

THE STORY
OF THE UGANDA
PROTECTORATE
GENERAL LUGARD

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PROTECTORATE

BY
GENERAL F. D. LUGARD
C.B., D.S.O.

LONDON
HORACE MARSHALL & SONS
TEMPLE HOUSE
B.C.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Owing to the absence from England of General Lugard, now High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria, this volume has not had the advantage of a final revision in proof by its author

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CHAPTER I

THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE

THE limits of the Uganda Protectorate may not improbably be considerably modified and extended in the near future, but at present the country is bounded on the east by the "East Africa Protectorate," the country of Kavirondo up to the centre of the Mau Escarpment (Eldomo ravine) being included in Uganda. On the north the whole of Usoga and the Wakedi country are comprised in the Protectorate; on the west the Protectorate is bounded by the Congo Free State, and on the South by German East Africa.

The principal districts included in this area are Uganda proper, Unyoro, Usoga, Kavirondo, Ankoli, and Toru. Each of these countries differs as much from the others as from almost any other country in Africa. Uganda presents

the most advanced native African civilization ; its customs, people, and country are most nearly approached by those of Unyoro, which shares to a great degree its traditions. The races in Uganda and Unyoro probably have a common origin. Next in similarity comes Usoga—or rather the southern districts of Usoga—whose people, by long contact with the Waganda, have become assimilated to them in many of their customs and in dress. The districts further north remain in their pristine savagery. In Kavirondo, Nandi, and Elgon, we find some of the most primitive tribes in Africa, entirely unlike the peoples of the countries we have named to the north and west of the Lake, in language, development, characteristics, and origin. The inhabitants of Ankoli and Toru, again, are Wahuma, concerning whom it will be necessary to say a few words.

Emin relates that in some far distant epoch (assigned by Stanley to the 14th or 15th century) an invasion of "Wa-Witu" (Wahuma) from the north-east entered Unyoro, crossing the Nile at Mruli. Over-running the countries of Uganda, Unyoro, Usoga, and Karagwe, they passed south, founding the kingdoms of Ankoli and Toru, and on towards Tanganyika, where they still remain a separate race, speaking their own language. The Wahuma invaders were probably Asiatic, having a common origin,

with the Abyssinians, Gallas, and Somals, races whose facial type is orthognathous, with a prominent nasal bone, thin lips, and hair of which the structure is identical with that of Europeans. Their colour is usually light brown, their physique thin and wiry, and their occupation that of nomad herdsmen. Their diet consists of milk, and the blood and flesh of their cattle. These they rarely slaughter, eating those that die, and drawing the blood from the living animal, a process which they believe fattens the animals. Emin emphatically describes them as natural gentlemen. Their women are often beautiful, and girls of the tribe were much sought after by slave-dealers for export to the coast. The royal houses both of Uganda and Unyoro had a large admixture of Wahuma blood; and Mwanga, Mtesa, and Kabarega showed in their features their kindred with this stock.

As herdsmen, in these Bantu countries, they occupy a semi-servile position, but they are nevertheless regarded with much respect, and are extremely independent. Though slaves, they alone are allowed to pare their nails to a point, and to wear brass on their ankles—the prerogatives of the king. Speke describes them as of “Shem-Hamitic origin,” and believes that their name, Wa-Witu, may have been taken from Omwitu (Mombasa), which they attacked in their progress westwards and southwards. Disputes

4 THE ABORIGINAL WICHWEZI

arose as to the succession to the throne, and the defeated claimant with his following left the country to found a new kingdom; and from Unyoro, where the parent stock finally settled, Uganda, Ankoli, Karagwe, Usinga, and even the Watusi on Tanganyika were successively conquered and subjected to Wahuma rulers, under the nominal suzerainty of Unyoro. The whole vast kingdom was called Kitara. The parent stock, says Speke, traced its descent from King David. They were for the most part pastoral, though in some cases, as in Abyssinia, they became agricultural. The race was phlegmatic, and took a different name in each new country, adopting to some extent its customs. But to-day they are seen to be an exclusive race, very proud of caste, and speaking a separate language—a race whose women do not willingly marry negroes.

The aboriginal Wichwezi, on the other hand, were negroids, prognathous, without a nasal bone, thick-lipped, and with a woolly growth on the scalp and other places, which under the microscope exhibits the same structure as the wool of the sheep, and grows in little tufts. Their colour is deep black, their physique thick and heavy, their occupation mainly agricultural and stationary.

Emin and others suppose that a mixture of these two races produced the Bantu stock, from which the Wagar and Wanyoro are



6 THE MIXTURE OF RACES

descended ; and the legend related by Speke, that the descendants of the white invaders became half-black and half-white, with one part of the head covered with hair and the other half with wool, points to a recognition of this union. The Wagoga and the inhabitants of the islands in the Lake, however, seem to have no admixture of Wahuma blood. Pure types of both races remain among their Bantu descendants, the Wichwezi negroids as gipsies and wanderers, the Wahuma following their vocation as herdsmen. These Bantu, however, inclined to the negroid type, whose blood probably predominated in their veins. A parallel may be found in West Africa, where the great Hausa and other races are supposed by some to be the off-spring of a similar blending of the aboriginal races—now driven to the swamps at the mouths of the Congo and the Niger—with the invading Fulani, or Berbers, from the north-west.

The aboriginals of Uganda were driven into the impenetrable forests of the Rain Zone, or the arid deserts, which afforded scope for neither agricultural nor pastoral needs, by the wave of immigration from the north-east. Possibly the race which preceded even the Negroids, and which now survives only in the vast forests of the Congo, Aruwimi, or Mombuttu, and (as "Bushmen") in the waterless tracts of the Kalahari Desert, consisted of dwarfs.

BEAUTY OF THE COUNTRY 7

These two races, the Wahuma and the Bantu, neither of which, however, is limited to the Uganda Protectorate, form the bulk of the inhabitants. The exigencies of space forbid an examination into the origin of the races of Kavirondo, Nandi, Kamasia, Elgon, or even of Usoga—whose people Emin denies to be Bantus—and of other outlying parts of the Protectorate, however interesting the subject would be to an ethnologist.

Every traveller on arriving in Uganda has been struck by the beauty of the country and its wonderful fertility. Stanley describes it as “a country of singular fascination, and a people peculiarly fascinating too—a land worth loving.” He speaks of scenes unrivalled for soft beauty, luxuriance, fertility, and sublimity; a soil of inexhaustible fertility; forests tall and dense, vegetation luxuriant and various. Emin, whose travels had lain through the north of Uganda, as Stanley’s had lain to the east, west, and south, echoes the same praises. “This,” he says, “is indeed a beautiful and well-favoured land, with its red soil, its green gardens, its lofty mountains and its dark snug valleys.” Life, he says, is a constant struggle with the superior forces of nature, and the overwhelming life of plants and animals. Speke is no less enthusiastic, especially in regard to Buddu; while the Rev. C. T. Wilson describes the forest ravines as the realisation of childhood’s dreams of Fairy-land.

8 THE EQUATORIAL REGION

Yet none of these travellers had seen the lofty Mau Escarpment described later by Thomson, or the magnificent snow-clad peaks of Ruwenzori, which Stanley later discovered from the side of the Congo State, and along the northern slopes of which the present writer travelled shortly afterwards, nor yet the marvellously beautiful Albert Edward Lake.

These later discoveries, more especially Ruwenzori, beyond doubt add very greatly to the magnificence and beauty of the scenery. "There exists," says Speke, "a regular gradation of fertility, surprisingly rich on the equator, but decreasing systematically from it, and the reason why this great fertile zone is confined to the equatorial regions is the same as that which has constituted it the great focus of water or lake supply whence issue the principal rivers of Africa. On the equator lie the rain-bearing influences of the Mountains of the Moon. The equatorial line is in fact the centre of atmospheric motion." "It rains," he adds, "in the region of the equator more or less the whole year round, but most at the equinoxes. The winds have an easterly tending, and deflect north and south, following the sun. In the drier season they blow so cold that the sun's heat is not distressing, and, in consequence of this, and the average height of the plateau, which is 3,000 feet, the general temperature of the atmosphere is very pleasant, and the nights

CHARACTERISTICS OF COUNTRY 9

always cool." Tables of observations relating to the climate will be found in the appendices to Speke's, Wilson's, Felkin's, and other books of travel.

Uganda is a country of rounded hills of red clay and marl, the geological formation consisting of argillaceous sand-stones. The hills are covered with pasture grass, and divided by sluggish river swamps, choked with papyrus and other vegetation. The swamps are frequently half-a-mile broad and of treacherous bog, and are often fringed with grand forests and dense undergrowth. They are strangely described by Speke as "rush-drains, the last waters of the old bed of the Lake."

The general level of the country is from 3,000 to 4,000 feet, and it is bisected by the equator. The country becomes more rugged as the traveller passes westward from the Victoria to the Albert Lake. While the rounded hills of Uganda rise only some 400 feet above the general level of the country, those in Unyoro reach an altitude of 1,500 feet above the level. Bamboo-grass upwards of ten feet high impedes progress, while in Unyoro, as in Uganda, the papyrus - choked river swamps are what Schweinfurth calls "gallery-woods." Towards the south these give place to clear running water, and after crossing the Mpanga—a wonderfully picturesque stream, surging and eddying through gorges 700 feet deep—the

interminable streams and rivers of icy-cold clear water which flow from the snows of Ruwenzori to the Albert Edward Lake and the Semliki are encountered. Similarly to the east, rivers of clear water drain the lofty main plateau (8,000—10,000 feet) to the Victoria Lake, while Usoga presents the curious spectacle of rivers running as it were by chance southwards to the Lake or northwards to the Nile, the water-parting being almost imperceptible.

Emin describes Unyoro (from the north) as "a country sloping to the south and more gently to the west, upon which rise isolated dome-shaped hills, and even short ridges; it looks as if a continuous plateau had existed there in a past age, from which enormous floods had washed away the softer rocks, thus giving rise to the existing hills." Felkin, by the light of more recent travels, more accurately describes it as a plain sloping to the Nile to the north, and hilly in the south. Its two great rivers are the Kafu on the east, and the Mpanga in the south, and the drainage is to the Nile in the north, and to the Albert Edward in the south. Among the rocky hills and boulders of Unyoro are caves and underground dwellings, in which the Wanyoro are said to live or to take refuge in case of danger. Usoga contains one lofty mountain, Elgon — explored and described by Thomson and by Major

Macdonald. The Sesse Islands in the Victoria Lake—the second largest lake in the world—form a group said to number 400, and are very rich in timber and pasture. The largest, says Wilson, is ten to fifteen miles long, and three to four broad.

Wilson describes the northern part of Uganda as an undulating country with ridges running north-north-east and south-south-west, and Professor A. H. Keane, in his Compendium of Geography, well describes the composition of the rounded hills as red marl, shaly gravel, and iron ore slag, with valleys of rich black humus.

The maximum rainfall occurs at two periods of the year, March to May, and September to November, giving two seasons and double crops. Hence the Uganda year is reckoned as six months only, and the fertility is prodigious. The temperature is equable, and Wilson estimates it as varying between 50° and 90° . Felkin gives the mean in Unyoro as 78° , with a variation of 30° . The rainfall is about 50 inches in Uganda, and 60 in Unyoro, and is often, says Emin, extremely partial. A black soil over-lies a sandy red clay, said by Felkin to be about 30 feet thick, and in places there are deposits of the purest china clay. The rocks are igneous, and metamorphic with rock crystals; and the upper soil lies, in Unyoro, on red quartz. Ironstone abounds, but no metal other than iron has been found. Boiling springs,

with salt and sulphur deposits, occur at Kibero, on the Albert Lake; and there is a dark-coloured salt lake at Katwi, lying only a few yards from the shore of the Albert Edward. Side by side with icy streams flowing from the Ruwenzori are rivers of hot water, and the "crater lakes" which are met with in the lacustrine plain, and elsewhere in the south of Unyoro, show traces of comparatively recent volcanic action.

Three great lakes, the Victoria, the Albert, and the Albert Edward, border, and partly lie within, the Protectorate, and very many smaller ones, including the chain of lakes on the Victorian or Somerset Nile, to the north of the Victoria, are met with, of varying size. The Victoria is some 220 by 230 miles in area. The prevailing winds upon it are from the south-east in the morning; squalls and storms, accompanied by water-spouts, are frequent, and raise a heavy surf and sea. Fogs, too, are not unusual.

The mountain mass of Ruwenzori is one of the three great peaks in equatorial Africa which are covered with perpetual snow. The snow-line is at an altitude of 13,000 feet. This mountain was first seen by Mason and Gessi in their explorations of the Albert Lake, and was finally "discovered" by Stanley in 1888, when Lieut. Stairs ascended it to a height of 10,677 feet. Early in 1891, I traversed its southern

slopes from the Albert Edward to the Albert Lake, and built a fort at the foot of the lofty peak. Shortly afterwards Stuhlmann ascended to some 500 feet below the snow line; and he reports that its chief geological structure is of mica slate and old granite eruptive rocks. It appears to consist of many parallel chains, running north-north-west and south-south-east. Mr. Scott-Elliott, who in 1894 reached an altitude of 12,640 feet, believes no part of the mountain to exceed 16,500 feet in height. The belts of vegetation are as follows: 3,850 to 5,350 feet, bananas and tall grasses; 5,350 to 6,500 feet, colocassia and beans cultivated, limit of settlements; 6,700 to 8,530 feet, erica, bamboos, and deciduous trees; 8,530 to 11,800 feet, erica forests, bogs, and vaccuicum; 11,800 to snow line, bushes, tree ferns, grass, mosses, and lichens. Mr. J. E. S. Moore, in the present year (1900), ascended what he claims to be the highest peak of Ruwenzori, and confirmed Scott-Elliott's contention that the greatest altitude was 16,500 feet. He found mosses and lichens close to the summit.

The chief claim of Uganda to notice consists in the extraordinary contrast between it, with its semi-civilization and the intelligence of its people, and the surrounding tribes of Africa. We are familiar with Moham-medan negro empires, and the comparative civilization and justice which the introduction

of a higher religion and social law brings in its train. But, so far as we are aware, no purely Pagan tribe in Africa, shut off from contact with surrounding peoples on a higher plane of civilization, has ever developed so extraordinary a social, political, and even legal system as was found, at the time of its "discovery," in Uganda. Speke, with his companion Grant, was the first European to enter Uganda, and he describes the complex system of rule, the social organization, the beautiful dresses of exquisitely tanned skins and of "Mbugu" or bark cloth, the polished manners of the people, the high standard they had attained in their manufactures, and the far-reaching power of the king. These will be described later in detail. Stanley, too, many years later, remarked on the large ideas which prompted the selection of a hill for the sake of its view on which to build the capital, and which replaced the narrow African path by roads 20 feet and more in width.

Leaving, therefore, the naked savages of Kavirondo, Elgon, Elgeya, Kamasia, and Nandi, the Wakedi, and the Northern Wasoga, and the dwellers on Ruwenzori and around the Albert Edward Lake—whose customs and characteristics nevertheless form a theme of great interest—we will content ourselves with a brief history of the Bantu peoples of Uganda and Unyoro, and an examination of their customs, while the exigencies of space compel

us to refer the reader to any general work on savage Africa for information regarding the other types of the people of the Protectorate. Even of the customs of the Wahuma space forbids us to speak, and we must be content with what has already been said of their characteristics and origin. Generally speaking, what is said of the people of Uganda applies in a less degree to the Wanyoro, who had not attained to quite the same plane of civilization, and in a still less degree to the people of South Usoga.

The Waganda are physically a very fine race (Stanley speaks of men 6 feet 6 inches in height), and make excellent porters, capable of carrying very heavy loads.* They have not the sense of pain that Europeans have, and Felkin relates that a man who had three teeth out was so pleased that he wished more to be extracted, while they often laugh and joke under an operation. Their teeth are good. The men are proud of any hair on the face—which is not unusual. They have a distinctive national odour. Few old persons are met with. The powers of sight and hearing are very acute. Albinos are not uncommon, and are said to be usually females. Dwarfs are occasionally seen, especially at Court, where they are treated as licensed jesters.

In character, Stanley describes the people, taken as a whole, as crafty, fraudulent, thievish,

16 CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE

deceiving, lying knaves, with an uncontrollable love of gaining wealth by violence, with the lawless instinct developed to a greater degree than in any other African tribe. All in their degree, he adds, are despots and vain, with a tribe of sycophants and followers, down to the peasant with a child to carry his gun for him. But withal, they are neat, clean, and modest.

There is some truth in this indictment, but it is too general and exaggerated. The extreme indolence of the chiefs, and to a less degree of all classes, is due largely to the institutions of polygamy and domestic slavery. They are affectionate, and become very attached, and have naturally a kindly nature. The legends relating to Kintu shew a high ideal of mercy and of kindness to animals, while frequent acts of disinterested humanity are on record, more especially by women. On the other hand, lying and thieving are not regarded as defects of character, and are only reprobated and punished if done clumsily and found out. A thief if caught may be killed. An Mganda is, above all, impulsive, and easily falls into thoughtless errors or precipitate action: now recklessly brave, under the idea that he is invulnerable, anon prone to panic in the unreasoning idea that all is lost. He is indifferent to life, though suicide is rare; brave in war; often cruel and treacherous, but always impulsive. At one moment the countryside looks

THEIR SHREWD INTELLIGENCE 17

the home of endless peace ; unarmed men and women are engaged in agriculture, or chattering over their wares in the market. Five minutes later some wild rumour has passed through the people like an electric shock, and, without heed to its truth or falsity, the war drums are sounding, and every hill and dale bristles with spears and riflemen. The friends of a moment ago are ready to take each others' lives. Prompted by the impulse of passion, the Waganda have committed excesses, and have again and again plunged their country heedlessly into war, and, urged by the same emotional temperament, have anon accepted Christianity by thousands with enthusiasm, and died the death of martyrs for their creed.

Another striking characteristic is their shrewd intelligence, which is shown in their evolution, unaided by extraneous example or teaching ; for both the Mohammedan Arabs and the Christian travellers found Uganda semi-civilized when they entered the country. It is shown by the elaborate system of native law and custom, and the strikingly shrewd arguments used in prosecuting or defending a case before the Baraza. The questions put to Europeans regarding civilized practices and inventions are wonderfully intelligent, while the knowledge displayed of their own country, and everything in connection with it, proves them to have not only intellect but extraordinarily retentive memories.

18 NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

Their numerals reach almost indefinite limits, and the system, like ours, is a decimal one. The favourite game, Mweso, played on a board with holes containing peas, requires rapid mental calculation, and is so intricate that no European seems to have mastered it. The people have a positive mania for counting. Most of the chiefs rapidly acquired Swaheli, and could write in the Arabic character (using slabs of cotton-wood as slates). Events were recorded in "books," and on the arrival of the European missionaries the mania for learning to read and write was almost incredible. Ashe relates that books could hardly be sent up fast enough, and that on the arrival of a consignment there was almost a free fight to obtain them on payment. Wilson says that in a few weeks a class trained on the sol-fa system could sing almost any simple tune at sight, and an envoy taken to England by him could play simple tunes on the piano in a few days. To illustrate a description they will sketch on the ground, and to enforce the points of an argument will break up a twig, placing one bit in the hand of the listener for each head of the argument.

Apart from these two characteristics of intelligence and impetuosity, the national traits of the Waganda are a love of pomp and display, great cleanliness and neatness in their mode of dress, of living and of eating ; a love of privacy and a superficial modesty concealing a great

deal of immorality; bravery in war, and skill in the arts and manufactures of peace.

Emin describes the Wanyoro as "modest and unpretentious," neither physically nor mentally so fine as the Waganda, and less dignified and graceful, with less expressive faces, and generally below medium height. Wilson sums up the national character in the phrase: "Mentally and physically superior to almost all the tribes of Africa, they are morally inferior."

The Waganda are very hospitable. All white men were supposed to be the guests of the king, and were supplied with food gratis, at least for some time after their arrival. No one was allowed to sell to them. They were, however, required to live in the place assigned to them. They might not enter the country, or leave it, without the permission of the king, and must approach slowly and by circuitous routes under the escort of the king's messenger and guide—ancient and rigorous regulations which I had necessarily to set aside. Guests are escorted home at night by messengers with flaming torches; a practice always followed also when a chief goes abroad after dark. Mtesa was personally very partial to Europeans, but the chiefs always disliked and feared them, and were jealous of their power. In Mwang'a's time this dislike culminated in the murder of Bishop Hannington. Emin found Kabarega "dignified, courteous, well-mannered, hospitable, and

intelligent," but formed by no means so high an estimate of Mtesa as Stanley had done. Hospitality in these countries is, however, only a cloak for greed, and the perpetual cry is "Give," until the visitor is stripped of all his goods.

