalisi*, highlighted the extent to which several of the "Acquired Counties", alongside the two eastern "Lost Counties", were considered less prosperous than the remainder of the kingdom. Prior to

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[140] Cyril Ehrlich, 'Cotton and the Ugandan Economy, 1903- 1909,' *Uganda Journal*, 21.2 (1957), p. 171; R.M.A. Van Zwanenberg and A. King, *An economic history of Kenya and Uganda, 1800-1970* (London: Macmillan, 1975), p. 80; A.R. Morgan, 'Uganda's Cotton Industry- Fifty Years Back,' *Uganda Journal* 22.2 (1958), pp. 107- 112; Wrigley, 'Changing Economic Structure of Buganda,' p. 46.
[141] UNA, Uganda Protectorate Report on Revised Crop Acreage Estimates, 1945- 1956 (Entebbe government Printer).
[142] UNA SMP, 'Buddu District Monthly Report for August 1907,' A43/43.
[143] UNA SMP, G.W. Cooper, Collector, Busiro, to Deputy Commissioner, Entebbe, 2nd May 1908, A44/179; UNA SMP, 'Report on the Cotton Industry in Bulamwezi and Bugerere, 10th September 1907,' A43/219; UNA SMP, 'Buganda Annual Report, 1922,' A46/439.
[144] UNA, 'Tomkins, Buddu Tour,' A8/3.
[145] H.B. West, *The Mailo Land System in Buganda: A Preliminary Case Study in African Land Tenure* (Entebbe: The Government Printer, 1964), Appendix B, p. 173.

this date inhabitants of Kkooki, Buvuma, Ssese, Mawogola, Buruuli and Bugerere had been considered economically weaker and had consequently paid a reduced rate of tax of only fifteen shillings as opposed to the higher rate of twenty five shillings required elsewhere in Buganda. It was considered at the time that the counties had advanced to a level where an increased rate could now be levied.[146] Nevertheless, in the early 1960's *Lukiiko* delegates from Ssese were once again forced to ask for a reduction in ground-rent as numbers of tax defaulters increased due to a lack of access to money within the economy. Meanwhile on Buvuma the Annual Report for Buganda in 1943 recorded that 'this was undoubtedly the most backward *ssaza* of the District' and that there was a tendency for islanders to rotate between the mainland and the islands due to 'the damage done by hippos, monkeys and pigs to food crops and the lack of attractions in the way of cotton, trade, shops.'[147]

In 1965 an author from Kkooki noted that there were no Asian shops within the entire county and only two inhabitants were rich enough to be required to pay the top level of tax of around 600 shillings.[148] Moreover, in the early twentieth century British officials moving on itineration through Buganda's different districts were quick to highlight the perceived faults of peripheral communities whose administration and progress in colonially approved cultivation was not considered satisfactory. Areas such as Mawogola were derided by colonial officials as the most 'backward' in their district, while leading chiefs across the counties were also often considered weak and incompetent if not downright disruptive.[149] Furthermore, infrastructure could be slower to implement away from the central counties. Thus, while general healthcare was fairly evenly spread by 1961 Kabula was still the only one of the "Acquired Counties" to enjoy a permanent maternity unit. Similarly, while Kkooki, Buvuma, Ssese and Mawogola were

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[146] MUL NEWS, 'Issues Debated and Passed in Mengo Lukiiko,' *Matalisi,* 8th November, 1940.

[147] Rubaga Cathedral Archive, Buganda Annual Report, 1934, (Entebbe Government Printer), D/31/10.

[148] MUL NEWS, 'Issues Discussed in the Lukiiko,' *Munno,* 10th August, 1941; MUL NEWS, 'The History of Kkooki County Makes Kkooki People Proud,' *Sekanyolya,* 28th September, 1965. See also *MUL NEWS,* 'Masaka Musings,' *Uganda Herald,* 21st August 1925 for an early anecdotal interpretation of Kkooki's distinction from Buganda, 'On travelling from Buddu to Koki one is struck by a change in the native demeanour. As long as the country appears rich and prosperous and well watered one passes a never ceasing throng of gaily dressed damsels and kanzad natives lounging and chatting and making merry. Then a change comes over the face of the scene. The country becomes dry and parched and comparatively barren. The paths grow white and hard from the dead grass and the few bananas one sees are stunted and ill nourished. Where the merry workers now? One supposes they are working to sustain life by the sweat of their brow- a necessity in all but the favoured spots of the world.' Missionary accounts also tended to convey the same impression, see for example, CMS, Papers of CJ Burden, Intineration Through Buddu, CMS/ACC406 F1 1-8 1910.

[149] UNA, Staff Correspondence: Buganda, DC Wyndham to D.C. Kampala, Kabula, 1902, A8/3; UNA, 'Tomkins, Buddu Tour,' A8/3; UNA SMP, 'Monthly Report for Buddu District December, 1903,' A8/4; UNA SMP, 'Buganda Annual Report: Entebbe District 1922,' A46/439.

well catered for in primary education by authorities and the various missions, by the late 1950's Kabula was the only 'Acquired County' to boast a junior secondary school.[150]

In part, the apparent disparity between counties was likely due to the relatively lower populations and more difficult climatic conditions within the "Acquired Counties". The trials undergone by islanders beset by sleeping sickness in the early twentieth century have already been discussed but in Kkooki, Kabula and Mawogola too, the necessities of life were too often precarious commodities. In the first three decades of the century in particular, the files of British officials responsible for these territories are thick with reports of humanitarian challenges as are the Luganda language newspapers of the period. In the dry cattle-keeping corridor running through Kabula and Mawogola, and in Kkooki's dusty hills distant from Lake Kijanebalola water was often scarce and crop failures were relatively common, the consequence of unpredictable precipitation patterns. This particular problem was especially marked between 1900-1910 as recurring drought caused annual and occasionally permanent migrations, particularly among the Hima of Mawogola, and forced the Ganda and British authorities to provide relief to wasting communities.[151] While the first decade of the twentieth century was undoubtedly the most difficult for Kkooki, Kabula, and Mawogola communities, ecological difficulties continued to plague these areas throughout and beyond the colonial period, although it must be noted that the "Acquired Counties" were not the only areas of Buganda to face climatic difficulties and Bugerere, Buruuli and north Bulemezi, in particular, were similarly beset by ecological extremes as well as falling prey to deadly diseases such as Rinderpest.[152]

While other areas may also have suffered drought and famine and while we have noted that it is impossible to be absolutely certain how much the resources of areas such as Ssese and Kkooki, which both produced coffee, were contributing to the Ganda economy, it

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[150] MUL PRO, Unmarked Government Papers, Buganda Annual Medical Report, 1961 (Entebbe Government Printer); MUL NEWS, 'Buvuma: Many Thanks to our Representatives,' *Munno*, 3rd February, 1964; *Kisayire, Kkooki Under Ndaula*, p. 12; MUL NEWS, 'Events in Kkooki,' *Munno*, 2nd August, 1958; MUL NEWS, 'Kkooki Will not be Merged,' *Munno*, 15th February, 1964; BNA, Uganda Protectorate: Annual Report of the Education Department for 1943, Kampala, 1944, CO 536/212/5; MUL NEWS, 'Mawogola,' *Akika Embuga*, 30th March, 1948.

[151] UNA, Staff Correspondence: Buganda, District Commissioner Wyndham to District Commissioner, Kampala, 9th September, 1902,A8/3; UNA, Misc Correspondence Relating to Missionaries, Businessmen and Government Agents, 'Annual Finance/Trade Report on Uganda Kingdom for 1901-1903, Kampala, 1903,' A6/18; UNA, Staff Correspondence, 'Monthly Report on Buddu District for July 1905,' A8/7; UNA SMP, 'Buddu District Annual Report for December 1907,' A43/43; UNA SMP, 'Buddu District Annual Report for July 1907,' A43/43; UNA SMP, Buganda Annual Report, 1913- 1914, A43/43; UNA SMP, Buganda Annual Report 1927, A46/442.

[152] UNA SMP, Annual Report 1927, A46/442; MUL NEWS, 'Poverty in Kkooki Saza,' *Munno*, 11th February, 1931; MUL NEWS, 'The Bakkooki Are Grateful to Government,' *Sekanyolya*, 10th November, 1965; UNA, Serwano Mulondo, Mugerere, to F.H. Leakey, 1907, A43/254; UNA, 'Report of a tour through Bulemezi, Buruuli and Kyandondo by S. Tomkins, Sub-Commissioner, Kampala, 1908,' A44/106; MUL NEWS, 'In Bugerere Things Are Bad,' *Munno*, 6th January, 1964.

does seem that the "Acquired Counties" remained comparatively less prosperous throughout British rule. This economic and geographical marginalisation combined with a lack of political significance resulted in a relationship between the Ganda heartland and its newest non-Nyoro territories predicated upon a centre-periphery trajectory. The motivating factors which drew the Ganda gaze towards the "Lost Counties" were simply not present elsewhere in the kingdom's colonial era periphery. The "Acquired Counties" were not discriminated against, because discrimination would have implied an active concern. Instead, development came slowly due to their peripheral status and courtesy of a Ganda government whose major concerns rested elsewhere. Nowhere is this pattern of ambivalence more clearly represented than in the arena of ethnic assimilation and incorporation and it is to an assessment of these processes which the chapter now turns.

A lack of active assimilation

The contrast between the Ganda approach to the "Lost" and "Acquired" counties is most easily evidenced by an absence of enforcement in the "Gandisation" of the latter territories. The indigenous communities of Kkooki, Kabula, Mawogola, Ssese and Buvuma experienced a void of coherent and repressive assimilative policies. It is clear in the records of the period, and more transparently in oral history testimonies from the areas, that the cultural suppression experienced by the Nyoro, Ruuli and Nyala was comparatively lacking, or at any rate incoherent among other peripheral peoples. Moreover, the imposition of Ganda political and administrative representatives was haphazard in implementation and indigenous officials retained a much broader presence in regional and central institutions. The office of sub-county chief, in particular, provided an avenue for local administrators to retain a level of political capital within their own territories, while delegates to the *Lukiiko* and even county chiefs themselves at times retained strong connections to peripheral communities.

The absence of a coherent cultural repression orchestrated from central Ganda or British institutions is best evidenced through local remembered histories. This being the case the testimonies of elders in 2010 must inevitably be regarded with a certain degree of caution. Sub-ethnic politics within Buganda in the present day and the divide between Buganda and the Museveni government poses the question as to what extent individuals felt willing or able to criticise Buganda's historical role within their own areas. Nevertheless, while taking such considerations into account, the unanimous response from informants across the "Acquired Counties", in stark contrast to those among the Nyala, offers a resounding rejection of suppressive ethnic politics within the colonial period. Even with room left to doubt the veracity of all statements received, the absence of claims of coherent discrimination by those born within the period in question is striking. On the question of naming practices, for example, it is

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clear that Ganda names came to dominate, but no respondent in any of the counties alleged that pressure was levied to enforce the appearance of an all Ganda population as was often the case in the "Lost Counties", as we have already seen. Indeed, the predominant response to questions over the evolution of naming practices was to note that individuals often gave or took Ganda names willingly because 'they liked them'.[153] In other words, adopting a Ganda name was first and foremost a voluntary action; a response to a changing socio-political context often designed to ingratiate peoples within a wider Ganda context of development and clan allegiance. Clearly, these broader processes may be understood as pressures towards change in themselves, and moreover we cannot underestimate the presence of missionary schooling and Ganda officialdom, but it seems apparent nonetheless that individuals in Kabula, Buvuma, Kkooki, Mawogola and Ssese had greater agency over their naming practices than comparable communities in the northern counties. As a respondent in Kabula elaborated:

Q. After the annexing of Kabula to Buganda, were Kinyankole names preserved?

R: Not so much, Kiganda names became more common; even the non-Baganda in the area started giving Kiganda names.

Q. Was there pressure to give Ganda names?

R: They did it on their own without any pressure...because Kabula now belonged to Buganda.[154]

Moreover, while Luganda was the language of the school, the church and political office, the speaking of indigenous tongues was nowhere punished by the Ganda authorities. Similarly, indigenous cultural ceremonies faced little apparent state censure. In Mubende District in particular, but also among the Ruuli and Nyala the prevention of traditional dances or celebrations was often a cause for dissension among local populations. Among the non-Nyoro peripheries, by contrast, local practices retained a presence even as they were overtaken in popularity in most areas by more generalised Ganda traditions.[155] This retention of memory of older rituals alongside a blossoming Ganda culture faced little opposition from Ganda authorities who appear to have remained unperturbed by the progress of cultural homogeneity within their outer territories. British and missionary files, in addition to the indigenous language press, are notable for their absence of complainants concerning the interference of the Ganda state in cultural and social developments.

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[153] Interview, K.A. Kabula; Interview, P.K., Kabula; Interview, S.M.S. Kkooki; Interview, H.S., Buddu, 5th July 2010; Interview, S.T., Buvuma; Interview, L.S., Ssese.

[154] Interview, H.J.W., Kabula.

[155] ECPC, Misc Statements, Teachers, Mubende; ECPC, Statement 37, Kampala; Interview, K.A., Kabula; Interview, M.B, Kkooki.

While the absence of a co-ordinated repression of culture is primarily underlined by a decisive lack of indication to the contrary, evidence does exist to suggest that the "Acquired Counties" encountered a different set of assimilative processes to those occurring simultaneously to the north of the kingdom. The retention of political and social capital among indigenous officials and dignitaries provides a compelling argument for a much greater freedom of action and agency provided by a more disjointed Ganda approach to chiefship and land holding. The distinction between Ganda attitudes towards land tenure and political representation in the "Lost Counties" and other peripheral areas was first recognised by Low and Pratt in 1960. In their comprehensive analysis of the 1900 Buganda Agreement Low in particular noted that as land was divided among the kingdom's leading chiefs patterns emerged within the allotments. Those central counties which had pre-European roots within the kingdom had a higher proportion of individuals who received one square mile of land or less than those who received two square miles or more.[156] In the peripheral *ssazas,* however, this arrangement was reversed indicating that the central counties had a higher number of lower level chiefs to satisfy in their distribution. Equally, among this lesser number of *mailo* owners the final division offered a snapshot of the less coherent land incorporation. In the "Lost Counties" Low was able to find only twelve names on the allotment list which were Nyoro. A further eight had names which might have been either Nyoro or Ganda. By significant contrast, in Kkooki the majority of beneficiaries were themselves indigenous. Kkooki, however, may well have benefited particularly prominently from the settlement due its voluntary incorporation as Low proposes. In Buvuma, Ganda recipients certainly attained land through the 1900 Agreement. In 1901 a British official recorded that Apolo Kaggwa had informed him that Ganda chiefs had been given 164 square miles on the island; although since the suggestion is that the remainder was invested in the government it seems likely that Kaggwa is using 'Baganda' to refer to indigenous ownership including Vuma as opposed to Crown land.[157] Still, it is clear that a significant amount of land was taken by mainland Ganda chiefs and sometimes in large allotments.[158] In her study of the village of Kisozi in Busiro County Audrey Richards noted that the Ganda *Makamba* (an office associated with the ritual installation of a new kabaka), Mika Sematimba, received six square miles on the islands as part of the twelve square allotted to him in total.[159] Similarly, Low notes that within two years of the Agreement

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[156] Low, 'The Uganda Agreement of 1900,' pp. 125-126.
[157] UNA, Staff Correspondence: Buganda, Secretary, Entebbe to Collector, Kampala, 3rd May 1901, A9/1.
[158] MUL, John Rowe: The History of Buganda During the 1960s, Buganda Earliest Records, Records of the Lukiiko, 8th October, 1914, AFQ 967.611 (Hereafter 'Lukiiko Records').
[159] Audrey Richards, *The Changing Structure of a Ganda Village: Kisozi 1892- 1952*, East African Studies 24 (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1966), p. 51.

being signed all of the land on Ssese had been appropriated.[160] The Regents of Buganda including Apolo Kaggwa and Stanislaus Mugwanya, among others, received significant land on the islands which they had earmarked for the production of rubber from Ssese's forests. In 1904 with the forests still to be properly surveyed- and Kabula and Mawogola were not fully surveyed until 1943- the regents complained to the government that the lack of a survey was preventing them from making money through the acquisition of rubber.[161] In addition, the principal medium of the Mukasa shrine in Ssese lost three islands to the *Gabunga* Yosiya Kasozi.[162] Moreover, just as in the "Lost Counties" access to land controlled by Ganda chiefs would have entailed adoption of Ganda clans and the impact of Ganda landholding within the "Acquired Counties" should therefore not be underestimated.[163]

Nevertheless, as we shall see disputes over land on the islands during the resettlements suggest that the "Gandisation" of land holding was less comprehensive in its final implementation in some "Acquired Counties" areas than within the "Lost Counties". In addition, it is clear that while mainland Ganda may have had considerable holdings, among the islanders at least individuals did continue to receive or inherit land within the colonial period. Ssese contributors to Roscoe and Kaggwa's enquiry into land tenure, for example, Danieli Kaganda and Jomesu Semaga, indicated that they had received *mailo* on Ssese.[164] Moreover, if Ganda chiefs availed themselves of land in some of the peripheries, other evidence on administrative appointments contained within colonial records and indigenous newspapers suggests that the "Acquired Counties" as a whole retained a greater network of local notables and a comparatively greater degree of social and political control.[165]

The acceptance of indigenous representatives within the "Acquired Counties" began as the counties themselves were being incorporated. While Ganda chiefs streamed into the "Lost Counties" and turned to governing as an occupying force with the backing of the British, the "Acquired Counties", on the whole, were spared this initial influx on such a scale. The varied fates of the notables of three counties are instructive in this context. In Bugerere the local ruler of the Nyala, the *Namuyonjo*, was quickly deposed following the British supported Ganda advance. His position was handed out as a reward in 1894, initially to Semei Kakungulu, the Protestant general and conqueror of Catholic and Muslim Ganda armies and Nyoro and Vuma forces alike. As a British officer noted in that year, 'in Namyonja I found that Kakungulu had

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[160] Low, 'Uganda Agreement of 1900,' p. 111.
[161] UNA, Staff Correspondence: Buganda, Apolo Kaggwa, Stanislaus Mugwanya and Yakobo Kago to C.W. Fowler, Mengo, 6th April 1904, A8/4.
[162] Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, p. 219.
[163] Richards, 'The Assimilation of Immigrants,' p. 175.
[164] RHO, 'Enquiry,' Submission of Danieli Kaganda and Jomesu Semaga, p. 102; see also, MUL, 'Lukiiko Records, 8th October 1914, p. 130; MUL, 'Lukiiko Records,' 21st July 1917.
[165] Low, 'Uganda Agreement of 1900,' p. 125.

already taken possession and by his wise and considerate conduct induced the Wanyoro to continue in their shambas and work in unity with his people'.[166] In fact Kakungulu had already made his presence felt by removing Kwambu, the *Namuyonjo*, and exiling him to an island on Lake Kyoga.[167] Kwambu was later allowed to return by the Kabaka as a minor *miruka* chief but his lands had been taken by absentee Ganda landlords. Indeed, one of the sons of Kwambu's sons, Daudi Namuyonjo, complained to the Molson Commission in 1962 that his father had been offered only 350 acres in the *mailo* settlement; an offer he had rejected because Ganda chiefs were receiving miles.[168] Moreover, another of the *Namuyonjo's* sons, Kalema, seems to have suffered indignities at the hands of Kakungulu's successor as chief of Bugerere, Matayo, and chosen instead to follow Kakungulu to Busoga.[169] By the 1930's Kwambu's heirs remained parish chiefs in their former territory.[170]

In Buvuma, on the other hand, the paramount chiefs were given a choice by British officials attempting to draw together an administrative unit in the late 1890's. Despite their conquest at the hands of Ganda and British forces the Vuma had initially remained under their own chiefs and subject to the British officer in control of Busoga who wanted to administer the islands through the Soga chief Luba, with whom the islanders had connections.[171] Moreover, on the arrival of Harry Johnston, architect of the 1900 Agreement, it was initially proposed that Buvuma should be subject to Buganda, but that it should be so under its own created paramount chief from among the Vuma who was to operate as a *ssaza* chief within the Ganda system. It is unclear how the Ganda regents would have reacted to such a suggestion because the indigenous chiefs invited to meet Johnston to discuss this proposal never made the journey and were punished by the introduction of a Ganda candidate as the newly defined county chief, *Mububi*.[172] While it is difficult to know exactly what prevented the chiefs from meeting with Johnston they had already rejected an earlier summons over the deaths of a number of Ganda on the islands and they may have feared retrospective punishment; alternatively, it is also possible that given the multifaceted nature of pre-colonial authority on the islands, agreement over who should govern was no easy task.[173] That Buganda might have accepted such a fait accompli had the Vuma engaged with the process is given credence by the striking example of Kkooki. Here, the terms of the 1896 agreement by which Kkooki was incorporated into the kingdom made provision for the transition of Kamuswaga from Prince of

[166] Captain Gibb of the 1894 Mruli Expedition cited in, Thomas, 'Capax Imperii,' pp. 128- 129.
[167] Thomas, 'Capax Imperii,' p. 129; Jenkins, 'Ssaza of Bugerere,' pp. 204- 206.
[168] MUL NEWS, 'Bunyoro Should Be Grateful to Buganda,' *Uganda Argus*, January 31st, 1962.
[169] Thomas, 'Capax Imperii,' p. 131.
[170] Jenkins, 'Saza of Bugerere,' p. 206.
[171] Médard, Le royaume, p. 216.
[172] Low, 'Uganda Agreement,' p. 71; Low, *Fabrication of Empire*, p. 266.
[173] Low, 'Uganda Agreement,' p. 71.

Kkooki to the position of 'a Muganda *ssaza* of the first class.'[174] Moreover, despite the lack of any written agreement, the Ganda *Lukiiko* in Mengo proved willing to uphold a verbal contract obtained by Kamuswaga that his position should remain hereditary following his death. In consequence the Kkooki royal family enjoyed a position as one of only a select number of hereditary *ssaza* positions within Ganda Kingdom.[175]

The respect accorded Kamuswaga aptly contrasted with the Ganda approach to *Namuyonjo* and other Ruuli, Nyala and Nyoro chiefs within the "Lost Counties". While the voluntary submission of Edward Ndaula, Kamuswaga in 1896, may well have tipped the balance in his favour there is little doubt that the "Acquired Counties" as a whole faired significantly better in retaining local representation. By 1948, Ssese, for example, contained only one sub-county chief who did not originate from the islands.[176] In 1951 the *ssaza* chief, *Kweba,* himself, was a Mussese from Bukasa Island. On the occasion of his inauguration on the 26th January of that year the Ganda *Katikiro,* alongside the new *Kweba,* noted that the 'Kabaka had decided to appoint someone who is their own (sic) to serve them as their Ssaza chief... and that he hoped that this is a gift'.... that would 'inspire them to love him (The Kabaka)'.[177] While Nyoro, Nyala and Ruuli officials were also occasionally given high ranking status within the Ganda political service as a means to ensure loyalty, none were ever trusted to return to the county of his birth and take control of its administration, with the possible exception of Nsibirwa.[178] In Buvuma appointment processes mirrored those of Ssese. By 1952 the majority of sub-county chiefs were indigenous as was the assistant *ssaza* chief, Hamu N Mulito. The *ggombolola* chief of *Ssabawali* sub-county, Tomasi S. Minyanja, even administered Mpatta Island where he was born.[179] Localised control of sub-county offices was particularly important in terms of the retention of the instruments of justice. Buganda's legal system, administered through the 'Native Courts', was intricately bound up with *ggombolola* chiefships, the headquarters of which were the setting for sub-county chiefs to hear cases.[180] The trends in allocation of chiefships in Kabula and Mawogola is made difficult to ascertain by the absence of clear chief lists although local oral histories suggest that chiefs of higher status and

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[174] Unpublished translation discovered in a family archive within Kkooki of the 1896 Kkooki Agreement signed by Kabaka Mwanga, Buganda, Kamusaga, Koki, and Ernest J. L. Berkeley, Commissioner and Consul-General for the British Protectorate of Uganda.

[175] UNA SMP, Apolo Kaggwa and Stanislaus Mugwanga to F.H. Leakey, 8th April 1907, A43/89. The county chiefs of Busiro, Butambala and Busujju were also hereditary, see, Richards, *Changing Structure of a Ganda Village,* p. 29 and RHO, 'Enquiry,' pp. 6- 8.

[176] MUL NEWS, 'News in Ssese,' *Matalisi,* 19th March, 1948.

[177] MUL NEWS, 'News from Ssese,' *Munno,* 26th January, 1951.

[178] Green, 'Limits to Ethnic Change,' p. 478.

[179] MUL NEWS, 'Buvuma: Opinion Page,' *Munno,* 12th September, 1952.

[180] For lists of sub-county courts see, SOAS, Miti, 'History of Buganda,' vol.3, fol. MS 77687; Rubaga Cathedral Archive, 'Endagano Zona Ezalaganibwa Ne Gavumeti Ya Bagereza Na Baganda Mu Buganda, 1900-1909 (Kampala, 1909),' pp. 106- 116.

particularly the county chief remained predominantly Ganda. Nevertheless, parish chiefs and, importantly, representatives from the area to the *Lukiiko* contained a significant proportion of local representatives.[181]

Taken as a whole, then, the experiences of communities within the "Acquired Counties" differed significantly from those of their Nyoro, Ruuli and Nyala counterparts. The coherent assimilative processes enforced among the latter populations were considered unnecessary among the former. There, instead, individuals responded to those elements of assimilation which did exist including schooling, religion and a new allegiance to the Ganda state but remained largely free to adopt Ganda cultural practices and social mores at their own pace, although islanders were clearly encouraged by their relocation. The absence of complaints of repressive policies in the files of the British and the missionaries, in the indigenous papers and in local oral histories, speaks volumes for the existence of assimilative processes with significantly different co-ordinates among peripheries whose relationship with the centre was fundamentally uncontested. The Ganda state, with little political, social or economic reason to focus its energies on these territories, remained largely content to allow them to develop at their own speed so long as there was no resistance to kingdom rule. The ultimate expression of this laissez faire attitude was the retention of political capital among peripheral communities, particularly in Kkooki, Ssese and Buvuma.

Power-politics in the peripheries

The unwillingness of Buganda to interfere in the "Acquired Counties" except for reasons of direct material interest is further and very clearly illustrated by several disagreements between the Ganda government in Mengo and the British authorities in Entebbe. These disputes over aspects of administrative policy and access to resources provide interesting insights not only on Ganda-British power relations but on the disjointed attitude to indigenous identities. In the "Acquired Counties", in essence, assimilative processes were incoherent enough that the evolving relationship between the European and Ganda administrations provided opportunities for cultural preservation. Whereas in the "Lost Counties" the openness of the two powers towards the desirability of "Gandisation" was relatively clear, elsewhere British and Ganda representatives alternatively defended aspects of peripheral traditions as they squabbled amongst themselves for tangible political control. This battle of wills is revealed through British documents and in particular through two specific case studies whereby first Ganda and then British officials defended the legitimacy of indigenous traditions from creeping Ganda ethnic and cultural hegemony. The first example centres around a protracted discourse

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[181] Interview, S.S.T., Kabula; Interview, H.J.W., Kabula; Interview, K.A., Kabula.

on the right of the Kkooki Kamuswaga and his indigenous chiefs to continue to govern, primarily between the years 1907 to 1917 although its eventual conclusion was never satisfactorily agreed, at least from the colonial perspective. The second case considered involves events some twenty years later as the repatriation of Ssese and Buvuma forced British and Ganda authorities to distinguish the meaning of islander identities and indigenous rights within the kingdom. That such discussions took place at all offers deeper insights into both the un-coordinated approach to peripheral assimilation as well as the unique relationship between Britain and Buganda within the colonial period.

The impact of indigenous dialogues on colonial strategy, and the competing spheres of influence of Ganda and British officials is powerfully evident in the administration of the kingdom's peripheries. The ability of the *Lukiiko* to defy British interference in internal governance issues relating to the "Acquired Counties" reveals Ganda officials and representative bodies to be more than mere collaborators in an Indirect Rule system. Moreover, essential to our discussion here, Ganda, British disputes over peripheral policy illustrate the extent to which both governments lacked a clear and consistent vision for the "Gandisation" of the kingdom's non-"Lost Counties" peripheral communities. The position of Kkooki's Kamuswaga, Edward Kabumbuli, as well as of the Kkooki chiefs of that county in the early twentieth century offers the first, and perhaps the richest example of this assimilative friction.

On the 9th March 1907, eleven years after voluntarily merging his principality with Buganda, Kamuswaga Edward Ndaula succumbed to long-term illness.[182] Following the agreement made between Ndaula and the leading Protestant chiefs at the time of incorporation in 1896 that Kkooki should remain hereditary, his son was nominated as successor by Stanislaus Mugwanya and Kaggwa who had had a close personal relationship with Ndaula. The support of Mugwanya, the leading Catholic chief in Buganda, indicates that the initial agreement between Protestant authorities now had bipartisan support in the ever competitive religious context of the Ganda politics. This unity within the Ganda ranks, and there was often disunity between the two religious groups as Protestants continued to dominate the power structures of the king, may well have helped the Regents and the *Lukiiko* in defying British wishes.

The new Kamuswaga, Edward Sifasi Joji Kabumbuli was confirmed in his post by May 1907 after the Protectorate government backed the decision of the Regents, despite the lack of any written contract to support the hereditary process, on the proviso that, 'there is nothing

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[182] UNA SMP, 'Buddu District Monthly Report for March 1907,' A43/43.

against the character of the man.'[183] This caveat would return to haunt British officials as the futility of its provision was revealed. In fact, Kabumbuli proved to be a most unsatisfactory and obstructive *ssaza* chief, particularly in his first decade in office. In March 1911 amidst rumours of serious malpractice the District Commissioner of Masaka, Browning, made an extended visit to Kkooki to follow up on slow or missing tax returns and the mistreatment of individuals by Kkooki officials. Finding significant discrepancies in the records of tax receipts and in the imposition of fines Browning branded the work of the *ssaza* chief and his sub-county representatives as nothing short of 'disgraceful'. His investigations uncovered serious evidence of fraud with fines imposed through the Native Courts left unrecorded and subsequently 'pocketed' by the chiefs who enforced them. In one incidence cited by Browning an individual who had won a case in a sub-county court had his decision overturned by the court of the Kamuswaga after the defendant objected to the sub-county chief's ruling. The Kamuswaga ordered the original victor to pay a fine of R.S. 30, equivalent to six years poll tax. When Browning confronted Kabumbuli over the decision he found that the case had not been recorded in the Kamuswaga's court book. The *ssaza* chief refuted the accusation but Browning concluded on 'good authority' that the man had indeed been fined and, moreover, that the fine had been paid to Kamuswaga.[184] Appalled by the volume of similar complaints Browning's summation of the county was damning;

> Before leaving for Kkooki I had received such frequent reports of the slackness, inefficiency and injustice of the saza and other chiefs that I went prepared to find Kkooki native affairs in a far from satisfactory condition, but I could not have believed it possible for them to be so bad...when I was here in 1904-1905 things were bad enough...but they have gone from bad to worse. The former Kamuswaga was a most unsatisfactory saza chief but the present one (his son) is much more so.[185]

He concluded that the only possible resolution to such widespread problems was the removal of Kabumbuli himself, to be replaced by an 'energetic, efficient, and trustworthy chief'.[186] Browning is not explicit in his recommendation of a Ganda indivual to take the Kamuswaga's place but this inference is clear in his derision for Kabumbuli's ties of tradition and indigeneity. He notes that, 'one of the chief reasons why affairs in Kkooki are so bad is because Kamuswaga

[183] UNA SMP, Kaggwa and Mugwanya to Leakey, A43.89; UNA SMP, F.H. Leakey to Deputy Commissioner, Entebbe, 12th April 1907, A43/89; UNA SMP, F.H. Leakey to Deputy Commissioner, Kampala, 1st May 1907, A43/89; UNA SMP, F.H. Leakey to the Regents, Buganda Kingdom, Kampala, 4th May 1907, A43/89.
[184] UNA SMP, S. Browning to Provincial Commissioner, Kampala, Masaka, 27th March 1911, A46/668.
[185] *Ibid.*
[186] *Ibid.*

regards himself not as an 'Owesaza' but as a 'Kabaka' and, 'he has resorted to a lot of feudal customs which were in vogue in the days of his ancestors.' Chief among these duties were the provision of food and beer for Kamuswaga's extensive court by Kkooki's inhabitants and an annual payment of the finest quality bark-cloth as 'a token of loyalty'.[187]

Browning's accusations were taking seriously by Provincial Commissioner Healy to whom the report was forwarded. Healy in turn contacted the Regents in Mengo noting that Browning's conclusions supported those of 'an earlier report submitted by Captain Place' and adding that, 'such a state of affairs as now exists in Kkooki District cannot be allowed to continue...we must adopt immediately some most drastic measures to bring that ssaza in line with the rest of Uganda.'[188] The Regents, however, were not prepared to see Kabumbuli removed. Kaggwa in particular was not willing to renege on his promise to Kamuswaga Ndaula in 1896. In response to Healy's letter they proposed a compromise, asking that the British 'kindly allow S. Sefasi Kamuswaga to retain his post and be tried for 6 months in order that we may see if he will be good enough'. In addition, a Muganda chief was to be sent to Kkooki to assist Kabumbuli in administration and teach him his duties.[189] Elsewhere in British colonial Africa the Kamuswaga would most likely have been replaced but faced by opposition among the regents and in the Ganda *Lukiiko* over a county with little economic or political importance Healey relented and Kabumbuli retained his position.[190]

The situation, however, was not resolved. Kamuswaga's performance improved slightly between 1912 and 1914, but by 1915 British officials were once again cursing the 'incompetence and neglect of duty' prevalent in Kkooki's governance.[191] In 1917 the Kamuswaga was called before the *Lukiiko* on the orders of the Provincial Commissioner and the Governor to inform him that his Ganda assistant was to be withdrawn and that in view of continued allegations against him a definite report would be called for in six months' time to settle his position once and for all. As Provincial Commissioner Cooper noted: 'Kamuswaga has constantly been given warnings and chances and he definitely understands that this is a final one.'[192] Despite these threats against him Kkooki's traditional ruler, descended directly from the independent princes of the pre-colonial period, continued to enjoy the support of the Ganda government and he was once again reprieved. Indeed, in spite of continued misgivings Kabumbuli retained his position until his death in 1954, upon which he was succeeded by his

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[187] *Ibid.*

[188] UNA SMP, Provincial Commissioner Healey to Regents, Buganda Kingdom, Mengo, 4th March 1911, A46/668.