The general scheme of government was "an exceedingly complex feudal system." The king was an absolute despot, and regarded as divine. Theoretically, he is the sole owner of all land, but cannot alienate it, and only owns certain estates as private property. The chiefs of provinces own similar estates, which appertain to their office, and not the whole of their provinces. The king can requisition more estates if he desires them. Any man may annex waste land and cultivate it, or may buy land, and if so acquired it is inherited by sons (generally the eldest), but not by daughters. There is, therefore, to some extent, a personal tenure. In Unyoro, if there is no heir the land passes to the local chief. The king may make grants of land at any time by confiscation.

The despotism exercised by Mtesa in his earlier years, and by his father Suna, was of a kind which rivalled the worst records of Behanzin of Dahomey, or of the Kings of Benin. It is related that Mtesa, in fits of bloodthirstiness, would enter his harem and kill his wives for sport, and the accounts of Speke, Stanley, Colonel Long, Wilson and Ashe are full of stories of wholesale butcheries, while Mackay

states that "more than once hecatombs of 2,000 victims were butchered either in sheer wantonness or else as offerings to the manes of his father *Şuna*." It is unnecessary to quote the revolting stories of these butcheries told by each of these writers. Casati alleges that in Unyoro also holocausts of victims (especially at the ceremony of Mpango, when a chief was finally sacrificed) were slaughtered to appease the spirit of Kamrasi, as well as at the new moon, and at many other times—while a living child was buried in the path when the army went to war. At the burial of a king in Unyoro, as Speke relates, hundreds of men were mutilated and thrown into the grave, still living, before it was filled in, together with cloth and valuables. This waste of human life was, therefore, in part due to Pagan superstition, in part to the caprice and bloodthirstiness of the king.

In those days also the punishments inflicted for comparatively trivial offences—exposing an inch of leg, and so offending against decency; a careless salute, or an mbugu tied awry—were most barbarous, such as the cutting-off of ears or hands, the gouging-out of eyes, and other mutilations. Ashe states that Mtesa made an arbitrary law that every man must have a bead on his wrist, on pain of loss of his head, and every woman a bead round her waist, under penalty of being cut in half! Death was inflicted in its most horrible forms, by burning alive, and by the hacking-off of limbs.

Unnecessary as were these unspeakable barbarities, it was necessary to rule so turbulent a people with a rod of iron.

The king, or kabaka, then wielded absolute and arbitrary power. Every girl was available for his harem should he desire her, and he could dispossess the greatest chief in the kingdom of lands, property, wives and children, and give them to the meanest slave, without the slightest demur. His voice was the voice of God to his people. His court was surrounded by a large retinue of soldiers, musicians, dwarfs, clowns, albinos, messengers, executioners, and pages. The punctilious court etiquette enforced the strict observance of infinite rules of procedure and ceremony. Ashe states that in the time of Mwanga, at any rate, vile obscenities were openly practised in Court. Every command or decision of the king was received with reiterated cries of "Nyanzi" (thanks) and by paroxysms of kicking with the feet, while the recipient lay prone on his stomach and rubbed his face in the dust, or by rising and charging towards the king while the cry of "Nyanzi" was repeated. In this chorus of thanks all present joined with the recipient, even though it were a sentence of death or ruin. If the king sneezed, all sneezed, and the voice of flattery and adulation was never still. If the king moved his house even for a very short distance, every chief must do the same

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and build at the exact distance from the palace which is prescribed by etiquette and rank. His messages were carried at full speed, and the approaching guest was greeted by a constant succession of couriers, and by small boys with guns longer than themselves bearing the greetings of king and chiefs.

Emin relates that the death of the king from natural causes presages misfortune to the land, and he is therefore killed by his wives when his death seems imminent. His successor is chosen by election from among the Walangira (princes of royal blood), and as the choice is usually not unanimous rival selections lead to protracted wars. The eldest son may not be chosen, and the choice usually falls on a child, during whose minority the three greatest chiefs act as Regents, and the young king is instructed in the ways and traditions of the country. The remaining sons, with the exception of one or two who are preserved in case of accident, are then killed. Felkin says that the Queen-mother acts as Regent till the new king assumes the government. The recognized successor first buries the body of the late king, and next usually kills all his brothers and rivals. The late king's grave becomes a sanctuary and refuge for deposed chiefs and fugitives. It is said that a new king in Unyoro sleeps two days on the east of the Nile, and then enters the country by the route his ancestors are supposed to have taken.

Elaborate precautions are taken for the king's safety ; his well of drinking water is guarded by a sub-chief, and his food prepared by a second, both having made blood-brotherhood with him. The king succeeds to the wives of his father, who, with the exception of his own mother (and, according to Ashe, any others who have become mothers by the late king), become his wives. His daughters may also, it is said, enter his harem, but his sons with their mothers are each assigned a district for their support, and become Watongali, or sub-chiefs.

The king in Uganda is bound to consult the Luchiko, or council of chiefs, which is held daily by the Kabaka to dispense justice for the country, and, according to Wilson, he dare not oppose a unanimous opinion of the three hereditary chiefs, who would retort by deposing him. He is not, therefore, in reality an autocrat.

In Unyoro there is no council, and justice is less formal. Every peasant has the right of appeal to the Luchiko ; here appointments to chiefships are made, guests of distinction received, and the foreign relations of the kingdom transacted ; but to settle distant disputes the king often appoints two commissioners. Guests may attend the council, and are often asked for advice, but their interference in purely domestic politics is resented. The general council consists of all the Wakungu and Watongali at the capital, and there is an inner cabinet

consisting of the three hereditary chiefs, the Lubuga, and one or two others. This cabinet, says Felkin, is supreme in Uganda, and can insist on a general council being called; but in Unyoro the king has greater power, and is supported by a body-guard of Wasura. Punishments inflicted at the Luchiko consist usually of fines (oxen and girls), and deprivation of rank and property. Death is less rarely inflicted, since, as Kabarega told Emin, "dead men pay no taxes."

The king's mother—or if she be dead a substitute—holds the official position of Namasole, having a court of her own similar to the king's, but in which women predominate; and she is a person of very great importance and power. With her are associated the female relatives of the late king. Both the Namasole and the Lubuga have the title of Kabaka. The Lubuga, or king's sister, also holds a court of her own, and exercises great power in the State, advising, as has been already mentioned, with the three hereditary chiefs in the cabinet; and she is installed with great ceremony and given the implements for basket making as insignia. The Walangira (princes) and Bambeja (princesses) of the royal blood exercise little or no executive power, but are accorded a rank and dignity—with estates in proportion—corresponding to the closeness of their relationship to the Kabaka. The Bambeja are not allowed to

26 PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

marry, and death by fire is the punishment of a lover. They are nominally the virgin wives of different deities, but are usually most unchaste, except the virgin dedicated to the giant god Budu, whom no man dare touch. The title Kiwewa is applied to the eldest prince, and Nasolo to the eldest princess.

The country is divided into ten provinces under "Wakungu." These, with a number of the principal functionaries of the kingdom who have no territorial charge, rank as the great chiefs of Uganda, and are provided with estates scattered throughout the provinces. Each chief has, moreover, a house and grounds at the capital, as in Japan. Of the non-territorial chiefs who rank in the first-class, the Katikiro takes precedence next to the Kabaka, and acts as Prime Minister, and generally transacts all the affairs of the country. The life of an Mkungu is precarious, depending on the king's caprice. An Mkungu collects the king's taxes, and may impose such as he likes; and he must bring occasional presents. The peasants, however, on the estates of the king and other royalties, or of other great chiefs in a province, are not under the provincial chief, except in war, and may not be taxed by him. A despot in his own province, he is a mere slave at court. Should he incur the king's slightest displeasure, it is obligatory to present his virgin daughters to the king's harem as a propitiatory offering.

POSITION OF THE PEASANTS 27

Next in official rank to the great Wakungu come the Watongali, or sub-chiefs. They differ much in rank and grade. An appeal is allowed from the Watongali to the Wakungu, from them to the Katikiro, and finally to the king, but the punishment is enhanced in each case if the conviction is confirmed.

Below the Watongali are innumerable gradations of rank, so that it has aptly been said that there is hardly a man in Uganda who does not hold an office of some kind. Most even of the sub-chiefs are appointed by the king. At the bottom of the social scale are the Wakopi, or peasants, who, with the exception of the Wahuma, are serfs whose duty it is to cultivate the plantations of the chiefs, and to render to them a recognized proportion of the produce. They remain attached to the land, and change masters with it. The Wakopi, armed for the most part with spears, follow their chief to battle, and upon them devolves the duty of foraging, and, when the battle is won, of pursuing the flying foe, and spearing the weary and the wounded. They are dressed in mbugu cloth, and in normal circumstances are well off, well fed, and happy. As the subjects of a powerful kingdom, they have not to fear aggression from hostile tribes, but their hardships consist in the exactions and tyranny of their own king and chiefs. As serfs they are not considered to have any proprietary rights in the land or

produce. Any chief or messenger with his retinue, who may be authorized to pass that way, may consume the whole produce of the fields and occupy their houses. Their wives and daughters are at the disposal of the king and chiefs, and they are liable for service in war at any moment. On the other hand, a man who is a mere Mkopi to-day may be Katikiro of Uganda to-morrow. In his own view he is a man of importance, and each Mkopi has his small slave boy to carry his gun for him on the march.

Above the Wakopi in the social—as distinct from the official—grade are the Wataka, or landed proprietors, who, according to Ashe, can not be arbitrarily evicted or sentenced to death.

Below all social grades are the slaves, for the most part aliens and captives in war. They are not badly off, but may at any moment be sold to slave-dealers, and Wilson estimates that about 1878 over 1,000 were yearly sold (mostly boys and girls) in lack of other means of paying for necessaries. Felkin says an owner may kill his slaves, but the practice is regarded with disfavour. The Waganda, however, began to recognize that the slave population was becoming greatly depleted, and that this involved their doing work themselves, and hence the export must cease. There is a similar slave class in Unyoro, but it is small. Head-slaves, says Felkin, may marry and own slaves themselves ;

and Ashe adds that a slave may redeem himself. The price of a slave was from £3 to £6.

Ashe gives a description of the Kiyika, or clans, each of which has an animal as its symbol, and this animal may not be eaten by the clan. No intermarriage within the Kiyika is allowed. Each clan gives a virgin to the king's harem, and if a child is born it is the *protégé* of the clan.

The position of women in Uganda differs little from that which obtains in all Bantu countries. Those of the higher classes lead an indolent life, while the peasant women perform all the labour in the fields, and carry the produce to market, etc. The former, when out of doors, are always in charge of a small boy; the latter go unattended. All classes are very unchaste. The females greatly outnumber the males, owing to the large number of men killed in war and executed for offences or ceremonials, as well as to the enormous number of women captured in the wars of Suna and Mtesa from the surrounding peoples. Wilson estimates that the proportion is as $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, and that, in addition to the causes named, there are more births of females than of males. Polygamy and marriage at an extremely early age are customary, girls being wedded at 13 or 14. The number of wives possessed by a man is an indication of his wealth and status; they are always marketable, and, meanwhile, as the

women of the lower classes perform the agricultural work, therefore the larger number of wives the greater the return in crops. The king possesses many hundred wives and concubines; the chiefs, each in his degree, have large harems; a small chief would have from 10 to 15, while even a peasant has 3 or 4. The price of a woman is given by Wilson at four cows or six needles.

This system of polygamy and early marriage tends to check the increase of population, since only the youngest and favourite wives become mothers. It also promoted war, by the quarrels for succession of various sons by different mothers. Women, says Emin, have children when between the ages of twelve and twenty-five, never later. Those of Unyoro, as a rule, do not have more than two or three, while Waganda women may have as many as six, or even, perhaps, twelve. A mother weans her child in eighteen months or two years, during which time she lives apart from her husband. Girls go about completely naked until marriage in Unyoro, and in the country districts of Uganda they wear only a cincture of beads round the waist; but at the capital they are usually clothed as they grow out of mere childhood. Boys, however, are always clothed as soon as they can walk. Emin says that the women of Unyoro, as in Uganda, frequently

divest themselves of all clothing indoors, especially when sitting down to a meal, but abroad they are always completely dressed in the national mbugu, which is tucked tightly round the body above the breasts and descends to the feet, being drawn in with a girdle round the waist. Peasant women have the breasts bare. In spite of the modesty of their attire the women of these countries are very immoral. Death and torture are the punishment for infidelity in the king's harem, yet intrigues are constant. Divorce is easy, and the marriage tie is loose. The favourite wife of the day in a chief's harem wears a distinguishing mark (often a bell), but the head-wife rules supreme. Adultery, except when a wife of the king is concerned, may be punished with a mere fine of four cows.

In addition to the field work, women do the cooking, except for the king and great chiefs, who, from fear of poison, eat only the food prepared by "blood-brothers." Chiefs' wives do no work. Women are never allowed to milk the cows, and all pottery-work, building, and artizan work, such as smithing and canoe-making, is performed by men. In Unyoro a system of fattening the king's wives and daughters prevails, and they are forced to drink milk constantly, with no other food except a little salt. They become mountains of fat, and are unable to stand upright or to walk, except

32 SOCIAL STATUS OF WOMEN

on "all-fours." In Uganda women may not eat sheep, fowls, or eggs. Women cannot inherit property, but in Unyoro the king's wives may be holders of land, as also the Namasole and Lubuga, as well as the Wichwezi priestesses in Uganda. They may appoint agents to act for them in its management.

The advent of Christianity has greatly improved the social status of women in Uganda, and they are now treated by the chiefs much more in accordance with European ideas than formerly. Polygamy has ceased among the Christians, and marriages are of course celebrated with the rites of the church. Formerly there were no marriage customs other than the usual feasts and libations, and the purchase of the wife. Women age very quickly, being already old at 25 to 30; and many are childless.

There is great rejoicing throughout the village at the birth of twins. Children belong to the father, or, if the dower is unpaid, to the wife's father. The ransom of each child is one ox. Children are given one name in Uganda and two in Unyoro. Men acquire other names (for deeds of valour or personal peculiarities) in later life. The names are very various, and are frequently the names of animals, and sometimes consist of short sentences. Children have many games and make wonderfully clever imitation huts, and copy scenery and villages in mud-pies. They are well-disciplined and

wonderfully obedient and respectful, and are usually much loved by their parents. The aged, too, are looked after and cared for; but there are few of even middle age to be met with.

The religion of the Waganda prior to the introduction of Islam and Christianity is generally spoken of as Lubare; but the people do not like to speak of it, and hence it is not fully understood. Emin, however, gives fairly full accounts of the religion of Unyoro; and Wilson, Felkin and Ashe have collected much information regarding that of Uganda. It is said that the belief in a Supreme Creator, called Katonda, was universal, but that there was no definite idea of a future life. There were no idols, but offerings and prayers were made to demons who inhabit certain places and influence certain objects. The greatest was Mukasa. This Neptune of the Lake enters into some individual, who henceforth becomes his oracle and exercises great influence in procuring rain, or averting war, famine, or plague. Plantains are offered to Mukasa before undertaking a voyage. Other demons are Chiwnika, and Nenda—gods of war—who inhabit certain trees. To them are offered sacrifices of animals, which must be black, and these are received by the guardians of the trees. Ndanla, or Kawali, is the demon of small-pox, and is supposed to reside in a mountain. Kaumpuli is the demon of the Plague, and the gods of thunder and

lightning are also objects of superstition. There are also river gods, and departed kings are treated as demi-gods. Mummies of the giant Budu (Kimera), whose corpse a virgin bride ever watches, and of Kibuga, the flying chief, may still be seen, says Ashe, and they are greatly venerated. Occasional human sacrifices are made to these deities; especially to the Manes of Kings. The legends—especially those relating to the Great Magician in Unyoro, and to Kintu in Uganda—show that the people believed in the continued existence of the spirits of their kings and chiefs, and that these exerted an influence after death. But possibly this spirit-life was limited to royalty. The small white house in every courtyard and the temples in Uganda dedicated to the Muzimu—spirits—to whom offerings are made, also indicate a crude belief in a state of existence after death, but only the king is really worshipped. Ashe describes the strange belief that a spirit is controlled by some mortal, who can thus “Samira” the ghost of a dead man, and Mtesa expressed the wish that no one should so “Samira” his spirit. “Lubare” he defines as the “Upper air and water, and the deities who live there,” and he describes a custom of sending a scapegoat into the wilderness.

Superstition, and a belief in supernatural powers, has an immense hold over the people. The sorceresses (Wichwezi and Mabanda)

pretend to detect crime and theft, and to find lost or stolen goods. They avert the evil eye, and exert great influence by their powers of making wind and rain. They also act as doctors. The Wichwezi women dress in fantastic rags, and adopt a falsetto voice. Lands were assigned to them near the Nile, and they were always present at Court. Divination is practised, the entrails of fowls—especially of a red or black cock—being used as auguries. If the blood flows in several streams it is said that the augury is good, if in one only that it is bad.

•Dreams are not usually interpreted. If, however, the king or one of the hereditary chiefs has dreamt of the late king, holocausts of victims, caught haphazard, are sacrificed, the blood being caught in a trench dug for the purpose. Magic and the efficacy of charms, amulets, and incantations, and of good and bad omens, to affect the fertility and fidelity of women, and the increase of the fields and cattle, are implicitly believed in. The potency of the evil eye and the power of witchcraft, and the poison ordeal, were beliefs which exerted a powerful influence. Certain objects were supposed to act as talismans, or to have especial powers—such as the throne in Unyoro, on removal of which the dynasty would cease, and the king's drums and war shield in Uganda, which were sent to reinforce an army in difficulties. Charms

consist of teeth, and of all kinds of odds and ends, especially powders wrapped in snake-skin. They were worn on the person, hung on trees, or thrown into the lake or a river, according to their class and purpose. Offerings brought to the king must be rubbed on the face of the donor to show there is no evil charm. Animals are credited with good and bad characters, and enter largely into their legends, in the manner of "Brer Rabbit." Stars are supposed to be inhabited by giants, and the Wanyoro have a great fear of Ruwenzori. Emin relates the widely credited idea in that country that certain men can leave their huts by night and roam in quest of victims, whom they eat. At such times they are invulnerable.

Ashe states that the Wahuma have no idea of a hereafter, but have a hazy conception of a deity whom they call "Lugabba." In Unyoro, a man, says Emin, is buried to the left of the door, a woman to the right. Burial also sometimes takes place in the courtyard, where offerings are made over the grave. Chiefs are buried in wooden coffins; criminals and slaves are left unburied, as also are warriors who die in battle.

The advent of the Arabs, who brought with them the religion of Islam, and of the missionaries of the Christian creeds, had a remarkable effect in destroying these pagan superstitions. Both these creeds took rapid root in Uganda,

but until quite recently found no footing in Unyoro, Usoga, or Ankoli, nor have they yet made any appreciable progress in the last-named countries. •

Both men and women are completely clothed in Unyoro, Uganda, and Usoga—formerly in the mbugu or bark cloth, and beautifully tanned skins; latterly, as regards the chiefs, in the purest linen of Europe. The difficulty of distinguishing at a short distance between men and women so clothed gave rise to the old idea, among surrounding countries, that in Uganda there were no men. Speke describes head-dresses of antelopes' horns and boars' tusks, such as may now be seen in Kavirondo, but of late years these have been discarded and the chiefs wear a small bit of cloth tied round the head, or an Arab cap. In the wars with the Mohammedans, however, a head-dress was distinctive of Islam, and the Christians fought bare-headed.