[189] UNA SMP, Regents, Buganda Kingdom, to Provincial Commissioner Healey, Mengo, 2nd June 1911, A46/668.

[190] UNA SMP, Note by Healy written on: Regents, Buganda Kingdom to Healey, A46/668.

[191] UNA SMP, Buganda Annual Report, 1915-1916, A46/425.

[192] UNA SMP, Buganda Annual Report, 1916-1917, A46/440.

son, Yoweri Kayemba.[193] The actions of the Ganda government, therefore, represented a successful challenge to British intentions and in the process prevented the removal of Kkooki's indigenous authority. Despite the Kamuswaga's continued adherence to traditional princely practices, his symbolic stature as Kkooki's pre-colonial leader and his flagrant disregard for administrative duties, Kabumbuli's position was protected by a verbal agreement, the voluntary nature of his territory's incorporation within the kingdom, and, undoubtedly, the relatively minor political importance of his county. Had Kkooki represented a threat to Ganda prestige, as did the "Lost Counties", it is likely that the Lukiiko would have supported the British in removing a traditional ruler still maintaining non-Ganda customs; as it was, however, no amount of British discontent could persuade stubborn Ganda officials to remove him from office.

A similar situation may be discerned among Kamuswaga's subordinates. Here, however, the 'ethnic' aspect of administrative incorporation was more openly apparent. Both Browning, and his successor O'Neil, alongside Provincial Commissioner Knowles, actively sought to increase the proportion of Ganda officials within the Kkooki system. Indigenous sub-county officials, like their ssaza chief, were implicated in 'serious cases of misappropriation of government money'.[194] Moreover, they were, on the whole, considered weak leaders, content to live off the benefits of office and unwilling to work for the development of their communities. In part, this disrespect for the ggombolola chiefs undoubtedly stemmed from their adherence to earlier localised expectations of chiefly duties, following the trail set by the Kamuswaga who continued to attempt to exercise his princely rights and customs under the Ganda system. A 1913 letter by Knowles intimated as much, noting that the people of Kkooki were not originally of 'the Baganda race,' and blaming inefficiency on, 'the Bahima strain of blood...which probably accounts for their troublesome nature'.[195] Knowles' report also clearly illustrates the ethnic chauvinism which characterised colonial interpretations of the inter-lacustrine human environment; in their civilisation and progress in these early stages of British governance, the Ganda were considered significantly more advanced. As such, the improvement of Kkooki's administration was considered by the local colonial authorities to be an issue of assimilation and ethnicity. Radical changes had to be made to improve the kingdom's most wayward county and the recommendations of O'Neil in this regard in 1912 were typical; 'the first thing that should be done is to eliminate the Kkooki element...a beginning should be made by removing the worst of these and replacing them by new men

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[193] UNA SMP, Buganda Annual Report, 1920, A46/440; Kisayire, Kkooki Under Ndaula, p. 26.
[194] UNA SMP, 'O'Neil, Kkooki Tour, A46/668.
[195] UNA SMP, Knowles to Chief Secretary, Entebbe, 5th February, 1913, A46/668.

from outside...I would therefore propose that they should be dismissed, and carefully selected Baganda chiefs appointed in their place.'[196]

The Ganda *Lukiiko*, however, was less enthusiastic to purge the Kkooki element. In 1911 Browning had recommended that sub-county vacancies in *musale, sabawali* and *mutuba I ggombololas* be filled by two Ganda candidates and a Kkooki elder, and uncle to the Kamuswaga. The *Lukiiko* disagreed and put forward Zabuloni Mugumbule, a Kkooki individual for the priority post of *Musale*. In response Browning contacted the Provincial Commissioner noting that he was, 'rather surprised that the Lukiiko should have submitted the name of Zabuloni Mugumbule for the post of Musale as he is a Mukkooki and I particularly requested a little fresh blood be introduced among the ggombolola chiefs of Kkooki.'[197] In this case Browning came out on top and the *Lukiiko* acceded to the appointment of the Muganda, Anderea Nkyabawade, to the chiefship. By 1913 the British had managed to install four out of seven gg*ombolola* positions with Ganda officials. Nevertheless, the Kamuswaga remained at the pinnacle of the hierarchy and indigenous chiefs continued to occupy sub-county and other significant positions within the administration including men such as Ernesti Bimanywa, cousin to Kamuswaga and the *mumyuka* chief awarded *mailo* land in the 1900 Buganda Agreement.[198] In stark contrast to the "Lost Counties", then, Kkooki's indigenous officials retained a significant presence among the territory's dignitaries. This continued access to political capital among indigenous individuals in Kkooki, particularly in the first decades of colonial rule, was facilitated through the lack of a coherent assimilative policy within the county as British and Ganda intentions skipped out of step.

In Kkooki local representatives were protected by Ganda authorities unwilling to submit to British directives. In the 1930's, however, discussions over the meaning of indigenous rights in the peripheries would reverse the roles of the Ganda and British authorities and cast European officials as initial obstacles to "Gandisation". Whereas in the 1950's in the "Lost Counties" both Governor Crawford and the Molson Commission would suggest that the kingdom had the right to consider all inhabitants as Ganda, in our second example amidst the island repopulations of the 1930's, colonial officials originally sought to distinguish between mainland Ganda and the claims of their indigenous island neighbours.[199] While European and Ganda authorities would eventually end up in agreement, perhaps laying the groundwork for the Molson Commission's later conclusions on peripheral social status, the rough process by

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[196] UNA SMP, 'O'Neill, Kkooki Tour, A46/668.
[197] UNA SMP, District Commissioner Browning to Provincial Commissioner, Kampala, 2nd June, 1911, A46/668.
[198] UNA SMP, 'List of Kkooki Chiefs by D.C. O'Neil, Masaka, 15th December, 1912,' A46/668.
[199] BNA, 'Letter from Governor Crawford to Secretary of State for the Colonies,' 28th July, 1957, CO 822/1739; BNA, Molson Commission, CO 822/2786.

which such compromise was achieved indicates the extent to which incorporation within the "Acquired Counties" lacked a coherent, centralised strategy. Moreover, the arrangements for the distribution of land during resettlement indicates that Ganda control of land was less total than might first appear.

The process of repopulating the islands presented the British and Ganda authorities with a complex problem mired in the varied and overlapping land claims which characterised the colonial kingdom. As the Ssese and Buvuma Archipelagos were re-opened island by island the question of land entitlement threatened a rift between mainland and islands on the one hand and the *Lukiiko*, and the British Entebbe government on the other. In essence, confusion and recrimination arose as land rights on the islands were claimed through competing official avenues within the systems introduced through the 1900 Agreement, and, importantly, under the 1913 Allotment and Survey Act. This latter amendment made provision for those individuals who's Provisional Certificate of *mailo* land allotted under the 1900 Agreement in one way or another did not match their entitlement. The 8,000 square miles allocated under the 1900 Agreement to chiefs were dispensed prior to a full survey being conducted and, consequently, a number of recipients of *mailo* found that their land was either smaller or larger than they had anticipated. The Allotment and Survey Act therefore allowed landholders to make up their claims from 'deficient' estates elsewhere; alternatively, it allowed chiefs' whose occupied plots proved larger than authorised to trade equivalent tracts owned in other areas for the lands that they had settled. As a significant proportion of Buganda remained to be surveyed by 1913 the 'Deficient' or 'Surplus Estates' arising from the act became to a large extent 'a letter of credit for land negotiable where and when desired'. The *Lukiiko* and its leading chiefs exercised the right to allot as yet un-surveyed land either to make up deficiencies in peoples claims or to facilitate exchanges of territory.[200] By 1926 the Buganda survey had still to assess some 30% of the kingdom's total area and access to un-allotted land on the islands was to prove a contentious issue. While the kingdom itself proved largely ambivalent in its attitudes towards Ssese and Buvuma throughout the colonial period, the opportunity for mainland landlords to consolidate holdings on the island by trading disparate stretches of land elsewhere proved a tempting proposition and forced the Ganda government to consider issues surrounding the islands for a limited period. Indeed, in Ssese alone in 1933, an estimated 80-100 square miles remained open to allotment alongside original claims to some 143 square miles and British rights to 22 square miles surrendered to them during the clearances by individuals and missions in and an ill-defined area of forest.[201]

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[200] H.B. Thomas, 'An Experiment in African Native Land Settlement,' *African Affairs* V. XXVII, no. CVII (1928), p. 242.
[201] *UNA*, Ssese, 'Letter from Director of Surveys to Chief Secretary, 17th June, 1933,' fol. 4999.

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The opening up of several islands in Ssese in the early 1920's, consequently expedited a rush on land claims by individuals who had acquired the right under the Allotment and Survey Act, either by virtue of shortages on their mainland estates, or by purchasing 'Deficient Estate', to claim un-surveyed land in Buganda.[202] Wary of the extent of these new claims, the government in Entebbe ruled in 1923 that a full survey should be conducted as soon as possible to demarcate the original 143 miles allotted to recipients under the 1900 Agreement as well as government land and that only once this process had been completed would the rest of the islands be thrown open to allotment. Moreover, a further appeal by the *Lukiiko* in 1924 to be allowed to submit claims for land thought to be available was rejected by the British on the grounds that such an accession would contravene the 1923 decision and 'operate to the advantage of a class of wealthy Baganda Landowners, and of land speculators to the detriment of the Bassese and to the jeopardy of the claims of the government'.[203] In the 1920's, then, the British authorities sought to protect their own interests and those of the islanders from the imposition of mainland chiefs. As the resettlement process extended into the 1930's this initial policy line developed into a discussion over the rights of peripheral communities as Buganda challenged colonial interpretations. In June 1933 the British Director of Surveys, Sturrock, following on from the line taken by the government in the 1920's, advised that once the survey had made sufficient progress un-claimed lands should be opened up to the *Lukiiko*. The allotment of fresh claims, however, was not to be an open process; the *Lukiiko* would be 'required to certify that each claimant was a Mussese, or alternatively if the claimant was a Muganda, that there was no Mussese with a prior or equal claim.'[204] This stipulation, riding on a distinction between islander and mainland identities based on indigenous attachments to land, forced Buganda to respond to a perceived challenge to Ganda cultural hegemony. The *Lukiiko* Land Office, with the backing of leading Ganda chiefs including the Prime Minister, M.L. Nsibirwa, petitioned the Protectorate Government rejecting the assignment of a division of ethnic or sub-ethnic identities in access to land, arguing that, 'there is no difference between Bassese and Baganda'.[205] Moreover, the chiefs highlighted that no distinction had been made between islanders and mainland Ganda by the *Lukiiko* or the British when allotting *mailo* in the rest of Buganda, and, consequently, mainland claimants should have equal rights on the islands.[206] In essence, then, the Ganda government reiterated a stance adopted predominantly

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[202] *Ibid.*
[203] *Ibid.*
[204] *Ibid.*
[205] UNA, Ssese, M.L. Nsibirwa, Katikiro; A. Kiwanuka, Omulumuzi; S.W. Kulubya, Omuwanika to Provincial Commissioner, Kampala, 1st September 1933, fol. 4999.
[206] *Ibid.*

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with regard to the "Lost Counties" where ethnic ascription similarly posed a challenge to the state, that all indigenous inhabitants of Buganda were Ganda.

The validity of the Ganda argument was accepted by leading British officials later in 1933. In a further example of Buganda's ability to influence colonial policy, the Protectorate adopted the reasoning of the *Lukiiko* chiefs in reversing its earlier policy, noting that the people of Ssese were themselves Ganda and that to privilege one division of the kingdom over another would be unfair.[207] Nevertheless, the acquiescence to Ganda demands was not without some resistance. Buganda's land officer in late 1933 noted that he still shared, 'the opinion expressed by Mr Sturrock....and held by this office for the past 10 years, that the Bassese have moral claims to priority in any re-allotment of land in Ssese.'[208] Moreover, the length of time over which the settlements had played out since the 1920's favoured island candidates whose claims had been upheld before the un-allotted land was re-opened. To ensure that islanders were protected from encroachment by mainland Ganda speculators remained a priority to some British officials who were determined to see that 'the Provisional Certificates already issued, mostly to Bassese, for the 143 square miles are satisfied in full.'[209] Furthermore, though the argument had been won by Buganda over Ssese, the land resettlement process for Buvuma, occurring later in the 1930's, re-opened the discussion as British officials again sought to protect the rights of islanders against mainland Ganda incursion. The completion of the survey of Buvuma in 1936 resulted in the submitting of three lists of 'Surplus Estates' to the *Lukiiko* to be redistributed and it was attempted to offer Vuma communities an extension to their application period within which only indigenous inhabitants might submit claims.[210] Once again the idea of distinct rules for islanders and mainland Ganda was rejected by Buganda and subsequently by the Protectorate Government but the resurrection of the ideal of traditional land rights within the peripheries indicates the extent to which a coherent, co-operative motor towards assimilation remained non-existent outside of the "Lost Counties".

3.5: Conclusion

By considering assimilative processes within the peripheries of the colonial Ganda state in contrast to one another, it is possible to extract and analyse the varying forces exerted by Ganda and European actors and bodies. In doing so it becomes apparent, building upon the

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[207] UNA, Ssese, Assistant Chief Secretary to Chief Secretary, Kampala, 1933, fol. 4999; UNA, Ssese, Chief Secretary to Land Officer, Kampala, 7th November 1933, fol. 4999; UNA, Ssese, Provincial Commissioner, Buganda, to Chief Secretary, Entebbe, 5th January 1934, fol. 4999.
[208] UNA, Ssese, Land Officer to Deputy Chief Secretary, Entebbe, 14th October 1933, fol. 4999.
[209] *Ibid.*
[210] UNA SMP, Land Officer to Chief Secretary, Entebbe, 18th January 1937, A46/2199.

analysis of Doyle, that Buganda's reaction to those communities inhabiting the "Lost Counties" territories was a dominant exception which has come to be viewed as the rule in determining the assimilation of non-Ganda societies within the twentieth century. Among these northern counties, including Buruuli and Bugerere, the Ganda government, in conjunction with the British authorities unleashed a coherent and multi-faceted policy directed towards identity alteration and ethnic change. The absolute imposition of Ganda political structures, the active suppression of culture and language and the refusal to countenance the continued existence of a significant Nyala, Ruuli and Nyoro population was driven by the kingdom's relationship with its Nyoro neighbour as high stakes prestige politics and access to demographic strength and resource wealth ensured that "Lost Counties" issues remained high on the Ganda agenda.

The intensity of the Ganda assimilative reaction with regards these populations, however, was not matched elsewhere across the kingdom. The more complex, ambivalent attitude displayed in relation to the significant numbers of migrant workers who entered the kingdom within the colonial period was replicated among "Acquired Counties" communities whose relationship to the Ganda state was governed not by animosity, irredentism, and cachet but by a centre-periphery axis along which assimilative process travelled in fits and starts rather than as a consolidated whole.[211] This is not to say that such communities were not subject to drivers for incorporation within Ganda cultural, ethnic and political structures. On the contrary, the actions of missionaries and the colonial state ensured that Luganda predominated as the language of everyday use promoted through education and the church and that certain communities, principally those of Ssese and Buvuma were dislocated from their traditional lands. Moreover, the imposition of political hierarchies which relied on central Ganda authority for their legitimacy turned the gaze of peripheral populations inwards towards the kingdom heartlands.

Nevertheless, the particular relationship which developed between the Ganda authorities and their less prestigious, non-"Lost Counties" peripheries culminated in a somewhat laissez-faire attitude to the rapid adoption of a Ganda cultural hegemony, unless directly challenged as in the case of the sleeping sickness resettlements Moreover, the absence of a consistent desire among Ganda and British authorities to usher in a "Gandisation" of these territories was further underlined by disjointed and competing approaches to key issues within the new territories. In the "Acquired Counties", assimilative processes certainly acted among communities, but their imposition was incoherent, piecemeal and lacked central direction. The incorporation of 'indigenes' within the colonial Ganda state has long been considered solely from the perspective of the processes of ethnic change attempted among the "Lost Counties"

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[211] Doyle, 'Immigrants and Indigenes.'

populations. In truth, such a policy remained only one element in Buganda's relationship with the inhabitants of its newest peripheries; an exceptional example in a situation in which more often than not Ganda representatives, at the centre or in the periphery, expended little time, effort and resources to ensure a homogenised Ganda ethnic state. In reality, immigrants and non-"Lost-Counties" indigenes alike were often left significant space within which to build their own connections with the Ganda cultural sphere. The existence of these varied assimilative processes, of course, raises significant questions about "Gandisation" within the colonial kingdom: How did the differing currents affect the development of new identities? And what motivated adoption of new cultural attachments in the absence of coherent drivers for ethnic change? It is to these questions that the next chapter will turn as it considers the extent to which the pace, character and success of identity evolution was driven by the agency of the peripheries rather than the desires of the centre.

Finally, this chapter has revealed complexities in the relationship between the Ganda and British authorities presiding over the kingdom. By focusing on localised processes affecting ethnic identity, indigenous rights and assimilation it has illustrated that analysis of the minutiae of these interactions offers an invaluable tool in determining the contested nature of colonial governance. Moreover, it has demonstrated that in Buganda at least, the agency of the indigenous state to pursue, neglect, or contest extensions of ethnic hegemony was far greater than many studies of ethnicity in colonial Africa have been willing to allow.

Chapter 4: Understanding variables in "ethnic change": adaptation and resistance in the peripheries

4.1: Introduction

In Chapter Three we have seen how assimilative policy within Buganda was pursued first and foremost in line with the requirements or attitudes of the kingdom itself. The colonial context and relations between the Ganda government and the British sometimes facilitated and accelerated coherent attempts at "ethnic change". At other times, however, Ganda autonomy and disputes with the Protectorate over policy within Buganda blurred and confused processes of incorporation. If we accept, then, the articulation of Buganda's response to "Acquired Counties" communities as predominantly one of laissez-faire "Gandisation" a whole raft of further considerations open up. While scholars such as Green and Beattie have sought to explain the different reactions of Nyoro communities to enforced incorporation, from resistant Buyaga and Bugangaizi to relatively willing Bulemezi and Buwekula, the more pertinent question appears to be why, and to what extent, the kingdom's non-Nyoro peripheries embraced "Gandisation" without the drivers of coherent assimilative efforts on behalf of the colonial Ganda state.[1] These are the questions that form the core of the final two chapters of this thesis. Fundamentally, Chapters Four and Five argue that by taking into account a longer historical period reaching into the 1970's and 1980's it is apparent that the comparative success of assimilative efforts within the "Lost Counties" as a whole is significantly more questionable than previously understood. Indeed, it is suggested here that Buganda's more lasting and least controversial twentieth-century feat of incorporation of indigenes lay not with Nyoro, Nyala or Ruuli communities but with the other societies that populated its newly expanded frontiers at the end of the nineteenth century.

As has been previously suggested the measuring of "assimilation", particularly in the colonial past is a difficult task. It is clear that the processes described here were not universal. In Buruuli and Bugerere a significant proportion of the population did clearly assimilate into the Ganda sphere, although as we have seen and shall see, the manipulation of census data and the appearance of other methods of resistance makes the proportion of such peoples difficult to quantify. Similarly, in Kabula and Mawogola "Gandisation" appears to have been a less certain process, most likely because sections of pastoralist communities retained a lifestyle of transhumance. Moreover, while cattle-keeping groups could and did switch

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[1] Green, 'Understanding the Limits to Ethnic Change,' pp. 479- 480; Beattie, *Nyoro State*, p. 84.

between pastoral and agricultural lifestyles in East Africa and, furthermore, "occupation" did not always define people's understanding of their group identities, nevertheless, the cattle culture of the Hima may well have proved more resilient in the face of "Gandisation" than the cultures of peoples in Kkooki or Buvuma.

Nevertheless, by considering assimilative processes and resistance across all of the post-1900 territories over a longer period it remains clear that the coherent assimilation of the "Lost Counties" was less effective in initiating and sustaining "ethnic change" than the less centralised processes experienced within the "Acquired Counties" which allowed greater autonomy of attachment. The history of incorporation within Buganda, then, is as much a record of the momentum and initiative of the assimilated, as of the designs and capabilities of the British or Ganda state. Moreover, the laissez-faire "Gandisation" experienced by "Acquired Counties" communities was powerful precisely because the absence of coherent assimilative policies reduced negative connotations with the Ganda state and allowed individuals to engage with new Ganda identities. It is this fundamental process which Chapter Four considers. However, the active momentum towards "being Ganda" formed in the absence of the need to resist coherent assimilation, was also stimulated by appreciation of wider processes which more positively endeared peripheral societies to participation within the Ganda collective. The desire to access the resources of colonial "modernity", prestige, membership of the Ganda 'moral community', and the ability to layer evolving identities motivated individuals and communities to ethnic change. Analysis of the varying roles played by these different forces will form the key component of Chapter Five.

The active role of the incorporating or incorporated individual or social group has been increasingly recognised in the literature on Africa over the last twenty years. African agency in determining the pace and direction of ethnic identity evolution has been firmly restated by numerous authors who have sought to illustrate the inability of colonial authorities to comprehensively dictate fluctuating ethnic patterns. In the central Kenyan highlands, Charles Ambler and Timothy Parsons have illustrated how local chiefs and Kikuyu migrants sought to manipulate or subvert British "tribal" designations which constrained and defined access to land in the Native Reserves. Similarly, Jonathan Glassman has persuasively argued that in Zanzibar racial and ethnic categories were constructed through local discourse, played out in particular through a vernacular press.[2] In Uganda, Doyle has noted, based on evidence accrued by Audrey Richards in the 1950's on labour migration, how in a Ganda context, economic

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[2] Charles Ambler, 'The Renovation of Custom in Colonial Kenya: The 1932 Generation Succession Ceremonies in Embu,' *Journal of African History*, 30.1 (1989), pp. 139- 156; Parsons, 'Being Kikuyu,' pp. 65- 86; Jonathan Glassman, 'Sorting out the Tribes: The Creation of Racial Identities in Colonial Zanzibar's Newspaper Wars,' *Journal of African History*, 41.3 (2000), pp. 395- 428.

migrants' successful "Gandisation" often depended on their own willingness to adapt and consequently 'on how positively immigrants viewed their (original) homeland.'[3] Nevertheless, the emphasis in Ganda historiography has tended to focus on the kingdom's collective ethnic identity and the ability of the state to incorporate new peoples or, alternatively, on the consequences of assimilation, particularly through slavery. Hanson has argued, for example, that structural damage was caused to the Ganda state by the incorporation of un-free peoples in nineteenth-century *ebitongole* chiefships.[4] The conclusions of Chapter Three, however, indicate that while the roles of the Ganda and British states were hugely important in shaping a Ganda consciousness such processes were not homogenous. Consequently, the starting point of many discussions of twentieth-century Buganda in pre-supposing a collective Ganda identity or 'moral community' needs to be strengthened by exploring basic processes of identity formation, ethnic association and resistance which were evolving throughout the period in question.[5] The actions of the British administration and the kingdom government inexorably intertwined with developing ethnic attachments. Yet, conceptions of a centralised Ganda hegemony asserting ethnic cohesion must first recognise the varying forces affecting the re-identification of several thousand "strangers" in the kingdom's peripheries.

By taking exactly such a focus Chapter's Four and Five, which may be read together, seek to shed further light on a revision of Buganda's ethnic politics of incorporation, assimilation, and exclusion. While acknowledging that "Gandisation" occurred, or did not occur, within the prism of wider assimilative processes and under the auspices of a colonial emphasis on "tribe" or "tribal politics", it offers a broader perspective of Ganda incorporation by considering the motives for indigenes to recalibrate their ethnic allegiance to the Ganda state.[6] By focusing on those communities brought into the kingdom but remaining peripheral to the centre it is possible to gain a greater understanding of the currents which motivated incorporated communities, rather than the traditionally studied economic migrant, to adopt a wider ethnic identity within the colonial and post-colonial period. Moreover, by extending the historical gaze to consider indigenous peripheral counties as well as the "Lost Counties" debate it is possible to shed new light not only on Buganda's ability to engender a cultural hegemony

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[3] Doyle, 'Immigrants and Indigenes,' p. 288; Richards, 'Assimilation of Immigrants,' pp. 166- 184.

[4] See, Mafeje, *Kingdoms of the Great Lakes Region*, pp. 50- 51: Karlstrom, 'Modernity and Its Aspirants,' pp. 595- 619; Hanson, *Landed Obligation,* pp. 80- 89.

[5] See Karlstrom, 'Modernity and its Aspirants,' pp. 597- 602; Karlstrom's understanding of 'moral community' draws on Lonsdale's conception of 'moral ethnicity' as a space for 'changing moral arenas of political debate,' or, more simply, as a 'site of struggle,' Lonsdale, 'The Moral Economy of Mau Mau', p. 267; Luise White, 'Colonial States and Civic Virtues in Africa: Essays in honour of John Lonsdale,' *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 37.1 (2004), p. 6.

[6] Dan M. Mudoola, *Religion, Ethnicity and Politics in Uganda* (Kampala: Fountain, 1993), pp. 18- 21.

within the kingdom, but also on the way in which individuals and communities themselves viewed the Ganda and colonial states.

This chapter, then, considers the first element in our argument over the need to re-evaluate the success and modes of assimilation and incorporation within the Ganda state. Namely, that by building upon Chapter Three and considering a longer historical period up to the 1970's and 1980's new evidence suggests that the forcefully assimilative actions of the Ganda state within the "Lost Counties" were less effective outside of Buyaga and Bugangaizi than was previously imagined. "Acquired Counties" communities, by comparison, were more successfully integrated, albeit at different speeds depending on their respective areas, and remained strongly supportive of the kingdom and Ganda culture. Among migrant labourers Doyle has noted that Buganda's ethnic chauvinism, combined with 'open routes to re-identification,' resulted in an uneven pattern of assimilation.[7] Among the kingdom's non-Nyoro indigenes, however, a laissez-faire approach to incorporation proved to be Buganda's dominant and more fruitful response to non-Ganda inhabitants within the colonial period. Such conclusions also suggest that an overbearing assimilative response by a state to the incorporation of new communities may weaken processes of ethnic re-attachment. In this sense the chapter builds on work conducted in the fields of sociology and psychology. In a summary article of processes of acculturation and assimilation, for example, John Berry has noted that individuals and groups are more likely to successfully integrate into new socio-cultural or ethnic contexts when the state does not pursue a determined policy of assimilation or marginalisation. The theories behind such conclusions largely relate to twentieth-century American society and debates over the viability of understanding American social contexts through analytical and policy frameworks such as the "Melting Pot" and "Multiculturalism".[8] If the structures and evidence of such studies are largely non-transposable to an historical Ugandan context, the Buganda case-study nevertheless seems to support the varying impacts of alternative forms of state assimilative power.

4.2: Rethinking the "limits to ethnic change"

In considering the differential success of Nyoro incorporation within the "Lost Counties" it is necessary to reflect on the work of Elliott Green whose 2008 article is concerned with such an analysis. Green describes how the majority of the Nyoro population were effectively

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[7] Doyle, 'Immigrants and Indigenes,' p. 288.
[8] Berry, 'Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation,' pp. 5- 68; See also, John W. Berry, 'Psychological Aspects of Cultural Pluralism: Unity and Identity Reconsidered,' *Topics in Culture Learning*, 2 (1974), pp. 17- 22.

assimilated by the Ganda state. Only the two 'heartland' pre-colonial Bunyoro territories of Buyaga and Bugangaizi remained resistant to "Gandisation".[9] Drawing upon observations by Beattie and the British Commissions of the early 1960's, as well as Smith's theories on the centrality of a "homeland" to the maintenance of myths and symbols connecting generations, Green states that opposition within these counties rested upon indigenous attachments to core Nyoro territory. As noted by Beattie, as well as Chapter Two in this thesis, at certain times in its history the authority of Bunyoro tended to wane the further one got from its central heartlands.[10] Consequently, Green argues that, 'the reason why the colonial state was unable to promote assimilation of the Nyoro of Buyaga and Bugangaizi into Buganda was due to the pre-colonial status of Buyaga and Bugangaizi as part of the core Bunyoro "homeland" and the subsequent strong ethnic attachment to the two counties; the colonial state was more successful in the other lost counties because of their lack of homeland status.'[11] Here, he is drawing on widely utilised ideas of the importance of collective shared memories attached to particular territories, or what Smith calls 'ethnoscapes', in developing the formation of nationalism and nation states.[12]

In discussing gendered interpretations of 'home' in the Inkatha movement among the Zulu in South Africa, Thembisa Waetjen has similarly noted how in an ethnic context, 'a homeland is the landscape also of historical memory that offers tangible images of rootedness and grounded community.'[13] For the Nyoro of the western counties, then, it is suggested that historical connections between community and territory evoked through shared traditions of belonging cemented a relationship with Bunyoro with could not be broken by the imposition of Ganda rule. In addition, Smith has argued that associations between peoples and territory often revolve around key sites:

> Once again, this is a process that can be found in many countries and periods. It is often
> associated with miraculous or sacred sites: mountains that are 'homes of the gods' or
> possess wondrous power like Olympus, Sinai, Meru or Fuji; sacred rivers such as the
> Ganges and the Nile; or special shrines like Nippur, Yazilikaya, Delphi and Mecca - sites that
> have attracted awe and veneration from large numbers of people. To these religious sites

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[9] Green, 'Limits to Ethnic Change,' p. 474.
[10] Beattie, *Nyoro State*, p. 254.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 84; BNA, Molson Commission, CO 822/2786; Smith, *National Identity*, p. 9; Green, 'Limits to Ethnic Change,' p. 474.
[12] Anthony D. Smith, 'Culture, Community and Territory: The Politics of Ethnicity and Nationalism,' *International Affairs*, 72.3 (1996), p. 453.
[13] Thembisa Waetjen, 'The "Home" in Homeland: Gender, National Space, and Inkatha's Politics of Ethnicity,' *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22.4 (1999), pp. 653- 655.

we may add the various tombs and monuments which mark the exploits and resting-places of heroes, sages, artists and statesmen honoured by the community.[14]

This coalescence of identity around certain locations or physical symbols is similarly applicable within Buyaga and Bugangaizi where tombs of past Nyoro kings or *Bakama* reside. Green argues that attachment to the royal shrines formented a particularly strong sense of Nyoro-ness within these counties.[15] Consequently, resistance to "Gandisation" was greater in these locations and it was here that the Mubende Banyoro Committee, a movement of Nyoro patriots who sought to secure repatriation to Bunyoro, formed to challenge Buganda's right to rule. It was also these populations who returned to Bunyoro in the 1964 referendum. Yet it should be noted that this proves only that Buyaga and Bugangaizi wanted to leave Buganda since no other county was allowed to vote on breaking away from the kingdom.

The discourse of "homeland" in nationalisms and certain ethnic movements can invoke a powerful symbolic collectivity, historicised by the fixidity of the territory in question. Nevertheless, attachment to a shared "homeland" is not a prerequisite for ethnic identity and, moreover, what constitutes a key "homeland" site may vary and be contested even within a community. Furthermore, while the notion of "homeland" provides a neat analytical solution to the apparently differing responses of Nyoro, Ruuli, and Nyala to "Gandisation", by taking a wider perspective to reconsider the history of the eastern counties, as well as that of other post-1900 territories, the usefulness of "homeland" within this context may be called into question. In addition, the focus laid on the western counties within Green's analysis perpetuates a misplaced emphasis which shadows twentieth-century Ganda scholarship and undermines the scope for understanding ethnic attachment within the colonial period. For Green, as for Dunbar in the sixties and Beattie in the seventies, Buyaga and Bugangaizi were the key areas of interest, underlined by a colonial era low level insurrection and their eventual dramatic break from the kingdom.[16] Indeed, in a recent consideration of the "Lost Counties" debate Cedric Pulford negates to mention the eastern counties within his discussion.[17]

It is undoubtedly true that Buyaga and Bugangaizi retained overwhelmingly Nyoro populations as indicated by the census figures highlighted in Chapter Three. Moreover, with a fully-fledged resistance movement and a majority of complainants to the Privy Council Commission, it is clear that the communities of these counties were far more active and

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[14] Smith, 'Culture, Community and Territory,' p. 454.
[15] Green, 'Limits to Ethnic Change,' p. 474.
[16] Beattie, Nyoro State; Archibald R. Dunbar, *A History of Bunyoro-Kitara* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 183- 189.
[17] Cedric Pulford, *Two Kingdoms of Uganda: Snakes and Ladders in the Scramble for Africa* (Northants: Ituri, 2011), pp. 238- 244.

successful in opposing assimilation. Furthermore, it is likely that connections to a pre-colonial Nyoro heartland did play a role in determining a maintenance of ethnic identity; certainly, reference to the tombs formed a significant aspect of Nyoro statements to British Commissions. In addition, Doyle has noted that as inhabitants of Catholic counties the Nyoro of Buyaga and Bugangaizi felt doubly marginalised by the Protestant-dominated government in Buganda.[18] By contrast, the Protestant eastern counties lying outside of Bunyoro's traditional core have been unanimously declared as rapidly assimilating. Such assertions, however, ignore local historical accounts offered by Ruuli and Nyala communities. Moreover, recent increases in tension within Buganda between the kingdom government and Ruuli-Nyala populations have called into question the success of Buganda's colonial assimilation in those areas. This is not to suggest a re-writing of history from the perspective of the present, a dangerous and frankly implausible task, but that by engaging with Ruuli-Nyala historical claims a more nuanced conception may arise concerning Ganda assimilative success. Moreover, as Paul Nugent has noted of the Togo minorities in central Ghana, claims to ethnic difference hold weight through the power of self-ascription and at the very least require to be investigated further.[19] This new interpretation suggests that assimilation outside of Buyaga and Bugangaizi was not guaranteed as was previously assumed. Nyala and Ruuli traditions maintain that migration and resistance were more widespread responses to Ganda rule than is currently acknowledged.

Moreover, by extending the focus of our new reading to include "Acquired Counties" territories not considered by Green and others it is possible to begin to question the effectiveness of the application of "homeland" and religion as explanatory tools. Kkooki and Buvuma also contained indigenous sites of symbolic and ritualistic importance; while, as discussed in Chapter Two, lubaale shrines on Ssese provided a medium of separation from the Ganda state. In addition, Buvuma and Kabula were both designated as Catholic ssazas under the 1900 Agreement, although the latter was later transferred in 1913 to the control of the Muslim group within Buganda.[20] Yet, all these territories experienced a comparative absence of ethnic resistance. Taking this evidence into account a broader theory is clearly required to explain the disparity in assimilative success between the "Lost" and "Acquired" counties. While it is important not to deny that there are clear indications of widespread assimilation among Nyoro, Ruuli and Nyala communities outside of Buyaga and Bugangaizi, it is clear that the area as a whole experienced less effective (and less permanent) ethnic re-identification than

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[18] Doyle, 'Immigrants and Indigenes,' p. 25.
[19] Paul Nugent, "A Few Lesser Peoples": The Central Togo Minorities and their Ewe Neighbours,' in *The Limits of Invention*, eds. by Paul Nugent and Carola Lentz (London: Macmillan, 2000), pp. 162- 182.
[20] Pawlikova, 'Transformation of Buganda,' p. 118.

elsewhere across the kingdom's peripheries. Consequently, it is suggested here that the differences in assimilative responses already described impacted powerfully on the scope and momentum of identity evolution. While the attempted coherent incorporation techniques employed by Buganda and the colonial government within the "Lost Counties" clearly scored significant levels of success in some areas, its final outcome was less assured and more contested than the 'open routes for re-identification' experienced by the kingdom's other newly incorporated indigenes.[21] These "Acquired Counties" communities were not constrained by the on-going rivalry affecting Bunyoro and Buganda and the irredentism of the colonial Nyoro state; consequently, they were less frequently acquainted with negative aspects of intensive assimilation within the colonial period (See Chapter Three).

This avoidance of the more virulent forms of imposed cultural suppression allowed the development of a more productive space within which individuals and communities could interact and associate more freely with the new political and ethnic regime. The ability of these peripheral peoples to actively engage with a wider identity is illustrated by the manner, and often the speed, with which Ganda institutions, rituals, and language were adopted. Moreover, alongside the acceptance of this content of ethnicity, Barth's suspect 'cultural stuff' inside the boundary, the populations of Ssese, Buvuma, Kkooki, Kabula and Mawogola also adopted a self-ascribing language illustrated and exemplified through participation in the Ganda "moral community".[22] In short then, the real "limits to ethnic change" within Buganda were not an attachment to homeland, though this may have constituted one aspect, but the broader negative connotations associated with coherent, imposed assimilative processes. The absence of such implications in the "Acquired Counties" outweighed attachments to core territories and previous political and ethnic structures.

The Ruuli/Nyala enigma

The logic of focusing on Buyaga and Bugangaizi as the sole sites of resistance to "Gandisation" within the "Lost Counties" appears to represent clear historical sense. It was here that resistance was most obvious as the Mubende Banyoro Committee pursued a campaign of anti-Ganda rhetoric and sometime sabotage through crop burning. Indeed the Committee's activities led to Mubende being labelled a disturbed district in the early 1960's and significant clashes occurred between communities and between Nyoro residents and the colonial police. In February 1962 police units opened fire and deployed tear gas against rioting crowds in Mubdende Town.[23] These disturbances seemingly had little support away from the western

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[21] Doyle, 'Immigrants and Indigenes,' p. 291.

[22] Richard Jenkins, *Rethinking Ethnicity: Arguments and Explorations* (London: Sage, 1998), p. 107.

[23] MUL NEWS, 'Police Fire on Mobs in Mubende,' *Uganda Argus*, 26th February 1962.

Counties. Moreover, census figures indicate that by 1959 Ruuli and Nyala constituted only 2.2% and 0.5% of the populations of their respective Buruuli and Bugerere *ssazas*; down from 86.5% and 74.5% in 1921.[24] In addition, Doyle notes that the majority of witnesses to the Privy Council Commission residing in the eastern counties were against being returned to Bunyoro.[25] Indeed, it is not the intention here to deny that significant assimilation took place outside of Mubende. Areas such as north Bulemezi and north Ssingo had several generations' worth of experience of incorporating Nyoro communities into Ganda social and cultural structures gained through Buganda's gradual expansion in the nineteenth century.[26] In Buruuli and Bugerere too, the sheer scale of identity change seemingly revealed by the census data seems to preclude anything other than ethnic change encouraged, or enforced, by Buganda's assimilative efforts and the influx of Ganda migrants in the 1940's and 1950's.[27] As Chapter Three has demonstrated, however, these census figures are extremely difficult to analyse. The census system within Buganda relied on enumerators chosen by Ganda authorities in the "Lost Counties" and there is evidence that chiefs sometimes accompanied such officials on their work. Although the Protectorate government sought to halt this process by appointing enumerators directly in 1959, this safeguard applied only to the western counties and even within these areas falsification remained a problem.[28] In addition, conclusions on assimilation within Bugerere and Buruuli conflict with the narrative histories of certain sections of Ruuli and Nyala communities. While these traditions do not deny that significant assimilation took place as part of an imposed "Gandisation" during which language, clan affiliation, and naming practices underwent a homogenising process bringing them in line with *Kiganda* norms, they assert that acculturation was not the only response to Buganda's incorporative drive; migration and resistance were also viable strategies for Nyala and Ruuli communities within the colonial period.

The re-emergence of the Ruuli and Nyala

Seemingly non-existent during the 1950's and 1960's, Ruuli-Nyala organisations demanding cultural separation from Buganda began to appear in 1980 raising questions over the apparently successful incorporation of these communities less than twenty years earlier.[29] The inauguration of the Buruuli Development Association in that year, and the formation of the Banyala Development and Culture Association in 1987 heralded the beginning of several

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[24] UNA, Census Returns, 1959; UNA, Census Returns, 1921.
[25] Doyle, 'Immigrants and Indigenes,' p. 24.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[27] Dunbar, History of Bunyoro- Kitara, p. 192.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 294; ECPC, Band 2, 'Evidence given by Dennis Lury, Government Statistician, January 1962,' pp.2-7.
[29] Bintizibu, *The Banyala Ethnic Group*; Mwogezi, *Buruuli*, p. 40.

decades of increasing pressure for Ruuli-Nyala secession culminating in President Museveni's recognition of the *Issabaruuli*, rather than the Kabaka, as the cultural head of the Ruuli in 2004.[30] Rising tensions over a Nyala rejection of the Kabaka's authority and a refusal to allow him to travel to northern Bugerere were also instrumental in sparking the 2009 riots across Buganda which left 27 dead, hundreds injured and hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of damage.[31] These events are noted in the Introduction and Conclusion to the thesis but it is important here to underline that the permanence of Ganda assimilative success has been called into question within these areas since independence. Moreover, while Green dismisses the Ruuli of Nakasongola District as not wanting to return to Bunyoro and significantly fails to mention the Nyala, the anti-Ganda rhetoric of these communities rests firmly on a revival of the "Lost Counties" debate and the language employed echoes strongly Nyoro discussions over the actions of the Ganda state throughout the first half of the twentieth century.[32] The emphasis of Nyoro respondents of the 1960's on the situation of 'modern slavery' in which they lived is reflected in the pronouncements of the current leader of the Nyala, *Issabanyala* Captain Baker Kimeze. This deliberately provocative framework places the story of the Nyala within a wider narrative of Ganda expansionism and slaving, and decries the historical 'black colonialist' intentions of the kingdom.[33] Baker Kimeze evokes the "abolitionist" rhetoric of "Lost Counties" individuals who, as Derek Peterson has noted, drew on wider anti-slaving discourses in their petitions to the colonial and religious hierarchies both in Uganda and Britain.[34] Similarly, Ruuli intellectuals have sought to make more immediate the link between history and present by comparing the current *Issabaruuli*, Mwogeza Mubijwa Butamanya, to the head of Buyaga and Bugangaizi's Mubende Banyoro Committee of the 1950's and 1960's. This retrospective association has allowed the Ruuli to portray the Committee as a Nyoro freedom movement to which they are the legitimate successor. The demand for cultural secession by the present incarnation of the Baruuli Banyala Cultural Trust is predicated on a historical legitimacy of ethnic "victimhood" and resistance.

This is not to suggest that current Nyala and Ruuli claims exist above and beyond contemporary concerns. If we are to re-examine this history it is essential also to acknowledge

[30] Interview, J.R., Bugerere.

[31] Morgan Mbabazi, 'Uganda Government in Face-off with Kabaka as Crisis Escalates,' *East African*, 14th September, 2009; 'Uganda 2009: Buganda Crisis,' *The Independent*, 6th January, 2010; Joyce Namutebi, 'Museveni to Prove Status of Ssbanyala,' *New Vision*, 13th December, 2009; Robert Mwanje and Fred Muzaale, 'Kabaka Makes Second Attempt on Kayunga,' *The Daily Monitor*, 28th December, 2009.

[32] Green, 'Limits to Ethnic Change,' p. 479.

[33] ECPC, Statement 45, Mubende: ECPC, Statement 3, Buruuli; ECPC, Statement 14, Mubende; ECPC, Statement 79, Bugangaizi; MUL NEWS, Erisa Kalisa, 'Slavery in the Lost Counties,' *Uganda Argus*, 11th January 1958; Fred Muzaale, 'Ssabanyala to Fight And Defeat Mengo's "Black Colonialists", *The Daily Monitor*, 10th November 2009.

[34] D. Peterson, *Abolitionism and Imperialism in Britain, Africa and the Atlantic* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2010), p. 1.

that Ruuli-Nyala motivations have simultaneously evolved as a consequence of more recent circumstances, albeit within a political, cultural and ethnic scenario initially moulded by events earlier in the century. The extenuating conditions feeding into tensions within Buganda in recent times will be elaborated in the conclusion. However, to legitimately discuss Ruuli-Nyala claims relating to the past it is necessary first to acknowledge and analyse incentives to peripheral resistance in the present. Ruuli-Nyala claims have emerged within the context of deteriorating relations between Ganda politicians in Mengo and the Ugandan national government. An initially cordial relationship predicated on Ganda support for Yoweri Museveni during the 1980's civil war and the government's restoration of the kingdom as a cultural entity in 1993, has gradually soured since the mid 1990's. In essence, the key factor driving dissension hinges on the role of Buganda in modern Uganda. In a situation in some ways reminiscent of its abolition in the 1960's, the kingdom's advancement of a Ganda agenda is pushing against government control of the political sphere. Buganda's restoration as a "cultural" entity belies its decision to lobby the national government for a federal system under which the Mengo parliament and the Kabaka would strengthen their control over land tenure and decisions affecting the kingdom. Moreover, in conflict with the government the kingdom has also asserted its right to achieve the return of the original 9000 square miles of freehold *mailo* land, granted in 1900, much of which has been appropriated by the state and powerful, non-Ganda individuals in recent decades. These interventions have tested Museveni's patience with Ganda institutions and he has accused the kingdom of partisan electioneering to support presidential rivals; a practice which he has sought to curb through the introduction of a 'Cultural Leader's Bill' expressly forbidding ethnic and religious heads from participating in politics.[35] In response, Buganda has accused the government of 'sponsoring want-away communities, such as the Nyala,' who were until recently 'fully integrated into Buganda'.[36]

Emerging all the stronger from this complex and strained political environment the demands of the Banyala Baruuli Cultural Trust for secession carry associations of political bargaining and the desire for economic gain through the achievement of minority ethnic status as part of the Community Development Resource Network developed within Uganda with

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[35] Pierre Englebert, 'Born-Again Buganda or the Limits of Traditional Resurgence in Africa,' *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 40.3 (2002), pp. 345- 368; J. Oloka-Onyango, 'The Question of Buganda in Contemporary Ugandan Politics,' *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 15.2 (1997), p. 182; E.D. Green, 'Parliament Passes Cultural Leaders Bill,' *The Daily Monitor*, 1st February, 2011; Richard Kagolobya, 'Wider Implications of Cultural Leaders Bill,' *The Daily Monitor*, 21st January, 2011; 'Parliament of Uganda eNewsletter,' 4, no. 23, January 31st, 2011 - February 4th, 2011.
[36] 'Uganda: Poll - Government Wrong to Block the Kabaka's Kayunga Visit', *The Daily Monitor*, 2nd June, 2010; Interview, J.M., Kampala.

support from the European Development Fund.[37] Certainly the title of the two communities' cultural leaders, the *Issabaruuli* and the *Issabanyala,* are relatively recent constructs and were not used before the 1970's at the earliest. In addition, Ruuli-Nyala claims mirror a wider trend of the resumption of Nyoro agitation against the Ganda government since the millennium. An inability to settle permanently the question of absentee Ganda landholding through *mailo* ownership in Kibaale District (Buyaga and Bugangaizi), as well as in Buruuli and Bugerere, has led to a resurgence of activism including the reformation of the Mubende Banyoro Committee. Following the 1998 Uganda Land Act which sought to confirm tenants' rights against landlords but largely failed in implementation due to opposition within Buganda, the kingdom has increased demands for an extension of its control over Ganda land. In Bunyoro, by contrast, Buganda's repeated claims over federal government and land issues have combined with fears over immigration in Kibaale District to resurrect the spectre of a landless Nyoro class whose security of tenure is threatened in their own ethnic homeland. Conflict with predominantly Bakiga immigrants over access to land has augmented underlying tensions over the national government's inability or unwillingness to confront Ganda landlords head on and revoke Ganda entitlements, surviving in many cases since colonial rule, to Nyoro land. [38] It is against this background of contemporary power-politics and contested land rights that the Nyala and Ruuli, similarly affected by absentee landlordism and immigration, have reasserted their cultural independence from the Ganda Kingdom.[39]

Re-evaluating assimilation

Understanding of present-day imperatives driving connections to past traditions of resistance and oppression emphasises the necessity for caution in re-engaging with Ruuli-Nyala histories. It is clear that many claims over Ganda behaviour, for example, 'when a Muganda man forcefully married a Muruuli/Munyala girl, she was chained and tethered on a pole like a goat,' are provocative propaganda.[40] These allegations are charged and inscribed with the meaning of the present rather than the past. Nevertheless, evidence from the late nineteenth century

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[37] Bintizibu, *Banyala Ethnic Group.*

[38] Eliott Green, 'Ethnicity and the Politics of Land Tenure Reform in Central Uganda,' *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics,* 44.3, (2006), pp. 377- 379; R. H. Espeland, 'The "Lost Counties": Politics of Land Rights and Belonging in Uganda,' Paper in progress given at University of Bergen (2006); R. Wittek and J. Armstrong, 'Social Dominance and Cultural Consensus: The Case of the Bakiga-Banyoro Conflict in Uganda,' *Legal Anthropology from the Low Countries; Special Issue, Recht der Werkelijkheid* (2009), pp. 100- 124.

[39] From the 1940's onwards Bugerere began to attract significant levels of migrants, a significant proportion of whom were Ganda. The largest group to arrive were Soga from across the Nile who formed the second largest ethnic block in the county by 1959. (UNA, Census Returns, 1959). Nakasongola [i.e Buruuli] has also experienced significant and prolonged immigration and in 2002 remained one of the top ten counties for net in-migration, UNA, Census Returns, 2002.

[40] Mwogezi, Baruuli-Banyala, p. 35.

suggests that incoming Ganda chiefs treated their Nyala subjects particularly harshly; as H.P. Gale noted in his history of the Catholic Mill Hill Mission in Uganda:

> Father Van Den Bergh visited a tribe which Bishop Hanlon calls the 'Banyora' and says inhabited 'North Kyaggwe along the river Nile'. 'The Baganda' he adds, 'look upon them as a tribe of slaves'. They seem to have long since been deprived of all power in their own country and are treated as subjects by a superior race, the Baganda, who live in the same province.[41]

Moreover, the re-emergence of the Ruuli and Nyala in the 1980's questions the extent of Ganda assimilative success and to ignore indigenous narratives is as dangerous as accepting them without question. In reality, while many Nyala and Ruuli individuals and communities were unquestionably assimilated within the Ganda state, a careful reading of substantiating evidence suggests that other strategies were employed in opposition to Ganda assimilation on a much wider scale than has previously been imagined.

Chief among these strategies was migration. Green argues that the level of emigration of Nyoro individuals into other areas of Uganda between 1921 and 1959 was not sufficient by itself to explain the "Gandisation" of colonial census data within this period.[42] In this aspect his thesis is undoubtedly correct; assimilation was clearly a significant factor. Such a baldly-stated conclusion, however, rather misstates reality. The occurrence of assimilation among some sections of a populace clearly does not preclude the adoption of different strategies by others, and Green undoubtedly does not intend to suggest as much. In the context of his wider argument, though, the emphasis on the extent of assimilative success, balanced as it is against resistant Buyaga and Bugangaizi, neglects the degree to which migration might also have played a contributing factor in the eastern counties.

For sections of the Nyala and Ruuli themselves, migration forms a significant trend in twentieth-century narratives. Spokesmen for the Ruuli-Nyala movement are consistent in their description of an exodus to other areas within the Protectorate beginning in the late 1890's and possibly reaching a peak between 1911 and 1921 for Ruuli migration and in the 1940's as Nyala also fled a severe outbreak of cattle plague which decimated local herds. In particular, families and individuals are said to have sought to evade Ganda control by leaving for areas such as Busoga, Bunyoro, Bukedi, Bugisu and also Lango and Teso on the far shores of Lake Kyoga.[43] Hard numerical data to confirm these claims is difficult to ascertain from colonial records. The unwillingness of officials to distinguish between sub-ethnic groups has ensured

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[41] Gale, Mill Hill Fathers, p. 170.
[42] Green, 'Limits to Ethnic Change,' p. 479.
[43] Bintizibu, *Banyala Ethnic Group*; Interview, J.R., Bugerere; Interview, E.B., Bugerere.

that Nyala and Ruuli appear only as 'Banyoro' even within Bugerere and Buruuli and would certainly have been designated as such elsewhere. Moreover, given the relative size of the total Ruuli-Nyala communities in the early twentieth century, numbering no more than around 21,000, the comparatively small numbers migrating and the large geographical area over which they spread likely ensured that they were nowhere concentrated in communities large enough for colonial officials to trouble themselves to document their existence. This may explain why census data for years such as 1948 or 1969 fails to indicate the presence of significant Nyala, Ruuli or 'Banyoro' populations except where the latter formed communities large enough to be acknowledged; for example, in some sub-counties of Teso or Lango. Moreover, given that migrants may have moved through several districts seeking land, avoiding tax and escaping colonially enforced labour dues it is possible that their census record reflected the county from which they had arrived, rather than their Nyala or Ruuli origins.[44] Nevertheless, by engaging with a wider assortment of evidence it is possible to begin to suggest that the migration narrative may hold a significant grain of truth.

During the course of interviews one respondent summed up the Ruuli-Nyala position on the matter of migration:

> After the accession of this place to Buganda, the Baganda chiefs then introduced what we used to call in this place 'Kakara', people were taken to do forced labour. People were beaten and our resources were plundered, so that forced many Banyala who were here to migrate to the north, and some to Busoga......They went there not because they wanted to...but because of the harsh treatment that was being meted out to them by Buganda kingdom.[45]

A Ruuli patriot with a position in the new Ruuli-Nyala groups his claims on Ganda actions within the area must be treated with caution but his family history is instructive and corresponds with other accounts. Accused by Ganda opponents of the Ruuli-Nyala movement of being a 'Langi' with little indigenous claim in Buruuli or Bugerere, he asserts that his own experiences mirror those of a wider Ruuli-Nyala community divorced from its ancestral homeland. Born in Lira, Lango, he is the grandson of a Ruuli individual who left for the north of Uganda in the early years of the twentieth century. The family, along with many others, returned and settled in Bugerere after 1979, following Obote's return to power and amid increasing disputes with resident Iteso and Langi communities.[46] The return date often stated

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[44] UNA, Census Returns, 1911; UNA, Census Returns, 1948; UNA, Census Returns, 1969.
[45] Interview, J.R., Bugerere.
[46] Chris Kiwawulo, 'Who are the Banyala People', *Daily Monitor*, 16th September 2009; Interview, C.N. Bugerere; Interview, J.R. Bugerere.

by Nyala and Ruuli echoes the formation of the Ruuli-Nyala movements and suggests that the return of a landless diasporic community may well have sparked a cultural and ethnic revival.

Moreover, significant anecdotal evidence from the 1890's suggests that an unidentified, but possibly significant, number of Nyala chiefs and peasants, chose to emigrate in the retinue of Semei Kakungulu, rather than remain in the new Ganda county of Bugerere. Writing in the Uganda Journal in 1937 H.B. Thomas noted that following the 1900 Agreement Kakungulu's mission to pacify the areas north of Lake Kyoga rendered his position as chief of Bugerere untenable. He was replaced in the role by another Ganda chief, Matayo Nsubuga, who was less tactful in his dealings with the indigenous community. Consequently, many Nyala joined Kakungulu's growing band of Ganda followers including the Namuyonjo's son, Kwambu, and remained part of his retinue in Bukedi and later Teso:

> This large scale emigration was a sore point with the Native Government in Mengo
> for Kakungulu held out prospects of larger and better mailos...Kakungulu had not, in
> fact, at this time (March 1900) extended his influence beyond the Kumam people of
> the Kyoga peninsula and some of the Teso around Bugondo; the great bulk of the
> Lango people were untouched...But he had made headway as much by diplomacy and
> just dealing as by force of arms, and it is a tribute to his leadership that many of his
> assistants were Banyala."[47]

Thomas' report is given further credence by the work of A.F. Robertson whose Bugerere based social-anthropology field research in the 1960's revealed that many Nyala were known as *'Bakungulu'*; those who had left with Kakungulu.[48] In fact, Ganda traditions within the county also suggest a movement of Nyala away from northern Bugerere at this time. In particular, young men of local communities are understood to have left with Kakungulu and headed east to Bukedi or Bugisu.[49] Moreover, colonial sources indicate that famine and a desire to avoid tax and forced labour may well also have played its part alongside a dislike of new Ganda rulers in encouraging a continued migration away from Bugerere during the colonial period.[50] One colonial official complained in 1911 that tax returns for the county were extremely poor because the transient population were apt to move rather than accept tax tickets administered through the new Ganda county chief *Mugerere*; 'with reference to defaulters of previous

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[47] Thomas, 'Capax Imperii,' pp. 131- 132; Gale, *Mill Hill Fathers*, p. 213.
[48] Robertson, *Community of Strangers*, p. 51.
[49] Interview, S.M., Bugerere, conducted by Cote.
[50] UNA SMP, 'Report on Goat and Sheep Disease in Bugerere, 1907' A43/254; UNA SMP, 'Famine in Bugerere, 1908,' A44/212; MUL NEWS, 'Speech by P.C. Buganda at the function of handing over the Ssaza to new Mugerere,' *Ebifa Mu Buganda*, May 1932.

years, these, with comparatively few exceptions, have not returned to the saza and I think must be looked upon in most cases as having definitely emigrated.'[51]

Evidence for Buruuli is rather more enigmatic. The difficulty in reading colonial census figures is once again confirmed by the patterns evident within the county. Between 1911 and 1921 the Ruuli ('Banyoro') population of Buruuli fell from 16,777 to a mere 10,631; a demographic decline of some thirty seven per cent and extremely high for so small a community.[52] Ganda numbers, however, also declined quite heavily within this period, a fall of some thirty per cent, and it may well be that ecological conditions or tax and labour demands had encouraged a decline in the population prior to the 1921 census. By 1931 the Ganda population had risen to 19,153 with the 'Banyoro' population now "written as Ganda" and no longer visible within the county.[53] Given the comparable nature of results for 1911 and 1931 it might be suggested that 1921 provides an anomaly either through temporary migration or inaccuracy of data collection. It is the 1931 census, however, which is often understood to be the least accurate, and, moreover, with the disappearance of the Ruuli population it is no longer possible to discern whether they remained and had simply been labelled as Ganda by their Ganda enumerators.[54] To a large extent this may well have been the case. It is also possible, however, that Ganda immigrants had moved into the county to take up empty land already available as well as that left by migrating Ruuli individuals. This would seem to contradict the findings of Richards and Fortt who suggest that the overall tendency was for Ganda to move away from border counties, but their data relates to the period of 1931-1948 and is not able to give an accurate indication of prior trends.[55] While it is therefore not possible to say for certain that there was significant Ruuli migration, the figures do not preclude such an eventuality. Moreover, anecdotal evidence suggests that a Ruuli enclave still existed in the northern provinces of Uganda in the 1960's. Research into musical traditions within Uganda in that decade indicates that Ruuli xylophone styles were being practiced in areas to the north and north-west of Lake Kyoga in Lango District. To be acknowledged and catalogued as a distinct musical format, Ruuli xylophone playing must have been widespread enough within these areas to be worth recording; an eventuality which might be taken to suggest the existence of resident communities rather than simply isolated individuals.[56] Moreover, the preservation of musical styles might indicate more recent migration as well as a desire to

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[51] UNA SMP, 'Report by Mr. Delmege on a Tour Through Bugerere, 14th February 1911,' A46/663.
[52] UNA, Census Returns, 1911; UNA, Census Returns, 1921.
[53] UNA, Census Returns, 1931.
[54] Powesland, 'Notes on Statistics,' pp. 254- 260.
[55] Fortt, 'Ganda Population within Buganda,' pp. 111; A.I. Richards, 'Methods of Settlement in Buganda', in *Economic Development and Tribal Change: A Study of Immigrant Labour in Buganda*, ed. by A.I. Richards, 2nd edition (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 119- 140.
[56] Louis Anderson, 'The African Xylophone,' *African Arts*, 1.1 (1967), pp. 48- 64.

retain indigenous culture among exiles from their homeland. If such groups or individuals among the Ruuli-Nyala did leave as suggested in response to Ganda oppression as well as colonial demands, then the revival or Ruuli-Nyala claims from the 1970's might be understood as indicating the return of "patriots" or exiles unhappy with their position in now predominantly Ganda counties.

It is difficult to determine when this return of Ruuli migrants might have occurred. Among the Nyala, however, Robertson's work on Bugerere suggests such a process began to occur around independence. Primarily concerned with the interactions of immigrants and 'hosts' in newly expanding villages in the 1940's and 1950's, Robertson's interactions with Bugerere's inhabitants revealed that Nyala were returning to the county in the 1960's. In particular, the author met a number of descendants of the *'Bakungulu'* migrants of the early twentieth century. In all likelihood, these were indigenes drawn back to the county, like so many other thousands of immigrants, by Bugerere's increasing cash cropping prosperity as the county became a major producer of bananas for Kampala.[57] The opening up of crown land following the removal of *embwa* fly which had made certain areas uninhabitable, led to the creation of large farms by predominantly Ganda land-owners growing foodstuffs, cotton and coffee for export and hiring significant numbers of migrant workers from across the Protectorate.[58] In the early 1960's fifty to sixty *'Bakungulu'* Nyala families petitioned the Kabaka's government for *mailo* land to allow them to return to Bugerere. Though their claim was granted from territory formerly invested in the colonial state as crown freehold, they arrived home to find the areas already occupied by immigrants from other ethnic groups.[59] In another instance, Robertson's conversation with a local Nyala chief whose father had followed Kakungulu revealed that many of the *'Bakungulu'* were seeking to come home from other parts of Uganda. Moreover, 'the fervour with which he spoke about the history of Bugerere and the repatriation of his people made it seem that *Ssabagabo*...(sub-county)...was becoming a kind of Zion for the Nyala.'[60] Taken as a whole then, anecdotal, colonial and anthropological evidence suggests that sections of Ruuli and Nyala communities, probably predominantly young men, may have sought to exercise control over their changing environment through seeking better prospects elsewhere. While the proof to hand cannot confirm the numbers of such individuals who chose this route, it is clear that migration was a more widely adopted

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[57] Iliffe, *Africans*, p. 216.
[58] Cynthia Postan, 'Changes in the Immigrant Population in Buganda, 1948- 1959,' in *Economic Development and Tribal Change: A Study of Immigrant Labour in Buganda*, ed. by A.I. Richards, 2nd edition (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 292- 309.
[59] Robertson, *Community of Strangers*, p. 51.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 130.

strategy in response to the outcomes of Ganda and colonial government than has previously been understood.

Robertson's findings among the 1960's communities of Bugerere offer a further intriguing snapshot of Nyala responses to "Gandisation". For those who resisted migration and remained within the county the colonial record suggests that 99.5% had assimilated by 1959, officially at least. The prevalence of Nyala within Robertson's account, however, suggests that indigenous identities had not died out. While his work was primarily restricted to two locations within the county, discussion of the Nyala occurs throughout the narrative. Interestingly, Robertson himself appears fascinated by the "otherness" of the indigenous communities. Influenced by the Ganda and other informants who supplied his evidence he comes to understand the Nyala as 'strange people' whose houses are covered in cobwebs and who share a propensity for inventing medical disorders to avoid paying tax.[61] The prejudices parroted by Robertson are likely indicative of the general Ganda feeling towards the Nyala community at the time in question and suggests that rather than an entirely "Gandised" population, Bugerere continued to contain indigenous communities retaining separate Nyala identities and customs for which they were ridiculed by their Ganda neighbours. Certainly in his ethnographic work on the Nyala, although sadly undated, Father Roemelé suggests that the *Namuyonjo* of the period continued to be considered as the Nyala cultural leader and was elected as such and given a retinue of Nyala individuals, despite, or perhaps because, of his relatively harsh treatment by the Ganda state.[62] Moreover, neighbouring Ruuli communities, larger and better organised by the 1970's than their Nyala counterparts, may well have resisted "Gandisation" to an even greater degree, although no comparable anthropological study exists to confirm the hypothesis. Finally, the notion that larger sections of the Ruuli and Nyala communities may have retained their own cultures and identities than previously thought is given further support by the descriptions of Ruuli-Nyala musical traditions as distinct not only beyond lake Kyoga in migrant communities, but also within Buruuli and Bugerere themselves.[63]

Overall, it seems clear that the resurgence of Ruuli and Nyala patriotism and cultural pride from the late 1970's should give pause for thought in determining the extent of Ganda assimilative success within the "Lost Counties". While contemporary concerns have clearly also motivated Ruuli and Nyala movements their own narratives remain absorbed with the actions of the Ganda government during the colonial period. Moreover, although the decline in these

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[61] *Ibid.*, p. 157.
[62] SOAS, 'The Banyala,' fol. MS 380881. Although it should be noted that Biito families and descendants of Namuyonjo are now more closely tied to the Ganda government and have criticised Baker Kimeze for not being of a princely clan and the position of Issabanyala as not being a historical office.
[63] Anderson, 'The African Xylophone,' pp. 65- 68.

populations by 1959 does suggest widespread "Gandisation", it is likely that other strategies were also adopted though they have remained hidden from the historical record by a western counties focus. Migration, in particular, appears to have offered an opportunity to react to the changing circumstances wrought by the imposition of a Ganda hegemony supported by the colonial state. Taken together, evidence from a renewed focus two of the "Lost Counties"' lesser studied territories indicates successful assimilation of indigenous communities was less assured beyond Buyaga and Bugangaizi than historians have so far believed to be the case.

4.3: Acculturation and peripheral momentum in the "Acquired Counties"

By contrast the indigenous communities constituting peripheral society in the "Acquired Counties" appear to have experienced "Gandisation" as an often positive and ultimately more successful process. With the exceptions of conflict during the island removals (see Chapter Three), it is difficult to discern active resistance to the imposition of political controls and the adoption of Ganda culture from surviving records. More importantly perhaps, unlike in Buruuli and Bugerere opposition is largely absent from the local oral narratives of the counties themselves. No movement comparable to the Mubende Banyoro Committee or the Banyala Baruuli Cultural Trust has emerged within any of the "Acquired Counties". In Kkooki, for example, the general population has remained fiercely loyal to the Kabaka despite some level of hostility in recent decades between the Kamuswaga and the Kabaka over the correct status of the former within the larger kingdom. The absence of enforced cultural suppression, something continually highlighted by respondents male and female across the counties, allowed individuals to adapt to prevailing Ganda norms at a pace acceptable to local communities.[64]

Rates of acculturation were not uniform and areas such as Ssese, Kkooki and Buvuma appear to have adapted more widely and more rapidly as a whole than Kabula and Mawogola. "Gandisation" within these latter counties is difficult to discern from facts and figures available. Indeed, Mawogola's census data in particular defeated anthropologists in their analysis of immigration into Buganda, with Fortt noting that between 1931-1948 it had 'proved impossible to estimate population changes in Mawogola with any accuracy'.[65] In part these difficulties stem from boundary changes which increased Mawogola's Ganda population significantly between these years and from the impossibility of ascertaining to what extent pastoralist Hima communities were more recent immigrants from Ankole utilising Mawogola's

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[64] For example, Interview, K.A. Kabula; Interview, G.W.M., Kkooki, 6th July 2010; Interview, L.M., Buvuma, 22nd July, 2010; Interview, J.N., Ssese.
[65] Fortt, 'Ganda Population within Buganda,' p. 101.

pastureland or natives of the county who had maintained their mobile lifestyle. The answer, as in Kabula, is likely a mixture of both. Certainly migrants to the counties were encouraged by the construction of a number of water tanks and an increase in bore holes in the areas from the 1930s.[66] By deconstructing census data to analyse male and female inhabitants it is often possible to determine the scale of immigration by observing the preponderance of adult males. In Kabula and Mawogola, however, all of the populations, including Rwanda and Rundi immigrants retained a more even male to female ratio than might normally be expected.[67] This may well be explained by the easy availability of land and pasture within these counties due to their low population densities, allowing the movement of families rather than solely migrant male workers. It is clear, however, that assimilation within these areas was much slower than elsewhere, with sections of the population retaining a separation from the Ganda cultural sphere. The mobility of Hima groups likely led them into less frequent contact with Ganda culture; moreover, Richards suggested that pastoralist groups often retained their own traditions more self-consciously and could appear 'contained' and 'aloof'.[68] Similarly, Doyle has noted how the complex and in many ways conservative sexual mores among Hima communities contrasted quite strongly with what was acceptable in Ganda society and this may have limited ease of integration and intermarriage.[69] In addition, distinctions between pastoralist and agricultural communities within Ankole are acknowledged to have been significantly more rigidly observed than in neighbouring societies which had similar ruler-subject distinctions such as Bunyoro, Toro, or Kkooki.[70]

Nevertheless, the census figures between 1911 and 1921 before significant immigration suggest the possibility of a process of "Gandisation" occurring within the counties. In 1911 both counties were deemed to have roughly similar numbers of 'Baganda' and 'Banyankole' but by 1921 Ganda inhabitants were recorded as forming 74% of the population in Kabula and roughly 72% in Mawogola.[71] It is impossible to know how many Hima were absent from this survey, away in Ankole with their cattle. A decline in both Ganda and Nkole populations suggests that there may well have been temporary migration away from the county. That the proportion of the Ganda in the total population did increase, however, is supported by oral evidence within Kabula which, while certainly indicating a more varied and halting process of

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[66] Ibid., p. 98.
[67] UNA, Census Returns, 1911; UNA, Census Returns, 1921; UNA, Census Returns, 1931; UNA, Census Returns, 1948.
[68] Richards, 'Methods of Settlement,' p. 134.
[69] Shane D. Doyle, *Before HIV: Sexuality, Fertility and Mortality in East Africa, 1900-1980* (Oxford: British Academy and Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 41- 47.
[70] Doornbos, Regalia Galore, p. 21.
[71] UNA, Census Returns, 1911; UNA, Census Returns, 1921.