The mbugu cloth, or skin rug, is worn knotted over the shoulder and down to the feet, with an under garment; and women in Unyoro wear a cloak. In battle men wear nothing but a loin cloth. Boat-shaped sandals of hippo or buffalo hide, with a loop for the toe and a band of fur over the instep, are worn; but leopard-skin, or any brass fixing, is the prerogative of the king. In the time of Stanley, warriors in battle wore gorgeous ornaments, the Wasoga especially being

distinguished by white ostrich plumes, lion and leopard skins, and girdles of long white monkey and goat hair added to their battle array. The Uganda spear is seven feet long, and the shields are oval, beautifully made of wicker-work, with wooden bosses; but these have been replaced of late years by guns and modern rifles among the important men. Arm-rings, bracelets, necklaces, and other decorations of beads or ivory are much worn, especially by women; while anklets of brass and necklaces of roots are worn in Unyoro. Finger-rings of iron or brass or silver are also used.

Being fully clothed, these people do not rub fat over their bodies as do most Africans, nor do they dress the hair fantastically, as is almost universally done by the natives elsewhere. It is either worn *au naturel* or the head is shaved, the latter being a sign of mourning in Unyoro. Both peoples remove all hair from the body except on the face. They are proud of a beard, and, unlike most Africans, many men have some hair on their faces. The Waganda do not file their teeth or make any tribal cuts, and no tattoo marks or self-inflicted mutilations are allowed; but the Wanyoro extract the lower incisors and make two burns on the temples as tribal marks.

The people have a strong natural odour, which, according to Ashe, is completely absent in the Wahuma. Their colour varies from black to yellow, but always with a reddish tinge.

Ashe states that when in mourning in Uganda only the mbugu is worn, with no white or coloured cloths, the hair is allowed to grow, and the men wear a girdle of withered banana leaves, the women one of green leaves.

The social life of the Waganda has reached a much higher plane than that of the Wanyoro, but both peoples are very much alike. There is, however, a less orderly justice administered in Unyoro, and the people are less decent and less developed. The forms of salutation in both countries are most elaborate, and especial words are used for each occasion. An inferior kneels or prostrates himself before a superior. Friends embrace by clasping each other and leaning their heads first over one shoulder and then over the other of their friend, at the same time repeating long formulæ of greetings. There is a word "to kiss" in the language, but it is never practised, and is considered very improper. Travellers along a road echo and re-echo the final sounds of the words of greeting, bandying it backwards and forwards as it were, till it becomes a series of alternate grunts, often continued for a ludicrously long time after the friends have left each other. The king's hands are carried reverently to the head or lips as salutation, but the strict court etiquette of Uganda is notably absent in Unyoro. Coffee berries are handed to guests, and are continually chewed—never decocted—taking the place of

the kola nut of West Africa. No one was allowed out at night, and Ashe states that the executioners went out from time to time and killed all and sundry whom they might meet after dark.

Both Waganda and Wanyoro are clean in their persons and in eating, fumigate their clothes to destroy vermin, and rub scented clay on their bodies.

The food of the people consists chiefly of bananas and of sweet potatoes, the former more especially in Uganda, the latter in Unyoro. Vegetables, gourds, eleusine, maize, millet, casava, rice, sorghum, ground nuts, beans, pumpkins, yams, and colocasia are also eaten, and meat whenever obtainable, even if "high," but animals that have died a natural death are generally rejected. Beef is the luxury of the wealthy; goat's flesh the meat of the peasant. Some eat fish, especially those living near the great lakes, also fowls and eggs; others do not touch them.

The flesh of elephants, hippopotami, and of all reptiles, is avoided, except by the Sesse Islanders, who eat hippo flesh; but game and large rodents are much appreciated. All vegetable food—except bananas, which are roasted or steamed, or prepared in a hundred different ways—is usually eaten as a porridge, with which meat broth, honey, butter, sesame or chilies are taken as a condiment. Bananas are

also dried and made into flour for transport, and then used as a porridge, never as bread: a custom common to all Bantu races. Sugar cane is much liked, and milk is drunk when obtainable. It is generally curdled, being brought from the grazing grounds at a distance. Salt is much in request, and little children will eat it in preference to sweetmeats. Both Waganda and Wanyoro eat termites, either roasted, or alive as they come out from the ground. A species of grasshopper is also eaten, and, Wilson adds, locusts, as well as the nkungu fly (a midge which flies in clouds across the lake), precisely as is done on Nyassa.

Fire for cooking used to be obtained from the fire-stick, but this has long been superseded by imported matches.

In a large household the master and a few wives eat together, and the rest of the wives and children eat in their own huts, while the slaves form a separate group. In a peasant's house all eat together. In some cases the head slaves are allowed to join the master's table. Banana leaves are used as a table-cloth, and wet napkins, of green banana stem, are used to wash the hands. No drink is taken till the meal is finished. Women divest themselves of all clothing before eating, and at a chief's house there is often music during a meal.

The food is taken with the fingers from a common dish—the hands being first washed.

Coffee berries, pipes with long stems, and bowls of banana cider, follow a meal, of which there are usually three in a day. In Unyoro the general food utensil is a boat-shaped dish, standing on legs, from which all help themselves with their hands, or with spoons made from gourds.

Cooking is generally done by steaming, meat being wrapped in a banana leaf and placed in the pot on the top of bananas, which are kept from scorching by placing sticks at the bottom. Women in Unyoro only eat the ripe banana raw, and in that country earth-eating is resorted to. Gluttony is a common vice, and men will eat meat till they are as gorged as a python and can hardly move.

The national drink is a liquor, more or less fermented, prepared from the banana. The fresh juice unfermented is called Sandi in Unyoro, Mubisi in Uganda, and is non-intoxicating. Movengi is the same, fermented and intoxicating. Malwa (Uganda) and Mwenge (Unyoro) are highly fermented and rendered very intoxicating by the addition of millet. In addition to this banana cider there is a non-intoxicating beer, called Merua in Unyoro and Mlamba in Uganda, made from boiled millet or eleusine corn. The banana cider is imbibed from morning till night, and even on the march a man will carry a gourd of it, and suck slowly through the tube of beauti-

fully plaited coloured grasses made for the purpose. Water is rarely used as a beverage, yet Emin says that he never saw a drunken person in Ufiyoro. In Uganda drunkenness by day is rare, but drinking parties at night become boisterous and intoxicated. The effect of much drinking is generally to produce a fuddled state of semi-intoxication, which, however, appears to produce no ill-effects next day—very different from the wild semi-insanity caused by imported European spirits in West Africa, or by the palm tembo of the East Coast. It is regrettable to have to record that Baker taught the Wanyoro, and Speke the Waganda, how to distil liquor from corn and potatoes, and the Arabs (says Wilson), in spite of their creed, did the same. The gourd bottles used for holding the cider are of all the elegant shapes of our decanters. Coffee drinking is unknown, but the berry, gathered green and sometimes roasted, is chewed.

Both sexes are inveterate smokers, but do not chew tobacco or take it as snuff. The pipes are of earthenware, and are often very large, with enormously long stems.

Blood brotherhood is made in these countries by an incision over the fifth rib. Coffee berries are dipped in the blood and eaten, and the bond formed is of the utmost sacredness, and never broken.

The Badu, or slaves, who have no rights, have

been alluded to, domestic slavery being a condition of the social life in Uganda. It has been seen that they are well treated, and feed with the household, though they may be sold or killed. They usually perform the menial work in the house. The institution encourages indolence and the conception that all labour is derogatory, which is one of the greatest evils of the system.

The Waganda and Wahuma possess dogs, but these are not so prized as in the time of Speke, and are mostly pariahs. The decadence of the dog is probably due to the influence of the Arabs, who, as Mohammedans, abhor it as unclean. The Waganda also keep parrots and cats, but the Wanyoro have few or no domestic pets.

The cattle of the country are a very fine breed, carrying prodigious horns and having humps. The horns are often taken off when young, and the wound cauterized, to enable the animal to get through the jungle. The Wahuma are invariably the herdsmen; the Waganda will not touch cattle, and women are never allowed to milk. Goats are universally kept, and the hair of the breed in Buddu resembles that of the Angora in its length and silky texture. The skin of the goat is used for dress and to ornament the prows of canoes and musical instruments. Sheep are not numerous, and are lean—as are the fowls—and of the

ordinary African type. There are no beasts of burden in the country, but chiefs often ride on the shoulders of men, who carry them swiftly and for great distances.

Hunting — in which dogs are used — not merely for meat, but as a form of sport, is not unknown. He who inflicts the fatal wound claims the trophies. The skin of a lion or leopard belongs to the king, and if the animal is killed near the capital it is taken bodily to him. The king has also one tusk of every elephant killed, and can claim to purchase the other if he wishes. Elephants were once hunted with spears; but of late years with guns. They are also caught in pit-falls. Buffaloes are trapped by a wreath of thorns attached to a heavy log, of which the animal cannot rid himself when he has put his foot into the ring. Antelope are caught in nets, and lions and leopards are often killed by the fall of a balanced log. Unlike most other Africans, these people value the horns, &c., as trophies of the chase. The common mode of fishing, says Wilson, is with a rod and line; the hooks are not barbed, and the line is of aloe-fibre. Fish are also caught in nets, and in basket-traps.

As with all Africans, the chief amusement of the people is dancing to the beat of the drum, with bells, rattles, and flutes as an accompaniment. The common dance is best described

as a series of writhing contortions, the body being thrown into many postures, while the feet maintain a slow shuffle only. It is extremely exhausting, and generally very indecent. Wilson says that a freer and truer mode of dancing is also practised.

Wrestling is also a national sport, the throw being generally from the hip. Ashe also speaks of a game of throwing sticks in some peculiar way, also a gambling game with cowries, introduced, he says, from Egypt. Many kinds of game at ball are played by boys, while the sedentary game of mweso (already spoken of) provides employment for their elders. ‘

The huts of the Waganda, are probably the largest and best in Africa. They are of beehive shape, with a doorway cut in the side, facing up-hill, and with a bonnet-like projection over it. The construction is begun with a circle on the ground, and this is gradually raised as ribs of reed and larger concentric circles are added, till, supported on a forest of poles, it is placed *in situ*. The thatch is begun from the bottom, and a prodigious quantity of grass is used, as much as 24 feet being found on the hut containing Mtesa's tomb, when a lightning conductor was fixed upon it. Women may not take part in building, and the thatchers are a separate guild. Inside, the walls are made of stout bamboo reeds, carefully washed, and secured, side by side, vertically with banana-fibre

string, in perfect regularity. The space between the inner and outer wall is usually filled with grass, or the wall may be made in the ordinary way of grass and reeds. The interior, which presents the appearance of a forest of poles, is usually divided into a living and a sleeping room, though big chiefs have often separate houses for cooking and sleeping. Fine soft grass of a particular kind is very carefully laid on the floor, but never changed, fresh grass being laid on the top of the old grass from time to time. Hence the houses become full of vermin and rotting grass. Every article is neatly wrapped up in banana leaf, tied and put away in its place, and the bed is raised from the floor, and covered with bark cloth and soft skins.

Leading to the house of a chief are innumerable courtyards enclosed by reed walls 10 to 15 feet high, the uprights being of ficus boughs, which take root and give a welcome shade. Each courtyard has its reed gate with a separate name and bell and gate-keeper. The latter announces the name of a visitor, and none may pass the inner gate without permission. The number of these courtyards corresponds to the rank of the owner. Within these enclosures formerly stood the miniature huts of the Muzimu or Deity, but among those who have adopted the new religions these have disappeared. Store houses are also found in the

48 ROADS AND AGRICULTURE

enclosures. The huts of the Wanyoro are scattered and hemispherical in shape, usually 20 feet to 30 feet in diameter and 20 feet to 25 feet high. Their type is like those of Uganda, but without the courtyards, and as in everything else the Waganda excel their neighbours. The striking contrast which is presented between these dwellings and those of Africans in general consists not only in their neatness and superior workmanship, but in their privacy.

The roads made by the Waganda afford a striking indication of the progress they have attained. These connect the capital with distant centres in each province, and are from 25 feet to 80 feet broad, and well kept. They are singularly straight, and lead impartially over the crests of hills and through dense forests. Palm logs, as a substitute for bridges, span the smaller streams and marshes. Each village chief is responsible for the up-keep of the road where it passes through his fields. There are no roads of this description in Unyoro.

Agriculture is chiefly carried on by the women, who do the field work. The banana groves are kept scrupulously clean, and not a stray leaf or weed encumbers the ground. To keep down weeds the leaves are laid on the ground, and finally burnt or piled round the stem of the plantain, this being the only form of manuring as yet known to them. The

hoe is the agricultural implement, and is formed of a heart-shaped blade lashed to a short and heavy handle, with a fork at an acute angle to carry the blade.

Hedges may be seen marking the boundaries of property, a purpose for which they are not used in other parts of Africa. The many kinds of vegetables already enumerated as forming the food of the people are cultivated in the fields, as also very superior tobacco, and bottle-gourds. Wheat, rice, onions, limes, tomatoes, guavas, pomegranates, pawpaws, and other fruits have been introduced and are now cultivated extensively. Coffee and cotton are both indigenous, and if cultivated and improved in quality and preparation would form valuable articles of export. The national food, the banana, has been cultivated to such purpose that perhaps nowhere in the world can a more luscious fruit be found, while endless varieties, each known by its distinctive name, have been evolved for cooking purposes. Emin identified three principal kinds. It is cooked in a multiplicity of ways. The plant is also put to many other uses. Its sappy stem forms towels and sponges, its leaves are used for paper and thatching. From the fibre is made string and rope, and from the ashes of the green peel of the fruit is decocted a lye for the manufacture of soap. The various kinds of cider made from the ripe fruit have already been described.

Sanitation is little heeded, and every bit of waste land, even in the capital, is a source of pollution, but under the indefatigable efforts of Mr. George Wilson great improvements have of late been made.

The punishments awarded were death (by the order of the King or Wakungu), which was carried out by beheading, strangling, bleeding, burning, and even by hacking the victim slowly to death, each severed limb being thrown into the fire, till only the limbless trunk remained. In Unyoro the modes of execution are generally clubbing, bleeding, starvation, or the spear. Homicide is considered justifiable on sufficient provocation, and only the original causer is held to be guilty. The executioners of the court are distinguished by a cord twisted round their heads. A lesser punishment is mutilation, such as the loss of an eye, an ear, a hand or an arm, and this is frequently inflicted for theft. Fines and confiscation are the commonest penalties for the higher ranks, and other punishments are frequently commuted for these, since they add to the revenue. Murder is punished by death, which may, however, be commuted for a fine. The lesser punishments for the lower classes are flogging and confinement in the stocks or slave-stick.

The language spoken by the Waganda and Wanyoro shows slight variations in the two countries. It belongs to the Bantu family—

according to Bleek, to the Zanglian genus of the middle branch. It is a very pure dialect, free from admixture of foreign words, and has a very rich vocabulary, and many forms of pronouns. It is highly alliterative, and the flexional changes are made at the beginning and not at the end of a word. The verb is compounded with affixes denoting tense, mood, the agent and object, and even locative particles. Cassati asserts that there are many Galla words in Kinyoro, proving the Abyssinian origin of the Wahuma.

• The measures in use are the span, the cubit, and the arm's length; and (of capacity) handful and various measures. Tallies and counters are used in counting.

Simple levers are in use, and heavy weights are hauled by word of command.

The constitution of the army indicates the high state of internal organization reached by the Waganda. "Every man," says Wilson, "who can handle a spear and shield is a soldier." On the outbreak of war a general is nominated by the Kabaka from among the chiefs—latterly it was agreed that he should be taken alternately from the "English" and "French" factions. He is received with acclamations by the Mujasi (titular head of the body-guard) and his soldiers, and he and they forthwith take the oath of allegiance. This is done in a very picturesque fashion. The

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Kabaka stands bare-headed at the palace gates, the royal umbrella held over him, and his great chiefs around him, the grey-headed drummers sounding the giant war-drums the while. Each warrior, dashing up the lane formed by the crowd in front of the king, with his gun held aloft as though to fell the king with the butt, shouts the oath and returns to give place to another. They then carry off the general, since, being now endowed with the full powers of Kabaka, it is not fitting that two kings should sleep in the same town. In old times the fetish charms were taken to the king to touch, and so propitiate the Muzimu, and ensure victory.

The chiefs disperse, each to his own province to collect his fighting men, and meet at a given rendezvous, where the oath of allegiance to the general is taken in the same manner. Here a census of the army is taken, and an advance is made in parallel columns, each under its own chief, who leads his men in the battle. The general, though now Kabaka, is guided by a council of chiefs, while the king at the capital keeps a tally of his fighting men by means of a board with pegs to represent the numbers. Red means 1,000, black 100, and white 10. Losses in battle are deducted, and the numbers assigned for any foray are thus determined - and reinforcements, if necessary, despatched. The army in the field employs scouts and skirmishers, and a host of foragers,

and each night bivouacs in rapidly-made grass huts. Discipline is maintained, and all orders are conveyed by drum note, of which there are an infinite variety, distinguishable only to the ear of a native. As the battles are hand-to-hand encounters (even in spite of the introduction of fire-arms), they are usually very bloody. In the days of Suna and Mtesa the penalty of defeat was death, the reward of victory was wealth and preferment. The drum serves as the "colours," and its loss is a great disgrace, men rallying round it and dying in heaps in its defence. The significance, therefore, of Mbogo's act, when he presented the drum which had been captured by the Mohammedans from the Christians in battle to the British representative, can be understood.

Stanley estimated the army of Suna when he fought the Watuma at not less than a quarter of a million; but fifteen years of constant internecine war have so reduced the fighting strength, that it is probable that to-day not more than fifteen to twenty thousand could take the field. Ten years ago Ashé estimated the fighting strength at forty thousand.

In those days, too, the fleet of war boats numbered about five hundred—great and small—of which the largest measured upwards of 70 feet in length by 7 feet beam, and required some sixty paddlers. Stanley states that the number of men engaged afloat was from sixteen

to twenty thousand, besides some nine thousand more as crews, and that the really effective boats were at least two hundred and thirty in number. These figures seem enormous, but were probably the result of careful calculation. In recent years the war fleet has nearly gone out of being, and probably not more than fifty boats could be mustered to-day for an attack by water.

The army in its progress through the country devastates the crops, and leaves famine behind it; being accompanied by swarms of camp followers. The forays of Suna and Mtesa were little better than great slave raids, and innumerable captives were taken, but in recent years this has altered for the better, and, guided by British officers, the Waganda have fought well and refrained from making slaves. The fighting strength which could have taken the field since European officers have been in the country would, if all sections had been united, have consisted of from four thousand to six thousand guns and twenty thousand to twenty-five thousand spearmen. Kabarega, unlike the King of Uganda, maintained a strong bodyguard of three thousand Walasura, always under his own control and under arms. The King of Uganda, on the other hand, only kept up a small guard for show under the "Mujasi."

The population was estimated by Mr. Stanley at from two to two and a-half millions, including the islands of the Lake, as well as all the country

that is now part of the Uganda Protectorate, with the exception of the densely populated district of Kavirondo, and the remainder of the country to the east of the Lake. Wilson after a careful calculation estimated it at five millions in 1878, and the population of Unyoro at the same date is given as two and a-half millions, making seven and a-half in all. Ashe, ten years later, computes the population at one million for Uganda. Sir Harry Johnston, in the latest official report, gives the population of all the countries included in the Protectorate at 3,800,000. The Roman Catholic priests made a careful computation in 1893, which Portal accepts as approximately correct, and fixed the population at that date of Uganda proper as under half a million.

The area of the Protectorate is not officially estimated, but an unofficial estimate places it at about 120,000 square miles.

Revenue in old days was collected by the Wakungu, who could levy what taxes they pleased, except, as already stated, upon the peasantry of the exempted estates which, although situated in their province, belonged to the king or other great chiefs. It was added to, however, by the presents brought to the king by everybody, including the poorest peasant, who attended court for any purpose whatever. Those who went to war, says Macdonald, paid no taxes, while those who stayed at home paid

double. Each chief and sub-chief deducted his recognized share. It would seem also that the king could at any time raise a special impost on any particular article—such as ivory, mbugus, cattle, etc. Forced labour for house-building and other work was always exacted by the king and chiefs, in addition to the taxation in kind. The chief source of revenue, however, arose from the spoils of war, and the confiscation of property, either on the supersession of a chief or in commutation of the death sentence. Such a ransom usually consisted of a certain number—say fifty—of every article: slaves, cows, mbugus, etc. In Unyoro the chiefs and sub-chiefs are more directly the medium of raising the revenue, and practise great extortion in the collection.