"Gandisation" than in Kkooki, Buvuma or Ssese, does still suggest that indigenous communities were beginning to adopt Ganda cultural norms within the colonial period:

> Q. After the annexing of Kabula to Buganda were Kinyankole names preserved?
> R: Not so much, Kiganda names became more common even the non-Baganda in the area started giving Kiganda names.
> Q. Why did they prefer Kiganda names instead of their own names?
> R: Because Kabula now belonged to Buganda; they had to give Kiganda names to show that they belonged to Buganda but they were never forced to do so.[72]

Moreover, as we have noted in Chapter Two, while certain Hima customs or social mores may have slowed integration, pastoralists and agriculturalists within Ankole (Nkore) were never as separated as might have previously been assumed. Communities shared the same language and customs were often the same or very similar. In his ethnographic study of the Banyankole in 1923, John Roscoe noted that in marriage 'most of the agricultural customs were either borrowed from or identical with those of the cow-people'. Similarly, in death, 'the body of a dead man was prepared for burial in the same way as among the cow-people, but the body was not washed and the burial could take place at any time.'[73] That Hima communities could have come to think of themselves as Ganda and adopted elements of Ganda culture in a comparable manner to the pastoralist groups already present in Buganda and Bunyoro is therefore conceivable. Anthropologists in the 1930's recorded that it was clear that 'Banyankole' in Kabula and Mawogola were taking Ganda names. In Kabula, Fortt noted that:

> It is reported that an Nkole coming into Kabula may, after a few years residence there, call himself a Ganda, although in fact there are few true Ganda in the saza because of intermarriage with immigrants from Ankole and Toro. It therefore seems likely that in 1948 many more Nkole returned themselves as Ganda than did in 1931.[74]

Moreover, the ambiguity of information surrounding the counties means that such individuals could well have been indigenous inhabitants moving between the areas as well as later immigrants. While the evidence for "Gandisation" within Kabula and Mawogola is therefore less certain it seems possible to suggest that such a process was occurring and, furthermore, a lack of resistance or conflict within oral histories and documentary evidence indicates that

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[72] Interview, H.J.W., Kabula.
[73] Roscoe, *The Banyankole*, pp. 129- 150.
[74] Fortt, 'Ganda Population within Buganda,' p. 108.

"Gandisation" was a less contested affair, certainly over the long term, than within the "Lost Counties".

Free from the extremes of Ganda assimilative techniques, then, and encouraged by missionary education, the bible and Ganda interpretations of rituals and traditions, communities across the periphery actively engaged with new identities. By adopting Luganda and Ganda customs and by "writing themselves as Ganda" in indigenous language newspapers communities in Kkooki, Buvuma and Ssese in particular, but also Kabula and Mawogola, came to understand their predominant identity as bound up with the Ganda kingdom of which they were now a part.

It is an irony that the absence of resistance outside of the "Lost Counties" shrouds the evidence of ethnic change. In contrast to those Nyoro, Ruuli and Nyala who recorded petitions, articles and a narrative of opposition, few authors chronicled the actual process of their "Gandisation". Moreover, the unreliable census data for the "Acquired Counties" ensures that a timeline of assimilation is difficult to ascertain. Nevertheless, oral histories suggest that the use of the Luganda language and Ganda customs was widely prevalent by the 1920's, and particularly by the 1930's. This is not to propose that all individuals had acculturated by this date or that indigenous identities had disappeared, but rather that Ganda identities, layered on top of existing traditions, were now predominant across a large proportion of the "Acquired Counties", a process which will be addressed in greater detail in Chapter Five. The rapidity with which this process of identity evolution appears to have taken place in a number of areas may strike readers as unusual and, indeed, theorists such as Laroche, Kim, Hui and Tomiuk argue that true assimilation can only take place over several generations.[75] Studies across Africa, however, have often highlighted a swiftness of "ethnic change" particularly when evoked by the specific circumstances of colonial society. Constructivist and instrumentalist literature both underline the rapidly evolving identities of the period as imperialism and urbanisation engaged with African societies. In Tanzania, Iliffe has noted how ethnic groups such as the Nyakusa expanded rapidly from numbering no more than a few villages on Lake Tanganyika's shoreline to forming the Nyakusa Union in 1942 to 'preserve the good customs and habits of the tribe'.[76] Moreover, in her anthropological analysis of the Fulbe in post-colonial northern Cameroon Emily Schultz argues that in this specific urbanised context, 'the crossing of ethnic boundaries and the single-generation assimilation into the Fulbe ethnic group is not only possible but

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[75] M. Laroche, C. Kim, M.K. Hui, M.A. Tomiuk, 'Test of a Non-Linear Relationship between Linguistic Acculturation and Ethnic Identification,' *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 29.3 (1998), p. 424.
[76] Iliffe, *Modern History of Tanganyika*, p. 318.

often inevitable in the towns of northern Cameroon.'[77] In the Ganda context assimilation was undoubtedly sped up by external processes including the widespread adoption of Luganda by missionaries and the colonial state and the interconnected nature of a kingdom where, despite being politically and culturally peripheral, non-heartland communities were connected to the capital by a developed web of townships and rural-urban networks.[78] The peripherality of some of the counties may have inclined them a slower share of resources accessed from the centre as has been documented in Chapter Three, but individuals and ideas were highly mobile within Buganda moving along transport highways and from town to town towards, and away from the urban hub of Kampala. The rapid adoption of Ganda identities was also, however, heavily reliant on the momentum of those assimilating. The absence of barriers consisting of deeply negative associations with Buganda's repression of cultures allowed individuals to engage within the dominant Ganda ethnic sphere on their own terms. Moreover, in the "Acquired Counties" the apparently relatively rapid acculturation to Ganda culture actually belied a longevity to the processes involved. As will be explored in Chapter 5 the adoption of predominant Ganda identities in a short period of time was facilitated by the continuation of prior socio-cultural attachments which historicised and grounded new relationships.

The absence of conflict

The more constructive association with Buganda is revealed through the absence of conflict in oral traditions outside of the "Lost Counties". It is possible, as noted in the Introduction, that this general lack of negativity is due in part to contemporary circumstances and the importance of appearing loyal in interviews with strangers. In Kkooki in particular, political in-fighting between the Kamuswaga and the Kabaka may have resulted in overt Ganda patriotism in response to questions over Buganda's role within the county.[79] Nevertheless, no respondent outside of the Nyala and Ruuli communities claimed historical friction over the actions of the Ganda state and the adoption of a Ganda identity. The majority of individuals interviewed highlighted the positive aspects of Ganda culture which was often considered 'civilised', particularly as 'even the British were surprised to find that Buganda had already attained a certain level of civilisation'.[80] Moreover, colonial records are remarkably free of ethnic confrontation within the peripheries. Ever watchful for signs of "tribal" conflict officials

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[77] Emily A. Schultz, 'From Pagan to Pullo: Ethnic Identity Change in Northern Cameroon,' *Africa*, 54.1 (1984), p. 49.

[78] Obbo, 'Dominant Male Ideology,' pp. 371- 389; Paula Jean Davis, 'On the Sexuality of "Town Women" in Kampala,' *Africa Today*, 47.3/4, (2000), p. 34.

[79] Interview, M.T.B., Kkooki; A. Mabule, 'Kkooki Chiefdom Gets a Flag,' New Vision, 17th May 2010; S. K. Kaaya, 'Kabaka at Home in Kkooki,' *The Observer*, 21st November 2011.

[80] Interview, A.K., Kabula.

reported constantly on the situation within the "Lost Counties" throughout the colonial period. Elsewhere, however, the colonial record remains silent.

The evidence which does exist for the period suggests that Ganda customs were embraced by large numbers in "Acquired Counties" populations. For islanders, acculturation to Ganda norms may well have been particularly rapid given their residency on the mainland during which intermarriages likely increased. In Buvuma, respondents recalled that members of their own families had taken Ganda women for wives during the period of the sleeping sickness evacuation.[81] Similarly, in his history of the growth of the church in Buganda John V. Taylor noted that in the later colonial period there were numerous communities originating from Buvuma on the south Kyaggwe shoreline. Their numbers had increased from the traders who had always settled there and by the time Taylor wrote about them in they were 'already closely assimilated and often describe themselves as Baganda'.[82] Moreover, in Ssese in particular, acclimatising to Ganda traditions involved relatively little cultural adaptation. Despite their maintenance of an element of independence through alternative sources of power vested in the spirit mediums of Mukasa and other shrines on the islands, Ssese's close spiritual, political and cultural links with mainland Buganda reached back into the historical record. It should be noted though that characterisations of the Ssese islanders as "uncivilised" and different from mainland Ganda lasted well into the twentieth century. As one elderly man on Bukasa Island recalled:

> I remember in 1965 we went for athletics competition on the mainland. As we
> approached all pupils ran to us and were shouting that the Basesse who have tails
> like monkeys have come. Some even came to touch our buttocks thinking that we
> had tails coiled in our pants.[83]

Yet this emphasis on islander status encouraged rather than derailed "Gandisation" as Ssese communities with customs and rituals almost identical to their mainland neighbours sought to emphasise their incorporation within the kingdom.[84] Ssese narratives emphasise the importance of the islands within Ganda mythology. In particular they emphasise a Ssese presence in the Kintu legends so intrinsic to a wider collective understanding of Buganda's origins. Noted elders on the island retell stories passed on by previous generations of the role of Ssese clans such as the Envubu (Hippo) in the life of Kintu. Moreover, these tales physically

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[81] Interview, M.N.N., Buvuma.
[82] John V. Taylor, *The Growth of the Church in Buganda: An Attempt at Understanding* (London: SCM Press, 1958), p. 113.
[83] Interview, K.L., Ssese.
[84] *Ibid.*

connect Kintu, an embodiment of Buganda, to the islands by recalling his presence among the islanders at times of war.[85] This connecting of Ssese history with the mythologies of the Ganda community mirrored processes within the kingdom itself, where, as Roscoe noted, 'Any Muganda, when asked from whom he is descended, will readily answer, "From Kintu".[86]

Within Ssese the need for the incorporation of indigenous sub-groups of clans within wider networks was largely obsolete given their already interconnected nature. Roscoe and Kaggwa identified different Ssese Islands as key sites for a number of Ganda clans; for example, the Elephant clan and the Lungfish clan, Buganda's largest, which held estates on Bugoma, Biringa, Kome, Lukoni, Bugezi, Bunangi, Damba, Nsazi, Baji and Gomba islands.[87] Moreover, as we have seen in Chapter Three Ssese groups were intimately connected to the mainland and played key roles in Ganda rituals prior to their full incorporation. The relocation of the islanders during the Sleeping Sickness epidemics may, however, have encouraged greater engagement with mainland clan heads where Ssese elders might have made decisions regarding rituals such inheritance in the past. For the populations of Buvuma, Kabula, Kkooki, and Mawogola clanship groups with similar totems seem to have been brought into the wider Ganda networks. Individuals understood their particular sub-clans as constituent parts of larger Ganda groups with similar totems. In Kkooki the major clan groups of the region such as the Omutima (heart) clan, which may anyway have originated in from neighbouring Buddu, became 'naturalised in Buganda'; a process made possible because in Buganda, in Kkooki, and even in Bunyoro it was 'called the Omutima clan'.[88] The acknowledgement of this process suggests that "Gandisation" through clan affiliation was an easier process for indigenes in the kingdom's peripheries than for immigrants in the heartlands. Among migrants Richards noted that it was rare for individuals to be adopted into Ganda clans although some did try to pass themselves off in this way.[89] The importance of acceptance into these systems is highlighted by Kodesh in his remarkable insights into the role of clans not just as kinship relationships but as 'therapeutic networks' intimately connected to individual and collective 'well-being' and public healing.[90] Kodesh notes that pre-colonial expansion produced new and extended clan identities and that royal control rested on the ability to persuade clan communities to 'conceive of their collective well-being as intimately connected to the health and prosperity of the kingdom itself'. Moreover, 'as the kingdom expanded, in other words, the ideology of clanship served as a means for communities to plug themselves into the state structure by

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[85] Interview, E.L., Ssese; Interview, A.S.P., Sesse, 3rd August, 2010.
[86] Roscoe, *The Baganda*, p. 137.
[87] *Ibid.*, p. 150.
[88] Interview, S.M.S., Kkooki.
[89] Richards, 'Assimilation of Immigrants,' p. 175.
[90] Kodesh, 'Networks of Knowledge,' p. 201.

making the collective efforts of clan members an indispensable component in ensuring the kingdom's continued well-being.'[91]

Expansion in the late nineteenth century seems to have produced similar circumstances as "Acquired Counties" communities adopted Ganda customs intimately linked to collective clan identities and the prosperity of the Ganda 'moral community'. Karlstrom has shown how the re-emphasis on lineage succession rituals such as *Kwabya Lumbe* (to demolish death) in colonial Buganda was predicated on fears over the 'moral' health of society. Ceremonies such as *Kwabya Lumbe* brought clan members together to reverse the state of 'moral disorder' beginning after a death and ensured that wider social linkages across space and time were maintained by reemphasising 'an ethics of substantive interpersonal relations....for the knowledge generated by clan activities is a knowledge of the paths of social connections governed by obligatory reciprocity and assistance.'[92] The adoption of Ganda customs surrounding birth, marriage and death by the 1920's and 1930's, then, suggests that individuals within the "Acquired Counties" were not merely aping Ganda custom but connecting with a Ganda ideal through positive performative rituals linking them across Ganda networks and incorporating them within a wider Ganda community linked to the centre. The importance of collective well-being alongside kinship in clan understanding allowed individuals to 'plug' themselves more easily into a Ganda identity.[93] Across a majority of the "Acquired Counties" areas elderly respondents born in the 1920's, 1930's or 1940's reported that by the time of their childhood indigenous rituals were being performed less often and Ganda succession, marriage and funeral rites were predominant. Similarly, Luganda had become the primary language of interaction within the "Acquired Counties" by the 1930's, while naming practices had often begun to reflect Ganda rather than local norms.[94] In Kabula and Mawogola, as we have noted, Nkole culture was retained to a greater degree by the Bahima populations but Ganda customs were clearly entering the areas and becoming significant after the 1920's.

"Homeland" and religion

In addition, the force of attachment to ethnic heartlands appears to have exerted little real influence in limiting ethnic change across the "Acquired Counties" within the colonial period. In Kkooki the rituals and myths associated with many of the county's hills, such as Kyakabajjo and Ndeke did not prevent the kingdom from submitting its territory to the control of Buganda. Moreover, the royal burial location at Nakera where the Kamuswagas were laid in

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[91] Kodesh, *Clanship and Collective Wellbeing,* PhD Diss, pp. 238- 239.
[92] Karlstrom, 'Modernity and its Aspirants,' pp. 597- 601.
[93] Kodesh, *Clanships and Collective Wellbeing,* PhD Diss, pp. 238.
[94] As a sample- Interview, H.J.W., Kabula; Interview, S.T., Buvuma; Interview, B.K., Kkooki; Interview, Y.B., Buvuma, 16th July 2010; 'Ensi Koki Nga Bwefanana (A study of Koki),' *Munno,* January, 1926.

the ground and covered with the hide of a cow did not become sites of resistance to Ganda control.[95] On the contrary in 1966 during the abolition of the kingdoms by Milton Obote, several indigenous chiefs were executed in Byakabanda near to Kyakabajjo Hill for their known loyalty to the Kamuswaga, the Kabaka and the kingdom. For one individual interviewed the episode was a personal tragedy:

> My father was one of them and my maternal grandfather was also one of them- he was a chief. So, apparently, we lost five people in the family including my father; from my maternal side we lost four people and then including my father who was the 5th person.[96]

The contrast with the residents of Buyaga and Bugangaizi recently triumphantly returned to Bunyoro could not be greater. The contexts in which "homeland" applied to local peoples differed of course between the western "Lost Counties" and areas such as Kkooki and Buvuma where local ritual sites were also important in pre-colonial meaning making. In particular, Bunyoro's consistent demands for the return of their heartland territory undoubtedly charged the notion of "homeland" residents within the counties. Nevertheless, the centrality of the idea as wielded by Smith, and subsequently by Green would suggest a strength of ethnic attachment to core lands which should have exerted itself even without a mother state calling the areas home.[97] The absence of resistance built around core pre-colonial sites outside of Buyaga and Bugangaizi, then, indicates that emphasis on "homeland" within those counties was a product rather than a cause of ethnic tension. The key driver determining "homeland" narratives was the Ganda response to assimilative processes. In the "Lost Counties" the oppressive response of the Ganda state combined with Bunyoro's continued existence beyond the borders of the counties combined to encourage residents to assert their connection to the tombs of the *Bakama*. In Kkooki and Buvuma, by comparison, communities faced with laissez-faire assimilation free from the obvious and coherent suppression of local culture were able to retain an attachment to such sites as places of historical memory and local importance while simultaneously highlighting their adaptation to Ganda norms. This layering of identities encouraged by the lack of coherent assimilation outside of the "Lost Counties" will be explored further in Chapter Five.

The process of a double marginalisation through religious denomination explored by Doyle in relation to Buyaga and Bugangaizi carries perhaps greater relevance for the "Acquired

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[95] 'Traditional and Contemporary Social Services in Kkooki,' pp. 7- 13; Interview, F.B., Kkooki, 6th July 2010.
[96] Interview, F.B., Kkooki.
[97] Smith, *National Identity*, p. 9; Green, 'Limits to Ethnic Change,' p. 274.

Counties".[98] The 1962 Lukiiko results which helped to determine the place of the Protestant *Kabaka Yekka* (the king alone) party in post-independence politics offer an interesting analysis of religious, political and ethnic allegiances. In most areas of Buganda including other "Acquired Counties" voters overwhelmingly favoured *Kabaka Yekka* (KY); in Sesse the Catholic Democratic Party (DP) lost their deposit due to the size of the KY majority. In Buvuma, however, KY's victory over DP was marginal hinging on a majority of only 98 with 91% of the population polled.[99] Here it seems Catholic allegiances tempered the royalism of the island inhabitants suggesting the influence that religion could exert over other identities within the period. Nevertheless, it seems important not to overstate these conclusions. While KY may not have won a landslide victory the overall success of the party in this heavily Catholic *ssaza* suggests the tenacity of Ganda allegiances and loyalty to the Kabaka within the islands in the early 1960's. Moreover, despite the popularity of the DP as a political party in the 1950's and 1960's there is little other evidence, either in the colonial record or in the oral histories of the communities of the county itself, to suggest that the Catholicism of its inhabitants significantly affected the positive association of islanders with new Ganda identities.

Writing oneself as Ganda

In 'Immigrants and Indigenes' Doyle powerfully sums up the predilection for Ganda authorities to misrepresent the size of the remaining Nyoro populations through official data. Quoting from evidence taken from the Privy Council commissions he notes that Ganda policy was to 'write them as Baganda'.[100] Nyoro communities within the counties responded to this process by asserting their own ethnic identities through the Mubende Banyoro Committee, through articles to newspapers, in Privy Council evidence statements and, since independence, through Nyala and Ruuli literature. Nevertheless, the language of ascription was a powerful resource in the hands of the Ganda and colonial states. Within the "Acquired Counties" we have noted the problematics of census data coupled with the missionary and colonial emphasis on a centralised Ganda whole. This apparently unidirectional process, however, constitutes only a fragment of the overall picture. In addition, elite or mission educated literate individuals within "Acquired Counties" communities such as Kkooki and Ssese, also used self-ascription to situate themselves firmly within the sphere of a wider Ganda community. Writing in indigenous and English language newspapers of the period authors consciously highlighted their position as inhabitants of peripheral counties while simultaneously presenting themselves as members of the Ganda collective by asserting their rights within the kingdom and highlighting their loyalty

[98] Doyle, 'Immigrants and Indigenes,' p. 25.
[99] MUL NEWS, 'Results of the 1962 Lukiiko Election,' *Uganda Argus*, 24th February 1962.
[100] Doyle, 'Immigrants and Indigenes,' p. 292.

to the Kabaka. These individuals, free from the oppressive nature of coherent Ganda assimilation, were "writing themselves as Ganda".

Perhaps the most revealing examples of this phenomenon derive from opinion pages often utilised in colonial Uganda, as elsewhere, as a forum in which to air grievances. In these columns authors highlight the varying issues afflicting their respective areas. It is here, therefore, that it might be expected to find significant evidence of tensions in identity and ethnic allegiance. Occasionally pieces do reflect an indigenous response provoked by the prospect of some serious internal change; for example the proposal to merge Kkooki and Kabula in the early 1960's prompted four Kkooki contributors to record their opposition to the move in the Catholic missionary newspaper *Munno* where they noted that, 'it should be borne in mind that Kkooki used to be an independent fully fledged Kingdom.'[101] Such instances are in the minority, however, and further highlight how "Acquired Counties" communities were able to continue to highlight indigenous attachments to further their ends within the Ganda Kingdom, in a manner which would have been unthinkable certainly in the "Lost Counties". The majority of individuals writing into newspapers from the "Acquired Counties" chose to express their complaints within the wider context of belonging within the Ganda kingdom. These authors appealed to Mengo to receive restitution and highlighted Ganda structures as necessary for progress.[102] In doing so they acknowledged their own role within the Ganda collective. Writing from Kkooki in 1925 one contributor to the Luganda newspaper *Ebifa Mu Buganda* analysed the underdeveloped nature of his county laying the blame on the sins of malice and pride exhibited by his fellow inhabitants. Concluding his opinions he lamented that Kkooki was not prospering along with the rest of Buganda; 'imagine when the song 'Buganda Egenda Mumasso'- (Buganda is prospering) is being sung we also participate, yet in Koki the opposite is happening.'[103] The author here consciously situates Kkooki within the wider kingdom and implies that were its people to act more like their other Ganda neighbours the county might prosper as they were.

In addition, newspapers of the period often carried positive stories about the kingdom written from within the peripheries. These articles are undoubtedly more suspect; Luganda language papers tended to carry pro-kingdom opinions. The expression of thanks and loyalty to the Kabaka which often characterised these pieces also raises questions over their selection for publication. The constructive manner in which they represent their relationship to

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[101] MUL NEWS, L. Numewula, D. Kamya, S. Nalweyiso, S. Nalongo, 'The Bakkoki Raise Their Concerns,' *Munno*, 11th January 1961.
[102] See for example:MUL NEWs, 'Ssese News,' *Munno*, 16th May 1961; 'The Buvuma Have An Issue to Raise At Mengo,' *Munno*, 21st February 1961; 'Baganda Are Paying Their Taxes,' Uganda Herald, 21st August 1954; 'Buddu, Ssese, and Bulemezi,' *Munno*, 23rd November 1961 ; 'The Bavuma Are Pleased With the Resignation of Katikiro Kintu,' *Munno*, 16th November 1964.
[103] MUL NEWS, L.Z. Mwebe: 'Koki would have prospered,' *Ebifa Mu Buganda*, December 1925.

Buganda, however, appears to reflect the bond which oral narratives suggest many already felt to the Ganda collective and the personage of the king by the mid-to late colonial period. While it is important not to accept the articles uncritically therefore, their presence across many of the indigenous newspapers of the day as well as in English language publications suggests a legitimate positivity with regards to the "Acquired Counties" position within kingdom. Moreover, if the articles were intended as propaganda they were nevertheless often being penned by individuals' resident within the counties, written in Luganda, and demonstrate a clear understanding of the terms of praise appropriate for the Kabaka within the Ganda context. In particular, articles extolled the Kabaka in person and the wisdom of his government for their response and solution to problems.[104] An opinion piece written from Kkooki in 1965 embodied the flavour of this genre of contributions. Recalling a recent famine which had caused the population to suffer, the author thanked the Kabaka personally for the actions of his government in addressing the situation. In the overwrought Ganda language of a period in which royalism was at its peak amid deteriorating relations with Obote's national government the Kabaka and Mengo were given thanks:

> I would like to request you to extend our gratitude to Sabasajja Kabaka's government for attending to our request when we were hit by famine. All other things were put aside and they came to rescue Sabasajja Kabaka's subjects.....who were badly off in that county of Kkooki. We called for help and Kabaka's government responded immediately.....this is an indication that this is a pro-people government.[105]

Visits by the Kabaka to the "Acquired Counties" were also recorded in panegyric style by individual residents within the peripheries. Of one such trip to Kkooki in 1943 an author noted that before the arrival of the king 'people waited anxiously here at Rakai with everyone looking for a strategic position so as to be able to see the Kabaka'. Following speeches in which the Kabaka 'because of his kindness' rearranged the function to allow women unable to see him to be brought to the front, 'everyone was happy,' and, 'people clapped loudly to the extent that their palms were about to develop blisters'. The piece concluded by congratulating Kamuswaga for 'taking the trouble to host such an important person. Long live the Kabaka!'[106] The author's loyalty to the Kabaka is demonstrated not only through his recounting of the

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[104] See for example, MUL NEWS: 'A Person From Buvuma,' *Munno*, 12th September, 1952; 'News from Bunyamba in Kkooki,' *Matalisi*, 27th February, 1948.
[105] Karlstrom, *Cultural Kingdom in Uganda*, pp. 30- 34; MUL, 'The Bakkooki Are Grateful to Government,' *Sekanyolya*, 10th November, 1965.
[106] MUL NEWS, Juko, 'Kabaka Visits Koki,' *Matalisi*, 1943.

event, but also in his depiction of how the king's subjects should respond to his presence. By consciously situating themselves within the wider Ganda collective these contributors to newspapers often primarily intended for a Ganda audience sought to actively highlight their outward expression of Ganda identities through mirroring the pro-Mengo language of their heartland contemporaries.

4.4: Conclusion

By analysing the response of Buganda's various peripheral communities to the differing assimilative approaches of the state wider themes emerge. The historiographical focus of kingdom scholars on the Ganda-Nyoro relationship within the "Lost Counties" has led to a narrowing of our understanding of the response of peripheral peoples to the varying assimilative processes affecting them within the colonial and post-colonial periods. By seeking to explain the apparent contrast between western and eastern "Lost Counties" through a focus on the singularity of Buyaga and Bugangaizi scholars have reduced their ability to appreciate the kingdom's true assimilative success and dominant responses to incorporation. The apparent re-emergence of Ruuli and Nyala identities in the 1970's suggests that Ganda assimilation outside of Buyaga and Bugangaizi was less successful than previously assumed, and, consequently, that Buganda's real achievement within the colonial period was the incorporation of "Acquired Counties" communities. Or to phrase it another way; the coherent assimilative efforts of the Ganda state within the "Lost Counties" provoked greater resistance to "being Ganda" than the varying assimilative currents affecting other areas. Re-examining the historical record of Buruuli and Bugerere indicates that responses other than assimilation may well have been more widely adopted than has so far been understood. While significant numbers clearly did adapt themselves to new roles as members of a wider Ganda community, retention of Ruuli-Nyala identities in the face of pressure for acculturation was clearly also a significant response. One method of resistance to these processes was migration.

Laissez-faire incorporation, by contrast, allowed communities and individuals a space within which they were able to adopt Ganda identities and the manner in which they did so is illustrated by positive responses to "Gandisation" and absence of ethnic conflict or tensions within the colonial period. By considering the "Acquired Counties" as well as the "Lost Counties" and therefore examining Buganda's peripheries as a whole it is therefore possible to re-write Green's formula for understanding the "limits to ethnic change" within the colonial kingdom. While "homeland" and religion may well have played important roles in determining resistance within a wider context of Nyoro irredentism, the wider processes occurring suggest

that the varying nature of Buganda's assimilative responses to its peripheries was the significant factor in determining a longevity of successful identity evolution.

The reasons why numerous communities within the "Acquired Counties" societies adopted these affirmative reactions must now be analysed. Building upon our arguments here Chapter Five will illustrate the key components encouraging peripheral momentum towards "being Ganda" focusing on themes of "modernisation", prestige, participation in the 'moral community', and the layering of identities. All of these factors boosting "Gandisation" were allowed to flourish in the more constructive space left by the absence of the coherent suppression of culture.

Chapter 5: Peripheral momentum towards "being Ganda": "modernity", ethnic participation and identity layering

5.1: Introduction

The preceding chapter argues that a lack of enforced cultural suppression imposed upon "Acquired Counties" communities allowed them to engage with Ganda state and society through processes of acculturation comparatively free from negative connotations with Ganda identities and the markers of Ganda culture. Operating inside a more positive framework of interaction and communication peripheral societies adapted at varying and sometimes rapid speeds to prevailing Ganda cultural norms. Moreover, in contrast to various communities across the "Lost Counties", self-ascription as Ganda was often signalled, at least among the literate, through lack of resistance to colonial census designations and writing oneself as Ganda in newspapers and documents. This identification of laissez-faire assimilative currents as more widespread and successful in colonial era Buganda than previously recognised represents a key finding in and of itself, particularly in a Ganda society often characterised externally by a uniquely centralised, ethnic coherence. Nevertheless, such conclusions reflect only a partial retelling of the wider story of incorporation. While a lack of coherent assimilative currents left open positive or at least neutral zones for ethnic re-identification, the successful incorporation of peripheral communities relied on several motivating factors which flourished in the absence of negative associations. Instrumentalist, constructivist and post-constructivist schools of thought have all dedicated attention in different ways to the motivations for incorporating communities. However, the centrality of the importance of African responses to colonial imposition and the intrusion of 'state and capital' has at times been shrouded by the key objective of discerning the origin of reified twentieth-century ethnicities.[1] Within Buganda, discussions of the motivation for assimilation have largely been confined to migrant populations; non-Nyoro indigenes, in particular, have received no academic attention to date. Moreover, by refocusing on the stimuli driving "Acquired Counties" incorporation, it is possible to shine a light on the complex processes by which peripheral peoples engaged with assimilative processes driven not from the centre, as is often assumed, but in symbiosis, connecting peripheral desires with the concerns of the heartland. As with the Ganda clan members in Kodesh's networks of knowledge, who both contributed to, and were affected by

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[1] Bruce Berman, '"A Palimpsest of Contradictions": Ethnicity, Class and Politics in Africa,' *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 37.1 (2004), p. 24; Bruce Berman, 'Ethnicity, Patronage and the African State: The Politics of Uncivil Nationalism,' *African Affairs*, 97.388 (1998), pp. 305- 341.

the centre, the indigenous inhabitants of peripheral communities were far from pawns directed against their will by an unstoppable ethnic force irresistibly homogenising in response to interactions between the Ganda and British states; in reality, these individuals and communities responded by reshaping, adapting and contributing to prevailing cultural, political and socioeconomic currents.[2] The intention here, then, is to discern how the "messiness" of the colonial period revealed itself through the motivations and actions of peripheral communities both propelling and experiencing "Gandisation" despite the relative ambivalence of the colonial Ganda state to their presence.[3] Moreover, it is to build a greater understanding of the specific context of Buganda itself by recalibrating an analysis of its key colonial facets- notably its relationship to colonial "modernity", its prestige within the Protectorate and its growing nationalism or "political tribalism"- through a consideration of the kingdom from the perspective of its newly adapting peripheries.

"Peripheral momentum", then, represents a shorthand for the manner in which communities within the "Acquired Counties" interpreted, channelled and reworked individual and communal identities as they sought to build relationships with the wider Ganda community largely untroubled by cohesive cultural repression. These groups embraced aspects of the colonial Ganda experience resulting in the inculcation of predominant Ganda affiliations which were both simultaneously successful and long-lasting, and uniquely constituted in response to local imperatives and "traditions". In particular, three interlinking processes emerged within colonial Buganda which characterised indigenous identity evolution. Firstly, as elsewhere across Africa, the linkage between key ethnicities and access to colonial "modernity" in the form of an expansion and greater centralisation of services, infrastructure and capital encouraged adaptation of identities as people sought to maximise their new-found relationship with Mengo, and the Protectorate's economic and political hubs at Kampala and Entebbe. While this emphasis on resource access might appear contradictory given the expressly peripheral nature of the areas involved, the chapter will explore the ways in which the conception of Ganda "modernity" combined with some modest returns appears to have overridden serious concerns about a lack of investment within the regions. Moreover, it was recognised within these communities that to be on the periphery of Buganda remained infinitely preferable, at least in the early years of colonial rule, to incorporation in neighbouring areas with less access to the centre of Protectorate power as a periphery of a periphery. Secondly, the chapter considers the ways in which peripheral communities, and in particular elites within "Acquired Counties" societies sought to participate in the 'moral

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[2] Kodesh, 'Networks of Knowledge,' p. 201.
[3] Peris Sean Jones, 'To Come Together for Progress': Modernization and Nation-Building in South Africa's Bantustan Periphery - The Case of Bophuthatswana,' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 25.4 (1999), p. 580.

community' of the Ganda kingdom by offering support to the Kabaka and kingdom institutions in moments of internal uncertainty, particularly during the vexed question of Buganda's position in the post-colonial state which dominated discourse in the late 1950's and early 1960's. These crises within the kingdom provided an opportunity for commentators to assert their Ganda allegiance and entrench themselves within a collective Ganda discourse. A further common theme linking these two processes revolves around the notion of prestige. Buganda's preeminent position within the wider Protectorate appealed both to the instrumental in terms of attaining standing and resources, as well as to a deeper content level of ethnic identity as the increasingly insular kingdom played up the importance of its power and culture and the significance of the Kabaka. Thirdly, while a significant number of peripheral peoples engaged willingly with the power of the wider Ganda cultural identity, the absence of attempted cohesive assimilation allowed them to develop a complex layering of identities. Identifying themselves and being identified by others as Ganda, they used Luganda as their medium of communication, expressed loyalty to the Kabaka and adopted Ganda cultural practices but retained nevertheless the memories and symbols of their pre-Ganda history. Unlike in the "Lost Counties" where Nyoro in Mubende and Nyala and Ruuli in Bugerere and Buruuli resisted, or at least resented the forced imposition of Ganda culture, the majority of individuals in the "Acquired Counties" were free to mix their own identities with the best of what they found in Ganda culture and without the suppression of their own. These communities viewed Ganda identities much more positively. The Ganda state did not view the cultures of the peoples of Kkooki, Buvuma, Ssese, Kabula and Mawogola as a threat and so these groups were able to maintain an indigeneity as part and parcel of their predominant Ganda allegiance; consequently, their "Gandisation" has been comparatively more successful over the long term than assimilation within the "Lost Counties".

Before beginning the chapter in earnest it is necessary to underline certain key caveats. Firstly, it is accepted that the processes described here are by no means novel in the literature surrounding ethnicity within Africa. The impact of the introduction of colonial resources as a force for impacting upon identities has formed a key concept within the field from the late 1950's as anthropologists and scholars began to move away from the notion of "tribe" as immutably fixed, particularly through the increasing study of migration and urbanisation.[4] Moreover, the intrusion of colonial "modernity" has been a foundational aspect in the theories of instrumentalism and constructivism. The instrumentalist emphasis on 'the interests of the self, rather than the identity of the self,' stems from a focus on urbanisation and access to

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[4] See for example; Richards, *Economic Development and Tribal Change*; Jean Rouch, *Migrations au Ghana (Gold Coast): Enquête 1953-1955* (Paris: Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 1956); Southall and Gutkind, *Townsmen in the Making*; Keith Hart, 'Migration and Tribal Identity among the Frafra of Ghana,' *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 6.1 (1971), pp. 21- 36.

resources and services and the necessity to build political constituencies through clientage.[5] Similarly, for those who support some permutation of the constructivist formula the introduction of colonial administration and the attempted imposition of "western" economic systems helped to consolidate ethnic groups as they responded to the challenges of colonialism and manipulated the perceptions of their new European rulers.[6] In addition, the concept of 'moral ethnicity' refers to the innovative work conducted by Lonsdale and Berman in their analysis of colonial Kenya, although as we shall see the concept is also reinterpreted here to emphasise participation in community discourse around morals as well as a site for internal division.[7] Finally, it is necessary to note that the processes described here were by no means entirely absent from the "Lost Counties". For those Nyoro, Ruli and Nyala who did assimilate a similar progression may be charted. Doyle has noted, for example, how Nyoro elites sought to utilise their connection to the Ganda centre to secure positions of privilege.[8] Nevertheless, taking the wider view it is clear that resistance was much greater within these latter areas and the overall results of assimilation less assured. The less charged sphere within which "Acquired Counties" assimilation occurred rendered such processes more effective and peripheral momentum towards "being Ganda" more acute, and for that reason this chapter focuses primarily on these regions and communities.

The aim of the chapter, then, is to utilise the above themes to explore the varying and multiple interactions which characterised adaptations in identity within the colonial Ganda context. In doing so, it offers new interpretations of the manner in which some ethnic identities grew within the twentieth century, problematizing the notions of ethnic "expansion" or "reification" which have often appeared as one way processes underlined by strict dichotomies of colonist/subject and collaboration/resistance.[9] In reality, the construction of identities is always a multi-directional process. This has of course been recognised in discussions of African ethnicity, but the novel aspect of Buganda is that it allows an analysis of identity formation in a colonial context in what is an ancient and ostensibly cohesive kingdom. The structures of Buganda itself, and not merely its colonial apparatus, shaped integration in distinctive ways facilitating narratives drawn inwards from the peripheries as well as those

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[5] James L. Peacock, Patricia M. Thornton and Patrick B. Inman, *Identity Matters; Ethnic and Sectarian Conflict* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), p. 1.

[6] See particularly, Berman, 'Ethnicity, Patronage and the African State'; Vail, 'Ethnicity in Southern African History,' pp. 1- 21; J. Lonsdale, 'The Moral Economy of Mau Mau,' pp. 270- 275.

[7] See, Berman, "A Palimpsest of Contradictions", pp. 18-30; Lonsdale, 'The Moral Economy of Mau Mau', pp. 316- 339: John Lonsdale, 'Jomo Kenyatta, God and the Modern World,' in *African Modernities*, eds. by Jang Georg Deutsch, Peter Probst, and Heike Schmidt (Oxford: James Curry, 2002), pp. 50- 62.

[8] Doyle, 'Immigrants and Indigenes,' p. 296.

[9] Frederick Cooper, 'Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History,' *American Historical Review*, 99.5 (1994), pp. 1517; Jean F. Bayart, 'Africa in the World: a History of Extraversion,' *African Affairs*, 99.395 (2000), pp. 217- 224.

actively controlled by the centre. Peripheral communities were not merely collaborators in a British or Ganda reconstruction of the limits of Ganda ethnic hegemony; they were not "invented" as Ganda. Instead they were active agents in the reassembling of their societies; narrators of their own "Gandisation" and the place of their localised indigeneity within a Ganda framework. The chapter therefore contributes to wider discussions over the ability and motivation of colonial and African authorities to dictate arenas of identity and ethnicity. In British Togoland, for example, Benjamin Lawrance has demonstrated how the attempted *"Akanisation"* of Ewe communities through amalgamation into paramount chieftaincies produced competing narratives of tradition, primacy and self-hood which neither the colonial government nor African intermediaries was ever adequately able to control or direct.[10] In Buganda, by contrast a highly centralised, historically assimilative state, the processes of interaction were no less complex and the experience of peripheral communities within the kingdom serves as a potent reminder of the necessity to extend our understanding of the colonial era ethnic or political collective from the perspective of the margins as well as the centre.

5.2: 'Civilisation started in Buganda': "modernity" and ethnicity in the "Acquired Counties"[11]

"Modernity" and "modernisation" are highly contested terms across the different disciplines which have applied them within an African context.[12] They have often been decried as deterministic and characterised by western-centric interpretations of "progress" and "development", disengaging African processes and contact with the outside world over the *longue durée*. It is imperative therefore to set out exactly what their use is intended to designate in relation to ethnic evolution within the "Acquired Counties". First and foremost, it is important to note that their usage is not intended to suggest an evolutionary, top-down model in which modernity is understood as arriving with the first khaki suited harbingers of imperialism. As Jean-Francois Bayart has noted in another context, Africa has always been part of world systems; moreover, many of the supposed symbols of modernity, such as complex economic and political systems, infrastructure frameworks and provisions for healthcare and well-being were long present across the continent.[13] Moreover, scholars such as Richard Rathbone have sought to show how in West Africa the hegemony of the ideals of the "West" in

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[10] Benjamin N. Lawrance, 'Bankoe v. Dome: Traditions and Petitions in the Ho-Asogli Amalgamation, British Mandated Togoland, 1919-39,' *Journal of African History*, 46.2 (2005), pp. 243-267.

[11] Interview, S.S.T., Kabula.

[12] This section problematizes both "modernisation" and "modernity" and so hereafter the quotation marks are dropped.

[13] Bayart, 'Africa in the World,' pp. 217- 218.

notions of modernity deny 'the evidence of movement, of material progress, of technological innovation and the implicit enveloping of intellectual endeavour which accompanied these developments.'[14] Nevertheless, the research upon which this study is built has been required to reconsider a focus on elements often associated with the facets of "colonial modernity" in particular. Thus, while not intended to suggest that processes of modernisation were limited to the twentieth century, the constrained narrative of the research requires a modified focus on African responses to ideas and innovations introduced, expanded or reimagined in Buganda from the later nineteenth century. In particular, evidence indicates that for "Acquired Counties" communities accessing the resources of the colonial Ganda state, understood as accessing "progress" or, later, "development", was a key factor in "Gandisation", although as we shall see such processes were only one strand in motivations of identity construction which were far from purely instrumental. Within Buganda, however, notions of modernity and its trappings were ambivalent.[15] While aspects of colonial and "Western" ideas and impositions were rejected by sections of Ganda society such as the *Malakite* religious movement and the dissenting intellectuals of the *Bataka* Movement from the 1920's, understandings of modernity itself were often conceived and filtered through Ganda perceptions of themselves, rather than as emanating from a superior, modernised Europe.[16] While the locus of the colonial state within central Buganda was key to these processes, then, in the "Acquired Counties" Buganda, rather than the British authorities, came to be understood as the arbiter of new opportunities.

Before considering the implications of these observations it is important to further explore definitions of modernity and its application. In the 1930's ideas of modernity within Africa were viewed with suspicion by scholars and colonial administrators alike as fears increased that the "traditional" African landscape was being lost. Probst, Deutsch and Schmidt refer to this period of theoretical thought as being characterised by concerns over 'modernity as contagion'.[17] By the 1950's, however, the apparent inevitability of independence encouraged more optimistic analyses of processes of modernity and scholars developed new

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[14] Richard Rathbone, 'West Africa: Modernity and Modernization,' in *African Modernities: Entangled Meanings in Current Debate*, eds. by Jan-Georg Deutsch, Peter Probst, and Heike Schmidt (Oxford: James Currey, 2002), pp. 18- 22.

[15] Rathbone, West Africa, Modernity and Modernisation,' p. 25; As Rathbone has noted, the term "modernity" itself was not in use by African intellectuals in the early twentieth century who preferred terms derived from nineteenth-century European discourse such as "progress", "civilised", "advanced" and, later, "development". Its use here, however, provides an umbrella analytical framework which, in the limited space available, might be tested, probed and applied.

[16] For a concise analysis of *Malakite* beliefs and mistrust over European medicine and lack of piety Twaddle, *Kakungulu*, pp. 265- 269.

[17] Peter Probst, Jan-George Deutsch, and Heike Schmidt, 'Cherished Visions and Entangled Meanings,' *African Modernities*, eds. by Jan-Georg Deutsch, Peter Probst, and Heike Schmidt (Oxford, 2002), pp. 4- 5.

paradigms of modernisation theory. In its unilinear form derived from enlightenment ideas and from the belief of Marx and others that developed societies showed the way for those less developed, modernisation theory asserts a symbiosis between economic development and pervasive cultural change.[18] It purports, in the words of Whittaker, a 'eurhythmic' relationship whereby significant change in one area of activity, particularly the economy, inevitably leads to a corresponding and consistent change in others, most notably, society, politics and culture. Consequently, processes of modernisation result in the incompatibility of modernity and "tradition"; of nationalism and "tribalism".[19] This evolutionary understanding of the impact of "western" modernisation on society was conceived by Karl Deutsch in terms of 'social mobilisation' as the 'process in which major clusters of old social, economic and psychological commitments are eroded and broken and people become available for new patterns of socialization and behaviour.' The main indices of this progression are exposure to aspects of modern life including, in Deutsch's conception, demonstrations of machinery, buildings, consumer goods, response to mass media, urbanization, changes from agricultural occupations, literacy, and growth of per capita income.[20]

By the 1960's, however, criticisms had emerged of the relationship between modernisation and "tradition" as a deterministic path of relational evolution. The supposed disconnect between modernity and "tradition" was revealed as oversimplified; as Lockwood noted of Japan, 'no society is wholly modern:...where Japan is concerned...the role of traditional attitudes and institutions in the modernization process has often been symbiotic rather than antagonistic.'[21] The reinterpretation of modernisation was similarly applied in an African context. The western-centric interpretations of the impact of western modernity on "non-western" societies led to revisions highlighting localised manipulation of key processes. In particular, Africanists began to reassert the longevity of indigenous institutions and the manner in which colonial modernity could be co-opted into indigenous forms. The ethnocentrism of modernisation theory had begun to render it less appealing as an analytical framework.[22] By the end of the 1960's problems inherent in the newly independent states

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[18] Ronald Inglehart and Wayne E. Baker, 'Modernization, Cultural Change, and the Persistence of Traditional Values,' *American Sociological Review*, 65.1 (2000), pp. 19- 20; For example, K. Marx, *Grundrisse*, Trans and Foreword by Martin Nicolaus (Middlesex: Penguin, 1973).
[19] C. S. Whitaker, Jr., 'A Disrhythmic Process of Political Change,' *World Politics*, XIX.2 (1967), pp. 190-193.
[20] Karl Deutsch, 'Social Mobilization and Political Development,' *American Political Science Review*, LV, (1961), p. 465- 467.
[21] Whitaker, 'Political Change,' pp. 198- 200; Arthur J. Klinghoffer, 'Modernisation and Political Development in Africa,' *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 11.1 (1973), pp. 15-16; William W. Lockwood, "Economic and Political Modernization: Japan," in. *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey* eds. by R.E. Ward and D. A. Rustow (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 145.
[22] See for example, Paul Anber, 'Modernisation and Political Disintegration: Nigeria and the Ibos,' *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 5.2 (1967), pp. 163- 179; S.N. Eisenstadt, 'Social Change and

encouraged these criticisms to grow to the extent that modernisation theory irrevocably declined and modernity became as contested a term as "tradition" or "tribalism".[23] As Probst, Deutsch and Schmidt have aptly noted, the revival of modernity as a viable concept was precipitated by a growing desire to examine the complexities of discourses of power sparked in part by the growth of Asian economies which placed modernisation back in the limelight.[24] These new "contingent" understandings of modernity required an acknowledgement of the multi-centred, multi-directional flow of ideas, people, goods and innovation.[25]

Although necessarily engaged in discussions over responses to currents and innovations prevalent in colonial Uganda, this chapter seeks to analyse this contingency and the multiplicity of 'African modernities' by drawing on the manner in which notions of modernity were mediated locally.[26] Moreover, in its discussion it utilises a definition which emerged from the fallow period of modernisation discourse. Reacting against a western bias Nelson Kasfir noted in the 1970's that 'modernization should be understood as the increasing capacity to control problems facing particular societies or individuals.'[27] This definition avoids the ethnocentric notion that modernisation necessarily equates with western values or processes and undermines the vision of an incompatibility between understandings of modernity and local "tradition". In Kenya, for example, pressures placed on Maasai communities to "develop" their land in ways primarily beneficial to the colonial state, were mediated by Maasai interpretations of prosperity and "development". While communities were willing to pay taxes to fund medical, educational and veterinary provisions they resisted adoption of a colonially demarcated cash economy utilising their cattle wealth to control problems and secure privileges within their own society.[28] Moreover, Kasfir's definition is particularly apt for discussing Buganda, a key geographical focus for his own work. In the kingdom the introduction of aspects of colonial modernity in the guise of the provision of services, infrastructure and economic advancement with which we are concerned were, as we shall see, mediated through local socio-political and cultural agendas. Kasfir's understanding of an indigenous capacity for collective action also feeds into more recent discourses surrounding

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Modernization in African Societies South of the Sahara,' *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*, 5.19 (1965), pp. 453- 471; Norman N. Miller and Elliott P. Skinner, 'The Political Survival of Traditional Leadership: The 'Paradox' of Rural Leadership: A Comment,' *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 6.2 (1968), pp. 183- 201.
[23] Probst, Deutsch and Schmidt, 'Entangled Meanings,' pp. 8- 10;
[24] Probst, Deutsch and Schmidt, 'Entangled Meanings,' pp. 10- 11; Wolfgang Knöbl, 'Modernisation Theory, Modernisation and African Modernities: An outsider's View,' in *African Modernities*, eds. by Jan-Georg Deutsch, Peter Probst, and Heike Schmidt (Oxford: James Curry, 2002), pp. 162- 165.
[25] Probst, Deutsch and Schmidt, 'Entangled Meanings,' p. 11.
[26] Knöbl, 'Modernisation Theory, Modernisation and African Modernities,' pp. 167- 168.
[27] Kasfir, *Ethnicity in African Politics*, p. 53.
[28] Dorothy L. Hodgson, 'Taking Stock: State Control, Ethnic Identity and Pastoralist Development in Tanganyika, 1948-1958,' *Journal of African History*, 41.1 (2000), pp. 55- 78.

modernity focusing on witchcraft, globalisation and postcolonial governance.[29] Usage of the term modernity within this chapter, then, may be understood as broadly reflecting Kasfir's general interpretation through its emphasis on local mediation rather than traditional modernisation theory.

The re-evaluation of what modernity meant within Africa in the second half of the twentieth century also required a recalibration of key notions over so-called "tribal" identities; where modernisation had previously been considered the antithesis of "tribal" society, breaking down social cohesion through the introduction of western values and capital, it began to be understood that the tenets of modernity could create and strengthen, as well as weaken ethnic cohesion. In his 1967 study of the Igbo and the Biafra secession in Nigeria Paul Anber critiqued the idea that "modernizing" forces in society resulted in the collapse of "tribal" loyalties, arguing instead that the 'fundamental stimulus behind Ibo nationalism and the roots of the East's secession should be traced instead to the pace and nature of Ibo modernisation in a plural society.' The rapid advancement of the Igbo as an intellectual and administrative group within Nigeria, Anber noted, extended discourses of ethnic attachment among peoples previously less than unified:

> Caught in the 'revolution of rising expectations'...their elevated status, educationally and
> economically, contrasted with their subordinate status politically and (in the eyes of the
> other ethnic groups) socially. Both because others singled them out and because they built
> their own barriers to assimilation, they steadily became more 'tribalistic.' [30]

Access to colonial modernity had created an impetus towards the extension of ethnic attachment; moreover, it had produced an educated elite through which such currents could circulate. Similarly, in Uganda Kasfir noted that 'modernisation' had created 'new possibilities for activating or intensifying ethnic consciousness'.[31] This link between the intrusion of colonial modernity and expanding ethnic communities was to become central for both instrumentalist and constructivist schools of thought as the twentieth century progressed. Instrumentalism in African scholarship, with its emphasis on the contingency of ethnic attachment particularly in urban settings, and the material goals of the individual as mediated through the ethnic group, incorporated the benefits and outcomes of colonial modernity as necessary to the creation of new and fluctuating identities.[32] It was certain constructivist theories, however, that fully outlined the importance of colonial modernity to the reification and expansion of ethnic

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[29] Karlstrom, 'Modernity and Its Aspirants,' p. 595.
[30] Anber, 'Nigeria and the Ibos,' p. 168.
[31] Kasfir, *Ethnicity in African Politics,* p. 53.
[32] Berman, 'Uncivil Nationalism,' p. 309; Lentz, '"Tribalism" and Ethnicity in Africa,' pp. 308- 310.

communities. In this conception, Africans built "tribes" to operate successfully in the colonial context and to ensure access to the new resources of the colonial state. In 'The Politics of Uncivil Nationalism' in 1998 Bruce Berman argued that African ethnicity in the twentieth century was not "traditional" but a new response to the intrusion of capitalist modernity because 'from colonial intrusions and African responses emerged the unique linkage under colonialism between bureaucratic authoritarianism, patronage and clientelism, and ethnic fragmentation and competition.'[33] For Berman, the consolidation or "creation" of ethnic groups rested on a process whereby Africans reacted to the "tribal" ideology of their colonisers by thinking ethnically and utilising colonial ethnic classifications to manoeuvre claims for the resources of the centre.[34] The outcome of these adaptations was the formation of 'political tribalism' as ethnic groups interacted and competed for access. In this understanding the intrusion of colonial modernity was, in Lonsdale's famous phrase, 'a monster of social disruption'. We will return to the disruptive elements of colonial era systems and ideas shortly in our discussion of 'moral community' within Buganda. It should be noted first, however, that while Berman and Lonsdale, among many others, have focused on the potential for ethnic conflict and psychological dislocation, the perceived relationship between Buganda and modernity within the 'Acquired Counties" suggests that it is also necessary to consider more positive frameworks of ethnic attachment within the colonial period. The desire to access resources from the centre also encouraged individuals to build fulfilling and long-lasting identities within a Ganda context.

Understanding the role of African reactions to ideas and systems which, if not necessarily new, were formatted in new and more extensive ways in the colonial system remains key, therefore, to grasping how identities have been shaped within the twentieth century. Thus, Lawrence Flint has recently shown how differential development and access to post-colonial resources in former areas of the Lozi Kingdom now divided between Namibia and Zambia has been important in determining the rise of separate identities in Caprivi and Barotesland.[35] Similarly, in an even more recent context Gabrielle Lynch has underlined that ethnic negotiation in Kenya is closely linked to the desire to build access to state assets.[36] The emphasis here on accessing new ideas, technologies and wealth, therefore, follows a significant body of wider scholarship. Simultaneously, it fits within a specifically Ganda historiography which has expressly linked forms or understandings of modernisation, ethnic nationalism and

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[33] Berman, 'Uncivil Nationalism,' p. 309.
[34] Ibid., p. 323.
[35] L.S. Flint, 'State-Building in Central Southern Africa: Citizenship and Subjectivity in Barotseland and Caprivi,' International Journal of African Historical Studies, 36.2 (2003), pp. 393- 428.
[36] Gabrielle Lynch, 'Negotiating Ethnicity: Identity Politics in Contemporary Kenya,' Review of African Political Economy, 33.107: State, Class & Civil Society in Africa (2006), pp. 49- 65.

'moral community'. Buganda's historic regional standing combined with both its position as the governmental and economic centre of the colonial Protectorate and its early relationship with Christianity to encourage its perception as the centre of modernity within Uganda. The expanding urban complex of Kampala and comparatively high levels of education, health care, infrastructure and cash cropping within the kingdom highlighted the outcomes of its unique relationship with the colonial state. The Ganda direction of these processes has been utilised by scholars in their discussion of ethnicity or cultural nationalism within Uganda. Indeed, a focus on the importance of processes of modernisation for "Acquired Counties" communities in their acculturation to Ganda norms draws upon and re-works key notions around the increasing reassertion of culture and custom within Buganda during the colonial period.

In his 1999 dissertation, 'The Cultural Kingdom in Buganda,' as well as more concisely in an article in 2004 entitled 'Modernity and its Aspirants', Karlstrom argues that a series of moral crises within Buganda during the colonial period encouraged a reassertion of the importance of Ganda cultural values as a bulwark against moral decline. Reflecting Lonsdale's conclusions on 'moral ethnicity' among the Kikuyu in Kenya, Karlstrom notes that moral and instrumental motives were inextricably intertwined in the rehabilitation of Ganda custom.'[37] In this conception, concerns emerging in the 1920's over a breakdown of morality were the by-product of 'the transformative process' through which Ganda experienced aspects of colonial intrusion and the growth of Christianity. For example, the hardening of distinctions in access to land ownership and the upper echelons of the Ganda governing class encouraged the leaders of the *Bataka* Movement to reimagine culture and custom as a bulwark against immorality theorised as a loss of traditions and the breakdown of collective social order.[38] Moreover, the introduction of Christian doctrine into all aspects of Ganda life, initially embraced by "modernists", came to be viewed in sections of Ganda society as failing to fulfil the necessary moral requirements needed to ensure the stability and well-being of the Ganda community. While missionaries and revivalist movements such as the *Balokole* sought to reimagine the place of Christianity in Ganda society, others reaffirmed the importance of Ganda culture and rites such as the giving of bride wealth; the decline of which was seen as 'increasing matrimonial instability, sexual promiscuity, venereal disease, population decline, and the loss of respect for parental authority'.[39] The emphasis on Ganda traditions which Karlstrom identifies from the 1920's therefore involved a critique of certain aspects of "European modernity"; it was not, however, opposed to ideas of "progress" which were instead

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[37] Karlstrom, *Cultural Kingdom in Buganda;* Karlstrom, 'Modernity and its Aspirants, p. 605; *Ibid.*, p. 606.
[38] Karlstrom, *Cultural Kingdom*, 70- 137.
[39] Karlstrom, 'Modernity and its Aspirants,' p. 603; For further discussion of the *Balokole* see, Ward, "Obedient Rebels,' pp. 194- 227.

reinterpreted in a Ganda idiom. Indeed, the weakening of social morality was often seen as arising from relations between Ganda rather than imposed from outside and, consequently:

> It was not money or progress that was blamed for the deterioration of morality but the deterioration of morality that was said to be stalling Buganda's progress and hindering its productive appropriation of new resources. The re-evaluation of custom was therefore promoted not as an alternative to progress but as a way of restoring Buganda to the forward path, and it was successful precisely because it operated within the powerful idiom of progress rather than against it.[40]

If aspects of western intrusion were rejected by certain sections of Ganda society such as the *Bataka* Movement in the 1920's, therefore, the Ganda community nevertheless embraced local understandings of modernity as a central tenet in its evolving cultural identity. While Karlstrom's arguments are part of a wider study of the relationship between modernity and tradition and the moral implications of cultural 'revival', his exploration of the relationship of modernity and Buganda situates him on a trajectory from earlier scholars. In the early 1960's David E. Apter's designation of the Kabaka's government as a 'modernizing autocracy' was intended to reflect the emphasis which Apter believed the kingdom placed on "modernizing" through tradition.[41] This drew not only on twentieth-century processes but also on understandings of a longer history of Ganda development of political structures through the growth of appointive chiefs and bureaucracy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and on a 'characteristic independence of mind' among the Ganda prevalent in the 1960's.[42] In the colonial period the accoutrements of modern life were internalised by the inhabitants of the kingdom as signifiers of the advancement of Ganda civilisation; 'Mengo was where the rules of propriety and modernity were laid down. For fashion, for the important news, for the renewal of social acquaintanceships, for the conduct of political and other business, Mengo was the centre of the universe.'[43] Similarly, Lloyd Fallers noted in 1963 that Buganda represented a society 'which has enthusiastically and successfully accepted many elements of modernisation but has confined these within, and adapted them to, a traditional cultural and social structure'; although he suspected, in line with the modernisation theory, that ultimately

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[40] Karlstrom, 'Modernity and its Aspirants,' p. 606.
[41] Apter, *Political Kingdom*, pp. 4- 5.
[42] Apter, *Political Kingdom*, pp. 84- 100; For the first exposition of the growth of centralised power into kingly bureaucratic control in Buganda see, Southwold, *Bureaucracy and Chiefship*; John Rowe, 'The Western Impact and the African Reaction: Buganda 1880- 1900,' *Journal of Developing Areas*, 1 (1966), P. 65.
[43] Apter, *Political Kingdom*, p. 15.

'modern life' would 'attack the system itself'.[44] The conclusions of Fallers and Apter on the nature of the kingdom, of course, reflect trends and critiques in notions of modernity prevalent in the 1960's as described above. The notion of the 'modernising autocracy' was very much a concept of its time and its wider characterisation of the kingdom's structures was in many ways as inflexible and determinist as the wider modernisation theory of the period; a fact noted by J.M. Lee as early as 1965.[45] Nevertheless, the notion of a connection between Ganda perceptions of Buganda and modernity within the colonial period has a residual power.

The relationship between communities and colonial era modernity, then, has been a key concept in discussions surrounding ethnicity within Africa as well as in Buganda itself. Its usage within the kingdom though, suffers from much the same limitations as the wider body of Ganda historiography as a whole in that its application is assumed as applying to the wider Ganda ethnic community from the perspective of the centre, without first questioning the differing processes occurring across Buganda's territories. If perceptions of modernity were key in certain instances in reasserting the identity of the ethnic group, they were simultaneously instrumental in driving ethnic change among non-Ganda communities. This process may be seen in tandem with the rise of Ganda cultural nationalism encouraging participation within the Protectorate's most powerful ethnic unit; "Acquired Counties" communities were not merely incorporated, however, but actively sought acculturation as a route to perceived modernity. Buganda's position as the arbiter of all things "modern", a mantle facilitated by the colonial government and the missionaries and assumed by the kingdom's elites, tied participation in the Ganda ethnic community to access to the trappings of "development"; or, in Kasfir's interpretation, "being Ganda" appeared to offer opportunities for individuals and communities to increase their 'capacity to control problems'.[46]

"Being Ganda", being "modern"

The origin and forms of Buganda's relationship to ideas of modernity has been a contested issue within the kingdom's historiography. In an excellent summary article in 1974 Twaddle noted that the Ganda 'have enjoyed a reputation abroad as modernizing people for a very long time' and sought to condense the differing arguments for why the kingdom appeared exceptionally progressive. He noted that for some scholars the phenomenon could be explained by structural changes including the introduction of Christianity immediately prior to

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[44] Lloyd Fallers, 'Introduction,' in *The King's Men: Leadership and Status in Buganda on the Eve of Independence*, ed. by Lloyd A. Fallers (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 3; See also, Lloyd Fallers, 'The Modernisation of Social Stratification,' in *The Kings Men: Leadership and Status in Buganda on the Eve of Independence*, ed. by Lloyd A. Fallers (London: Oxford university Press, 1964), pp. 117- 157.
[45] J. M. Lee, 'Buganda's Position in Federal Uganda,' *Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies*, 3.3 (1965), pp. 169- 171.
[46] Kasfir, *Ethnicity in African Politics*, p. 53.

the arrival of colonial rule; while for others a continuity of institutions from the kingdom's pre-colonial dominance combined with a colonial situation in which the Ganda where able to exploit new opportunities arising from their relationship to the Protectorate government.[47] Twaddle himself argued that the Ganda 'urge to excel' was a consequence of interactions between the kingdom and the outside world rather than a peculiarly Ganda trait for 'receptivity to change'. Similarly, Hanson has taken issue with the notion of the Ganda as a modernising people over the *longue durée* in her discussion of social breakdown in the nineteenth-century kingdom.[48] Moreover, Twaddle highlighted the extent to which processes of "development" within the kingdom appeared from the vantage point of the 1970's to have been more 'patchy' and less assured than previously assumed.[49] These insights remain relevant for our study today and provide a reminder not to overemphasise Buganda's relationship to modernity. "Acquired Counties" communities were not seduced by a singularly Ganda gift for engaging with new ideas, separating them from the luddites of surrounding territories. By the 1950's and 1960's, for example, areas such as Ankole and Busoga were "modernising" more rapidly than Buganda itself. Nevertheless, patchy or not Buganda remained pre-eminent throughout the colonial period, and her position within the new Protectorate left her uniquely placed to internalise narratives of "progress".

At the centre of British administrative authority, Buganda's heartlands were comparatively highly urbanised and well provisioned by British East African standards. Kampala and Mengo represented beacons of perceived modernity and infrastructure, and services rolled out to the rest of the Protectorate from the centre of the kingdom. Within Buganda itself, connections between the urban metropolis and its hinterland were particularly strong. The integrated nature of the kingdom encouraged by well-maintained highways and a network of semi-urban townships acting as 'nodes for the dispersal of city culture' facilitated the dispersal of new ideas. Moreover, Kampala and Mengo exerted a pull on surrounding communities who came for education, trade, medical care or employment. Building upon Apter who noted in 1961 that, 'if all roads lead to Mengo, the roads from Mengo go everywhere,' Christine Obbo has illustrated widespread patterns of female migration moving along a system of staging posts from rural to urban areas.[50] Chapter Three has illustrated how the peripheral relationship, smaller populations and comparatively less developed infrastructure of certain of the "Acquired Counties" facilitated a slower rate of resource

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[47] Michael Twaddle, 'Ganda Receptivity to Change,' *Journal of African History*, 15.2 (1974), pp. 304- 305.
[48] Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, pp. 18- 19.
[49] Twaddle, 'Receptivity to Change,' pp. 310- 314.
[50] Apter, *Political* Kingdom, p. 15; Obbo, 'Dominant Male Ideology,' pp. 371- 389.

allocation from the centre.[51] Nevertheless, the dislocation of periphery and centre should not be too greatly exaggerated in terms of mobility of people and ideas on the ground. Individuals within these areas clearly remained drawn to Kampala and Mengo and trips were undertaken for the purposes of trade and the acquisition of novel goods:

> Our grandfathers, five or seven would gather their barkcloth then hire a vehicle
> and...bundle their bark cloth on the vehicle and go to Kampala and on coming back one
> would come back with a bicycle, a radio, a gramophone, a new kanzu, a new coat and
> there was jubilation in the village- people were happy.[52]

For the members of these communities then, urban centres were associated with modernity and the location of the Kabaka and the Ganda government within the metropolis combined with their role under the Protectorate as instigators of development identified them with luxury items and technological advancements.