The natural products of the country are varied. Foremost in value is ivory, now decreasing in quantity. It comes chiefly from Unyoro, Toru, Usoga, and the Wakedi country. It is almost entirely exported, being given in payment for the cloths and weapons which have now become necessities to the people. A small quantity is locally made into very handsome armlets, some four inches deep and of very thin ivory.

Ornamental skins made into rugs and karosses would find a ready foreign market. Of these the more valuable are those of the leopard, of the silky long-haired goat of Buddu, of otters, of the black and white plumed "Colobus Guereza"

monkey, and of the beautiful diminutive *Nanotragus* antelope. The skins of all kinds of game—antelope, zebra, &c.—and of cattle are also similarly prepared. Even an English furrier could hardly excel the skill of the Waganda in this kind of work, or the neatness with which any flaw is mended, or a similar coloured patch inserted. Locally furs are used for clothing, men wearing ox skins, women goat skins. They are also used as rugs and carpets, and for the ornamentation of drums, boat prows, guitars, sandals, &c. Leather shoes and belts are also made.

Mbugu, or bark cloth, is a product mainly for home consumption, but the finest qualities would no doubt sell readily in Europe. There are many varieties of the "Ficus," whose bark provides material for the mbugu manufacture, and the quality depends not only upon the class of tree but upon its age, which must not exceed three years. A tree may be stripped two or even three times; the first produces a coarse texture cloth, the second a finer material. A cylinder of bark is cut from a tree in one piece, soaked in water and hammered out with wooden mallets, the last of the mallets used being ridged so as to leave a pattern on the cloth. It is constantly wetted while being beaten out till it is as thin as cloth, and any holes or flaws are cut out and a bit inserted with exquisite neatness and dexterity. The

bole of the tree is bound round with banana leaves till a fresh growth of bark has begun. The Wasoga always dye their mbugus black, and wear them looped up much like an undergraduate's gown, with a long pointed stick projecting from the shoulder. Mbugus are often scented with the aromatic Mpafu gum.

Many fibre plants exist: aloes, sanseviera, plantain, etc., which would command a market abroad. From these and the leaves of the date palm, and various fine pliant grasses, beautifully made mats, remarkable for their pliancy, durability, softness, and artistic skill, are manufactured in Uganda, and sold in the markets of Unyoto. Admirable baskets are also made; some plaited in concentric rings being water-tight. These articles, as also sucking tubes for drinking beer, are often beautifully woven in colours, most artistically blended, with grasses dyed red, black, blue, orange, and other tints.

Dyes are extracted from the juices of various trees of all the colours just named, and also, says Felkin, a green tint. The most brilliant and remarkable is, perhaps, the orange colour, obtained from the "ornolulira." Red is also got from red oxide of iron. The paint-brush (as also the tooth-brush) of the country consists of the chewed end of a fibrous stick.

The Waganda excel as workers in iron and as carpenters. Iron is wrought into soft metal and made into hoes, spears, cattle bells, knives,

hatchets, and adzes, etc., and, in Unyoro, into needles. Ashe states that iron is obtained from Unyoro. It is smelted from either bog iron ore or clay ironstone.

The smith's bellows are made of two earthenware pots with bags of skin attached, the anvil is a flat stone, and the hammer a lump of iron. The art of tempering iron by water appears to have been known before the advent of Europeans.

Imported brass and copper are also worked, and from these wire is drawn, and spears, bells, and rings are made, and necklets marked with patterns for different ranks. The art of brazing and tinning seems to have been introduced by the Arabs. Under the tuition of Mackay the smiths of Uganda quickly learnt how to repair the lock of a gun, to make folding chairs of rod iron, and even to convert flint-locks into percussion muskets, and to make metal cartridges.

In woodwork their native products were carved stools, drums, guitars, beautifully turned and polished walking-sticks, and milk-pots. In Unyoro the wooden boat-dishes were admirably carved. The native tools were few, principally the axe and adze—the saw being only used for ivory—and sand-paper, for which a certain leaf is used. The people, however, quickly learn to use European tools. Nails were unknown, everything being tied through holes made by burning. The principal object of the carpenter's

skill, however, was the wonderfully made boat, whose dimensions have already been given. These boats are far the best in Africa, and are both picturesque and artistic. The Wavuma excel in their manufacture. Built up from a keel consisting of the gigantic bole of a tree, hollowed and trimmed, the sides are formed of edged planks, set at an angle outwards and caulked with fibre and resinous gums. The prow is swan-necked, something like a gondola, and decorated with antelope horns or the long-haired fleeces of the Buddu goat. When finished they are painted red with burnt iron oxide. The Wanyoro have only "dug-out" canoes.

From the plastic clays found in the country excellent earthenware is made, and the designs of their pipe bowls and utensils are quite remarkable, but these are to some extent being superseded by imitations of European crockery. Large coarse-made pots for holding water and cooking are made, as also more finished and artistic water-bowls, coloured red or white. The pipe-bowls are blackened and glazed and highly decorated. In Unyoro, at any rate, their size appears to increase with the rank of the owner. Macdonald states that the best pottery comes from the Uvuma islands.

The manufacture of salt is an important industry. It is obtained by washing the saline earth from the hot-springs of Kibero in Unyoro, on the Albert Lake, and is valued at 500 cowries

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per 25 lbs. It is also extracted from the ashes of papyrus and reeds, or brought in bulk from the claret-coloured lake of Katwé, and is exposed for sale in the markets with small packets of very pure soda. The process of salt-washing is very fully described by Emin, and the deposits at Kibero form a principal source of revenue of Unyoro.

Soap of excellent quality is made from the potash lye extracted from the ashes of green banana rind, mixed with fat. The manufacture is said to have been introduced from the Sudan. Candles are also made.

Gums, resins, medicinal drugs, nutmegs, spices, and valuable woods are found in the country, but have not hitherto found more than a local market, though the resinous incense of the giant mpafu tree will probably become a valuable article of export.

Beadwork is executed with extreme neatness and skill, and the designs and combination of colours are highly artistic. Giraffe hair is used to thread the beads, and a pad of grass is often used on which to form a beaded surface. Necklaces and cinctures are made of beadwork, and musical instruments, drums, &c, are often covered with beautiful designs in beads.

There is no cloth-weaving in the country—as there is in Yorubaland—the mbugu apparently satisfied their wants, and the art of weaving was never discovered. String is made from banana

or aloe fibre, and from the sinews of animals ; the Wavuma cord being the best. Limitations of space forbid a more exhaustive discussion of the products and manufactures of the Protectorate ; but the reader who is interested in this subject may refer to the chapters in my book " Our East African Empire " for a more detailed account. They contain a summary of the reports of many writers on the subject, and also suggestions regarding the various economic plants, &c., which might with advantage be introduced into Uganda.

From what has been said of the designs, colouring, and workmanship of the manufactures of the Waganda, it will have been evident that they have great natural artistic talent and an eye for beauty of form and colour. It remains only to say a few words regarding the music of the country. The Waganda have a great number of tunes, and they sing both in solos and choruses, and can improvise readily. Their songs are of love or war, dirges, or epics relating the deeds of the national heroes. They are very fond of music, and play on a large variety of instruments, and, as has been stated, readily acquire English tunes and the art of playing on the piano, &c.

Mtesa is said to have had bands of from forty to fifty musicians, led by conductors. Snake and lizard skins are especially affected in the manufacture of all musical instruments,

and python skin for drum-heads, while the performers often wear a goat beard.

Harps and banjos are in use, with strings of gut and pegs for tightening and tuning them. With these the Wasoga are the most proficient. They are decorated with plumes and beads. There are many wind instruments—flutes and horns of various types, and in later years imported bugles, &c. Harmonicons of hollowed strips of hard resonant wood, bells, rattles, whistles, and other accessories may be added, as well as drums of every size, from the huge national war drums, guarded day and night by three or four men, to the tiny playthings of boys, or the long one-ended drum carried under the arm, with which, and his reed flute, the traveller beguiles the tedium of his journey. Their proficiency on the drum is truly marvellous, and they appear to be almost able to converse by means of drum notes! Every popular order, from cleaning the roads to preparing for war, is conveyed by drum-note, which every child appears to understand. A somewhat similar use of the drum is found in West Africa. Every Mkungu has his own drum and call, but lesser chiefs have not this privilege. The notes used by the Waganda consist of whole tones only, but they can readily distinguish semi-tones.

From the time that the Arabs first penetrated to Uganda, the people of the countries to the

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north of the Victoria Nyanza have been known to have a remarkable aptitude for trade and commerce, which perhaps derived a stimulus, and a more definite direction, from their contact with the traders from the coast. In return for the cloth, clothes, guns, powder, brass, and copper, the files, needles, knives, cowries, and other articles that they brought, the Arabs took to the coast slave girls (especially Wabuma) and boys, men being too costly to export, and also ivory. The passion of the people for dress and finery greatly stimulated this trade. But already before the death of Mtesa the chiefs had begun to recognize that the supply of both slaves and ivory was rapidly decreasing, and that some other form of wealth must be found wherewith to purchase what had become necessities to them. A small trade had existed to the north, but ceased with the abandonment of Mruli by the Egyptians. With the advent of the Arabs, the cowrie was introduced as a medium of currency, having before only been known as an ornament, but it never became so recognized a currency in Unyoro as in Uganda. Five strings, of 100 cowries each, are equal to 3s. 6d., or one Maria Theresa dollar. The Arabs later introduced the "dhote" (four yards of cloth) as a standard of measure equal to ten strings of cowries. Beads and hoes were also used as currency. On the arrival of a caravan the owner furnished a list of his goods, and no one was allowed to

buy until the State purchases were concluded, but the trader had first to make large presents to the king and chiefs. Mtesa made some few attempts in the old days to send down ivory to the coast himself, and in recent years considerable trading ventures of this kind have been undertaken by the Waganda. Mtesa shrewdly prevented the coast traders from going to Unyoro as long as he could, so as to keep the trade in his own hands.

From a very early time markets have been established throughout Uganda and Unyoro, and every kind of article is brought for sale by every variety of tribe and race. This alone marks a great advance upon the savage tribes around them, and few, if any, other Pagan countries in Africa—except Yorubaland—have thus established native markets from time immemorial.

At these markets, under the spreading "market-trees," is to be seen every possible daily requirement. Here the goods of the coast traders are sold retail, fishermen bring their fish, villagers bring fruit, vegetables, and food of all kinds, the butcher retails meat, and the smith and potter offer their hoes and other utensils and their earthenware vessels. Even slaves might be seen exposed for sale. This system promoted a large internal trade between country and town, and between the various outlying provinces of the empire and the

capital. Unyoro sent salt, skins, and ivory in exchange for coast goods; Uganda, mats, tobacco and pipes; and Usoga sent ivory in return for the same goods and the beautiful Uganda mbugus.

Both Uganda and Unyoro abound with magnificent timber trees. The giant junipers of the Mau Escarpment and the vegetation of Ruwenzori have already been alluded to. Emin mentions (among many others) the following as observed by him in the country: cruciferae, combreteae, euphorbia (*venefica* and *candelabrum*), palms (*phoenix spinosa*, *borassus*, and *dholeb*—rare near the equator), acacias (*fistula*, etc.), dracenaee, tamarinds, sycamores, ficus of very many kinds, and the mpafu, one of which measured 24 feet in girth and was 80 feet in height without a bough. He also mentions *entada sudanica*, *calladias*, *amomum*, *rubiaceae*, *spathodea*, *ocymum*, *ambaj* (*herminiera*), *solanaceae* and various other trees, shrubs, and flowers. The baobab (*Adamsonia digitata*) is not met with, nor the bamboo, except on the higher altitudes of Mau and Ruwenzori. Emin speaks also of vines with heavy grapes in Unyoro, and of the 6 feet thistles. There are many wild fruit-bearing trees, and a profusion of flowering plants and shrubs, but as yet no systematic collection has been made of them.

The elephant is found in great numbers in the south of Unyoro, along the slopes of

Ruwenzori, near the Albert and Albert Edward Lakes, where large herds were met with by the writer when traversing that district. They are also found in great numbers in the north of Usoga and the north-east of Uganda and Unyoro. The hippopotamus is found in the lakes and rivers. Speke killed both white and black rhinoceros in Karagwe, and Felkin states that both existed in Unyoro. Speke killed black rhinoceros in North Uganda. Emin says that the chimpanzee—which the Unyoro legend relates to have originated through the transformation of a causelessly jealous husband—is found in South Unyoro, and he mentions also baboons, *cercopithecus* (*griseo-viridis* and *ruber*), and the beautiful colobus *guereza*. Buffalo, zebra, wild boar, and many kinds of antelope, including *hartebeeste*, *senegalensis*, water buck, kobus cob, reed buck, bush buck, eland, oreas, and Speke's antelope are met with. Otters, crocodiles, rats (including the large edible rodent), pythons, snakes and lizards, etc., are found, and innumerable birds, among which are vultures, parrots, kites, the fish eagle, guinea fowl, flamingo, cranes, storks, ibis, herons, gulls, ducks, geese, and infinite varieties of small birds.

Insect life abounds, and fleas, unknown in the Sudan, appear in quantities in these countries. Mosquitos and grey ticks, and since 1892 the jigger, are among the pests of

the land. The jigger appears to have slowly migrated from the west coast across the continent, and has already reached the coast, whence it will, doubtless, find its way to India. Butterflies and other beautiful and harmless insects are equally abundant.

Confluent small-pox is the most fatal disease of Uganda. The pustules are isolated, and are opened and smeared with sesame oil. The next most terrible disease is the bubonic plague, which begins by swellings under the arm-pits, and is usually fatal in twenty-four hours. It appears frequently as an epidemic, and carries off enormous numbers. Dropsy, measles, rheumatism, ague, bronchitis, ophthalmia, epilepsy and temporary insanity are named by Wilson as indigenous diseases, as well as the more doubtful ones of cholera and leprosy. Sciatica and lumbago are treated by the application of a red-hot iron. Malarial fever is not uncommon, and Felkin attributes it to a change of place. Blindness and ophthalmia are rare, though Europeans are much attacked by the latter. The very prevalent skin diseases may be attributed to the change of diet consequent on the death of the cattle from rinderpest. Cupping and bleeding is much practised, small cows' or goats' horns being used with a hole bored in the pointed end through which the air is exhausted by suction, and the orifice then sealed with wax. Medicines which induce

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perspiration are also used, especially as remedies for temporary insanity. Emin relates that guinea worm, so prevalent in the Sudan and most parts of Africa, is almost unknown from Lat. 3° N. to the Equator, as also is hydrophobia. Syphilis is common, and to this cause is probably due the frequent loss of pigment in the skin. Caustic herbs are employed as remedies. Felkin says this disease was introduced by the Arabs.

CHAPTER II

NATIONAL LEGENDS AND EARLY HISTORY

ONE form of the legendary origin of Uganda is that one Kintu (identified by Wilson as Ham) arrived in the country, bringing with him one wife, one cow, one sheep, one potato, and one banana root. The country was then empty, and Kintu took up his residence at Magungu on the Mwerango River, midway between Uganda and Unyoro, rapidly stocking the land with the descendants and produce of what he had brought with him. Kintu now sent a party with flocks and herds to Unyoro proper, and another to Uganda, the former taking the potato, the latter the banana, which have consequently become the national foods of the respective peoples who sprang from these progenitors. Kintu loathed bloodshed,

and could not tolerate the destruction even of an insect. Wilson relates that it is said that, when trouble came upon him, the animals to whom he had been kind came to assist him, each in its way, and extricated him from his difficulties. His descendants, however, waxed quarrelsome and turbulent. Fighting, drunkenness, and great immorality and cruelty marked the era which followed. Kintu, in disgust, arose one night, and taking the original of each that he had brought, disappeared, no one knew whither. Chwa, his son, succeeded him, and he and every successor prosecuted a never-ending search for Kintu, who was supposed to be immortal, and in hiding somewhere; but without success, until the time of Maanda (according to Stanley some twenty odd generations later). Meanwhile Kimera, the giant king, had introduced hunting with dogs, and Nakivingi, the warrior prince, aided by the flying chief, Kibuga, had conquered the Wanyoro. Maanda, led by a peasant, to whom the whereabouts of Kintu had been revealed in a dream, penetrated to the hiding-place in a dense forest, where he saw the white-bearded patriarch, surrounded by others like himself. Maanda had been warned to come alone, but his faithful prime minister had tracked his steps, fearing harm might befall the king. Maanda, enraged at the discovery, slew him with his spear, whereupon Kintu and his companions vanished for ever. Maanda's

great grandson was the conqueror of Usoga, aided by the chief Wakunguru—the Goliath or Samson of the Waganda—who slew six hundred Wasoga each day for three days with his own hand in single combat. His great grandson in turn conquered the Wakedi tribe to the north of Usoga, a land of lakes to which the Waganda transported their canoes overland, and, surrounding their enemies, fired their villages with red-hot arrows. These fierce warriors had powerful dogs and wore armour, which the arrows and spears of the Waganda could not penetrate. So the Waganda rushed upon them and seized them with their hands and bound them, but were in turn attacked and routed by the dogs. In the end, however, they conquered. To Kimenya succeeded Suna, his son, about A.D. 1836, and reigned till 1860. Such was the legend as related to Stanley.

Casati's version is that Uganda was conquered by a handsome warrior, whose exploits reached the ears of "the queen," and that, having poisoned her husband and married the youth, she had two sons, who eventually became kings of Uganda and Unyoro.

According to Speke, Uganda was of old a subservient country, and was reckoned "the garden of Unyoro." Its people were but slaves until a hunter from Buddu, by name Uganda, set up a kingdom; but Buddu remained part of Unyoro. Uganda gave his name to the country,

but himself assumed that of Kimera. He arrived with hunting dogs and a wife, and hence the emblems of Uganda remained a woman, a dog, a spear, and a shield. This legend resembles the first, Kimera the Giant being identical with Kimera (or Uganda), his predecessors being mythical personages common to both Unyoro and Uganda. Other legends are also related of Kintu by Macdonald and others. Wilson assigns thirty to forty successors to Kintu before Mtesa, but Speke makes him only the seventh of his line, and he and Emin assign the antiquity to Unyoro—Kabarega being 16th King—while Uganda is but a parvenu kingdom. Of the history of the surrounding countries no record has been preserved, nor have any of the legends of their origin been discovered by travellers. Emin relates, as a legend of Unyoro, that all the people of that country were destroyed by "the Great Magician," who then sent a man and a woman "with tails." They had one son and two daughters. One of the latter gave birth to a chameleon, the other to a giant. The chameleon was ill-tempered, and so persecuted the giant that the Great Magician took him to the sky, where he became the moon. The sun—so the tale ran—was peopled by giants, and the stars were made as watchmen. The chameleon and its descendants peopled the earth. Their tails were lost and their colour turned to black.

Suna, the father of Mtesa, is the first historical personage. He was a cruel despot whose executions and mutilations caused the land to flow with blood, but withal a brave warrior, hospitable, and extremely fond of dogs. Stanley relates the legends of his wars, of which that against the inhabitants of Vuma and other islands in the lake, aided by the coast tribes of Usoga, was the most desperate. Suna employed five hundred canoes, and the brave enemy only yielded when surrounded and starved. They were conveyed by thousands to the mainland, where they were placed in an enclosure and treated with great courtesy till, on a signal, Suna's army fell upon them and massacred the unarmed throng to a man. Fired by the success of the king, chief after chief undertook a war of his own; the Pokino of Buddu subjugated Ankoli; Setuba re-conquered Unyoro; Kasindula reduced the turbulent confederations of Usoga; and finally Suna himself defeated the allied kingdoms of Usongala and the neighbouring countries. Each fresh conquest brought thousands of captives, mostly women, to Uganda, and the vassal kings rendered tribute to Suna. Obviously these accounts must not be taken too literally. Probably successful forays were conducted in the countries named, but they were never conquered in the proper sense of the term.

Suna was succeeded by his son Mtesa, who was king of Uganda at the time that it first became known to Europeans.