In addition to connections between urban and rural Buganda, the kingdom as a whole was also comparatively well provisioned in terms of services, particularly health and education. Medical expertise within Uganda was concentrated to a large extent within the kingdom. By the 1920's, for example, Buganda boasted twenty-four rural maternity centres and although some of these were forced to close through financial pressures on missions, the slack was taken up by the kingdom's increasing provision of hospitals which numbered eleven by independence.[53] Child mortality rates reveal that in 1948 infant deaths were consistently lower within Buganda across all age groups of mothers at the time of giving birth than elsewhere within the Protectorate.[54] Moreover, Doyle has noted that in 1955, 44% of new medical cases within Buganda were treated at a hospital as opposed to a rural dispensary; a percentage

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[51] In some parts of the counties geographical remoteness was also a problem. Away from the Buddu border in Kkooki's south and west infrastructure remained underdeveloped throughout the colonial period, see Interview, F.K.B., Kkooki; Church of Uganda Archive, Mukono, Rural Deaneries: Kkooki, 'Report on the status of Kkooki, 1954,' Box. 46, fols 3-6 1/2; Church of Uganda Archive, Rural Deaneries: Kkooki, 'Letter from Rev. Y.M. Busulwa, 1954,' Box. 46, fols. F3-F6 1/2.

[52] Interview, F.B., Kkooki; A significant amount of evidence for this section derives from oral traditions within the counties. It is possible therefore, as noted in the introduction, that some of the emphasis on modernity may well reflect the counties' continuing underdevelopment and a nostalgia for a past history where 'Ganda' and 'British' run governments appear by contrast to have been more effective in achieving development goals. Nevertheless, to reiterate points made in the introduction, the consistency of the emphasis on 'modernity' within oral statements, the existence of supporting evidence, and the plausibility of associations with Ganda modernity as a motive for ethnic change suggests that despite a contemporary inflection we may still consider modernity as a driver of assimilation.

[53] D. Zeller, *The Establishment of Western Medicine in Buganda*, PhD Dissertation (Columbia University, 1971), pp.254–258; Doyle, *Before HIV*, p. 298.

[54] *UNA*, Uganda Protectorate Census 1948.

which drops to just 27% for the rest of the Protectorate.[55] In education, similarly, the key institutions of the Protectorate including Kings College, Budo and Makerere University in Kampala, were clustered within central Buganda and unsurprisingly Ganda took a significant proportion of places as sons of an increasingly wealthy land-owning, cash-cropping elite sought advancement for their children. By 1960 the Ganda had 'slightly less than twice as many school places in comparison with their share of the country's population'; similarly, 40% of those individuals from all over British East Africa to receive a university education by 1954 were Ganda.[56] Ganda women were also significantly better educated than within the Protectorate as whole. In 1948 Ganda comprised around 17% of Uganda's total population, yet even with significant immigration further reducing the Ganda share, by 1960 female Ganda enrolment in education accounted for over 39% of Uganda's total.[57] The clearest pathways to administrative and economic opportunities were consequently dominated by inhabitants of the kingdom. Ganda were well placed to take up roles within Uganda's administration and were, at least initially, favoured by the colonial government; they were similarly positioned to access the increasing cash economy as wage earners and traders in urban environments where higher levels of education allowed them to reach more senior positions.[58] Moreover, while agricultural production, and cash cropping in terms of cotton actually proved relatively unproductive between the first and second world wars in comparison to areas such as Eastern Province which had a higher yield, Buganda's advantage in growing coffee and cotton together ensured that it continued to dominate the Protectorate in terms of cash-cropping wealth. Elkan has noted that by 1957 the Ganda accounted for 90% of Uganda's coffee by volume and value, and 50% of Uganda's cash crops by value.[59] Moreover, per capita income within Buganda in 1957 rested at 218 shillings as compared to 49 shillings in Ankole and 131 shillings for the Protectorate as a whole.[60] In addition, if salaries, rents and trade were included in discussions of regional income the apparent disparities would have been higher still. Furthermore, at least in the first quarter century of colonial rule Ganda dominated the structures of Christianity within the Protectorate. The African presence on the first Diocesan Council of the Anglican Church in Uganda in 1909 was solely Ganda in origin and included Apolo Kaggwa, reflecting the kingdom's early and rapid conversion to world religions. The

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[55] Doyle, *Before HIV*, p. 298.
[56] Kasfir, *Ethnicity in African Politics*, pp. 105- 106.
[57] UNA, A. Maleche, 'Sociological and psychological factors favouring or hindering the education of African women in Uganda' (unpublished paper, n/d, c.1961).
[58] Christopher C. Wrigley, 'Buganda: An Outline Economic History,' *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 10.1 (1957), pp. 78- 79; Kasfir, *Ethnicity in African Politics*, pp. 107- 108; Southall and Gutkind, *Townsmen in the Making*. p. 58; Walter Elkan, *Migrants and Proletarians: Urban Labour in the Economic Development of Uganda* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 38.
[59] Elkan, *Migrants and Proletarians*, p. 13.
[60] Ibid., p. 14.

absolute Ganda dominance of the council remained until 1919 when members from other kingdoms joined, but the Ganda continued to be an important presence thereafter.[61]

In Senegal O'Brien has shown how an increase in *"Wolofisation"* through the speaking of Wolof has been encouraged through perceived associations with the language; in particular, shared religious values, urbanity, and state benefits including a predominance of administrative positions and the allocation of resources.[62] Similarly, within the "Acquired Counties" "being Ganda" meant more than simply joining a wider ethnic sphere out of a grindingly logical process of acculturation to one's new neighbours, it represented an active choice to associate with perceived "progress" facilitated by the lack of negative implications linked to the absence of state sponsored assimilation. Moreover, the internalisation of notions of colonial modernity by the Ganda themselves, highlighted by Apter, Karlstrom and others, encouraged a pride in Ganda identity and tradition as signifiers of development. The Ganda had always considered themselves more civilised than surrounding territories (See Chapter Two) and within the colonial period this community feeling found new expression in the link between ethnicity and tradition and modernity; it was into these processes of association that numerous "Acquired Counties" communities tapped as they embraced "Gandisation". The desire to assimilate based on the benefits of "being Ganda" were evident within the "Acquired Counties" from the beginning and was particularly prevalent in Kkooki, Kabula and Buvuma. The 1896 Kkooki Agreement is explicit in terms of the advantages which were associated with Buganda:

> I, Kamuswaga, hitherto independent King of Kkooki, am desirous on behalf of myself, my chiefs and people, that our country of Kkooki shall become part of the Kingdom of Uganda and...thereby enjoy and profit by the advantages secured to that Kingdom through the presence...of British officials.[63]

The phrasing within the Agreement is telling in its evocation of both the power and privilege enjoyed by Buganda within the Protectorate system, as well as the implied benefits of modernity which were accruing to that kingdom by virtue of its centrality, ideologically and geographically, to the British vision for Uganda. Moreover, Kamuswaga's decision to relinquish his autonomy was vindicated in terms of his own personal wealth which increased, particularly in the form of gifts from Mengo: 'He was built a very good residence as a king'.....and.... 'was

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[61] Hansen, *Mission, Church and State*, pp. 347- 351.
[62] Donal C. O'Brien, 'The Shadow-Politics of Wolofisation,' *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 36.1 (1998), pp. 25- 34.
[63] BNA, 1896 Kkooki Agreement, 18th November, 1896, FO 93/4/5.

given a very good car called a "Dodge"... a very luxurious car.'[64] As a major recipient of *mailo* in the 1900 Agreement he became the largest landowner in Kkooki gaining twenty square miles, more than double the amount of land distributed to other *ssaza* chiefs within the kingdom, and securing for himself the best plots.[65] These were factors which were by no means lost on the Kkooki population as a whole and oral histories repeatedly reveal perceived progress as an internal dynamic eating away at the remnants of a predominant Kkooki culture; one individual who had previously served the Kamuswaga, Yoweri Kayemba, before the disbanding of the kingdoms in 1966, summed up these processes succinctly:

> Q: Why did people adopt Luganda and Kiganda customs?
> R: I would call it adoption of foreign influence....adapting themselves to new words, to new types of dressing, new types of culture- they felt they were more modern. They were associating themselves with Buganda, more to Buganda than here, they took it as something of greater prestige because it was a bigger kingdom....they knew that Kampala... was a place of affluence, place of things, place of modernity....So that type of influence took up a number of people. Some of the things that went with that influence was the local dialect.[66]

Kkooki's newly cemented status as a county of Buganda Kingdom allowed this peripheral community to plug itself into the centre from which it hoped to benefit through an adoption of the values and language of the kingdom's heartlands. Access to education and healthcare and agricultural development appear to have been foremost amongst the desires remembered in the traditions passed down within Kkooki. The opening of schools, dispensaries, or roads, alongside the dispensing of hoes and western clothes were attributed less to the British alone, than to the beneficence of the Kabaka or the close relationship between the king and the colonial administration, encouraging loyalty to the Ganda monarch whose status was seen as ensuring development for his subjects. Discussing the development of Buvuma one elderly lady noted of the Kabaka that:

> He made people from Buvuma chiefs. Schools were also put up and some of our children were able to get good jobs; for example, the first black person to work as an education officer here in Buganda was from Buvuma...We also had a prominent person in the health department... Kabaka tried his best to help us.[67]

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[64] M.K., *Oral Interview*, Kkooki, 7th July, 2010.
[65] *The Uganda Agreement of 1900*, <http://www.buganda.com/buga1900.htm#top> (Accessed, 3rd February, 2011).
[66] Interview, F.B., Kkooki.
[67] Interview, L.M., Buvuma; Interview, S.M.S., Kkooki; Interview, F.B., Kkooki.

While the colonial government is by no means written out of the equation, therefore, remembered histories suggest the perceived modernity inherent in Ganda identities of the period. The notion that 'civilisation started in Buganda' was recalled by many participants as the key motivating factor for the diffusion of Ganda culture and the adoption of Ganda identities.[68]

The association with modernity was undoubtedly encouraged by Ganda beliefs about themselves. Richards has noted how even by the 1960's Ganda considered themselves 'to be superior to most of their neighbours...Their standard of living is higher at the present day and they know that even at the end of the last century European travellers and missionaries reported that they had reached a civilisation which was superior to that of other tribes in the vicinity.' Immigrant neighbours were especially derided as 'dirty' or, revealingly, 'uneducated'.[69] The compatibility and coexistence of notions of modernity and tradition identified by Apter and Karlstrom in Ganda thought must have made Ganda identities particularly appealing as they were not simply predicated on the internalisation of the accoutrements of colonialism in the present, but also on the imagined traditions of the Ganda community; Ganda culture had been more "civilised" in the past, and Ganda culture was more "modern" in the present. To evoke history, custom and tradition was not to reject modernity but to secure it by reaffirming an understanding of what made Buganda special.[70] In his autobiography the Ganda Kabaka Mutesa II linked Buganda's pre-colonial eminence with later changes through the constancy of the Ganda identity:

> Our way of life has been altered-improved- in external things by the advent of the British, while the basic beliefs and way of life have remained...Of course, other changes in over seventy years have been enormous. But the sense of identity is precisely what has remained...While we stood alone, we were accepted as the most civilised and powerful of the kingdoms....it was through the qualities of the Baganda that Europeans were attracted to the country, hurrying through Kenya and Tanzania to reach the 'pearl of Africa'....our pride is legitimate...[71]

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[68] Interview, S.S.T., Kabula.
[69] Richards, "Assimilation of Immigrants,' p. 161.
[70] Apter, *Political Kingdom*, p. 15; Karlstrom, 'Modernity and its Aspirants,' p. 606.
[71] Mutesa II, *Desecration of my Kingdom*, p. 59; See also, Kabaka Daudi Cwa cited in Lloyd A. Fallers, 'Social Mobility, Traditional and Modern,' in *The Kings Men: Leadership and Status in Buganda on the Eve of Independence*, ed. by Lloyd A. Fallers (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 181: 'I have considered it my duty to warn very strongly all members of this younger generation of Baganda that while they should strive to acquire education and civilisation, they should also take very great care that acquisition of Western education and civilisation do not destroy their best native traditions and customs, which in my opinion are quite as good as those found among Western civilised countries...'

Mutesa, of course, had an axe to grind against the post-independence state of Milton Obote whose 'desecration' of Buganda the title of the autobiography recalls. Mutesa himself was forced to flee his palace as troops under the command of army officer Idi Amin fought their way into the compound; following Mutesa's escape the kingdom was abolished by Obote's government. Nevertheless, Mutesa's linking of past Ganda glories with later development through the continuity of Ganda culture and identity offers an indication of the manner in which Ganda narratives placed the kingdom as the "civilised" hub of Uganda. Mutesa also recalled the rapid adoption of Christianity within Buganda.[72] The relationship between the Ganda and the world religions further underlined their leading role in Protectorate society. Ganda catechists were responsible for spreading Christianity throughout the region, and the "Acquired Counties" were no exceptions.[73] While they were slower to take up the new religions, by 1921 55% of Ssese and 46% of Vuma were listed on the census as Christian. When Islam is also taken into account, the figures rise to 62% for Ssese and 48% for Buvuma.[74] The centrality of the Ganda to early events of great importance in the Christian church encouraged a special link between the kingdom and the new religion. The canonisation of the Uganda martyrs, individuals killed between 1885-1887 by Kabaka Mwanga, as well as the life of the saint Apolo Kivebulaya established the Ganda role in the narrative of Christianity in Uganda and underlined Ganda individuals as figures of piety and bravery, although it must be noted that the impact of the martyrs on relations between denominations and between religion and the state have been contested in Ganda historiography.[75] In addition, if Christianity in Buganda, as elsewhere across colonial Africa, provoked moral crises among communities, it was simultaneously often linked to perceptions of modernity and "development". The linkages between Christianity and literacy and Christianity and Luganda as the lingua franca of the Protectorate were a particularly powerful driving force. Within Buganda itself Iliffe has noted how baptism and literacy were important prerequisites for an official career, while reports from mission stations outside of the kingdom reveal perceptions of the connections between Christianity and accessing resources open to the Ganda. In Budama in the Upper Nile Vicariate of the Mill Hill Fathers, one missionary noted that:

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[72] Mutesa II, *Desecration of my Kingdom*, p. 59.
[73] For the role of Ganda catechists in expanding the influence of Christianity see, M.Louise Pirouet, *Black Evangelists: the Spread of Christianity in Uganda, 1891-1914* (London: Rex Collings, 1978).
[74] UNA, Census Report, 1921.
[75] See, John F. Faupel, *African Holocaust: The Story of the Uganda Martyrs* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1964); A. Hastings, *The Church in Africa, 1450-1950* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. 470- 471; Emma Wild-Wood, 'Saint Apolo from Europe, or "What's in a Luganda Name?" *Church History*, 77.1 (2008), pp. 105- 127; Twaddle, 'Emergence of Politico-Religious Groupings,' pp. 81- 92.

When this mission was opened in 1913, the first readers came from the households of the
chiefs. Their principal aim soon proved to be a working knowledge of Luganda, the
language which had been introduced by the Government as the lingua franca of the
Protectorate. Positions as native clerks were open to those who could read and write
Luganda. Hence the objections on the part of those readers when the Fathers undertook
the first translation work in Dhopadhola, the native language of the district.[76]

Moreover, opportunities for ordination in the churches were opened up exceptionally early to
Ganda candidates, further highlighting perceived ties between the kingdom and the Church.[77]
Indeed, although missionaries were the predominant force for education within the counties,
the emphasis on Luganda encouraged by the mission stations and the location of their first and
most important bases in central Buganda further encouraged perceptions of Ganda
modernity.[78]

The air of privilege which these varied processes produced, as well as the actual or
hoped for introduction of development reduced resistance to "Gandisation" and encouraged
peripheral communities to view incorporation within Buganda as the catalyst for the beginning
of improved education, health and infrastructure, despite the acknowledgment that many of
these services were actually provided by the British. "Being Ganda" would help "Acquired
Counties" communities to better address problems facing them and to flourish as part of
Buganda's special position within the Protectorate:

Q- Why were the people of Kabula comfortable being in Buganda?
R- Because Buganda was more developed and was expected to provide services such as
boreholes since this area was very dry. Buganda government built health units and also
ssaza and gombolola headquarters in 1935. Buganda government did a lot to develop this
area.[79]

In addition, incorporation provided greater access as equals to key markets for goods in
Kampala and participation in Buganda's comparatively robust economy.[80] Furthermore, new
ideas travelled out of the Ganda centre and into peripheral areas via imported chiefs and
immigrants. While large scale migration was largely absent before the later colonial period, at

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[76] MHA, Campling Papers 1928-30, UGA Box. 23.
[77] John Iliffe, Honour in African History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 178; Yves
Tourigny, So Abundant a Harvest: the Catholic Church in Uganda, 1879-1979 (London: Darton, Longan
and Todd, 1979), pp. 79- 94.
[78] MHA, Grimshaw Papers, 'History of the the Upper Nile (1944),' UGA Box. 31, p. 148.
[79] Interview, A.K., Kabula.
[80] Interview, M.N.N., Buvuma; interview, B.N.K., Buvuma; Interview, P.K., Kabula; Interview, H.J.W.,
Kabula; MUL NEWS, 'A Person from Buvuma,' (Opinion Page), Munno, 12th September 1952.

least outside of Kabula and Mawogola, some Ganda clearly did move into empty land within the "Acquired Counties"; particularly in Kabula. Those who arrived and particularly the chiefs, who were often better educated and better furnished with the luxury items of the period, impacted upon the societies they moved into by reflecting the benefits of the kingdom. Consequently, with its links to modernity and civilisation Ganda culture was actively imbibed from Ganda arriving within the counties.[81]

The desire for modernisation and its connection to a Ganda identity as a motivating factor for ethnic change may initially appear somewhat surprising given the overtly peripheral nature of the counties involved as noted in Chapter Three. "Gandisation" within the "Acquired Counties", then, rested on an inherent irony. Peripheral momentum towards adoption of Ganda identities driven in part by a desire for access to modernity was often rewarded by a comparative lack of development within the areas themselves. It might be supposed that the relative poverty and peripherality of the counties might have reversed processes of acculturation as time wore on, and resulted in an anti-Ganda backlash. This, however, does not appear to have been the case. It is important to remember that evidence suggests that the counties largely appear not to have felt themselves actively discriminated against by the Ganda government in Mengo, although some criticism was levelled at the government in the 1950's and 1960's during which time the kingdom was actively increasing assistance to "Lost Counties" communities in an attempt to win over Nyoro elites before independence.[82] Nevertheless, working across all of the evidence available there is little to suggest any coherent or widespread resistance predicated on claims of ethnic underdevelopment. Moreover, as we have noted in Chapter Three when opposition to a lack of development did express itself within these areas it appears to have remained couched in the communication of the necessity for the Ganda government to assist its citizens; complaints were constructed in geographical, religious and sometimes political terms, but rarely found ethnic expression. The Luganda language newspapers of the period reveal a strong focus on access to "development" from contributors within the "Acquired Counties". Articles and opinion pieces were often positive about the contributions of the Ganda and colonial governments and mindful of praising the Kabaka, but where they carried negative connotations they nevertheless remained reluctant to assert a non-Ganda identity or allegations of ethnic chauvinism. Unlike some writers from within the "Lost Counties" who bemoaned Ganda treatment of Nyoro

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[81] Interview, K.A., Kabula; Interview, A.K., Kabula.

[82] MUL NEWS, I.M. Kakungulu, 'Bakkooki Are Almost Serfs,' Uganda Argus, 26th April 1962 (N.B. much of the language and many of the complaints in this letter to the editor very closely mirror accounts being given contemporaneously to the "Lost Counties" commissions and reported in the papers from Nyoro respondents. Its veracity is therefore questionable; more so as it appears to have been sent by an individual resident in Nairobi); MUL NEWS, 'Bakkooki Raise their Concerns,' Munno, 1961.

populations, "Acquired Counties" contributions tended to emphasise that their areas were being left behind or overlooked and sought to petition Mengo for resources within the framework of their requirements as kingdom inhabitants.[83]

Associations between Buganda and modernity, Christianity and "civilisation" and attraction to the increased capacity to control problems and access new technologies, therefore, acted as one driver of "Gandisation". The absence of a sustained effort aimed at assimilation on the part of the Ganda state negated the necessity for cultural resistance and encouraged engagement with the more positive aspects of "becoming Ganda" within the "Acquired Counties". "Being Ganda" meant being modern and offered the prospect, even if often unfulfilled, of access to means of development including education, health services, infrastructure and the opportunities of a cash cropping economy and urban hubs for trade, as well as deeper attachments to religion and prestige. While reacting to processes introduced independently, the momentum for ethnic change therefore lay significantly with the communities of the "Acquired Counties" themselves. Tapping into the circular relationship between tradition and modernity within Buganda itself, individuals identified the adoption of predominant Ganda identities and the performance of Ganda cultural practices as a positive and progressive force. The introduction of schools, health and administrative centres and new infrastructure alongside envy of the prosperity and apparent modernity of incoming Ganda chiefs encouraged these notions; so too did trips to Buganda's urbanised centre in Mengo and Kampala and the flow of new ideas and practices facilitated by the kingdom's relatively advanced and well-travelled urban-rural networks.

5.3: Understanding ethnic attachment

Highlighting the role of associations with modernity to Buganda's ethnic narrative inevitably raises questions over the application of an Instrumentalist approach to identity adoption. To emphasise manipulability in the use of self-ascription and the performance of ethnic norms in pursuit of individual or communal self-interest does not necessitate the negation of the importance of the power and content of ethnicity. "Gandisation" within the peripheries did not produce hollowed out "we-group" identities calculated to access colonial resources and bereft of emotional complexity. New constructions of ethnic attachment drew their power from two sources; firstly, from participation in a wider ethnic community proud of its traditions, practices and heritage and undergoing a cultural revival in response to internal

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[83] MUL NEWS: 'Buvuma Prospering Everyday,' *Munno*, 28th August 1958; 'Questions About Sesse,' *Munno*, 4th September 1958; V. Bogere, 'Many Thanks To our Representatives (Buvuma, Opinion Page),' *Munno*, 3rd February 1964; S.M. Lwanga, 'News From Ssese,' *Matalisi*, 20th April 1945.

crises.[84] And, secondly, through a persistence of memory which layered local traditions within and around a predominant Ganda identity. The comparative absence of cultural suppression within the "Acquired Counties" on the part of the Ganda state meant that as a Ganda-Vuma an individual might participate in a communal remembrance of indigenous customs and evoke indigeneity where necessary, for example, in the land settlements during sleeping sickness, while continuing to adhere to Ganda norms as the primary mode of social interaction. The necessity to resist enforced "Gandisation" within the "Lost Counties" ensured opposition to ethnic homogenisation. Among many of the communities of the "Acquired Counties" by contrast, signifiers of Ganda culture including language, naming practices, ceremonies and customs were adopted by individuals who were able simultaneously to retain an understanding of "Gandisation" as a further development in their own history. While adapting to Ganda norms, participating in the Ganda community and choosing not to resist "Gandisation", people remained connected to localised histories. Ganda identities were real and predominant but they did not preclude the layering alongside of other attachments. As Peel has noted in relation to religious conversion in Buganda and Ijebu in what is now Nigeria, 'to be really attractive, an identity must be such that people can see themselves adopting it without too much of a break with previous social commitments...as well as one promising greater power.'[85] Peel's analysis might in one instance be understood as indicating that areas such as Kkooki, Ssese and Buvuma with more similar cultures might have found it easier to assimilate than the Hima sections of the populations of Kabula and Mawogola, and in many senses this may be true as suggested in relation to Ssese in particular in Chapter Two. Nevertheless, Nyoro culture was not so distant to that of Buganda and here resistance was greatest. Peel's observation, however, might also be understood at a wider explanatory level. The construction of Ganda identities among significant sections of "Acquired Counties" communities was grounded in a sense of continuity in that adaption to a powerful Ganda allegiance was built out of all of the cultural material available to individuals. The attempts by the Ganda state to expunge Nyoro, Nyala and Ruuli culture from the "Lost Counties" prevented an acceptance of this socio-cultural historical trajectory and instead created increased resistance from the last decade of the nineteenth century, particularly among the Nyoro of Buyaga and Bugangaizi. The need to resist has been detailed in Chapter Four but might also be discerned in the history writing of Nyoro scholars such as John Nyakatura.[86] Born in Buyaga in 1895, Nyakatura's history of Bunyoro-Kitara was shaped by his experiences in the

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[84] Karlstrom, 'Cultural Kingdom,' pp. 98- 104.
[85] Peel, 'Conversion and Tradition,' p. 132.
[86] Nyakatura, *History of Bunyoro-Kitara.*

"Lost Counties" and actively promotes the cause of his kingdom. As the introduction of the book by Godfrey Uzoigwe notes:

> Nyakatura grew up in this atmosphere of bitter ill feeling against Europeans and their
> Baganda collaborators. It is to his credit that this ill feeling is not reflected in his work. But
> it is clear that Abakama ba Bunyoro-Kitara was written to win sympathy for his people's
> struggle for the return of the "Lost Counties".[87]

The Ganda imposition on the "Lost Counties" forced a need to react that remained absent elsewhere across the kingdom's peripheries.

Participation in the ethnic community

The evident linkage for peripheral communities between being Ganda and being modern offers a clear indication of one stimulus for ethnic change. Similarly, in the widespread conception of Ganda identities as modernised lies an explanatory factor for the potency of attachment to Ganda culture and readiness for continued "self-ascription". Nevertheless, to fully explain the power and longevity of "Gandisation" in the formerly non-Ganda peripheries it is necessary to expand from this position. A sense of pride in Ganda institutions and the desire to participate in the ethnic or moral community was also driven by a sense of loyalty encouraged in part by an appreciation of Ganda history learned through histories taught at school which almost certainly drew upon the early Ganda writings by Kaggwa.[88] More importantly, they drew on events within the colonial kingdom which encouraged an ethnic patriotism of which "Acquired Counties" communities sought to be a part.

Buganda's preeminent position within the Protectorate, the reification of traditions of regional Ganda importance through written histories by Kaggwa and others, and the necessity to respond to increased migration into the kingdom undoubtedly encouraged an ethnic chauvinism which had already characterised Ganda perceptions of neighbouring states.[89] For "Acquired Counties" communities they were themselves open to a form of snobbery which labelled islanders in particular as less civilised members of the Ganda community as we have seen. Nevertheless, taking the wider view, a demonstrable attachment to Ganda norms facilitated participation in an ethnic community dominant within its new colonial setting.

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[87] Uzoigwe, 'Introduction,' in Nyakatura, History of Bunyoro-Kitara, pp. xv- xvi.

[88] The saturation of Ganda history would have been increased for "Acquired Counties" individuals who went on to secondary or further education as these institutions were predominantly located within older Ganda counties and contained, as we have seen, large numbers of enrolled Ganda with whom students from areas such as Kkooki and Buvuma would have mixed.

[89] See, Chapter Two; Médard, Le royaume, p. 215; Doyle, 'Immigrants and Indigenes,' p. 291.

Within this context, conscious acculturation located communities and individuals in a wider ethnic sphere of importance and encouraged an affection for Ganda customs and a sense of loyalty to the Kabaka as the figurehead of the community. Moreover, the embedding of these ideals within the counties coincided with the reemphasising of the importance of "tradition" within the kingdom as the colonial period progressed.[90] The expansion of the kingdom, then, placed these peripheral communities within a position of engagement with a powerful and flexible ethnic community. In many ways the process was reminiscent of the incorporation of communities by expanding boundaries in pre-colonial areas such as Asante or among the provinces of the Amhara in Ethiopia.[91] Anna Stahl noted in 1991, for example, how the inclusion of Banda as an inner region of Asante had produced an increased *"Akanisaton"* among the Nafaana, including through naming and other practices.[92] Moreover, the power and desirability of certain aspects of Asante ritual and regalia have been seen by Bravmann as central to a process of acculturation among the communities to Asante's north, including among the Nafaana.[93] In colonial Buganda, the emphasis on ethnic pre-eminence encouraged by the British delimitation of the Protectorate and codification of communities with the Ganda at the top, undoubtedly gave extra momentum to these processes. Moreover, unlike in areas of Senegal where *"Wolofisation"* caused anxiety among some of its new adherents as representing a disconnection from their rural ethnic roots, Luganda was a language which could be spoken with pride and represented good customs and 'clever civilisation' which acculturating communities appear frequently to have been predominantly positive about adopting.[94]

Similarly, respect for the Kabaka- perhaps more pronounced in areas such as Kkooki, Ssese, Kabula and Mawogola because of their long-established connections to Buganda or previous experience of rule through one titular head- rested on his position as the head of the cultural community and admiration for the perceived historical authority of his position. The importance of the Kabaka and the draw of his personality cult, particularly in the latter years of colonial rule as Mutesa II restored the power of the monarchy, was expressed through adherence to Ganda ritual over local traditions. In Kkooki, for example, elderly participants who recalled visits from the Kabaka noted the rituals that emphasised the 'love' of the people

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[90] Karlstrom, *Cultural Kingdom*, pp. 30- 31; Apter, *Political Kingdom*, p. 15.
[91] Wilks, *Asante in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 71- 91; Taddesse Tamrat, 'Process of Ethnic Interaction and Integration in Ethiopian History: The Case of the Agaw,' *Journal of African History*, 29.1, Special Issue in Honour of Roland Oliver (1988), pp. 9- 10.
[92] Ann B. Stahl, 'Ethnic Style and Ethnic Boundaries: A Diachronic Case Study from West-Central Ghana,' *Ethnohistory*, 38.3 (1991), pp. 256- 259.
[93] René Bravmann, 'The Diffusion of Asante Political Art,' in *African Art and Leadership*, ed. by Douglas Fraser and Herbert M. Cole (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1972), pp. 153- 171.
[94] Fiona McLaughlin, 'Haalpulaar Identity as a Response to Wolofization,' *African Languages and Cultures*, 8.2 (1995), p. 155; Interview, A.K., Kabula; Interview, K.P., Kabula.

for the king. In particular, while people from Kkooki had to kneel for the Kamuswaga, both they and the Kamuswaga knelt for the Kabaka indicating respect and 'love' for his position. Hanson has noted the importance of 'love' as reciprocal obligation in Ganda society and it is certainly feasible to assume that one of the ways in which "Acquired Counties" communities underwent "Gandisation" was through their adoption of this relationship to the Kabaka.[95]

This adoption of customs and Ganda relations with the king reflected a deeper engagement with the ethnic community. The merging of clans, for example, which appears to have occurred within a number of the "Acquired Counties" suggests more than just "ascription" as Ganda. Integration into the Ganda clan system ensured that individuals became part of the collective consciousness of morality and well-being and carried out the functions that regenerated the Ganda community through rituals of birth, marriage and death. To be part of a Ganda clan was therefore to take on a role in networks of collective healing; it was also, as Karlstrom suggests, to participate as a full 'citizen' of the kingdom.[96]

Engagement with Ganda culture similarly subsumed individuals within the wider Ganda moral community, and in a sense reflected the dual nature of modernity within the kingdom. As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, Lonsdale's interpretation of 'moral ethnicities' as sites of struggle is derived from his analysis of Kikuyu responses to colonialism and the rise of Mau Mau.[97] For Lonsdale, the examination of ethnic politics must look beyond an apparently unified whole to enquire as to 'the past pluralism of tribe and the creative achievement of ethnicity in the course of bitter, unresolved internal competitions to build political community.'[98] Lonsdale identified that the sharpest conflicts of all were intra-ethnic:

> Kikuyu nationalism, like any other, was in origin an intellectual response to a social process. It was a contest of moral knowledge. Its rival leaders addressed the concerns that face nationalists everywhere. There is some tantalizing evidence that they did so before colonial rule. After British conquest they then had to thrash out again the old issues raised by their society's unequal moral economy, at a time when its redistribution of wealth, honour and power were being subverted by external pressure for change.[99]

Ethnicity in Lonsdale's understanding, therefore, is a site for civic debate. Karlstrom has utilised this conception in a Ganda context looking at ethnicity as an analytical tool through which to address the increasing Ganda patriotism in the colonial and post-colonial periods. If

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[95] Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, p. 96.
[96] Summers, 'Radical Politics in Late Colonial Buganda,' pp. 427- 447; Kodesh, 'Networks of Knowledge,' p. 201; Karlstrom, *Cultural Kingdom*, p. 79.
[97] Lonsdale, 'The Moral Economy of Mau Mau,' pp. 266- 267.
[98] *Ibid*.
[99] *Ibid*.

Ganda internalised a sense of their own modernity and remained comparatively autonomous within the colonial system, aspects of "Western" intrusion through religion, the expansion of economic systems and new administration nevertheless provoked internal conflicts concerning moral legitimacy within the kingdom. These were repeated throughout the twentieth century from the *Bataka* crises in the 1920's, 1930's and 1940's, through the related 1945 and 1949 cotton riots, to the conflict between Protestant and Catholic Ganda identities in the run up to Lukiiko elections in the early 1960's.[100] Moreover, Carol Summers has identified further fault lines around conceptions of 'youth' which were, she argues, inherent within the *Bataka* movement. Through this generational language members of the *Bataka* sought to reimagine Buganda as a unified whole free from the interpretations of elders associated with the colonial government and above divisive religious or regional identities.[101]

It is difficult to gain a full understanding of the "Acquired Counties" relationship to these wider internal debates due to a paucity of surviving evidence; nevertheless, where relations between Buganda and the "Lost Counties" developed into a relationship akin to Lonsdale and Berman's 'political tribalism', in the "Acquired Counties" communities remained concerned with collective discourse. It is true that "Acquired Counties" communities were absent from the frontline during the 1940's riots aimed at Asian cotton processing and tied into the *Bataka* movements against wealthy government chiefs and colonial intrusion. A newspaper article from a February 1950 edition of the *Uganda Herald* indicates that the British policy of raising a levy of shs 6/- on Buganda's inhabitants to pay compensation to victims of the riots was not applied to those persons who, 'were entirely free from blame, that is to say Non-Natives, and the inhabitants of the sazas of Buyaga, Bugangadzi, Buwekula, Mawogola, Kabula, Kkooki, Ssese, and Buvuma which throughout the disturbances were trouble free.'[102] In Buyaga, Bugangaizi and Buwekula this may well have reflected ethnic dislocation from Ganda movements. Within the "Acquired Counties", however, it seems more likely that the lower production of cotton combined with the "peripherality" of the areas geographically may have meant that they were less immediately connected to centres of conflict. The absence of riots

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[100] Tensions ran high between some Protestant and Catholic communities as *Kabaka Yekka* and the Democratic Party (DP) sought votes within Buganda. Intimidation and violence occurred particularly in Masaka and there were reports of arson and pressure to vote *Yekka* from chiefs and officials. See MUL NEWS: *Uganda Argus* 1961 and 1962 series; for example, 'Kabaka Yekka Man Held After Assault,' *Uganda Argus*, 6th March 1962; BNA, Political Parties and Organisation Papers, Letters from Chairman of the Board for Property Damaged by Kabaka Yekka, March 1962, CO 822/8125; BNA, Political Parties and Organisation Papers, Gilbert Mulinda to Secretary of State, 21st June 1962, CO 822/8125.
[101] Summers, 'Radical Politics in Late Colonial Buganda,' pp. 427- 429; Summers, 'Young Buganda and Old Boys,' pp. 122- 125.
[102] BNA, African Affairs Fortnightly Review, June 7th 1947, C0537/3600; MUL NEWs, 'Compensation for Riots Damage, *Uganda Herald*, 2nd February 1950.

within the "Acquired Counties" might also indicate that the relative disparity in education in these areas constrained the political organisation of rebellious youth.

Nevertheless, Ssese *Bataka* were involved in 'moral arenas of political debate' during the 1920's discussions surrounding loss of clan lands.[103] A leading Ssese priest of the *lubaale* shrine to Mukasa named Guggu worked with the *Bataka* movement and testified at the *Butaka* Land Commission.[104] His account revealed that he had lost three islands to the *Gabunga* Yosiya Kasozi which he had previously held as part of his spiritual role. Hanson argues Guggu's presence at the commission in his capacity as the representative of the old Ganda spiritual world may well have been an admonishment to the Christian Protestant chiefly class and the Kabaka.[105] Whether this is true, his appearance certainly indicates the involvement of Ssese clan leaders in the movement. Moreover, as we have seen in Chapter Three both Ssese and Buvuma clan elders entered into discussions with the *Lukiiko* and the colonial government over the allocation of *Bataka* lands on the islands following the Sleeping Sickness resettlements. In addition, if we consider the 1962 *Lukiiko* elections it might be argued that support within Buvuma for the Catholic DP represents a further case whereby the islanders sought to make their mark on internal moral debates by asserting their position as Catholic Ganda inhabitants.[106]

Furthermore, if Lonsdale's definition were slightly reimagined as participation in the moral issues of the day it is clear that "Acquired Counties" communities were plugged into the crucial issues facing Buganda. Their involvement in events relating to the wider ethnic community is best illustrated through the example of the rise of the royalist political party *Kabaka Yekka* in the early 1960's and most importantly in its resounding victory in the 1962 *Lukiiko* elections. The election of Benedicto Kiwanuka of the Catholic Democratic Party as the first Prime Minister of Uganda in March 1961 brought to a head the patriotic fervour which had been growing within Buganda particularly since the 1953 Kabaka crisis.[107] Ganda fears in 1953 centred on the perceived possibility of a loss of autonomy should they be forced to relinquish their unique position within the Protectorate as a price for the country's integration into a wider British East African system. The local, rather than nationalist nature of these concerns combined with the deportation of the Kabaka to create an increased royalist fervour and elevate the Kabaka beyond the status he had so far enjoyed among his people under

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[103] Lonsdale, 'The Moral Economy of Mau Mau,' pp. 266- 267.
[104] Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, p. 219.
[105] *Ibid*.
[106] *MUL NEWS*, 'Results of the 1962 Lukiiko Election,' *Uganda Argus*, 24th February, 1962.
[107] For first hand recollections and analysis of the crisis see among others, Kavuma, *Crisis in Buganda*; R. Cranford Pratt, 'The Anatomy of a Crisis; Uganda, 1953-55,' *International Journal*, 10.4 (1955), pp. 267- 275. Mutesa II, *Desecration of My Kingdom*; Richards, 'Epilogue,' *The Kings* Men, pp. 357- 394.

colonial rule.[108] The conflicts of 1961 and 1962 resurrected these concerns and added into the mix fears over the position of the "Lost Counties". The place of Buganda within a postcolonial democracy posed significant concerns for loyalists within the kingdom. By the 1960's it had become clear that the post-British state would not be constituted on the further extension of Ganda influence. Moreover, the introduction of nationwide democratic institutions seemed to threaten Buganda's internal sovereignty; Ganda leaders feared that national politics might undermine the essentially self-governing nature of the kingdom and that their influence as a bloc would be negated by competition with other regions and by the imposition of direct elections.[109] In addition, the spectre of the return of Buyaga, Bugangaizi and possibly other "Lost Counties" to Bunyoro was raised by the possibility that Buganda might fail to secure sufficient power for itself in the post-colonial state. Conflict was growing within Buyaga and Bugangaizi in particular and the undertaking of the Molson and Privy Council Commissions highlighted increased tensions on both sides. When the Privy Council Commission team arrived in Mubende in January 1962, the *Uganda Argus* reported that they were met with:

> Hundreds of Banyoro brandishing covered spears and jumping up and down in a battle dance and hundreds of Kabaka Yekka followers making counter dances...The Baganda shouted Kabaka Yekka slogans. These were responded to by shouts of 'the counties belong to Bunyoro', by the Banyoro...The Kabaka Yekka followers some of them in barkcloth, carried placards reading 'there are no lost counties, we live in peace in Buganda', on the opposite side, the Banyoro raised Banyoro Kingdom flags and placards which read, 'we hate black colonialism. Bunyoro's heart is here'.[110]

By February the two counties had been designated as 'disturbed areas' and tensions were running high throughout the area. Finally, in addition to these pressures, the 1961 general election was unacceptable to Protestant Ganda loyalists who opposed Kiwanuka for his Catholicism, for his fighting of the election despite a Ganda boycott, and, perhaps most significantly in terms of royalist rhetoric, for being a commoner who had sought to place himself in a position of power greater than the Kabaka.[111]

Drawing upon these fears and an increasing insularity, *Kabaka Yekka* (The King Alone) launched officially in June 1961. The new movement addressed in a vague manner the social

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[108] Karlstrom, *Cultural Kingdom*, pp. 70- 71.
[109] Doyle, 'Immigrants and Indigenes,' pp. 289- 290; Hancock, 'The Kabaka Yekka Movement,' pp. 419-422; J.M. Lee, 'Buganda's Position in Federal Uganda,' *Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies* 3, no. 3 (1965), pp. 165-181; D.A. Low, *Political Parties in Uganda, 1949-62* (London, 1962); D.A. Low, *Buganda in Modern History* (London: Wiedefeld and Nicholson, 1971), pp. 185- 218.
[110] MUL, 'Spears and Dancing for "Lost Counties" Team,' *Uganda* Argus, Tuesday, January 23, 1962.
[111] Hancock, *Kabaka Yekka*, p. 419; Low, *Buganda in Modern History*, p. 215.

issues being discussed by other parties including economic development, social welfare and religious freedom but its overriding objectives were clear and precise. Firstly, '[to] see that political changes do not destroy the good customs and traditions, do not destroy the kingdom, the clans and our way of life, all of which are valuable for our society'; and, secondly, to reiterate that 'the party will not allow anybody to be above the Kabaka.'[112] The party placed the Kabaka at its heart and sought to secure his and the kingdom's position by lobbying for federal control for the Ganda legislature post-independence. This message spread rapidly across Buganda where it connected with a mood among the Ganda.[113] Similarly it was spurred on by the endorsement of the Mengo establishment and encouraged through the network of chiefs who exerted pressure in the kingdom's various localities and stoked fears over a decline in Buganda's position. In Bugerere in January 1962 a *Kabaka Yekka* representative told a crowd of around 2000 that, 'the kingdom of Buganda was nearing an end. The people outside Buganda wanted to destroy the ancient kingdom but had failed, but now the Baganda themselves were selling their Kabaka and Kingdom to Mr Obote'.[114] Moreover, there is evidence that intimidation was used against supporters of DP in particular.[115] Buyaga and Bugangaizi took the opportunity of the early 1960's political turmoil to reassert their desire to be returned to Bunyoro and it might have been expected that had agitation been present within the "Acquired Counties" against Buganda evidence would remain in the colonial files or the indigenous language newspapers of a similar swell of resentment. On the contrary, however, these areas appear, on the whole, to have stood firmly behind the Kabaka. The popularity of KY across the "Acquired Counties" was confirmed by elderly inhabitants of the areas throughout the research for this thesis. One passionately royalist resident of a rural Kkooki village proudly exhibited his collection of *Kabaka Yekka* membership cards distributed by him in his capacity as a local organiser for the party in the early 1960's (See Fig. 6.)

Moreover, the support for *KY* claimed within oral traditions is evidenced by results from the 1962 *Lukiiko* elections quoted in Chapter Four. Kasfir has noted that even though KY candidates were certain winners almost everywhere, in two-thirds of the constituencies over 90 per cent of the registered voters cast a ballot. Of that total number of voters only 9.8 per

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[112] Hancock, *Kabaka Yekka*, p. 419; Institute of Commonwealth Studies, Senate House Library, Uganda Political Parties Material, Uganda People's Congress Pledge to the Citizens of Kampala; The Manifesto and the Candidates, 21st September, 1962,' PP.UG KY, AFPSF329.96761k32; Institute of Commonwealth Studies, Senate House Library, Uganda Political Parties Material, "You and Your Vote"; A Guide to the Lukiiko Elections by Abu Mayanja, Minister of Education, Joint Treasurer KY, 18th September 1962' PP.UG KY, fol. PSF329.96761K32.
[113] Low, *Buganda in Modern History*, p. 218.
[114] MUL NEWS, '2000 Told Buganda Kingdom Nearing End,' *Uganda Argus*, Friday, 19th January 1962; Milton Obote, the first Prime Minister of an independent Uganda, was at this time leader of the Uganda Political Congress Party (UPC) and opposed to Kabaka Yekka and its demands.
[115] MUL NEWS, '"Yekka Sweep Into Power"; Influence of Chiefs Alleged by DP,' *Uganda Argus*, February 24th, 1962.

cent, predominantly within the Lost Counties, resisted the appeal of *KY*, while over 90 per cent voted for the party; 'Of the sixty-eight seats, all except three in the "Lost Counties" went to KY candidates.'[116] Moreover, while Catholic Buvuma offered the most support for KY's Democratic Party opposition within the 'Acquired Counties,' *Yekka* still carried the seat. "Acquired Counties" communities, then, demonstrated their commitment to the Ganda cause in the context of the ballot box. In Kkooki and Kabula *KY* won by a huge majority and in Ssese the Democratic Party lost their deposit so large was the turnout in *Yekka's* favour. This significant endorsement of a party bearing the name of the Kabaka and trading on a brand of almost paranoid localism couched in ethnic terms indicates the extent to which peripheral communities had become plugged in to the moral issues of the day facing the Ganda collective. While the results may well also indicate some level of survival instinct as "Acquired Counties" communities sought the best way to protect their own interests in the post-colonial world, that they chose to do so through uniting with the common Ganda cause illustrates their integration and participation within the wider Ganda 'moral community'.

The layering of identities

If the absence of enforced cultural suppression within the "Acquired Counties" facilitated acculturation through access to modernity and attachment to the status and symbols of Ganda identities, it similarly allowed for the retention of traces of memory of earlier institutions and traditions. The assault on Nyoro, Ruuli and Nyala ethnic identities within the "Lost Counties", while undoubtedly successful in certain areas at certain times, simultaneously provoked resistance to assimilation predicated in part on a desire not to be culturally and politically subsumed. Faced with an uncompromising imposition of Ganda names, language and rituals as the price of participation in education, government and the necessities of daily life, many within the northern counties felt compelled to resist; sometimes openly as in Mubende, and sometimes more subtly as in the migrations among the Nyala and Ruuli. For peoples in Buvuma, Kkooki, Ssese, Kabula and Mawogola, however, absolute assimilation or resistance were not the limit of the options available to communities. One final pathway which lay open to individuals was the adoption of a self-ascribed primary Ganda identity and the performance of the rituals associated with being Ganda, while simultaneously retaining communal knowledge of indigenous traditions. Moreover, individuals remained able to exert their indigenous credentials when necessity required. Thus, while local languages and rites declined in use, the absence of sustained pressure from the Ganda and colonial states allowed certain

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[116] Kasfir, *Ethnicity in African Politics*, p. 125.

elements of local culture to be retained well into the later twentieth century and even up to the present day.

While it is difficult to find comparable case studies focusing on the incorporation of such small geographical areas from the perspective of the new peripheries rather than on assimilation through urbanisation or religious or migrant identities, it is clear that the flexibility of ethnic identity in terms of its composition and ability to evolve, highlighted in so many cases, similarly applies within this context. In many other places across Africa, in particular, scholars have documented the changeable nature of ethnic content; in Ghana, for example Stahl has illustrated how increasing Akanisation mixed Akan political and cultural structures with local traditions among the Nafana.[117] The emphasis which has been placed on the variability of "the stuff" inside the ethnic boundary indicates the extent to which different traditions can be maintained within one ethnic community.[118] In some instances this phenomenon can be traced within the "Acquired Counties", particularly through the dual affection felt in Kkooki for both the Kabaka and the Kamuswaga. While the respect accorded to each appears to have been hierarchical Kkooki identities were clearly still bound by an adherence to their indigenous ruler facilitated by the special position accorded him within the kingdom.

Q- At the time of British rule was the Kamuswaga or the Kabaka more important to the people of Kkooki?
R-You are asking a question that is very tricky. It is like asking me between father and mother, who is more important...people in Kkooki were looking at Kamuswaga as their mother and Kabaka as our father. The Kamuswaga was the one we were with...to listen to whatever we were saying, to whom we were able to present our problems, and we expected him to present our problems, our pledges to the Kabaka. But in the same way we were respecting so much the Kabaka and we wanted and yearned very much to see our father who is the Kabaka...we loved him very much.[119]

These insights into the malleability of ethnic content are therefore extremely useful in considering specific examples within the "Acquired Counties". The broader Ganda context, however, is actually rather more complex and offers further insights into construction of identities both within Uganda and in a wider environment. As previous chapters have demonstrated it is not simply the case that individuals mixed and matched traditions under the umbrella of 'self-ascription' as a Ganda. Instead "Gandisation" involved acculturation to Ganda

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[117] Stahl, 'Ethnic Style,' p. 256.
[118] Ibid; See also, Thomas McCaskie, 'Accumulation, Wealth, and Belief in Asante History. To the Close of the Nineteenth Century,' *Africa*, 53 (1983), pp. 23- 43.
[119] Interview, F.B., Kkooki.

practices and adherence to codes of loyalty and participation within the wider community as outward signals of the adoption of predominant Ganda identities. The retention of knowledge of localised pre-Ganda traditions was layered alongside acceptance of Ganda practices as new Ganda identities.

This is not to suggest that there were no regional variations in the act of being Ganda; pronunciation of Luganda and specific customs for marriage, for example, might vary across the kingdom, while in certain places indigenous names were selectively maintained, usually in conjunction with a Ganda moniker.[120] Instead, the intention here is to acknowledge that unlike the Nafana who experienced significant *"Akanisation"* but maintained a separate Nafana identity, or the Sereer of Senegal who adopted Wolof as their language but retained a Sereer ethnic community, the societies of the "Acquired Counties" acculturated to the norms of Ganda culture as they understood them.[121] Being Kkooki in the colonial period came to represent a regional rather than an ethnic distinction in much the same way as 'BannaBuddu' designated Ganda from Buddu, although these terms certainly also incorporated an understanding of a past history of distinction.[122] Nevertheless, the regional distinctions were underlined by identities constructed from Ganda and indigenous cultural material. The remembrance of a pre-Ganda past appears to have provided members of the "Acquired Counties" with a stable base from which to build new identities. While Nyoro, Ruuli and Nyala cultures were directly threatened with extinction by the strategic imposition of the Ganda government and local officials, the relative ambivalence of incorporation outside of the "Lost Counties" ensured that individuals and communities could adapt and engage with assimilative processes, such as the use of Luganda in school and in church, without the same sense that the colonial Ganda state was forcefully threatening the memory of their previous existence. Indeed, in Buvuma, Ssese and Kkooki while Luganda predominated by the 1920's knowledge of Lussese, Luvuma and Lukkooki still existed in 2010.[123] Moreover, traditional musical forms and ceremonies were maintained in several areas and the dances that accompanied them were therefore often remembered. While oral histories suggest that they ceased to form the main basis for the festivities or cultural practices within "Acquired Counties" communities during the colonial period, they appear to have been utilised at key events.

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[120] Kaggwa, *Customs*, pp. 162- 170.
[121] Stahl, 'Ethnic Style,' pp. 250- 260; McLaughlin, 'Haalpulaar Identity,' pp. 164- 165.
[122] Doyle, 'Immigrants and Indigenes,' p. 286.
[123] Interview, E.L., Sesse; Interview, S.M.S., Kkooki; F. Nangoli, 'Buvuma: The United States of Uganda,' *New Vision*, 8th May 2009: N.B., Nangoli notes the continued knowledge of Luvuma on the islands although he overestimates its prevalence, certainly on Buvuma Island itself, and wrongly attributes its origin as a recent creation.

The arrival of the Kabaka within the areas was one such occasion:

> Q- If the Kabaka came to Buvuma how would entertainment be conducted?
>
> R- Mostly we would have dances following the tune of the drum called 'Abitengeka', the
> drumming and the dance was close to Lusoga. Even today we still use that drum.
>
> Q- Do you still preserve it?
>
> R- Very much so.[124]

Similarly, in Kkooki the arrival of the Kabaka heralded a display of Kkooki regalia:

> When he walked into the office, the Koki royal drums namely, Mayange, Buteute, Kikindo,
> Kababembe and all the small Koki royal drums were sounded accompanied by royal
> trumpets, flutes and harps. The chief Kamuswaga introduced his gombolola chiefs and
> parish chiefs and all the people who turned up to welcome their King.[125]

By performing local culture in the presence of the Ganda king communities demonstrated their individuality as part and parcel of their Ganda allegiance. Moreover, the retention of Kamuswaga's royal signifiers indicates the more relaxed intermingling of custom possible outside of the "Lost Counties". Indeed, despite their new status as a *ssaza* chief of the kingdom the various Kamuswagas seems to have maintained to some extent the regalia and habits of independent monarchs, while simultaneously operating as an integral part of the Ganda administrative system. Kkooki kept the crowns and the drums which had previously distinguished 'a kingdom from a mere principality.' Other signs of office such as 'the rod...Mbagambira (consisting of nine thin sticks bound together with bands of iron and iron ring at the top with four small bells); a spear called Katantayi (swallow-killer); a bow and arrows; a dagger (Mpiima); a small shield; wooden bowls (Obucuba) for food, with nine legs on a base; a blacksmith hammer,' also appear to have been preserved.[126] Moreover, one female respondent in Kkooki noted that while the Kabaka drew the most respect and the Kamuswaga deferred to him, the arrival of the Ganda King in Kkooki was treated by the Kkooki chief as the meeting of two heads; a position not queried by the Kabaka:

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[124] Interview, S.T., Buvuma.

[125] MUL NEWS, Juko, 'Kabaka Visits Kkooki,' *Matalisi*, 1943.

[126] UNA SMP, S. Browning, District Comissioner, Masaka, to Provincial Commissioner, Kampala, 27th March, 1911,' A46/668; CCAS, Mulira, 'Kingdom of Kkooki,' EMKM/EP/2/1; Lanning, 'Notes on the History of Kkooki, pp. 162- 172; The two crowns consisted of the *Lwabusungwe*- decorated with white and red beads- and the *Mwirima*- decorated with white and black beads, CCAS, Mulira, 'Kingdom of Kkooki,' EMKM/EP/2/1.

As you are aware Kkooki was an independent kingdom but the king decided to unite with Buganda in order to develop the kingdom. It was done for the good of his kingdom, however, each of the two leaders had their own ways of doing things. That is why whenever Kabaka came to visit Kamuswaga, he would not sleep in the same house with him, since they are all heads. That is what I heard from my grandparents.[127]

The merging of localised traditions in a wider Ganda narrative is similarly indicated through the publishing of histories of the areas in Luganda language newspapers both by Ganda commentators and individuals from the counties themselves.[128] This retention and display of indigenous knowledge not only indicates the flexibility of ethnic identity and what might be passed on and remembered within an ethnic community, but actually seems to offer insights into incorporation within the colonial Ganda context. The ability of "Acquired Counties" communities to preserve knowledge of their traditions even as they were assimilated into the wider Ganda ethnie actually signifies to some extent, the reasons for the success of "Gandisation" and the laissez-faire processes by which it occurred. Moreover, it illustrates the agency of "Acquired Counties" peoples within the process and belies any rejection of their capacity to influence events as "Gandisation" proliferated.

The role of individuals from the peripheries in layering their identities is further illustrated by appeals to history to effect events or political thought within the structures of the kingdom. At the widest level this process reveals itself through the Vuma and Ssese *Bataka* reciting their claims to lands on the islands to British officials and the Ganda government in Mengo. At an individual level it is apposite to return to the case of Eridadi Mulira. While Mulira's experiences and contribution within the colonial period marks him out from other contemporaries originating from the peripheries, his life and his political thought indicate the way in which "Acquired Counties" individuals were able to maintain previous cultural knowledge as part and parcel of a Ganda identity. We have seen in Chapter Two how Mulira's father was taken to Buganda as a slave in 1875 before later being baptised and returning to Kkooki as a chief.[129] Mulira himself was born in Kkooki but spent most of his life elsewhere in Buganda where he became a key figure in the emerging political parties of the 1940's and 1950's.[130] The founder of the abortive Progressive Party in 1954, Mulira was central to the

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[127] Interview, L.E., Kkooki, 9th July, 2010.
[128] See for example contributions to Munno, MUL NEWS, Alexis Sebowa, 'The Journey of Mutesa I to Buvuma: Part 1,' *Munno*, January 1928; Alexis Sebowa, 'The Journey of Mutesa to Buvuma: Part 2,' *Munno*, February 1928; 'The Throne of Kkooki,' *Munno*, December 1921; 'A Study of Kkooki,' *Munno*, January 1926; 'Mawogola is Changing,' *Munno*, July 1961.
[129] CCAS, Mulira, 'Kingdom of Kkooki,' EMKM/EP/2/1.
[130] Low, *Buganda in Modern History*, pp. 180- 185.

Kabaka crisis and was later involved in the founding of *Kabaka Yekka*.[131] An important political thinker, he sought to reimagine Buganda as a 'Constitutional Kingdom' and a 'Commoners Kingdom', efforts for which he was briefly jailed by the Ganda government in 1956.[132] Nevertheless, Mulira was a central figure in the Ganda political landscape and, despite his dissenting credentials, was tied to the Protestant establishment through his marriage to Rebecca Mulira, the daughter of the leading early twentieth-century chief Ham Mukasa. Most interestingly, in a recent revaluation of Mulira's work Jonathan Earle has illuminated the manner in which Mulira sought to utilise his Kkooki affiliation to reconceptualise Buganda itself. Looking back nostalgically to Kkooki and conceiving the principality as an ethnically inclusive state Mulira used his novel, *Teefe*, to critique contemporary thinkers and reimagine the kingdom itself as an egalitarian space for 'any man' with the will to participate in rewarding labour.[133] In *Teefe*, a young man from Kkooki who has been living in sin in Kampala travels back to his homeland. Along the way he is beset by obstacles which are overcome through the help of non-Ganda strangers before he finds happiness with a Hima woman in a rural Kkooki idyll.[134] Earle argues that Mulira uses this journey to critique dissenting thought in Buganda and in particular ideas centred on the *Bataka* movement which used notions of 'land' to criticise the Ganda and British establishments by reasserting the rights of clans in the pre-colonial kingdom. While sympathising with the claims of the movement Mulira was primarily concerned not with clans but with the 'land' as a space for 'virtuous commoners' of any ethnic group. By setting his assimilatory parable in the peripheries of his youth, rather than the centre, Mulira chided Ganda political thought and morality at the heart of the Kingdom.[135] The manner in which Kkooki history was imagined by Mulira in his theoretical revaluation of the Ganda Kingdom therefore illustrates the way in which peripheral identities were constituted through layered meanings able to draw on a variety of cultural material which demonstrated their localised affiliation within wider Ganda identities. It is certainly clear that Mulira's story was made possible through his position as a son of the "Acquired Counties"; had he been born in Mubende, Buruuli or Bugerere looking back to an idealised homeland it is likely that he would have drawn the ire of the Ganda state.

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[131] *Ibid*; Richards, 'Epilogue,' *The Kings Men*, p. 380.

[132] Earle, *Political Theologies*, pp. 66- 148; Richards, 'Epilogue,' *The Kings Men*, p. 381.

[133] Earle, *Political Theologies*, pp. 107- 111; It is unclear whether Kkooki's inclusivity is imagined through the adoption of migrant workers or through relations between Babiito rulers and agricultural subjects in the pre-colonial kingdom. Certainly, as we have, seen, immigration into Kkooki was much less prevalent than in other areas of the kingdom at the time that Mulira wrote *Teefe* in 1948, see Fortt, 'Distribution of the Immigrant and Ganda Population within Buganda,' p. 111.

[134] Earle, *Political Theologies*, pp. 110- 113.

[135] Ibid., p. 115.

5.4: Conclusion

By analysing the symbiosis between the role of the Ganda state and the agency of incorporated peoples within the kingdom a greater understanding of the processes of ethnic change is facilitated. While it is clear that assimilative currents did impact upon "Acquired Counties" communities, it is similarly evident that the engagement of the peripheries with the ethnic identities of the centre rested to a significant extent on a reverse momentum towards "Gandisation". Buganda's laissez-faire approach to assimilation outside of the "Lost Counties" permitted a connection to new Ganda ideas. In part, the processes enabled by the lack of cultural repression revolved, as elsewhere across Africa and beyond, around choices based on positive outcomes. The linkage between Ganda identities and access to the trappings of colonial modernity were clearly a major determinant of the level of openness to ethnic change. Where in Senegal the urbanity of Wolof helped attract increasing numbers of adherents throughout the twentieth-century, in Buganda the unique position of the kingdom in relation to its regional history and relationship to Britain encouraged a self-perpetuating perception of the Ganda as more "civilised" and more "modern". This notion was so powerful that it seems to have provided a continued driver for "Gandisation" despite the relatively paltry returns on infrastructure and capital accrued in real terms by "Acquired Counties" communities throughout the colonial period.

Adoption of predominant Ganda identities, however, was not simply a value judgement. There appears to have existed within the peripheries a real sense of pride and belonging to the kingdom, as well as a willingness to engage with the issues and moral dilemmas of the wider community. The more disruptive elements of the intrusion of new political, cultural and economic structures and ideas drew for "Acquired Counties" communities in discussions over the moral crises of the day. By evincing their loyalty to the Kabaka in the correct way and by supporting Kabaka Yekka in the early 1960's "Acquired Counties" communities inhabited their Ganda identities and displayed a significant attachment to the kingdom during a turbulent period in which tensions in unhappy communities might have been expected to arise. Moreover, a deeper sense of rootedness within the wider Ganda ethnic was further encouraged by the ability of non-Nyoro, Ruuli and Nyala peoples to layer new identities over the continued memories of indigenous culture. Freed from the need to protect local traditions against a coherent assimilative effort to undermine them, resistance to "Gandisation" was reduced and local practices could be recalled as and when required, even as they gradually reduced in everyday interaction. Through these processes of engagement and internal momentum the peoples of the "Acquired Counties" were able to adapt to their

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changing circumstances and to adopt a flexible approach to "Gandisation" which proved more compelling to successful ethnic change than all of the force directed at processes of assimilation within the northern counties. Moreover, in exploring the nature of modernity, 'moral community' and "identity layering" within Buganda's peripheries this chapter has sought to further understanding of the complexity of individual and communal agency in building successful and lasting ethnic attachments within the colonial period.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

To write about Kkooki in the 19th century is like talking about a society that is non-existent today. During the last eighty years outside influences have made such inroads on Kkooki that today for better or worse the pattern of life has become unrecognisably different. The main influences have been: the Baganda culture and language; the British overlordship; Christianity and Islam; the school and the town and westernisation generally.[1]
(EMK Mulira, 1971).

6.1 Concluding remarks

Buganda's relationship with its geographical periphery historically impacted upon its relations with neighbouring societies and the colonial state, and continues to influence Ganda political affairs in present day Uganda. This thesis has argued that a preoccupation with the Ganda centre, stemming from the kingdom's early reputation as a highly organised, hierarchical polity, has led to a narrowing of our understanding of nineteenth and twentieth-century Ganda history. In particular, Chapter Two has illustrated how this heartland focus has coloured our interpretation of the kingdom's interactions with the communities of those regions which would come to form its outer territories post-1900. While a number of these areas have not been entirely neglected from the historical narrative of the region, and while recent research has opened up new understandings, overall a concern with Buganda itself has often obfuscated conceptions of these communities on their own terms. Although the perceived semi-autonomy of Kkooki, the independence of Buvuma and the interstitial nature of Ssese have often been noted, the frequent focus in Ganda histories on the state centre has restricted our understanding of the multi-directional relationships which characterised political and cultural relations between larger states and the smaller polities, and communities beyond their borders. This Ganda focus has, in turn, implicitly emphasised a linear logic for incorporation and neglected the extent to which the peoples of neighbouring societies were able to direct and manipulate events. As a result, the attempts to understand processes of "Gandisation" among indigenes in the kingdom in the first half of the twentieth century have been confined to limited analysis of the "Lost Counties", and of the more eye-catching resistance movements in Buyaga and Bugangaizi in particular.

Moreover, in attempting to analyse Buganda's relationship with non-Ganda indigenes through study of a minority of northern counties a critical misunderstanding has arisen over

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[1] CCAS, Mulira, 'Kingdom of Kkooki,' EMKM/EP/2/1.

the realities of "Gandisation" within the colonial period. While assimilation in Bugerere and Buruuli has actually proven to be less effective than has previously been imagined, the ethnic conflict within Mubende District has obscured wider motivations and levels of success of "Gandisation". As hinted by Mulira in the quotation which begins this chapter, in Kkooki, as well as in Buvuma, Ssese, Kabula and Mawogola, the adoption of Ganda identities transformed the socio-cultural, as well as the political landscape of these newly incorporated communities. Mulira's summation of the changes inherent in his former homeland also reveals part of the context and motivation for "becoming Ganda". Where government intervention and cultural repression elicited resistance strategies from sections of the "Lost Counties" population, elsewhere less emotionally charged centre-periphery relationships facilitated adaptation within the colonial Ganda context, encouraged in part by influences associated with "modernity," including religion, education and urbanisation. In this sense the extension of the Ganda sphere through the populations of the "Acquired Counties" followed a pattern similar to that enacted elsewhere across colonial Africa as communities sought to engage in allegiances designed to better anchor them within the new socio-political environments of Africa's twentieth-century states. Similarly, for example, to the consolidation of Mijikenda identities on Kenya's Indian Ocean coast, or the extension of Ewe ethnic boundaries in colonial Ghana, acceptance of "Gandisation" was a response to the need to find a beneficial place in the new social order.[2]

Indeed, this thesis in many ways builds upon and reworks a number of Greene's conclusions in a Ganda context. Greene has explored the manner in which certain clans, or *Hwlo*, were considered as ethnic outsiders among the Anlo based on perceptions of a particular groups' time of arrival within the region, characterised by association with non-Anlo ancestors. These distinctions began to be broken within the colonial period as Anlo-Ewe sought to mitigate factors associated with the imposition of colonial rule and the drawing of new boundaries. Greene's analysis is useful, in particular, for her discussion of the manner in which former ethnic outsiders within Anlo communities utilised new Anlo identities to reimagine their own localised relationships in the colonial period.[3] These processes in many ways accord with the experiences of "Acquired Counties" communities. Where the expansion of Anlo identities continued to require an examination of "we/they" dichotomies grounded in a continuation of different cultural practices, however, this research has sought to demonstrate that the extension of the Ganda sphere resulted in perhaps even more complex developments in ethnic attachment. It has illustrated that among a majority of communities within the "Acquired Counties" adoption of Ganda culture was a tangible process, and yet one which remained

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[2] Willis, *Making of the Mijikenda*, pp. 184- 202; Sandra E. Greene, Gender, Ethnicity and Social Change on the Upper Slave Coast: A History of the Anlo-Ewe (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1996), pp. 136- 155.
[3] Greene, *Gender, Ethnicity and Social Change*, p. 137; *Ibid*.

firmly grounded in localised articulation. Ganda identities were built not only on self-ascription and ascription by others, but also on the adoption of the "content" of Ganda ethnicity through language, naming practices and ceremonial traditions. "Gandisation", while encouraged in part by a desire to access the resources of the colonial Ganda state, was neither a colonial "invention" nor a shallowly instrumental process.