CHAPTER III

ARAB AND EUROPEAN DISCOVERERS

PASSING from the legendary history of this people to its "discovery" in modern times, we find that prior to the advent of any European in those countries, Arab and Beluch traders from the East Coast had penetrated to Uganda in the first half of the century, and had brought thence reports of a vast lake and a wonderful aboriginal civilization, as well as exaggerated accounts of its enormous wealth and power. Prominent among these in comparatively recent times was Ahmet ibn Ibrahim, whom Emin states to have been in the country in the time of Suna, and of whom Wilson remarks that he had been twenty years in the country prior to his own arrival in 1877. He, however, was not the first, if we are to credit Wilson, who asserts that Arab traders had at that time traded for sixty years with

Uganda; which would place their advent about the beginning of the century. Musa Mzuri also had established a trading *dépôt* in southern Buddu under the ægis of Ruwanika of Karagwe, and though Speke relates that in 1862 this *dépôt* had long existed, the honour of being the first foreigner to penetrate to Uganda has probably been wrongly assigned to Musa. A Beluch, named Esau, was also among the earliest arrivals, but, having lost all his goods through the extortions practised upon him, he was ashamed to return, and settled on the borders of Uganda, where he became one of the *Wakungu* or great chiefs. Speke found that Musa's *dépôt* had been abandoned in consequence of the oppression of the Waganda, but there is no doubt that traders had continued to visit the country, though maintaining no *dépôt* there; for Speke was at once conducted on arrival at the capital to the Arab camping ground, and he constantly refers to them as his precursors, from whom he had derived much information concerning the country. After Speke's visit, the love of firearms which he had taught to the king, and the desire to possess cloth and other goods, such as Speke had brought, induced Mtesa to extend a more cordial welcome to coast traders. It was not, however, till 1872 that, according to Emin, any Arab succeeded in penetrating direct to Unyoro.

In July, 1858, Speke, who had accompanied

Burton from the east coast and discovered Tanganyika, left his leader in Unyanyembe, proceeded with his permission to the north, and "discovered" the vast lake, which the Arabs called Ukerewe, which Speke recognized as the probable source of the Nile, and named the "Victoria Nyanza." Burton combated his theory, and on their return to England much controversy arose on the subject. In April, 1860, Speke, with Grant, started to explore the lake and the sources of the Nile, and early in 1862 reached Uganda, which had not so far been seen by any white man.

The Arabs, as we have seen, had long traded in ivory and slaves with the country, and they endeavoured to prevent Speke's progress by spreading reports that the Europeans dealt in magic, and were cannibals. He was, however, able to buy goods from the Arabs at the south of the lake, without which he would hardly have been able to continue his journey, and, after receiving great hospitality from Ruwanika of Karagwe, he reached Uganda, where he was received by Mtesa with the greatest delight. His surprise was great when, emerging from among the naked savages of the south, he found himself among a people of comparatively high civilization and fully clothed, who looked on his donkey as indecent without trousers, and whose social customs, system of rule, and ceremonials were of the complicated and

advanced kind already described. In Uganda Speke was detained by interminable delays, but at last he gained permission to leave for Unyoro, to which country he had already sent a messenger from Karagwe. We have seen that Speke was enchanted with Uganda, this "wonderful country—a picture of quiescent beauty with a boundless sea in the background," but his residence with Mtesa disclosed to him the despotic cruelty of the king's rule. Apart from the wholesale butcheries demanded by the "Kiwendo," or sacrifice to ancestors, people were wantonly killed to try a rifle, or at the whim of the despot, and every emissary of the king, or armed foray proceeding at his behest, looted in the king's name till the land was devastated by misrule. Speke found the same despotism in Unyoro, but Kamrasi was of a milder disposition, and executions were rare. Neither in ceremonial, in the artistic beauty of their houses, in cleanliness, or in polish of manners, could Unyoro rival Uganda, which then as now was immeasurably in advance of Unyoro in development. Kamrasi, who was a persistent beggar, detained Speke till November, 1862, when he at last got away, and, sailing down the Kafu to the Nile, crossed the Chopi and Kidi countries, and finally reached Gondokoro, where he found Baker. That traveller had arrived from Egypt after innumerable difficulties, and he went on to Kamrasi's

capital, and thence to the lake Mwtan Nzige, which he "discovered", and christened the "Albert." He also traced part of the Nile, from the "Murchison Falls" to its entrance into and exit from the Albert. He and Mrs. Baker suffered much from the exactions and subsequent hostility of Kamrasi. In 1872 Baker invaded Unyoro, with a view to annexing it to the Sudan provinces. Kabarega, he says, endeavoured to destroy his army by poisoned beer, and Baker with great difficulty retreated to the Nile, where he allied himself with Rionga, Kabarega's brother, with whom the latter was at war. It would seem that Rionga, who ruled in Eastern Unyoro, had solicited the aid of Mtesa to attack Kabarega, but the assistance not having arrived in time he accepted Baker's overtures, and made a blood brotherhood, which he never broke, and always remained friendly to Europeans. Another brother, Anfina, lived north of the Nile, and Kabarega waged a chronic war with both. Anfina is described as a thorough gentleman who had adopted Arab dress, and lived in much state. Kabarega finally conquered him and became supreme king in 1879. The next Europeans to visit these countries were Mr. Stanley—then an American citizen—and M. Linant de Bellefonds, an emissary of Gordon's, who, coming respectively from the south and, the north, met at Mtesa's

capital. Stanley had been sent in August, 1874, in command of an Anglo-American expedition to solve, if possible, the controversies which had arisen between those who shared the theories of Speke, on the one hand, and of Burton on the other, regarding the extent of the Lake, and the origin of the Nile. He arrived at the south of the Lake in March, 1875, by the route Speke had taken, through what is now German East Africa, and, putting together his boat, the "Lady Alice," he went round by the eastern shore, and was attacked off Usoga by the Wavuma. Escaping, he reached Uganda, and was received with great pomp by the king and his chiefs, who had come down to meet him. The king's partiality towards strangers was (to Stanley's great good fortune) reinforced by a dream of the Queen-mother of the coming of a white man.

Since Speke's time, a Mohammedan missionary, Muleh-bin-Salm, had preached Islam, and Mtesa was a nominal convert to that creed. As the king and chiefs could therefore speak Swaheli, Stanley found himself able to converse in that language, and he set himself to convert Mtesa to Christianity, and was apparently successful. After a few weeks' residence Stanley left Uganda in April, having first sent letters appealing to the people of England to make Uganda a field for missionary enterprise. By the light of later events the

terms of this appeal are noteworthy. He asked that the mission should be industrial, medical, and practical, belonging to no sect or nation.

Returning in August with the intention of reaching the Albert Lake with the assistance of Mtesa, Stanley found the King at war with the Wavuma, with an army estimated at a quarter of a million. The fighting was protracted, but was at length satisfactorily concluded by a device suggested by Stanley ; and in November he set out along the southern frontier with a large Waganda escort, and, passing through Northern Ankoli, reached the shores of a lake which he mistook for the Albert. The people were very hostile, and the Waganda, fearing their numbers, decided to retreat, and Stanley returned to the Lake and left the country, never to see it again until, thirteen years later, he traversed Ankoli on his way back from the expedition for the so-called Relief of Emin Pasha. He left with Mtesa as scribe and teacher a "Mission boy" named Dallington. M. de Bellefronds had also made but a short stay in Uganda, having come, it was understood, to endeavour to open up commercial relations between Uganda and the Sudan.

In this same year (1876), Colonel Gordon, the Governor General, had annexed the northern portion of Unyoro, namely, the provinces of Shifalu and Magungo, enclosed by the bend of the Somerset Nile and the

Albert Lake, and as far south as the latitude of Mruli. Egyptian garrisons were located at Magungo, Fodi, Fauvera, Mruli, Kasuga, Lundu, Masindi and Kiroto, and Emin had accompanied Gordon to these places, as well as to Mahagi and other stations on the west of the Lake in the Lur country, which was likewise subject to Kabarega, who had succeeded Kamrasi as King of Unyoro. These Egyptian forts were later withdrawn, whereupon Kabarega is said to have massacred all the people who were friendly to the invaders. Besides M. de Bellefronds, Colonel Gordon had also sent Colonel Long to Mtesa's capital, and he now directed Emin (May, 1877) to proceed to Mpara, the capital of Unyoro, and to endeavour, by friendly negotiation, to put an end to the war and the reprisals on the part of Kabarega, which had arisen in consequence of the annexations in Northern Unyoro.

Leaving Mruli in September, 1877, Emin reached Kabarega, by whom he was courteously received, and whom he describes as well-mannered, dignified, and hospitable. Kabarega, he says, "gave him a detailed account of all the events that had happened during Baker's visit—a curiously different account from that given in Ismailia." No traveller had reached the capital of Unyoro on a friendly visit since the time of Baker, and the country had been unvisited for all these years except by the

aggressive armies of Gordon in the north, and the expedition of Stanley, escorted by their traditional enemies the Waganda, in the south. Emin spoke the languages both of Unyoro and Uganda, and Kabarega also spoke Sudan-Arabic. Emin was able therefore to converse with ease, and concluded his mission satisfactorily, and acquired a marvellous amount of information regarding the customs, traditions, religion, botany, and geology of the country, its produce, and diseases, some of which we have already laid under contribution.

Kabarega was at this time supreme despot of a vast area of country, and, notwithstanding Mr. Stanley's assertions of the conquest of Unyoro by Suna and Mtesa, Emin maintains that the Kabaka of Uganda had no claim to suzerainty over that country, and treated its king as an equal, sending presents from time to time. Speke also infers the complete independence of Unyoro, between which and Uganda there was a chronic feud. That Kabarega had not retaliated for raids made into his country, is accounted for by the fact that he was dependent upon Mtesa for all trade, since coast goods could only reach him through Uganda. Stanley's own account of his abortive journey to the Unyoro frontier tends to confirm this view. Macdonald, however, states that the King of Unyoro, to show his vassalage, was installed by an envoy of Mtesa's.

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Emin remained in the country from September to November, and then left for Mruli. He appears to have sent Casati to represent him, but that officer was seized and condemned to death, escaping naked to the Lake shore, where he was picked up by one of Emin's steamers. No reprisals were ever made for this outrage. From Mruli, Emin set out almost immediately on a second trip to Uganda. There he stayed from November, 1877, to April, 1878, meeting the Rev. C. T. Wilson, who had already established a Mission in the country. He marched back *via* Fauvera and Kiroto, through North Unyoro to Magungo. Emin's first visit to Uganda, in company with Mir Aga, had been undertaken between June and September, 1876. Though he has not left quite so full an account of Uganda as of Unyoro, he recorded a great amount of useful information.

CHAPTER IV

KING MWANGA AND THE THREE CREEDS

TEN years later, in 1887, Emin again visited Kabarega, and during the interval no one except Casati had attempted to penetrate to his capital. Stanley's appeal to the philanthropists of England, published in November, 1875, led to the dispatch by the Church Missionary Society, in the spring of 1876, of a mission to the country. Lieutenant Shergold Smith, R.N., the leader, and the Rev. C. T. Wilson reached Uganda in July, 1877. The former only stayed a month, and then left to bring up O'Neill and Dr. Smith, who had been left at the south of the Lake. Dr. Smith had already died, and Shergold Smith and O'Neill were killed on

an island in the Lake; so that of the whole party only one remained. Wilson, the first missionary, resided for six months in Uganda, where, as we have seen, he met Emin during his second visit to Mtesa, in December, 1877. He then left in the "Daisy"—a mission boat which the party had brought with them, and which had greatly facilitated their passage of the Lake—to enquire regarding the murder of his companions, and returned at the end of March, 1878. After a further residence of two and a half months, he again left in search of Mackay, and they returned together in November, 1878. He remained but three weeks, and then, leaving Mackay in Uganda, again set out to meet a further party of missionaries who were coming by the Nile route. The party consisted of the Rev. G. Litchfield, the Rev. C. W. Pearson, and Dr. Felkin, and, accompanied by Wilson, reached Uganda in February, 1879. The following June, Wilson and Felkin left to escort three ambassadors from Mtesa to England. The king, however, unknown to the missionaries, selected mere slaves as envoys, instead of chiefs. Wilson, in all, had resided thirteen months in the country, and Felkin but three. Almost simultaneously with the arrival of Mr. Litchfield's party, two French Roman Catholic Missionaries, Père

88 ARRIVAL OF ROMAN CATHOLICS

Lourdel and Frère Amans, arrived to solicit permission to establish a Roman Catholic Mission in Uganda. This granted, they returned to the south of the Lake to fetch their companions, Pères Girault and Barbot.

This mission, arranged by his predecessor, was sanctioned by Pope Leo XIII., immediately after his accession, as a branch of the White Fathers of Algeria. In 1880 the Pope created it a Provicariat Apostolic, and in 1883 a Vicariat with Père Lavinhac as its first Bishop. Thus by the middle of 1879 there were two missions, Protestant and Roman Catholic, established in the country, the former represented by Mackay, Litchfield and Pearson, the latter by Pères Lourdel, Girault, Barbot and Amans. From this date began that deplorable rivalry which was vehemently denounced, as early as 1886, by the Russian traveller, Junker, and which later led to so many troubles; while side by side, and hostile to both, was the religion of Islam, introduced and taught by the Arabs prior to the advent of the Christian teachers.

A great change for the better had been wrought in Mtesa, says Stanley, by the precepts of Islam, which he nominally abandoned for the teaching of Stanley. Later he seems to have again inclined to the Mohammedan faith, but he discarded it when he found that his own chiefs would not share the king's meat unless

it had been killed with the rites prescribed by the Koran, and when his Arab teachers insisted on his undergoing the ordeal of circumcision, which was contrary to the strict custom and tradition of Uganda. To mark his displeasure he killed one hundred youths who had submitted to the rite. Wilson again began to teach him, but the advent of the French Fathers introduced yet a new creed, and Mtesa, though always a keen and interested disputant in religious discussions, adopted the attitude of an amused cynic and died a Pagan, weary of the conflict of the teachers of the three creeds to gain him as a proselyte.

Great changes had taken place in Uganda in the years that had passed since Speke entered the country. The mbugu dress had been abandoned by the king and chiefs in favour of Arab clothes, and M. de Bellefonds and Stanley found Mtesa clothed in gold embroidery, reclining on a rich carpet and cushions, with an elaborate throne, an Arab bejewelled sword, and a guard of Sudanese soldiers. The spear and shield were laid aside for the gun, and Wilson estimates that already the Waganda possessed some two thousand guns, while Mtesa ceaselessly begged firearms from every visitor, and bought them from every trader. In 1882, owing to the hostility of Mtesa, who, for the moment, was enamoured of Islam, the French fathers deemed it prudent to withdraw from the

country for a time, but the English remained, and were reinforced in 1883 by Messrs. Ashe and Flaherty. Mtesa died in the autumn of 1884, and, contrary to the custom of Uganda, was buried in a huge grave. His body was placed in three coffins, enclosed one in the other, made by Mackay, who appears to have acted as a head mechanic to the king, and to have undertaken any jobs which were beyond the skill of the local "Fundis," to whom, moreover, he taught a great deal both of carpentry and smith work, including, it is regrettable to add, the repair of the mechanism of guns.

Vast quantities of cloth and other goods were deposited in Mtesa's grave, to the value, says Ashe, of some £15,000, and over it was erected a very large hut in which the guardians of the dead kept watch.

Mtesa was a remarkable man. He is described by Speke as being of restless energy, fond of taking long walks attended by all his chiefs, harem, messengers, pages, and musicians innumerable. His great object was to make Uganda the greatest of countries, and himself the greatest of kings. For this reason he welcomed Europeans, recognizing that their knowledge, and the arms and goods they brought, would aggrandise his country and add to his prestige. But withal he was vain and peevish and a most bloody despot. Wilson describes him as clever,

and able to read and write Arabic, and to speak many African dialects, especially Swaheli, in which he was most fluent. His questions and criticisms of the teaching of the missionaries were most shrewd. Stanley, who was greatly impressed by him, dubs him the "Foremost man in Africa," and describes him as clever, dignified, able and courteous, "with wonderful lambent eyes, which gave a strange beauty to his face." Doubtless the influence of the new religion, and his own increased age and experience, had improved him, but Emin, who saw him both before and shortly after Stanley's visit, did not by any means concur in this estimate, though admitting many good traits in his character. In the latter years of his life he suffered greatly, and was unable to take exercise as of old. He became more merciful, and impatient of many of the old forms and restrictions. Even in the days of his bloodiest excesses Speke found an excuse for him in his utter ignorance of restraint and of the value of life, and says that his acts were dictated by impulse rather than from any love of witnessing pain or thirst for blood. Unlike the Waganda, he never drank anything but the mildest pombe, and never smoked. Felkin says that he had one hundred and fifty children and seven hundred wives, and that five hundred people were sacrificed at his grave.

The hostility of the Arab Mohammedans and

the ill-will of the chiefs made the position of the Englishmen—the French had left Uganda—for a time precarious, on the death of Mtesa, but there was no anarchy, and Mwanga was elected king by the chiefs. He was at this time (1884) eighteen years old, and was chosen on account of his great likeness to Mtesa, which left no doubt of his paternity. The young king soon began to play the part of Rehoboam, and whereas in the days of Mtesa there had usually been some show of accusation and condemnation, or at least of cause, for any arbitrary seizure and execution, there was now absolutely no security for life.

The influence of the Protestant missions had extended greatly, and hundreds now numbered themselves as "Readers," and were baptized, among whom were many chiefs. The king and chiefs became suspicious of this new power, and their hostility was secretly encouraged by the Arabs, who feared that the white men would eventually supersede them in their trade, as they had already, by their teaching, affected the trade in slaves and the spread of the Mohammedan religion. Many causes added to this suspicion; notably the conquests of Gordon in the north, and the constant threat of annexation both of Uganda and Unyoro by Egypt, while the fact that letters for Emin were sent through the missionaries in Uganda appeared to identify them with the white men

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in the north. Ashe also lays great stress on the point that, as the first missionaries had brought official letters of introduction from Government, and Wilson and Felkin had escorted back envoys to England, while the Foreign Office had sent presents and letters by their hands, the missionaries were in the eyes of king and people regarded as officials. The Consul-General at Zanzibar wrote to correct this impression, whereupon, says Ashe, Mwanga thought they had been guilty of fraud, while the missionaries themselves protested that the consul's letters had jeopardised their position. A further cause of suspicion lay in the general advance of Europeans on all sides. To Gordon's annexations in the north was added the news of the German occupation of Usagara, and the fighting at the coast, which seemed to the Waganda to be the beginning of the white man's conquest; and finally, and worst of all, the news of Thomson's expedition to the Lake from Mombasa, from which side tradition had always said Uganda would be conquered. Thus in every direction the white men seemed to be in league.

Early in 1885, when the French priests returned to Uganda, the missionaries were jostled and even seized, and a rigorous persecution of their followers began. Native Christians were burnt and tortured, but the effect was only to increase the number of "readers."

94 MURDER OF HANNINGTON

For a time the rigour of persecution ceased, only to break out again with greater vehemence than ever after the murder of Bishop Hannington in October. This ill-fated missionary had most unfortunately elected to enter Uganda by the forbidden route, through Usoga, and he and his following were put to death at Luba's village, on the east of the Nile, by Mwanga's order. His bones were exhumed from Kavirondo, where they had been buried, and taken to Uganda by Bishop Tucker and buried there in 1893. Ashe states that Hannington had not been warned of his danger, that the French priests, when asked for advice by Mwanga, had said that they thought it inadvisable to allow him to come, and that Mwanga's intention of sending to convey him by water to the south of the Lake was frustrated by the rapidity of the bishop's movements. The caravan he had left under the care of a native pastor in Kavirondo was magnified into an army of invasion, and Mackay, who in good faith had denied that he was in Usoga, was regarded as an accomplice in the design. The position of the Europeans was very precarious, and Mackay only evaded an order which had been given for his murder by means of a warning from a friend.

The lives of the Europeans who had been killed had been unavenged, and Mwanga openly scoffed at the old idea of the inviolability of a white man's life. The Christian converts were

burnt, after mutilation and torture, in great numbers; but they shewed extraordinary heroism, and in many cases openly declared their faith and refused to escape, while others came forward to be baptised in spite of the fate which awaited them. The Arabs secretly did all they could to prejudice the English, and represented to Mwanga that Mackay was wanted at the coast for a crime, in reference to an incident which Ashe describes as an unfortunate and much-misrepresented occurrence, which had taken place on Mackay's journey to Uganda. Mackay therefore left the country, to reside at the south of the lake, and Ashe left soon after.