The limitations inherent in British intervention in Ganda life combined with the less contested nature of the "Acquired Counties" to establish greater room for manoeuvre for these communities. The attempted forced assimilation undertaken in the "Lost Counties" as described in Chapter Three provoked an anti-Ganda backlash among sections of the populace as individuals struggled against "invented" Ganda identities. Yet, elsewhere across Buganda's incorporated counties the introduction of the Luganda language and Ganda culture by Europeans and the Ganda state was sustained, and gathered momentum, due to the engagement of members of the counties themselves, as new identities were layered alongside indigenous histories. Mulira's summation of Kkooki's twentieth-century history is revealing, based as it is on personal experience. Nevertheless, while a son of the periphery with nostalgic visions of his childhood, Mulira was firmly entrenched in the politics of the Ganda centre and his emphasis on change and outside influences masks the extent to which ethnic processes relied on continuity and manipulation from within the peripheries themselves. Indeed, far from 'non-existent' in 1971, Kkooki understandings of the past remained bound up in Ganda-Kkooki identities of the present, as they continue to be today. New Ganda identities, then, were most successful where their emergence did not require individuals to absolutely reject previous experience and "tradition". Among "Acquired Counties" communities adaptation to Ganda cultural norms, self-ascription as Ganda and participation in the Ganda ethnic or 'moral' community did not preclude continued attachment to, and active remembrance of the non-Ganda past. Moreover, indigenous attachments could be called up as part and parcel of wider Ganda identities to question aspects of state policy such as during the Sleeping Sickness resettlements, and indeed, by Mulira himself. The enforced rupture of state-led assimilation which denied populations within the "Lost Counties" the time and space to acculturate on their own terms was replaced in the "Acquired Counties" by a laissez-faire approach which afforded greater manoeuvrability and flexibility in identity construction. Moreover, as Chapter Four and Chapter Five have illustrated it was this meta-narrative of assimilative disparity, rather than ties to "homeland" or religion which most significantly affected the "limits of invention" within the colonial kingdom. Mirroring findings in sociology and psychology, the Ganda Kingdom was best able to continue its long history of incorporative success when its structures retained the

flexibility and mobility which had to some extent characterised its internal relations to conquered peoples, migrants and un-free peoples in the pre-colonial period.[4]

This is not to suggest the occurrence of entirely uniform processes across Buganda's colonial era peripheries. Certainly, there were localised factors which either encouraged or decelerated "Gandisation". In Ssese, for example, the close pre-colonial links between the islands and the Ganda mainland undoubtedly facilitated an ease of incorporation, even if islanders continued to be viewed as less fully civilised Ganda cousins for some time. This was certainly reflected in Ssese traditions which were more likely to reinforce the intertwined nature of Ssese and Ganda history than in other areas. Moreover, for the Ssese, as for the Vuma, remaining cultural boundaries were significantly reduced by the catastrophic demographic decline caused by sleeping sickness, and the subsequent temporary resettlement of the islanders on the mainland. Similarly, in Kkooki, the voluntary nature of the kingdom's incorporation, combined with a history of Kkooki-Ganda co-operation ensured a smoother transition into the Ganda community. In Kabula and Mawogola by contrast, among the large pastoralist Hima populations "Gandisation" was a less certain process, occurring more slowly. Moreover, it is necessary to reiterate that while assimilation within the "Lost Counties" occurred on a smaller scale than has previously been thought, significant proportions of the Nyoro populace were undoubtedly incorporated within the Ganda ethnic sphere and sections of Ruuli and Nyala communities did adapt to their new Ganda context. Furthermore, while enforced assimilation encompassing significant suppression of culture continued throughout the colonial period, it is important to note that by the 1950's and 1960's Buganda was actively courting "Lost Counties" elites through the greater provision of education and political office. The ultimate lack of success of this partial shift in policy, however, reflects our conclusions over the long-standing impact of attempts to subdue indigenous culture. The intention here, then, has not been to remove localised autonomy of action. Nevertheless, by widening our analysis to consider ethnic processes across all of the counties added simultaneously to Buganda in the late nineteenth century it is clear that major trends are discernible across the varying reactions of communities to incorporation within the Ganda cultural sphere. While neither assimilation nor resistance were ever uniform, it remains evident that, taken as whole over a longer twentieth-century period, "Gandisation" was a less successful process within the "Lost Counties" than elsewhere across the kingdom.

Taken together, then, the chapters of this thesis contribute to our understanding of both processes of ethnic change in twentieth-century Africa, as well as the relationship of the Ganda Kingdom to colonial overrule. By utilising Buganda as a case study it is possible to revaluate

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[4] Berry, 'Immigration, Acculturation and Adaption,' pp. 10- 11.

notions of assimilation and "invention" within the context of a highly centralised polity enjoying an unprecedented degree of autonomy within the colonial system. In contrast to continuing themes in the literature surrounding colonial and post-colonial ethnic studies which often remain drawn to a focus on colonial machinations, the particular circumstances of Buganda's position vis-à-vis the British allows us to place Africans, not Europeans, at the heart of our narrative. The inhabitants of the kingdom remained engaged with European imaginings on "tribe" through their dealings with colonial officials and missionary endeavour, and "traditions" within the kingdom were certainly renovated in the early twentieth century as Kodesh has noted.[5] Yet, Buganda's protected position, enshrined through consecutive agreements with the British, ensured that assimilative processes within the colonial Ganda state retained a more obviously indigenous character. The attempted assimilation or "invention" among "Lost Counties" communities, for example, was clearly driven from the Ganda centre with British authorities acquiescing in, rather than initiating or controlling events. The thesis therefore also contributes to our understanding of the relationship between Buganda and the British colonial government. The "indigenous" colonial state described by Glenn McKnight is to a large extent borne out by the Ganda direction of ethnic processes within the kingdom.[6] In addition, as Chapter Three has demonstrated, where disagreements arose over issues of indigeneity and governance the Ganda political class was often able to undermine the intentions of the Protectorate authorities and secure outcomes which benefitted Ganda, rather than British interests. Furthermore, by considering notions of "modernity" in Chapter Five, this thesis has demonstrated how the intrusion of new colonial and economic demands alongside opportunities within Buganda were channelled in the peripheries through perceptions of the Ganda themselves. This process also produced a doubled-edged yet complementary impact which encouraged or showcased peripheral participation in the Ganda community. On the one hand colonial "modernity" fed into a number of moral crises within Buganda in which "Acquired Counties" communities demonstrated their understanding and involvement in the great internal and external questions affecting the kingdom in the colonial period. Simultaneously, however, access to colonial resources was also mediated more positively within the peripheries through perceived connections between "being Ganda" and "being modern".

In moving beyond the centre to consider Buganda's non-heartland counties this historical research is therefore better able to supplement our understanding of how and why ethnic identities were constructed within colonial Africa. Analysis of the contrasting experiences of "Lost Counties" and "Acquired Counties" communities underlines that the

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[5] Kodesh, 'Renovating Tradition,' pp. 511- 541.
[6] McKnight, '"Indigenous" Colonial State,' pp. 84- 85.

"limits of invention" or successful assimilation rested significantly on the manoeuvrability afforded to individuals in determining the construction of their own identities. Where ethnic norms were imposed from above they became, and remained less widely accepted; by contrast, where they evolved in the context of centre-periphery relations they were paradoxically more successful. While such conclusions might not represent a unique finding- as we have noted Greene has highlighted strategies adopted by ethnic outsiders to define their own identities both prior to and under colonial rule- re-emphasising the importance of African agency in the Ganda context deepens our understanding of ethnic change and provides a powerful corrective template offering an alternative vision to that of "invention" literature in which issues of agency have often remained clouded and contested.[7]

In rethinking these questions the thesis contributes to the growing body of work which continues to reassess the role of Africans in directing, mediating and manipulating ethnic identities within the twentieth-century. In the conclusion to his seminal article reassessing ethnicity in Anglophone African history, Spear noted the need to reconceptualise agency; drawing upon Feierman he argues that, 'agency must be seen as a function of discourse as people debate issues of the present in terms of ideas and beliefs drawn from the past, reformulating them and revising them in the context of the present'. Agency in ethnic construction, then, whether colonial or African, or indeed in any other context is limited by the need to construct a contemporary narrative which makes sense of the past. The disparity in assimilative success across Buganda suggests new ways in which to understand Spears findings as well as those of scholars such as Harries, Peel and Hamilton concerning the importance of continuity in "tradition" and the construction of identities.[8] In the "Acquired Counties" "Gandisation" represented a real and lasting alteration in ethnic affiliation for the majority of communities and new cultural practices differed, in some cases significantly, from what had gone before. Harries' assertion that traditions can only be invented in the sense that they build upon previous bodies of knowledge remains pertinent however, as the Ganda identities which were most successfully incorporated were those which facilitated a layering of cultural material in their construction. In this sense it is clear that adaptation to Ganda ethnic norms would have been more easily undertaken within those areas where pre-colonial cultural and political structures more closely mirrored those of the Ganda centre. Most importantly and at a broader level, however, incorporation into the Ganda ethnic sphere was comparatively more successful within the "Acquired Counties" where individuals were able to retain indigenous

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[7] Greene, *Gender, Ethnicity and Social Change*, pp. 15- 16.
[8] Harries, 'Imagery, Symbolism and Tradition,' pp. 106- 107; Peel, 'Ijebu and Buganda,' p. 132; Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty*, p. 26.

attachments as part and parcel of their Ganda identities.[9] In the "Acquired Counties" contemporary circumstances dictated that the past would not be incompatible with the present, and previous knowledge, symbols and associations could be drawn upon when necessary. Among many communities in the "Lost Counties", by contrast, the realities of Ganda rule ensured that myth and "tradition" provided rallying points for resistance to "Gandisation"; here, for a large section of the population including the Nyala and Ruuli, imagining of Ganda ethnicities required too great an enforced disassociation with past experience.

While the present study has been necessarily limited in scope, there is much work still to be done on Buganda's non-heartland territories. In particular, studies which open up our understanding of the more distant pre-colonial past would be hugely beneficial in illustrating patterns of continuity and change in indigenous identities over a significantly longer period. Similarly, and perhaps most importantly, analysis of gender in the story of ethnic change in Buganda, in its heartland, "Acquired Counties", and the "Lost Counties", requires a dedicated monograph. Buganda's distinctive gender patterns and the female narratives analysed within the areas considered here, albeit limited, support the conclusions of this thesis. There is little doubt, however, that research such as that of Sandra Greene in Ghana or Jean Davison in South Africa, which combine understandings of gender and ethnicity could significantly improve the scope of analysis of peripheral identity formation and the mechanisms of Ganda assimilation. Within a Ganda context it would be particularly informative to see the work conducted by Obbo on 'townswomen' and female labour movement extended beyond the Ganda heartlands to consider its application in more geographically peripheral communities. Such a study might offer further insights into the interconnected nature of the colonial Ganda state, revealing new routes down which ideas and culture may have travelled.[10]

6.2: Buganda today: the peripheries in contemporary politics

Understanding the histories of the counties added to Buganda at the end of the nineteenth century is integral to any analysis of contemporary Ganda politics. Within Buganda itself significant attention has been given to the future position of Buganda's peripheries, and maintaining its ethnic and geographical integrity remains a key issue for the kingdom. Despite this internal concern most outside commentators have limited their analysis to the growing conflict between Buganda and the Ugandan state in terms of disputes arising from power

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[9] Harries, 'Imagery, Symbolism and Tradition,' p. 109.
[10] Greene, 'Family Concerns: Gender and Ethnicity,' pp. 15- 31; Jean Davison, *Gender, Lineage, and Ethnicity in Southern Africa* (Colorado: Westview Press, 1997); Obbo, 'Dominant Male Ideology,' pp. 371-389.

politics between the authorities of the Ganda centre- the Kabaka and his ministers in Mengo-and President Museveni. These disagreements have arisen particularly with regards to key Ganda demands surrounding federal rule, known locally as *federo*, and land ownership as detailed in Chapter Four. Such issues are undoubtedly crucial to kingdom-government relations but events such as the 2009 riots, outlined within our Introduction, require an understanding of the localised politics and histories of the peripheries, as well as the politics of the centre, to fully appreciate their significance. The findings of this thesis therefore contribute to knowledge of contemporary Ugandan society by illustrating the historical bases from which Buganda's newest counties have emerged to resist or support Ganda ethnic politics in the present day.

Pierre Englebert has noted that Buganda's rise to the forefront of Ugandan politics since its restoration in 1993 reflects a wider movement within Africa over the last twenty years towards a resurgence of 'traditional' institutions.[11] Despite the kingdom's supposed limitation within cultural parameters, a number of scholars have noted that the resurrection of the structures of governance including the Kabakaship, and particularly the *Lukiiko* indicates its 'politicisation' from the beginning. Initially Museveni supported the returning of *'ebyaffe'* (our things) to Buganda to prevent the emergence of Ganda political parties which might challenge his no-party state. Indeed, J. Oloka-Onyango has underlined that when Museveni visited the inauguration of the first reformed *Lukiiko* he turned a blind eye as he was introduced to the ministers for 'constitutionalism', 'political affairs', 'mass mobilization', 'internal affairs', 'human rights', and 'local government'.[12] Museveni has since sought to curb the political activities of the kingdom and extend government control through increased decentralisation and patronage in the system of local government districts. Yet, despite clear restrictions on its prospective authority Englebert notes that Buganda has evolved 'unusually effective institutions, financing mechanisms and policy tools, re-building itself as a quasi-state.'[13] Simultaneously, Ganda authorities have been increasingly vocal in their calls for *federo* designed to extend their own powers within the kingdom and Buganda's power and autonomy within Uganda. The relative success Museveni has enjoyed in encounters between himself and the Kabaka, as well as his continued ability to draw electoral support from within the kingdom and enforce the will of the state within Buganda's territory perhaps belies the autonomy Englebert suggests exists. There is no doubt, however, that the kingdom constitutes a

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[11] Englebert, 'Born-Again Buganda,' pp. 345- 347.
[12] Oloka-Onyango, 'Buganda in Contemporary Ugandan Politics,' p. 182.
[13] For Museveni's use of district creation in the extension of government authority see, Elliott D. Green, 'Patronage, District Creation and Reform in Uganda,' in *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 45.1 (2010), pp. 83– 103; Englebert, 'Born-Again Buganda,' p. 345.

"political'" as well as a "cultural" entity; if indeed, the two concepts should be considered to have separate meanings within this context.

Elliot Green, Oloka-Onyango, and Englebert, among others, have successfully highlighted how the history of the Ganda state has fed into the rise in demands for *federo* and increased Ganda control of land within the kingdom, including the authority to administer the '9000' square miles invested as 'Crown Land' in the 1900 Agreement and later taken over by the national Ugandan government. Moreover, they have powerfully underlined the manner in which these key disputes have soured relations between the kingdom and the national government in the nineteen years since its restoration.[14] In addition, Mikael Karlstrom has analysed the growth of popular royalism in Buganda in the 1990's arguing that most Ganda supported the restoration of the kingship as a guarantor of the survival of Ganda customs and culture and as well as providing for the development of the kingdom. Indeed, he draws upon his analysis of Buganda in the 1920's to argue that moral crises which have affected Buganda since independence have similarly led to an increase in cultural nationalism.[15] This increase in cultural or royalist patriotism is evidenced by the pronouncements of increasingly vocal monarchists and the formation of new movements including *Bazzukulu ba Buganda* (Grandchildren of Buganda) in the 1990's and *Suubi*, a conscious reconstitution of *Kabaka Yekka*, in 2010.[16] At the time of field-research for this thesis the prevailing attitude within Buganda was certainly one of increased fervour for the kingdom sparked by Ganda-government relations. Yet, the importance of Buganda's peripheral counties within this phenomenon remains to be explored.

Alongside, and indeed tied up with, issues of *federo* and land in analysis of contemporary Ganda politics, should be concerns over perceived attempts to weaken the ethnic integrity of the Ganda state. This issue has been explored by Green in his analysis of land tenure and non-Ganda immigrants but less so in relation to the supposed sponsoring of secessionist movements in the kingdom's border territories.[17] The emergence of Ruuli and Nyala organisations has provoked anxiety within the kingdom over the status of the "Acquired Counties" as well as a backlash against the existence of "sub-ethnicities" within the kingdom on the pretext that all had been successfully assimilated by the end of the colonial period. The recognition by the national government of the legitimacy of the offices of Isabaruuli and

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[14] Green, 'Land Tenure Reform in Central Uganda,' pp. 377- 379; Oloka- Onyango, 'Buganda in Contemporary Ugandan Politics,' pp. 176- 185; Englebert, 'Born-Again Buganda,' pp. 356- 365.

[15] Karlstrom, *Cultural Kingdom*, pp. 204- 367.

[16] Oloka-Onyango, 'Buganda in Contemporary Ugandan Politics,' p. 181; *Suubi* was formed in the events following Septermber 2009 and was a key point of discussion within Buganda when the fieldwork for this dissertation was conducted, although it was unclear at that time whether it held the support of the Kabaka and it has since somewhat faded from the political scene. See also, 'Is Suubi 2011 Any Different From Kabaka Yekka?' *The Daily Monitor*, 1st July, 2010.

[17] Green, 'Ethnicity and the Politics of Land Tenure,' pp. 370- 371.

Isabanyala as heads of their respective communities, alongside NRM support for the production of a Kkooki flag and national anthem has caused further consternation within the kingdom. Fears over Buganda's integrity stemming from its late nineteenth-century expansion are illustrated in numerous contributions to national newspapers, and are summarised in an article in Uganda's *The Observer* in 2009 where the author argues that:

> What Obote achieved by a referendum, Museveni will achieve by a simple resolution of Parliament or a constitutional change. Obote through a referendum annexed two Buganda counties and returned them to Bunyoro. All of you wise people know that kingdoms at that time were built on conquests and if we are to restore the historical status quo, places like Ankole would cease to exit. Museveni is aware of this too. Instead of annexing territories from Buganda like Obote did, Museveni would rather leave them but undermine the authority of the Kabaka and cause disunity. Buruuli will not go away but he will stop the Kabaka of Buganda from touring it. He will also install a chief there and incite him to insult Buganda....he will seek to install a rival chief even where none historically existed. [Minister] Sam Kutesa, whose daughter marries Museveni's son, is the most powerful politician in Mawogola. The most powerful military person in Mawogola is Gen. David Tinyefuza, and I fear Museveni might install one of these two as a chief. Lyantonde District, which is Buganda's Kabula County, faces the same situation....Therefore, with the authority of the Kabaka undermined in Bugerere, Buruuli, Koki, Kabula, and I hear, Buvuma, Buganda is being reduced almost to half. There is something eating Buganda from the exterior.[18]

The riots in September 2009 in which Nyala and Ganda youth clashed in Kayunga and Ganda youth fought police units in Kampala and elsewhere across the kingdom resulting in over 600 arrests and the closure of the main Ganda radio station indicate the depth of feeling surrounding these issues. While land matters clearly affect the Ruuli-Nyala problem as outlined in Chapter Four, it is only by reconsidering the history of ethnicity within these communities that we can truly understand the present situation. As we have illustrated, Nyala and Ruuli rhetoric in the present day draws strongly upon the anti-Ganda discourse of Nyoro resistance movements in the 1950's and 1960's. Despite the political, cultural, and demographic changes wrought in Buruuli and particularly Bugerere since the late 1890's, including the mass immigration of economic migrants in the 1950's, Nyala and Ruuli groups continue to draw upon past experiences to formulate contemporary accusations.

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[18] Ssemujju Ibrahim Nganda, 'Museveni: Leave Our Kampala Alone,' *The Observer*, 8th July, 2009; For other examples of Ganda correspondents concerned with the relationship of the peripheries to the centre see: Abdul Busuulwa, 'Bugerere Has Always Been Part of Buganda,' *The Observer*, 29th October, 2009; Nelson Wesonga, 'Ally With Other Regions, Buganda Told,' *The Daily Monitor*, 28th September, 2008; John Nagenda, 'What Shall We Do With Uganda?' *New Vision*, 11th September, 2009.

Just as importantly, however, Ganda fears over possible independence movements in the peripheries have not been matched by enthusiasm for such organisations outside of Buruuli and Bugerere. This thesis has demonstrated how contrasting approaches to assimilation and "invention" within the colonial period resulted in differing levels of long-term success in "Gandisation". In the "Acquired Counties" the adoption of powerful Ganda identities in the first half of the twentieth century remains integral to ethnic allegiances in the present day. While Buyaga and Bugangaizi agitated for, and received repatriation to Bunyoro in 1964, and elements of Ruuli and Nyala populations remain resistant to "Gandisation", elsewhere there appears no significant appetite for a rejection of participation in the Ganda cultural sphere. In Kkooki, for example, the introduction of new royal symbols has elicited little popular support for Kkooki independence. Indeed, interviews conducted within Kooki revealed that Ganda patriotism was certainly more in evidence than any form of separatism. As one interviewee noted upon hearing that I had arrived from Kampala:

> Koki county... is led by Kamuswaga, a saza chief not a King anymore. He ceased being King in 1896 and this was agreed upon between the Kamuswaga and the kabaka then. The agreement was made on 18th November 1896 and from then onwards Kkooki became a county and ceased being a chiefdom...So, since then, we the BaKkooki, our efforts, love and respect goes towards the Kabaka- Ssabasajja Kabaka of Buganda. Should people even think or undertake a plan to detach Koki from Buganda it will flop.[19]

Similarly, despite Ganda concerns, no organised rejection of Ganda identities in Buvuma, Kabula or Mawogola has yet developed and interviews within these areas reveal that most indigenes understood themselves as members of the Ganda community.

By considering Buganda beyond the centre, then, this thesis is able to suggest new approaches to understanding ethnic politics within the kingdom in the present day. While issues of *federo* and land are highly significant and affect all of the areas mentioned here, their impact must be historicised and understood in localised terms to adequately explain varying responses to Ganda cultural hegemony in contemporary Uganda. Only through analysis of historical processes of assimilation, resistance and ethnic change in Buganda's peripheries can we fully begin to comprehend the discourses which pervade opposition to and support for the maintenance of the 'cultural kingdom'. Whereas the counties added to Buganda in the late nineteenth century remain little studied within kingdom historiography, their relative status in modern-day Buganda continues to make a significant impact on the kingdom's mind-set and affects relations with the national government. Moreover, it might finally be postulated that

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[19] Interview, M.B., Kkooki.

understanding the past in Buganda's non-heartland counties will continue to prove integral to our understanding of Ganda actions in the future as long as the kingdom continues to reject a radical alteration of its current cultural and geographical boundaries.

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Figures

Fig.1. Photograph handed to author with the apparent depiction of Governor Sir Andrew Cohen and Kabaka Mutesa II signing the 1955 Buganda Agreement. Unknown, 1955.

Fig. 2: Map of Buganda prior to 1964 with the regions of study highlighted. Author: Vincent Hiribarren. Reproduced with permission.
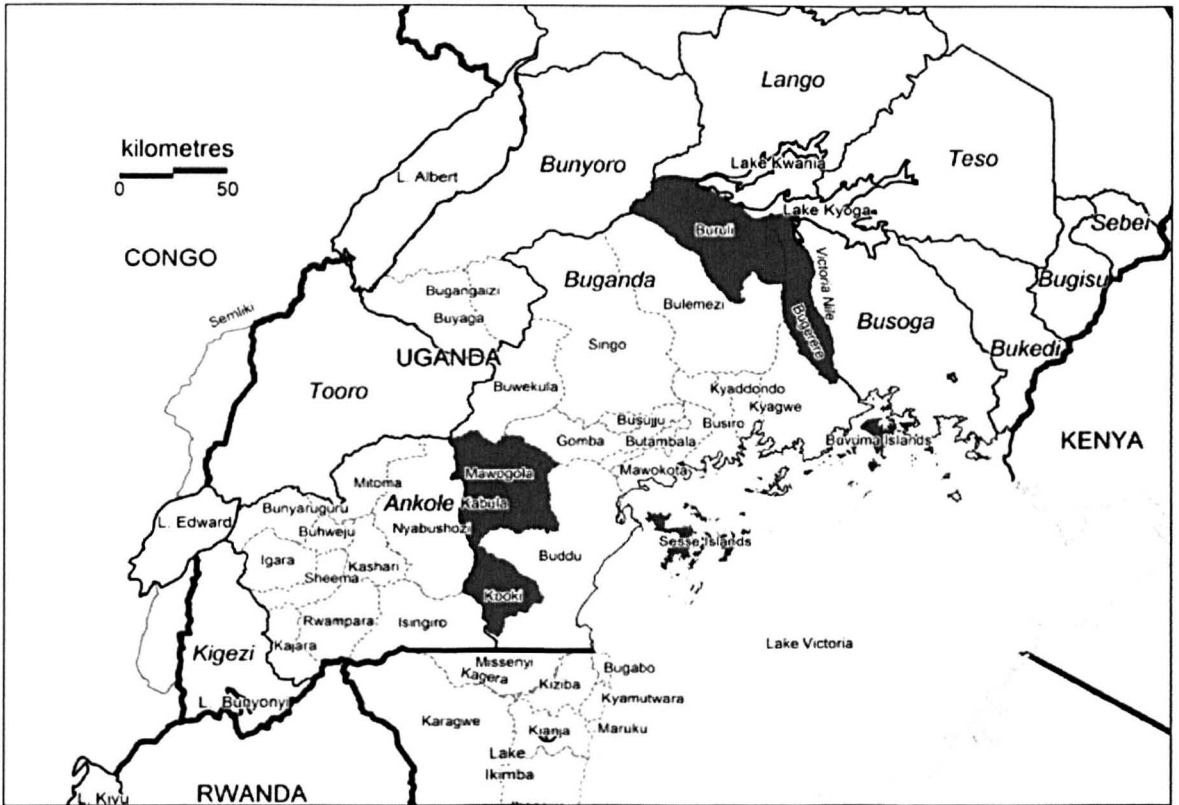
Fig. 3: Map of Buganda after the 1964 referendum which returned Buyaga and Bugangaizi to Bunyoro. Author: Vincent Hiribarren. Reproduced with permission.
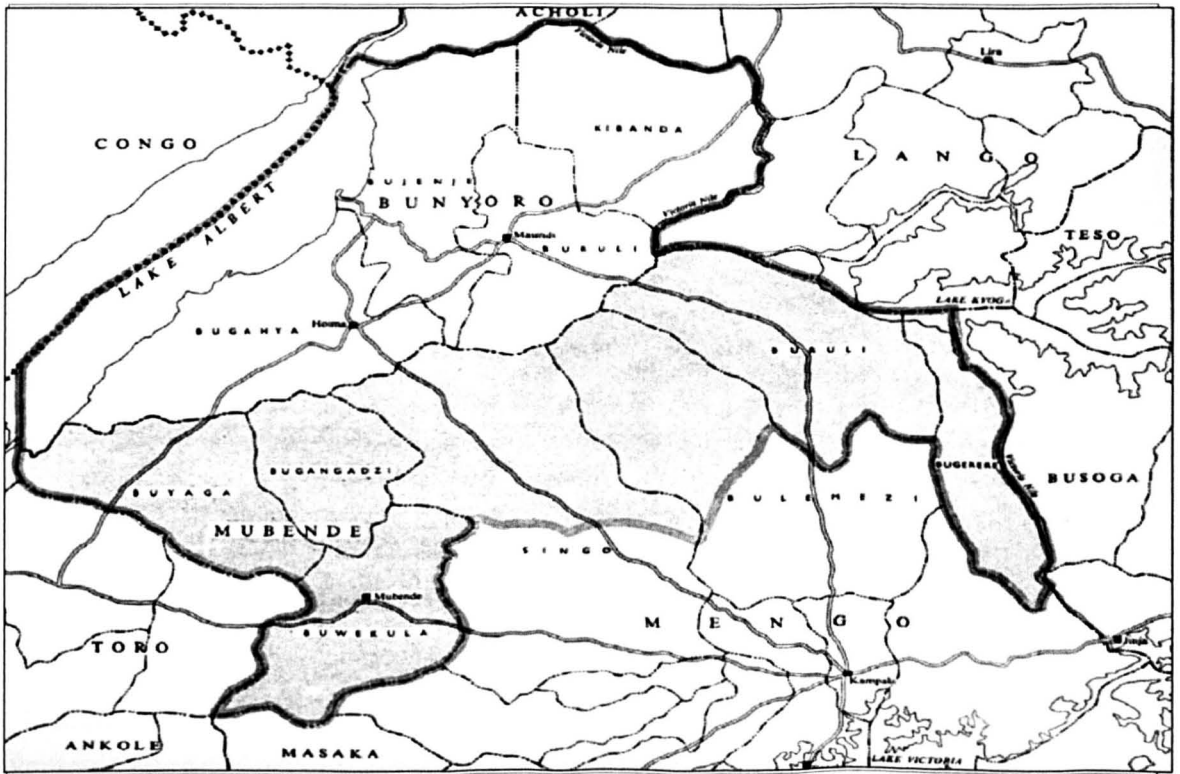

Fig. 4: Bunyoro's "Lost Counties", derived from the Munster Commission, reproduced from E. Green, 'Understanding the Limits to Ethnic Change: Lessons from Uganda's "Lost Counties"', *Perspectives on Politics*, 6.3 (2008), p. 476. Reproduced with permission.
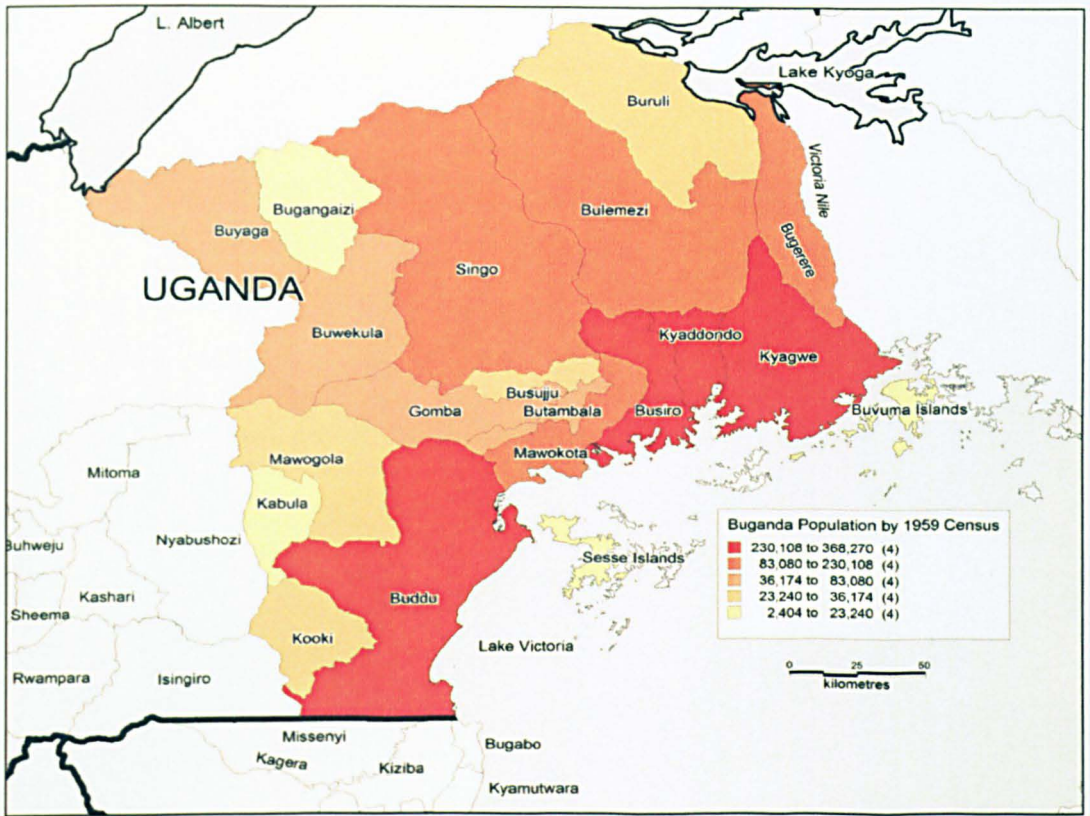
Fig.5. Map of Buganda population density. Author: Vincent Hiribarren, 2012. Reproduced with permission.
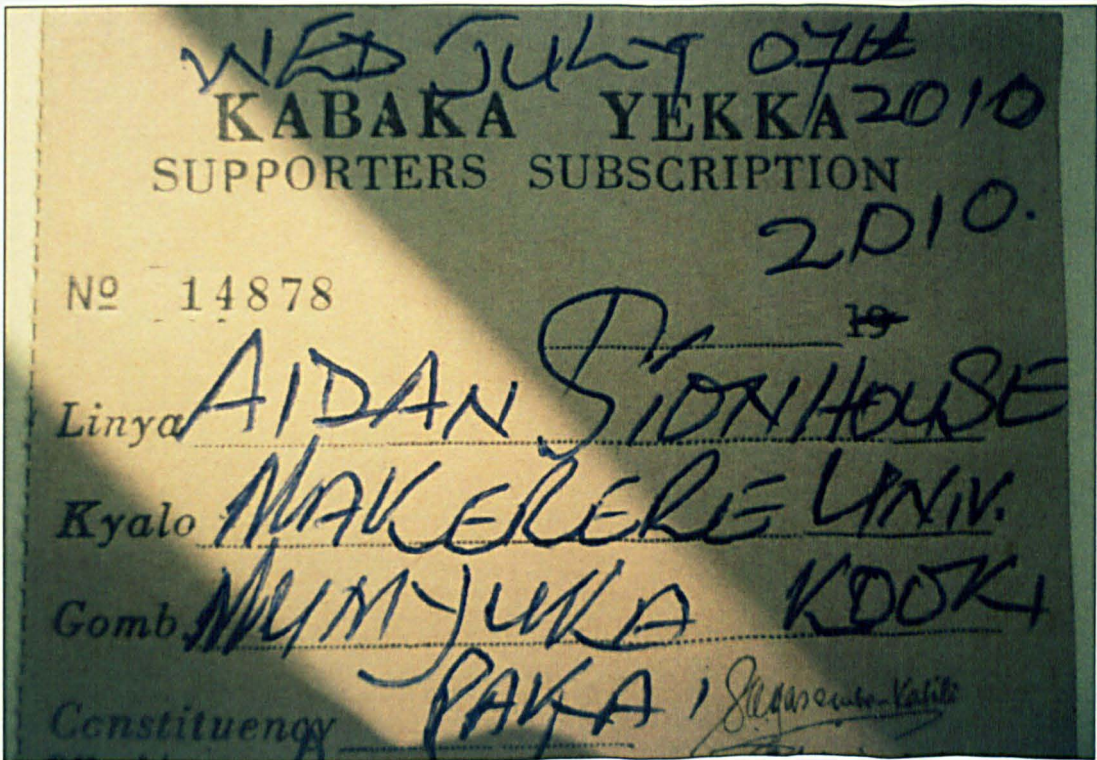

Fig. 6: Kabaka Yekka membership card obtained by author during field research in Kkooki. The card was filled out with my details by a former KY organiser. Author: Aidan Stonehouse, July 2010.