Mr. Gordon now took charge of the mission, arriving in August, 1887, and was joined by Mr. Walker in the following April. During 1886—the year of martyrdoms—Mwanga had waged a war against Unyoro, and Junker, the Russian traveller, had passed through Uganda. He offered a protest in the name of humanity against the butcheries, and described the corpses he had seen in the roads on his way to the capital. Not content with his Christian victims—whom the Namasole, to her credit, befriended by refusing to give up the “readers” of her retinue—Mwanga made tours through Singo, Chagwe, and Buddu, looting women and cattle, and giving them to his dissolute favourites, treating his own country as though it

were an enemy's, till he had made himself detested by all the peasantry. Then a new whim of despotic tyranny entered his brain, and he gave orders for the enlargement of his pond, ordering all the chiefs to be present at the work, and fining them heavily for any supposed apathy or lack of zeal. Bishop Parker, Hannington's successor, had arrived in 1888 at the south of the Lake with a party of missionaries, and wrote to Mwanga. The king read his letter as a challenge, and determined to resist the supposed invasion of his country by the bishop and his party. It is even alleged that he had decided on the murder of Gordon and Walker, but Bishop Parker's death induced him to forego his intention.

Mwanga, always suspicious, now (1888) began to suspect and fear his Mohammedan advisers. They, in their turn, despised the heathen king, and refused to do even their lawful work. The chiefs who were Christians denounced the vile practices carried on at court by the king, and further irritated Mwanga by building fine houses. Taking counsel, therefore, of the Pagan party, the king determined to rid himself, once for all, of all followers of the new religions. Giving out that he wished to destroy the Lubare, he ordered all the riflemen to assemble on the lake shore, to take boat for the island of Bugala, where the votaries of the Lubare lived. As the Pagan

party had retained the spear, the traditional weapon of Uganda, this summons affected chiefly the "readers." The chiefs of the three creeds got warning that it was the intention of Mwanga to land them on a desert island and leave them to starve. The principal Moslem chiefs, pleading sickness, remained behind, but the head chiefs of the Protestants and Roman Catholics came, with their following, and the Moslems under a lesser chief. Their fears were confirmed the evening before the projected expedition, for the king beat the "Kiwendo" drum, the signal for the holocausts of victims to appease the manes of the ancestors. They determined to resist, and, when the king embarked, the majority refused to follow, and would indeed have killed the king, who threatened to fire on them, had not Kagwa interposed.

Mwanga returned to his capital to take counsel of the old Katikiro, who had opposed his plot, but found that he too had turned against him. With a few pages he awaited the coming of the Protestants and Mohammedans (the Catholics held aloof), who had already beaten the royal drum and declared Kiwewa king. There was no resistance; a page was shot, and Mwanga fled unpursued to the Lake, with a following of women and boys. Even these deserted him, and, with his own boat's crew only, after having been attacked

several times on his voyage down the Lake, he arrived at the south end, and became a prisoner in the hands of the Arabs, whence he escaped to the French fathers, at Bukumbi, who received him kindly. Kiwewa, being the eldest son, was ineligible for the throne and unwilling to assume it, but the readers, breaking through old customs, forced the doubtful privilege upon him, and in September, 1888, he became king. A "French" chief was made Katikiro, an "English" one Mukwenda—for so the factions began now to be called—while the Mohammedans took the chiefships of Kimbugwe and Kangao. The old Katikiro retired for safety to Mtesa's tomb.

Kiwewa promised entire liberty in religion, and a milder rule, and for a brief space all seemed to promise well. The Mohammedans, however, were angry that the Katikiro had been chosen from the Christian party, and they persuaded the king that the "English" faction would depose him and elect a queen, since their teachers served a queen. They formed a plot to murder the Christian chiefs, and, taking them unawares, killed many. The Christians fought, but were unprepared, and the Mohammedans, aided by the Arabs, put them to flight and sacked the missions. The Europeans were thrown into prison, and for a week their fate was uncertain, but it was finally decided to banish them from the land. They were

conducted to the lake, and placed on board the mission boat in a state of destitution. The party, consisting of Pères L'ainhac, Lourdel, Denoit and Amans, with Messrs. Walker and Gordon, were wrecked, but managed to repair their boat, and, after many vicissitudes, reached the south of the lake.

The Christian factions took refuge with Ntali, of Ankole. They were joined by many peasants and others discontented with the Mohammedan rule and the enforced rite of circumcision. The king himself would not submit to the rite, whereupon the chiefs plotted to carry it out by force. Kiwewa, hearing of this, pretended to consent, but when the three leading chiefs entered his private house, at his invitation, to perform the rite, he slew two of them with his own hand. A gun fired by a boy gave the alarm, and others rushed in, and Kiwewa fled. His younger brother was now proclaimed king. A battle ensued, in which Kiwewa was defeated and taken prisoner, and the new king, to secure his throne, killed all his rivals, and many others. Kiwewa had reigned but three or four months, during which brief space the missions had enjoyed a period of complete freedom and peace ; but the accession of Kaluna inaugurated a fanatical Mohammedan rule, and the rite of circumcision was enforced upon the peasantry, so that the king became greatly hated.

The Christians, as we have related, had been

expelled, and were in refuge with Ntali, for whom they worked and raided, in return for the shelter he afforded. Even in their extremity and common misfortunes the "English" and "French" parties could not agree, and were at one time on the point of coming to blows. Famine threatened, and it was proposed to send envoys to Mwanga at Bukumbi, offering to support him in an effort to regain his throne. This was early in 1889. The French fathers supported their faction in this proposal, which was opposed by Mackay and the English. The accounts given by the English and French missionaries of the events of this time do not tally, but it appears that, with the aid of Stokes, a trader who lent his boat and provided arms and ammunition in return for liberal promises of payment in ivory, it was decided to adopt the plan; and in May, 1889, Mwanga set out by way of the Lake, while the Christian army fought two battles in the south of Buddu. In the first they were victorious, but they were beaten and driven back in the second. Stokes and Mwanga did not join in the fighting, and as the Sesse islanders declared for Mwanga he was secure on the Lake and had command of all the canoes. They succeeded in capturing an Arab dhow, with arms and ammunition destined for the Mohammedan faction, and obtained as ransom for an Arab prisoner a further large store of arms.

Meanwhile the Christian army under Kagwa, though again badly beaten in a third engagement, and after various other reverses and successes, fought a decisive action aided by Kamswaga of Koki, and utterly routed the Mohammedans, killing four hundred of them. Kagwa marched on Mengo, and next day stormed the capital, while Mwanga, landing at Ntebbi, joined the victors, and was once more declared king. Stokes left in June, after writing to Mr. Jackson for help, and carried letters from Mwanga to Mackay and the French fathers appealing for forgiveness and help. In response to these letters Gordon and Walker set out for Uganda in August, 1889. An embassy was also sent to Stanley, who at that time was passing through Ankole on his return from the "Relief of Emin Pasha," but he declined to interfere. The chiefships were now equally divided between the two Christian factions. Mwanga had been reproclaimed king on October 11th, 1889, but almost immediately afterwards the Christians were worsted in a severe battle against Kaluna and his following, and Kagwa was wounded. Mwanga, accompanied by two French and two English missionaries, once more found himself a fugitive in the islands, while the Christian army temporarily dispersed.

CHAPTER V

THE ADVENT OF THE IMPERIAL BRITISH EAST AFRICA COMPANY.

DURING this year, 1889, the Imperial British East Africa Company, to whom a charter had been granted, had sent an expedition to the Lake under Mr. Jackson, who was accompanied by Mr. Gedge. The news of the arrival of the expedition in Kavirondo had reached Uganda in June, but Mr. Jackson did not receive the letters despatched by Mr. Stokes till November. His caravan, numbering some five hundred rifles, was in a mutinous state, and he had orders from the Company not to enter Uganda. In reply to these letters, Jackson wrote saying that he would come provided all expenses were guaranteed, and that

Uganda accepted the British flag. Père Lourdel, who was Mwanga's chief adviser at this time, counselled acceptance of these terms, and a letter was sent to Jackson accepting his conditions and promising certain commercial advantages. Jackson thereupon sent a flag, which arrived on December 15th, and went northwards with Gedge into the Turkana country. Returning three months later, he found that Dr. Carl Peters, a German in command of a filibustering expedition which had violated British territory, had passed through his camp at Mumia's, and had opened and read the letters addressed to Jackson. Acting on the information thus obtained, Peters wrote offering his help to Mwanga, which was accepted, and he proceeded to Uganda with some fifty or sixty Somalis, armed with repeating rifles.

Meanwhile the Christian chiefs had collected a large army, with contingents from Singo, Chagwe, and Buddu, and the opportune arrival of the arms and ammunition promised as ransom for the Arab prisoner enabled them to take the field once more. Having made a compact of perpetual peace between themselves, they met and defeated the Mohammedans, who were driven out of Uganda to the frontiers of Unyoro, before the arrival of Peters. Kabarega, who had sent a contingent to help the Mohammedans, afforded an asylum to the defeated faction. The beginning of 1890, therefore, saw

Mwanga once more installed as king, and with it came the news of the death of the devoted missionary Mackay, who had spent so many years in Uganda. Peters arrived on February 24th, and, with the assistance of Père Lourdel, prepared a treaty for Mwanga's signature. The "English" faction were excluded from all knowledge of this treaty, which was incompatible with the promises made to Jackson, and they absolutely declined to concur in it.

Fresh troubles now seemed imminent. Already the country was devastated by plague and famine, and the two Christian factions were on the verge of war between themselves, while the Mohammedans hovered on the frontier. The "English" faction took counsel of their missionaries, and Walker and Gordon urged them to agree to Peters' treaty to save a suicidal war. Armed with his treaty Peters hurriedly left the country, where his methods had already rendered his presence obnoxious and the anticipated arrival of Jackson made his position precarious. Jackson, meanwhile, on his return to Mumia's, and his discovery of the unfair advantage taken by Peters, decided to march at once to Uganda. The greater part of his caravan mutinied, and he appears only to have succeeded in compelling the remainder of his undisciplined rabble to follow him by seizing their arms.* He reached Uganda in

April, 1890, with one hundred and eighty guns. The treaty he now presented was refused by the "French" faction, and again feeling ran high. The "English" party, in despair, discussed the idea of leaving the country altogether—an extraordinary and extreme step for Waganda, who are devoted to their land. In these circumstances Jackson withdrew his treaty, though he seems for some time to have encouraged the idea of the Protestant emigration. He consented instead to take two envoys to England, who should bring back word whether Uganda was to be British or French.

Gedge remained in Uganda with some twenty to thirty men, but was away most of the time at the south of the Lake, and only returned shortly before my own arrival. During the early part of 1890 the Mohammedans remained on the frontier of Unyoro. Kaluna died, and they adopted Mbogo, a brother of Mtesa's, as their king, and raided Uganda from time to time.

In October, 1890, the writer, who was then in the service of the Company, and had undertaken to build a series of small forts from the coast, had arrived at Kikuyu, and built a fort there. On October 19th I received instructions from the Directors to go to Uganda, which by the Anglo-German Agreement of July, 1890, had been definitely placed

within the sphere of British influence. To this part of the agreement France had taken no exception. My expedition consisted of some fifty Sudanese soldiers, and about two hundred and fifty Swaheli porters armed for self-defence with cheap Snider carbines. I had with me Messrs. De Winton and Grant, and a very competent Somal, named Dualla. We carried an old worn-out and nearly useless Maxim, which Stanley had just brought back from his "Relief Expedition." Marching with hitherto unprecedented rapidity across Masailand, Mau, and Kavirondo, the expedition entered the capital of Uganda on December 18th. No white man had hitherto entered the country without the permission of the king, and this had never been given without long delays. I had, however, been informed that Mr. Stokes was conveying to Uganda a large quantity of arms for the king, and it was feared that the lives of the Europeans were in danger. I found the passage barred at the Nile, and no canoes available, but was able to seize a couple which, owing to the failure of the attempts of the Usoga guides to lead the expedition astray and its consequent unexpected arrival, had not yet been removed. Small as these were, the whole party was successfully conveyed across before night-fall by dint of hard work. I was the first to cross, and as I

landed two men with rifles rose from behind the rocks and disappeared, having apparently been afraid to fire.

The day after our arrival at Mengo I was received by the king and chiefs, and presented letters from the Directors. I stated in the Baraza that I should make no distinction as to creed, and hoped to arrange the disputes satisfactorily, and insisted on calling the factions by the names of "Protestants," and "Roman Catholics" (instead of "English" and "French")—terms, as Mr. Ashe states, hitherto unknown in Uganda—making it clear that while religion was absolutely free in Uganda, the whole country was now British. Dr. Peters' treaty had been disavowed by his Government, and the Anglo-German Agreement had once for all settled the question of European suzerainty. This view, however, was not acceptable to the "French" faction, while the Protestants were disappointed at finding that under the new régime they would not be helped to crush their rivals. So unreasonable was the attitude of all the factions, that in bitterness—but not seriously—I threatened to leave Uganda and form an alliance with Kabarega. The following days and nights were full of anxiety. The defenceless little camp at Kampala was continually on the alert, for Mwanga had declared himself of the

“French” faction, and these now threatened momentarily to attack. Self-preservation dictated a coalescence with the Protestants, but duty and honour urged complete neutrality between the rival factions.

The great object was to obtain a treaty which would give us a right to intervene in the internal affairs of the country. The presentation of this treaty is thus described by Ashe: “The day before Christmas the question of a treaty was introduced before the king in open court, where a dangerous and excited crowd of chiefs had collected. All came armed with loaded rifles, the Roman Catholics to support the king against the English, and the Protestants to defend Captain Lugard. One angry partisan actually covered Captain Lugard with his gun, but the muzzle of the loaded weapon was instantly beaten down by one of the Protestant chiefs from Buddu—the faithful Zakaria. Twice De Winton—one of Lugard’s companions—heard the click of a rifle being cocked, while the chiefs, seeing that a fight was imminent, quickly slipped their cartridges into their rifles. Lugard, however, was too absorbed to heed anything. The king was terrified and greatly excited as the strange Englishman, heedless of his evident disinclination, insisted that he should sign the treaty. But at last, when the king seemed

about to give way, such a clamour arose outside from the Roman Catholic party that Captain Lugard felt it wiser not to face the rising storm, or to persist in a course which would presently transform Mengo into a bloody battle-ground. He therefore returned to Kampala, to spend an anxious night. He could now realise something of the intense excitement which prevailed as he listened to the shouting, drum-beating, and angry voices now and again crying out that the English should be killed. Next day was Christmas. The other Englishmen, as the custom of Englishmen is, kept festival, but the anxious leader excused himself, for the extreme gravity of the situation oppressed his spirit. He determined to seek a private interview with the terrified king. But no sooner had he neared the gates of Mengo, than the royal drums boomed out, and armed men with rifles ready came stealing up, and slipped in to guard the king. Some treachery was suspected on both sides, it appears. Lugard then turned back amid the half-suppressed jeers and chuckling of the insolent rabble."

Next day the French fathers bade their faction sign the treaty, which was done without further trouble. On the following day Bishop Tucker and a party of English missionaries arrived; the Bishop leaving again in a month. A temporary lull followed the

signing of the treaty, and I set myself to endeavour by every possible means to gain the confidence of both factions, and to a great extent succeeded; but Protestants and Catholics alike were under the complete control of their missionaries, and every effort, whether with the Europeans or the natives, to emphasize the distinction between politics and religion seemed to be abortive. Meanwhile the camp on Kampala was transformed into a moderately defensible position. In January, 1891, Captain Williams, R.A., with a small force of Sudanese and a Maxim, neared Uganda. His approach, added to the defences at Kampala, were the signal for fresh suspicions and new trouble, but he arrived at last without mishap. It is hard to exaggerate the relief which his arrival afforded. From morning till night the burning questions between the two factions, on which from day to day hung the issue of peace or war, were discussed, and several were satisfactorily settled; but, as Ashe remarks, "nightly war drums were beaten, and daily excited crowds of either faction would collect, armed for battle. The strain for all concerned was becoming intolerable."

The matters in dispute were of a most complicated nature, involving a conflict between the established law and custom of the country, the promised religious freedom and equality, and the agreements made by

the factions between themselves. Each would appeal to whichever made for his case, and both parties were very uncompromising, especially the "French" faction, which was the more powerful. The discussions referred to the division of estates and of the Sesse islands between the factions, the question whether a chief abjuring his religion should retain the office he held as a nominee of his faction, and many other similar matters. For a full account the reader is referred to the author's book "Our East African Empire," and to Mr. Ashe's "Chronicles of Uganda." There were many other difficulties to be faced by the administrator. The English missionaries took umbrage at his assertion of the separate nature of religion and politics, at his refusal to concur in the establishment of missions in outlying provinces at such a moment, and at other matters; while the French Bishop Hirth, who had succeeded Mgr. Lavinac in May, 1890, roundly demanded "justice" for his faction if war was to be staved off! Supplies ran short, and difficulties and quarrels arose between the Company's men and the Waganda, while Stokes made trouble on his own account. The position was not a bed of roses.)

At the beginning of April, 1891, the Mohammedans having made continual raids into the country, the Christians, under the

leadership of Kagwa — now Katikiro — marched against them with some four thousand seven hundred guns and twelve thousand spearmen, accompanied by the Administrator and Captain Williams with their fighting force, consisting of about three hundred soldiers and as many porters. Yet even in such an enterprise new difficulties arose in this ceaseless rivalry of factions and religions. No sooner had the burning question of who should be the general of the combined armies been settled than the Katikiro demanded a Union Jack to carry as the flag of the army. To grant his request would probably have resulted in the whole of the "French" faction leaving the expedition and returning to the capital, a step the "English" would not have dared to allow them to take. Moreover, it had been tacitly agreed at the time the treaty was made that the flag should not be forced on the people. Assembling all the chiefs, "French" as well as "English," for I had many firm friends among the former, I frankly laid the position before them, proposing that the terms English and French should be abolished, and all accept the British flag. It was finally agreed that the Katikiro and Pokino should have British flags, while the French chiefs would not attempt to force it upon their faction. "Both sides," writes Ashe, "had thus obtained a

diplomatic advantage. The Protestants now carried the Company's flag, and were Company's men, while the Roman Catholics could pose as patriots who had refused a foreign flag, and could urge, with some apparent though not real reason, the complaint that the Company's banner was merely the symbol of the Protestant party, which Captain Lugard had always taken pains to deny." Such was a typical Uganda "Shauri"!

Every endeavour was now used to open negotiations with the Mohammedans, and envoys were induced to come into the camp. The demands made were that they should give up Mbogo and lay down their arms, and I wrote for them, as an alternative and at their wish, a letter to the Germans asking for a safe passage for them to the coast. At first they agreed to give up their king, but afterwards declined and elected to fight. On May 11th, the Mohammedan army, reinforced by Kabarega, was completely routed, the enemy's position, which was well selected behind a formidable swamp, having been turned by a ruse. I had been anxious to march on Kabarega's capital, feeling that the longer our army kept the field the more likely the chiefs were to coalesce, and bury their animosities, and the more likely would it be that we should gain an influence and

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make firm friends among them. Moreover, the chronic Mohammedan difficulty could not be finally settled until their asylum was attacked, and their ally—whose tyranny was the curse of his country—defeated. The Waganda, however, shewed no desire for the enterprise, and the army returned to Mengo. Williams accompanied them, and, with Mr. Bagge as his companion, took charge at the capital, while, with Grant and Macpherson, the pick of the fighting men, and a small contingent of Waganda, under the best of the chiefs, Zakaria, I marched south to Buddu.

The position in Uganda—with the four contending factions, Protestants, Roman Catholics, Pagans and Mohammedans, a treacherous, cowardly and weak king, and European missionaries hostile to each other, and none of them very friendly to the efforts of the Company's agent, while exerting great influence with their factions—had driven me to the conclusion that the situation was impossible, unless we could find a strong central force. The Company had no troops, and I therefore formed the idea of marching to the south of the Albert Lake, and enlisting there the Sudanese who had been abandoned by Stanley and Emin. A further object was the desire to check the import of powder and arms from German territory, by entering into

treaties with the chief of Ankole, &c., and if necessary by establishing forts.

Leaving Buddu in June, 1891, after crossing Northern Ankole and passing the Albert Edward Lake, the expedition entered Toru, which lies at the foot of the mountain mass of Ruwenzori. This Wahuma country had been overrun by the Wasura of Kabarega, and its people were outcasts and slaves. Accompanying the expedition was the young prince Kasagama, the rightful heir, who had taken refuge in Uganda. This young prince was installed as king, and "the fugitive Wahuma came out from their hiding among the mountains, escaped from their slavery among the Wanyoro, or bade farewell to Ntali, who had sheltered them, and with great rejoicing recognised the boy Kasagama as their king." After dispersing more than one army of Kabarega's, and traversing for the first time the South of Unyoro, the expedition crossed the Semliki and reached Kavalli's on September 7th. The position of the expedition was precarious, for the small force was vastly outnumbered by the Sudanese (armed with Remingtons), whom Stanley had described as treacherous ruffians. After some difficult negotiations, however, Selim Bey agreed to accompany the Administrator to Uganda, and that his soldiers should enlist in the Company's service if the Khedive's consent were obtained. Meanwhile, they

agreed to serve me. The whole body, including women and children, and slaves, numbered over eight thousand, and this large mass, under our guidance, marched back towards Unyoro. A series of forts were built on the frontier between Toru and Unyoro, and De Winton was temporarily left in charge to control them, pending the arrival of Williams, who spoke Arabic and whom I intended to send on my return to Uganda, which I reached at the end of December, with two hundred or three hundred Sudanese soldiers, and two or three times that number of followers.

Meanwhile, Williams, amid endless difficulties, and with a mere handful of men, had somehow managed to keep the two factions from a general civil war, though fighting had occurred in Buddu and in the islands. Mwanga had offered to go over to the English side, but had, says Ashe, been bribed with ivory to cancel his proposal. The French priests had apparently employed their time in building a loop-holed fort on the top of Rubaga, where they resided, and had imported a considerable number of rifles.* At the end of December a large caravan arrived from the coast, and simultaneously I reached Mengo with the reinforcement of Sudanese. At the same time a number of

* Ashe, p. 203.

new priests arrived, so that the Europeans in Uganda were as follows: Company's agents, six; English missionaries, seven; French, six. Ashe appears to hold that a well-laid scheme had been planned to bring on a war before the arrival of the Administrator from the west and of the caravan from the east, and that the invasion by Koki, the movement in Chagwe, and the attacks in the islands, were all part of this concerted plan, which miscarried owing in part to the vigour and bravery of the Protestant chiefs, and in part to the delays of the Roman Catholics. But it is quite evident that the "French" faction, who considered themselves quite strong enough to sweep the English out of the country, had fully determined on war, and Ashe states that the king, and probably the French priests, had in anticipation already removed their goods to the islands for safety.

There was a pause till the caravan had left to return to the coast, and then the lawlessness broke out with redoubled fury. On January 22nd, 1892, a gun was snatched from a man of the "English" faction, and on his pursuing the thief into an enclosure he was shot dead. Instantly the whole country was in a ferment. Similar incidents had recently occurred, though this seemed worse than any before, and it was apparent that a climax had been reached. I went at once to see the king, but

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was treated with discourtesy, and feeling overpowered by the sun, and doubting the advisability of remaining till disrespect grew into insult, left my Somali headman to report the result of the enquiry promised by the king. The verdict was an acquittal of the homicide. A protest sent was received with jeers, and the assertion that the "French" would sack Kampala. The French bishop was appealed to in vain to hold his party in check, and on January 24th, the king and the "French" party beat their war-drums and prepared for battle. Only at the last moment, when peace was past praying for, were some spare arms issued by the Company's representative to the "English" faction to equalise the parties. The English missionaries accepted the protection of the fort, but the French fathers, confident in the victory of their faction, preferred to remain in their own fort. While already the war-drums had sounded and the excited antagonists faced each other, a fresh outrage was committed by the Kapta—a "French" chief.

The French faction now made an attack, and instantly the fight became general. The "English" party, aided by the company's troops, were victorious. The king and the "French" faction fled to the islands, and when victory declared itself it was too late in the day for any pursuit in the dense jungle grass. The

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Fathers were rescued from their precarious position, and treated at Kampala with every courtesy which genuine sympathy for their unfortunate plight could dictate. I now wrote inviting the king to return, promising to forgive his past actions, and to reinstate all the "French" chiefs, except two who had offered public insults. No indemnity was asked, and the matter would be forgotten. Mwanga was anxious to return, and so were many of the chiefs, but the French bishop, who was a guest at Kampala, hastened to the king, promising that he would bring Mwanga back. There is no doubt whatever that his great influence was used in the opposite direction, and Mwanga, as he told the envoys sent to him by the Administrator (impartial and very respectable Mohammedan traders, agents of Stokes) was kept a prisoner by the "French" faction.

For five days every effort was made to secure peace, and to induce the king to return, the only result being that an insolent message was sent by the king, and a "French" chief attacked some "English" canoes. Captain Williams thereupon attacked the island of Bulinguge, which the enemy had imagined impregnable. The Protestant Waganda, who had shewn such pluck on land, were not of much use by water, but Dualla, with a party of the company's troops, covered by

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Williams's Maxim, effected a landing, and the "French" were driven out with great loss. Unfortunately Mwanga escaped, accompanied by Mgr. Hirth,⁶ but the rest of the fathers once again sought the shelter of Kampala, and every effort was made to recover the property they had lost. They were on the most friendly terms with the English officers, who spared no effort to mitigate their discomfort, and severely dealt with anyone who shewed them any discourtesy, but later it transpired that during this period of friendly intercourse the Father Superior was sending letters to Europe full of bitter invective and false statements. Others, who were not within hundreds of miles of the events narrated, endorsed these accounts, and the European press rang with the story of the bloody butcheries of women and children, the long-planned extermination of the Roman Catholic religion, and other atrocities laid to the charge of the administration.

An extraordinary movement now took place in Uganda. The "French" party had deliberately made all their plans, and had agreed that in case of reverse they would occupy Buddu, a province under an "English" chief, and reckoned mostly Protestant. It was in the extreme south of Uganda; whereas Chagwe, under a "French" chief, and mostly Roman Catholic, was in the extreme north.

A vast migration now began of the “French” faction towards Buddu, to which point also the defeated king and army were directing their course by water. As an “English” province, it had been assumed that Buddu would be fairly able to take care of itself. The most capable of the chiefs, Zakaria, was there, and also the Sudanese garrison, under the very best of the Sudanese officers, Ferag Effendi. In any case the Protestants could retire southwards to the friendly country of Ankole—with whose king I had made blood brotherhood and a treaty,—Messrs. Walker and Smith were at the Buddu capital, and had just been joined by Mr. Ashe on his return to the scene of his successful labours in Uganda. The warning the Protestant chiefs had been asked to send to them had apparently not arrived, and as the plan of the “French” faction to concentrate in Buddu became clear, anxiety began to be felt for their safety, but until the startling news of the “French” party’s march towards Mengo reached Kampala it had never been supposed that such an idea would occur to them.

The Protestants’ retreat from Buddu, hampered by great numbers of women and children, was covered by Zakaria and his fighting men, who drove off their assailants, and making a detour to the west, the party arrived safely, passing a similar exodus of Roman Catholics making

for Buddu from Chagwe. With the "French" faction ready to make an attack from Bulinguge, or from the Buddu direction where they had concentrated, and with daily reports that the Mohammedans were marching on the capital from Unyoro, it was impossible to detach a party of men to help the fugitives from Buddu. Ferag had stoutly refused to leave the fort committed to his charge until starved out, when he fought his way back with great gallantry. A relief party had been sent to him by water—the fort being on the Lake shore—but it arrived too late. The Buddu party arrived on February 8th, after the defeat of the "French" at Bulinguge, and Bagge, who had gone to Bukoba by water previous to the trouble, after many escapes and adventures also arrived safely. Mwanga and Mgr. Hirth had, it appears, been closely pursued by the Protestant canoes, and, according to Ashe, only escaped capture by the intervention of Sergt. Kühne, a German, who chanced to arrive at Sesse with Bagge. They then went on to the German station of Bukoba, where Captain Langheld gave them shelter. Ashe, writing by the light of later disclosures, attributes interested and not very straightforward motives to the Germans in their action throughout this crisis; but, however that may be, there was nothing in the fragmentary and confusing reports which came to hand at the time to raise any doubt of the good faith

of the German officers in the minds of the British officers at Kampala. The selection of Buddu, however (which was coterminous with the German frontier) as the point of concentration of the "French" faction, the immediate flight of Mwanga and Mgr. Hirth to the Germans, and remarks made by the priests in conversation, all go to show that Mgr. Hirth had hopes of help from his countrymen (he was an Alsatian).

Letters were now sent to Mwanga advising him to return, and promising him reinstatement, but beyond this I refused to discuss any terms until the king should have arrived. The Sesse islanders, as has been seen, controlled the canoes on the Lake, and being Pagans they were on Mwanga's side. Williams therefore took an expedition and over-ran the islands. Thence he went to Bukoba, and obtained Langheld's permission to take the two infant children of Kaluna, who were at the French mission at the south of the Lake. It was my intention to place one of them on the throne, in case Mwanga did not at once return. Their mothers, however, refused to let them come to Uganda, and Williams returned unsuccessful. Mwanga sent to ask for two of his wives, and the opportunity was seized of sending him messages, which were more likely to reach him than previous ones. In reply he said he was eager to return, but was a prisoner. Early in

March the vacant chiefships were filled up, and it became necessary seriously to think of placing the Mohammedan Mbogo on the throne, since the continued absence of a king kept the whole country in a state of anarchy. Two envoys, however—the two biggest chiefs of their faction—arrived at this juncture to make terms for Mwangá's return. I, however, declined to treat until the king himself arrived, and Seboa then returned to fetch Mwangá, while the Kimbugwe, the head of the Catholic party, remained at his own suggestion as a hostage of good faith. Two Protestant chiefs accompanied Seboa, and succeeded in effecting an escape with Mwangá, who had been a close prisoner; and the mission of two French fathers, who had likewise come to arrange terms, was therefore rendered abortive.

Mwangá arrived on March 30th, and was received with great joy by the "English" faction. I insisted on his coming first to Kampala, but went out to meet him, and treated him with every courtesy. The British flag now flew over the king's house in Mengo, and British influence had become, Ashe says, "an established fact" at last. A new treaty was made in place of the former provisional one, and without the reservations contained in the earlier one. After Mwangá's return the Roman Catholic chiefs were given a proportion of the chiefships, and Búddu, the richest province, was assigned to

them to live in. An agreement was drawn up with them on April 5th, which they accepted with great pleasure, though the Fathers later tried to persuade them of its injustice, and disputed its terms. Contrary to all expectation, the Mohammedan faction had refrained from attacking during the civil war between the Christians. They professed that they had refrained because they did not wish to fight against the Company. They now clamoured for recognition, and it appeared to be not only just to repatriate them, but politic, since the Protestants could not have met them in battle with their flank exposed to an attack from the "French." Ashe maintains that there was a treacherous understanding between the Mohammedan faction and the Sudanese, but had that been so it was possible for the latter at any time to have joined the Mohammedans and left the Company's officers helpless. It was now arranged that three minor provinces should be given to the Mohammedans, with the chiefships pertaining to them, and after a very difficult and precarious interview I succeeded in bringing back Mbogo to Kampala. The giving-up of their king meant to the Mohammedan Waganda their annihilation as a faction struggling for supreme power in the country, and was a mark of extraordinary confidence. Mbogo remained a guest at Kampala, and during all the troublous times that followed he never wavered in his

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loyalty. Both Christian factions, as well as their missionaries, were very bitter at this repatriation of the Mohammedans, but they served as a useful equipoise to the other factions.

Meanwhile the events which had been occurring in Uganda had rendered it impossible for Williams to relieve De Winton in Toru. De Winton had done his best to carry out his instructions regarding the Sudanese in the Unyoro forts, but it was impossible for a man who did not understand Arabic, and who was not himself a soldier, to control these lawless soldiery. The news reached Kampala that he had fallen ill, and Macpherson was instantly despatched to tend him, but he had already died at his post.

It will be remembered that at the end of December a caravan had reached Uganda. It brought letters from the Directors ordering the evacuation of Uganda at once, together with a later order cancelling this, and directing the Administrator to remain till December 31st, 1892. At the end of the year—since the Company could no longer afford to maintain its hold on the country—he was directed to retire to Dagoreti with his whole force. The lives of many Europeans were at stake, nor did it seem possible to myself and to Williams to abandon the people of Toru—to whom the Company had pledged its protection—to the

tender mercies of the Sudanese and Kabarega, or to desert the Waganda who had fought on our side ; and, after consultation with Williams, who even offered to use his private means rather than desert the country, I determined to return alone to England and fully explain the position of affairs and to appeal to the English people not to abandon the country and break the pledges given in their name. The railway survey party arrived on June 10th, and I determined to take advantage of their escort to the coast, so as not to deprive Williams of a single rifle.

• The outlook in Uganda was now fairly reassuring. Peace reigned among all three factions, and the mission work was increasing wonderfully. I left Kampala on June 16th, and a letter signed by Mwanga and the great chiefs of all parties was sent after me addressed to the Queen, imploring Her Majesty not to withdraw from the country, and asking for my return. Arriving in England at the end of October, I found that the British Government had finally decided not to come to the assistance of the Company, and that Uganda was to be left to its fate. A short and sharp campaign was at once entered on. The influence of the Church Missionary Society and of other philanthropic societies was invoked, and the pens of a thousand writers in the press warned the Government

of the day that the feeling in favour of the retention of Uganda was too strong to be disregarded. On December 10th, Lord Rosebery, the Foreign Minister, who himself had always been in favour of retention, was able to announce that Sir Gerald Portal, Consul-General at Zanzibar, was to be sent to report on the best means of dealing with the country, and the course which should be adopted with regard to the Company's engagements and treaties with natives. The Government gave a subsidy to the Company to enable them to continue the administration for three more months—till March 31st, 1893, by which date Portal would have arrived in the country. Meanwhile Captain Macdonald, R.E., of the railway survey, being supposed to be in the vicinity of Uganda, received instructions to enquire into the late disturbances there, and the claims for compensation advanced by the French Government on behalf of the priests. Besides Macdonald there reached Uganda at the end of 1892 a party of missionaries under Bishop Tucker, Herr Wolff, correspondent of the *Tageblatt*—a German who had been directed to leave German East Africa—and Mr. Gedge, who had formerly been in Uganda with Jackson and now returned as correspondent of *The Times*. Macdonald sent home a voluminous report, which was chiefly a criticism of my

administration. It was examined by a committee of the Cabinet, who set it aside; but rather than send a fresh commission to Uganda after so long a lapse of time the British Government consented to pay an indemnity to France, while not admitting that any compensation was due, in order to dispose of a heated controversy which was endangering the relations of the two countries at a time when far more important issues in Egypt, Siam, and West Africa were pressing for solution.

Having previously directed Macdonald by letter to await his arrival, Sir G. Portal reached Uganda on March 17th, 1893, accompanied by Messrs. Berkeley and R. Portal, Colonel Rhodes, and Major Owen, with four hundred porters and two hundred and forty soldiers. Williams, who since my departure in the previous June had remained as the Company's administrator, left soon after for the coast, taking with him the Egyptian Sudanese, and leaving only Selim's men in Uganda. By a splendid exhibition of tact and judgment, he had managed to prevent any civil war in the country. It was he who had raised and trained the troops, and by his fearless bearing and freedom from bias had exerted a powerful influence on the natives. Judging by the accounts of Mr. Ashe, however, he had not been more

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successful than his predecessor in avoiding friction with both missions. Macdonald on his return found great changes, the capital rebuilt, roads^s bridged, and every sign of prosperity, and Williams, he says, had "worked wonders." He had, however, been very ill.

During this period Ashe relates that on two occasions the Protestant party were on the point of dividing into two hostile sections, now that the fear of the Roman Catholics and Mohammedans was removed. The conviction had indeed been forced on me that, among so quarrelsome and impulsive a people, peace and good order could only be prevented by disarmament, and a strong central executive supported by a considerable force.

Williams's first act had been to demand from Kabarega—who had before my departure sent envoys to sue for peace—a large quantity of ivory as an indemnity for his long hostility to Europeans, and his invasions of Uganda; but the demand was ignored. In this and other measures Williams was actuated by the desire to provide a revenue whereby the hold on the country might be maintained, and with the same object in view he re-assessed the tribute of Usoga on a fairer basis, and arranged that half should be devoted to the public revenue. In October he sent Grant to control this province, — which_e he had himself partly

conquered and organised in May, 1891. Grant was most successful in his work, and acquired a very great influence in Usoga. In February, 1893, after all attempts at negotiation had failed, he led a very powerful fleet and army against the Uvuma islanders, who were constantly raiding in Chagwe, and whose hostility prevented the establishment of a canoe service between Uganda and Usoga or Kavirondo. The attack was excellently organized and completely successful, and Macdonald states that the terms given to the islanders were humane and generous, and secured them as loyal allies. The arrangement I had made regarding the territorial area given to the Roman Catholics had been purely temporary, and was necessarily made in haste and based on vague information—in the absence of maps—a regards cultivable area; nor was there any possible way of arriving at any estimate of the numbers of the people to be accommodated. Williams considered Buddu somewhat too small for them, and Portal on his arrival largely increased their territory, and, carrying out a plan I had suggested, gave them estates at intervals between Buddu and the capital at which they might rest on their way to and fro. A Roman Catholic Katikiro (in lieu of Kimbugwe) was instituted and other offices of State were added.

CHAPTER VI

THE DECLARATION OF THE PROTECTORATE

ON April 1st, 1893, Portal hoisted the British flag and made a provisional treaty with Mwanga, and Owen was sent to enlist four hundred Sudanese (making a total of six hundred and twenty-five) from the forts in South Unyoro. Portal then endeavoured to effect an understanding between the Christian parties, by bringing the two bishops together, while he attended "unofficially." The result as described by him was not satisfactory. In the matter of mission extension he secured a "purely temporary" pledge from each side, pending reference to Europe, that they would not extend in particular directions. In his

despatches Portal states that if the establishment of rival missions in Toru led to riots and bloodshed, he "should not feel bound to intervene in any way," and they could fight it out among themselves. If Her Majesty's Commissioner, with an authority fully recognised by both missions, a large staff, and a powerful force, acting by order of Government in a British Protectorate, was unable to find any solution to the difficulties of mission rivalry other than that he would abandon a part of the country under British rule to the anarchy of civil war without intervention, some idea may be formed of the difficulties which beset the Company's representatives, with inadequate forces, no staff, and an authority disputed by the Europeans; yet they never took so weak a line of action as this. Sir Gerald's brother Raymond, who had been sent to South Unyoro with Owen, was brought back in a dying state. His death, together with the incessant strain of work and anxiety which always devolved on the man responsible for Uganda, coupled with fever, so broke down the Government Commissioner that he hurriedly left the country. Sir G. Portal's short stay of two and a-half months was not sufficient to enable him to acquire an adequate knowledge of the complicated questions with which he had to deal, and fortunately his intention of aban-

doing Toru was for the time over-ruled by the advice of Williams and his staff.

Without attempting a criticism of the Commissioner's action, it may be desirable to point out that the crucial point of the arrangement made by the Company's representative was that the Roman Catholics were free to teach their creed throughout all Uganda, and that the profession of that creed was to be no bar to election to any office of State. Portal, by doubling their territorial area, and making additional chiefships inalienable from the party, once again constituted them a political faction—to which, after their late action, they had forfeited all claim. The year which had passed, during which they had loyally fulfilled their undertakings, would however have justified the Administrator in securing for chiefs of that creed additional offices and privileges. The new arrangement necessarily gave much umbrage to both the other factions. In the report which Portal ultimately submitted to Government, on his return in December, 1893, he advocated the revocation of the Company's charter, the retention of Uganda (without Toru, Unyoro, etc.), and the construction of a railway only as far as Kikuyu. The necessary expense would, he argued, be met by a Government grant of £30,000 per annum for a railway, and £20,000

for Uganda administration, with an extra £6,600 for Kikuyu, and £2,800 for the up-keep of steamers—a capital sum of £55,000 being expended on the latter. Though he had doubled the territory of the Roman Catholics, in order to secure the young princes in their custody, he admitted that four-fifths of the cultivable land there was lying waste. Finally, he rightly urged the retention of Uganda as a bulwark against the domination of Islam in Africa.

Portal, on his departure, left Macdonald as Acting Administrator, and of the latter's clear and excellent account of subsequent events the following pages are more or less a résumé. He found himself called upon immediately to deal with a difficult situation. On the departure of the Egyptian Sudanese with Williams, Selim Bey, to whom his Sudanese rendered an unquestioning obedience, was in a very strong position. By Williams and myself he had been treated rather as a coadjutor than as a servant, but now, as commandant of the new battalion, he was of course amenable to orders, and the newcomers perhaps hardly made sufficient efforts to save his *amour propre*. He was, moreover, deeply humiliated by the refusal of the Khedive's Government to admit his loyalty to Emin and to reinstate him. Finally, apart from his position as commandant, he con-

sidered himself responsible for the welfare of the mass of unenlisted Sudanese, and for the Waganda Mohammedans. Of the former he was the patriarch and chief; for the latter he had pledged himself on the Koran at the time of their repatriation. Macdonald on the other hand lacked the advantage, which I had enjoyed in Williams, of an Arabic-speaking officer, respected by the Sudanese and exercising a great influence with them. It may be that he also did not recognize any necessity for explaining to Selim the unreasonable nature of the demands of the Mohammedan faction, and the disloyal attitude they had adopted. Macdonald states that the latter, led by a scoundrel named Juma, had put aside the respectable chief whom I had trusted, and committed themselves to a course of intrigue and treachery. This assumption of the right to depose and appoint chiefs without reference to Kampala could not, of course, be allowed. Macdonald further asserts that they had endeavoured to induce the Roman Catholics to raise with them the standard of revolt, and had established slave markets, and that at the durbar the day before Portal left they had openly threatened rebellion. To this Portal had replied by giving Macdonald orders to deport them if they proved troublesome. Finally, he explains that the "reason why they had not

attacked at the time of the civil war was because they were divided in their counsels between doing so and first securing the co-operation of the Sudanese in Toru, and so missed their opportunity. The Sudanese, contrary to their expectation, had refused, and as they had already incurred the hostility of Kabrega by treating with his enemies, and by raiding his country, they were forced to come to terms with the Company's representative. Macdonald adds that the territory they had secured was greatly in excess of their proportionate right, since although only five per cent. of the population they had three provinces assigned to them; and that the insolent demands now made for an increase, on the ground of Portal's addition to the defeated "Roman Catholic rebels," were the more unreasonable since they had not attempted to cultivate in the provinces they owned. They were, in truth, rather a fighting gang of bandits than a section of the population, and they lacked the peasantry to cultivate, and therefore began a system of raiding, theft, and dacoity.

In January, while Williams was still in command, war would have broken out, says Macdonald, had not Selim hinted that the Sudanese would be unwilling to fight their co-religionists. The Mohammedans now refused to do the king's work, assembled a large number of rifles at the capital, and intrigued with the

Sudanese; only waiting to act till Portal and his Zanzibaris should be far from Uganda, and Selim all powerful. Whether or not all these assumptions were capable of proof, there was no question as to Selim's attitude. He declined to allow the unenlisted to be sent to Port Alice, and wrote both to the king and to Portal regarding the claim of the Waganda Mohammedans to the province of Busiro. Macdonald, in preparation for a crisis, wrote asking Portal to return, and received from him in reply a contingent of twenty men under Villiers. He then paid up all the troops and ordered Selim to Port Alice. The troops under Selim's command looted and stole on the way, and he arrived flying his own flag, and counter-ordered the orders of Mr. Reddie, who was in charge there. The native Moslems meanwhile reinforced their contingent at the capital, but at a durbar held on June 12th, at which they were forced to an immediate decision, they submitted to do the king's work and reported to Selim. They had now one thousand two hundred guns at Mengo, and began to concentrate the rest of their force thirty-five miles from the capital, while Selim wrote saying that Mwanga must not attack the Mohammedans. On March 17th Macdonald recalled Reddie and his Zanzibaris from Port Alice, and Captain Arthur from Usoga, and collected all Englishmen within the fort, where he also placed Mbogo and the infant prince.

The French priests, as well as most of the Roman Catholic fighting men, had bolted towards Buddu. Macdonald arrested Juma and two other Mohammedan chiefs as hostages, pluckily exposing himself in so doing, and sent an ultimatum to the Mohammedans at the capital either to give up their arms or to retire.

Reddie arrived early on the 18th, and reported that Selim had said he would join the Mohammedans in case of fighting. There were now about 120 Zanzibaris at Kampala. The enlisted Sudanese at the fort strongly protested their loyalty, and next day even volunteered to fight against Selim if he proved recalcitrant; but some of them refused to take the oath of allegiance, and all were disarmed at the mouth of the Maxim as a precaution. The ultimatum to the Mohammedans having been disregarded, they were attacked by the Protestants, who had secretly concentrated two thousand rifles, and were defeated and driven out with the death of their Mujasi, the most prominent leader next to the prisoner Juma. Selim had sent a party of soldiers towards Mengo, but the Mohammedans had already been defeated, and Selim's men retired. Next day, Macdonald marched with a strong force to Port Alice. The Sudanese laid down their arms, and did not resist the arrest of Selim, who was tried and sentenced to deportation. He admitted the justice of his sentence, and

the whole of the Sudanese took the oath of allegiance, while Gedge left for the coast, taking poor old Selim, who was a dying man, and the scoundrel Juma (who escaped), together with the old ex-King Mbogo, who throughout these troubles had shown the greatest loyalty and had used every endeavour to curb his people. The defeated Mohammedan faction fled to their provinces, where eight chiefs elected to lay down their arms and remain peacefully in Britambala, two of the three Mohammedan provinces being given to the Christians—one to each sect—though Mgr. Hirth at once claimed both.

Meanwhile Owen—who with Grant was engaged in enlisting Sudanese in South Unyoro, and in concentrating all the mass of un-enlisted in the two Eastern forts, with a view to abandoning the Western ones—was in a very dangerous position. Macdonald had sent him warning, but could do no more. I had urged the necessity of employing Arabic-speaking officers to control this band of dissolute soldiery, but none had been sent by the Company. De Winton's death, and the fighting in Uganda, had left them to do as they pleased, and instead of forming self-supporting little colonies, which should protect Toru from Kabarega's cruelties, they committed horrible atrocities, and laid waste a great area of country. Owen was a man not only of great

courage and resource, but also of initiative. He found Usongora and Kitagwenda—which in the Company's time had been friendly—devastated and hostile. A strong band of Manyema slave-raiders on the borders of the Congo State were threatening the garrison of Fort George, and had sent letters to the Sudanese reporting the successes of the Congo mutineers, and urging them to revolt. Owen sent envoys to them, who were seized, and Portal, on hearing of it, forbade any steps for their relief, and ordered the abandonment of Toru. The Sudanese garrisons and colonies were in a state of famine and suppressed mutiny, while the withdrawal of the men who had been enlisted had weakened them; they had also suffered a reverse at the hands of the Wanyoro, and the brave and devoted Shukri, whom Williams had brought from Egypt, had been killed. Owen sent to Toru for food, and to Kampala for assistance. The defeated Waganda Mohammedans now brought false tales of the events at the capital—of massacres of women, and of a crusade against Islam. A plot was formed under one Bilal to murder Owen and Grant, and for the Sudanese and Waganda to set up a Mohammedan kingdom in Toru, or to retire to Kavalli's. Owen was powerless, but adopted the desperate course of declaring his complete belief in Bilal, and appointing him Commandant of the enlisted force. The

scheme succeeded, and Bilal threw in his lot with the British, seeing a better chance for himself than by leading a migration into the wilderness.

The Waganda army now arrived in pursuit of the Mohammedans. Owen interposed and treated with the latter, but they suddenly showed that they had only been throwing dust in his eyes, by breaking off the negotiations and marching westwards. Owen and the Christians pursued and defeated them, six hundred being reported killed. The rest submitted, and seventy chiefs accompanied Owen back to Kampala. Before arriving, however, they bolted, and, joining the remnant of their faction, seized their old provinces, and once more defied the Administration. Owen and Macdonald with separate columns marched against them, and gained a bloodless victory, the majority laying down their arms and accepting dwelling-places scattered throughout the Christian provinces. Six hundred recalcitrants fled to Koki, where Villiers and Reddie were sent to coerce them and settle outstanding questions with Koki. This was successfully accomplished without further fighting. Macdonald now rightly decided to withdraw the Sudanese colonies from South Unyoro, together with two thousand Wanyoro who had thrown in their lot with them against Kabarega. He proposed to locate them at

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Port Alice, at Luba's, and at two new forts in the west of Uganda. The difficult migration was accomplished by Owens and the capable and indefatigable Grant, without a hitch. Macdonald was also prepared to abandon Toru, and locate Kasagama and his people in a depopulated part of Uganda, but that chief, having received two hundred guns to defend himself against Kabarega, preferred to remain. From these colonies the enlisted force was raised to a total of six hundred, and Macdonald formed the excellent idea of a reserve force of three hundred men on half-pay. This enabled them to support their families, and being now under the more immediate eye of the Administration they began to cultivate and to cease from robbery. Their Lendu slaves, with the consent of their masters, were formed into a porter corps. Such is the story, as told by Macdonald, of the second Uganda crisis.

CHAPTER VII

THE CONQUEST OF UNYORO.

MACDONALD now turned his thoughts to the question of dealing with Kabarega, who was a constant thorn in the side of Uganda, his country being the asylum for all its enemies. But before he could put his plans into execution Colonel Colvile arrived with several officers, to take command, in November, 1893.

Kabarega anticipated hostilities by sending an army to invade Toru and another against Usoga. Owen was sent with a force to make a diversion in favour of Toru, and, marching with his usual rapidity, he met and inflicted a severe defeat on one of Kabarega's armies. Colvile meanwhile with eight Europeans, two Maxims, 450 Sudanese, 3,400 Waganda rifles,

and some 13,000 spearmen, invaded Unyoro, and occupied the capital without resistance. Kabarega retreated into the dense Budongo forest, in which he was besieged by the invaders. While Colvile proceeded to build four forts from Kibero on the Albert Lake to the frontier of Uganda, Owen was sent to the North, where he twice defeated the Unyoro army, and the Uganda general vanquished the main body. The king, however, escaped. Mr. Purkiss, who had been sent in the steel boat to the north of the lake to co-operate with Owen, suffered great hardships from starvation and hostile attacks, but eventually, by good fortune and his own pluck, returned safely, without apparently any effort being made to succour him. On his return from Magungu Owen was sent in the boat to Wadelai. He reached that place by an exhibition of daring and perseverance which was somewhat wasted on so futile a project, and, having hoisted a flag, returned to Kibero. In February, 1894, Colvile returned to Uganda, leaving Thruston in command in Unyoro, and Macdonald left for England.

During this year there was much fighting by detached parties in North Unyoro. Captain Thruston, in May, fought a very brilliant action, storming the almost inaccessible mountain fortress of Masaga Inkuru, where Kabarega's army was wont to camp in

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security and harass caravans. Captain Gibb and Mr. Grant in July made a difficult march to Mruli by land and water, in which Grant, who was in command of a fleet of canoes, lost touch of the land column in the thick sudd and papyrus, and only extricated himself by great pluck and resource. About the same time Captain Thruston visited Wadelai, and in August he inflicted a severe defeat on Kabarega's army. In October he occupied Mahagi, on the West of the Lake, and in November, by a successful night surprise, he nearly succeeded in capturing Kabarega. His throne and other insignia, which Unyorb superstition regarded as constituting the office of king, and the loss of which meant the fall of the dynasty, were captured. Cunningham and others meanwhile fought various minor actions in the South, and harried the fugitive outlaws who now formed the party of the Mujasi Gabriel.

On August 27th, by order of Her Majesty's Government, Uganda proper was formally declared a British Protectorate, and Portal's treaty was ratified. At the end of 1894, Colville was invalided, and was temporarily succeeded by Mr. Jackson, pending the arrival of Mr. Berkeley, the first regularly-appointed Commissioner of Uganda, who arrived in June, 1895. A month or two previously Mr. George Wilson, who was now to play a leading

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part in Uganda affairs, had arrived in the country. During April and May, Cunningham led an enormous army against Kabarega, consisting of six companies of Sudanese, with two Hotchkiss and three Maxim guns, and twenty thousand Waganda. Vandaleur and Ashburnham scoured the country, while Grant, in command of the column by water, stormed Lukungo with great dash in the forty-five canoes which had been transported overland.

The arrival of the Commissioner seemed to usher in a period of peace and national prosperity for Uganda. The year was also marked by the final retirement of the Imperial British East Africa Company, the revocation of their charter, and the assumption by the Government of direct control over the whole of East Africa.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RAILWAY-BUILDING ERA

A RAILWAY from the coast to Uganda had been proposed so long ago as December, 1890, by Lord Salisbury's Government, and it had been suggested that a yearly subsidy should be given to the Company for this purpose. The ostensible object was to crush the slave trade, upon which the Treasury estimated that about £110,000 per annum was expended in cruisers, slave bounties, &c. In 1891 a survey party had been appointed, towards the cost of which the Government gave £20,000 and the Company £5,000. Work was begun in December of that year and the survey completed in the following October. In 1893

Sir Gerald Portal reported in favour of construction as far as Kikuyu, but the first committee to report on the whole project did not assemble till April, 1895. It recommended that the Government should itself provide the capital and undertake the construction as far as the Lake.

Ultimately it was decided that the metre gauge should be adopted, with 50lb. rails, and a vote of £3,000,000 was proposed to cover the cost. Parliament agreed to the proposal by a large majority, and the work was begun in December, 1896. It was at the same time decided to send a steamboat and a launch for work on the Lake. In 1898, 13,000 Indian coolies were at work on the line, which by March, 1899, had been opened as far as the 207th mile and laid for 72 miles further, in spite of the difficulties arising from the plague in India, the mutiny in Uganda, and the engineers' strike in England. In November of the same year, the line was opened for traffic to mile 362, and the survey of the whole line (582 miles) was completed in April, 1900. In May, Parliament voted a further £1,930,000 to complete the building of the line. The Protectorate steamer, "William Mackinnon," was launched on Lake Victoria on the 4th of June, 1899.

An important departure was made in 1894 by the appointment of an English Bishop and

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staff for the Roman Catholic mission work in Uganda, while Mgr. Hirth's diocese was limited to the German sphere, and it was now decided that there should no longer be any territorial limits to the propaganda of either sect or the establishment of new mission stations. Mgr. Hirth had undertaken that the two young princes in his charge should be given up in return for Portal's concessions—an extraordinary arrangement between a missionary and Her Majesty's Commissioner—yet, though the concessions had been made early in 1893, it was not till the end of 1894 that the princes were at last brought to Uganda, and then only after peremptory orders from Her Majesty's Secretary of State and a threat of force from the Acting Commissioner (Colonel Colville), who finally consented to sign a set of conditions before Mgr. Hirth would bring the Princes to Uganda.

It was found necessary to give up Portal's idea of transferring the Administrative centre to Port Alice on the Lake, and Kampala was resumed as the seat of Government.

During 1896, the material progress of the country was very marked. The imports and exports are given by Mr. Berkeley as follows:—

	1894.	1895.	1896 (six months).
Imports ...	Rs. 78,759	Rs. 222,006	Rs. 240,620
Exports ...	Rs. 87,697	Rs. 224,728	Rs. 150,895

Two European firms had established themselves at the capital, and so numerous had the native traders become, that a separate quarter, laid out on sanitary principles, was instituted for them at the capital; while improved market-places took the place of the market-trees of old days. In promoting this era of economic progress, Mr. Berkeley was greatly assisted by Mr. G. Wilson, to whose energy and enterprise he largely ascribes the results achieved. On an average, 300 labourers per diem were employed by the Government, and an equal number by traders, at rates amounting to about £3 12s. per annum, while another hundred were in Government service as mail men and messengers. About sixty miles of unmetalled roads, radiating from the capital to the chief towns of provinces, were made, bridged and kept in repair, while thatched houses of burnt or sun-dried brick—some even being of two storeys—were erected by the more important chiefs, in imitation of the dwellings which now began to take the place of the wattle-and-daub, or grass, structures that had hitherto sufficed for the European officials.

The Waganda artisans picked up with wonderful quickness the improved methods of the smiths and carpenters introduced from India, and the use of European tools, while efforts were even made to use such rough

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machinery as oil-presses and saw-mills. The cultivation of rice, wheat and cotton was already energetically undertaken. The expression of oil from the seeds of the sunflower, sesame, ground-nuts and castor-oil, became a growing industry, while one firm alone had one thousand coffee plants in their nurseries. Land was set aside to be planted with forest trees, for future use as timber ; and eucalypti, mangoes, apricots, mulberry, and other imported trees were found to thrive. An attempt was even made to manufacture cigars from native-grown tobacco.

CHAPTER IX

THE KING'S FLIGHT AND THE SUDANESE MUTINY

THE era of peace, which, with unimportant frontier expeditions, had continued through 1895 and 1896, was not destined to last for long, and in the middle of 1897 storm clouds began to gather. Mr. Berkeley had left for England on leave, and had been succeeded by the Deputy-Commissioner, Col. Ternan. Major Macdonald had been appointed to the command of an expedition to survey and explore the northern portion of British East Africa, and orders had been sent to Ternan to furnish him with an escort of 300 Sudanese, besides a considerable number of Zanzibaris. In June, Wilson—who was in temporary charge in Uganda—discovered a plot to raise a revolt, and arrested three

leading chiefs in connection with it. In July, Mwanga suddenly bolted. His complicity with the plot had in no way transpired, but his flight was doubtless due to a guilty fear that the trial of the accused (who were sentenced to deportation and long terms of imprisonment) would inculcate him, and to a belief that his secession would alienate a large number of chiefs from the Government. In this he was disappointed, and he fled almost alone to the south of Buddu, where he raised the standard of rebellion and gained a large following. Ternan, who had been conducting an expedition on the east of the Lake against the primitive savages of Nandi and Kamasia, hastened with a force of Sudanese and a large Waganda army to give battle to the insurgents. Mwanga was defeated in two engagements, in which his followers fought with much bravery, and Ternan was slightly wounded. Returning to the capital, Ternan left Grant to deal with the defeated rebel army, which he did in his usual thorough and effective manner. The rebels were driven out of Buddu into Ankole and German territory, where Mwanga himself was made a prisoner by the Germans, to whom he had fled. Chua, the infant son of Mwanga, was proclaimed King, with a regency of the three principal chiefs.

Ternan meanwhile informed the Foreign

Office that the recent events would not form any obstacle to the despatch of the 300 Sudanese to Major Macdonald at Baringo, and he indicated no difficulty, and no reason for doubting the expediency of the project. Nor does any warning note appear to have come from any side, since the acting Commissioner and Commandant of the troops concurred. There were at this time about 1,200 enlisted Sudanese in the Protectorate. Some had had an extremely hard time during the campaigns in Unyoro, spread over such a long period, and had long been separated from their wives and families. Ternan had taken three companies, the 4th, 7th, and 9th, from the troops employed in Unyoro to prosecute the campaign in Nandi. These same companies had accompanied him to Buddu, and had fought bravely and suffered some loss against the rebels. They had apparently considered themselves entitled to, if not actually promised, a rest and a reunion with their families, after the Unyorocampaign; but had been called upon continuously to engage in two separate expeditions subsequently, and now they learnt that they were selected to accompany Macdonald to an unknown country for an indefinite time. They understood that they would not be allowed to take their wives with them, while native reports described the land as foodless and

waterless, and full of hostile savages. Smouldering discontent, unknown to Ternan, had long been growing into something worse. The men complained that they were treated with harshness, like dogs, though it was by their aid that the British had won and held Uganda. They bitterly resented the low rates on which they had been enlisted. Their original engagement had been made at a time when, surrounded by difficulties, the attempt was being made to hold the country for a Company whose finances were broken, and whose continued occupation had only been possible by subscriptions from the charitable at home; but it had been arranged to supplement the pay by grants of land for cultivation. Successive Administrators, acting from the best possible motives, had secured the liberation of their slaves, and the reduction of their harems, till the soldiers, constantly called upon to march and fight in every direction month after month, had been transformed from the military colonists I had sought to establish into a very hard-worked and much-drilled mercenary force. The food was insufficient, the clothing promised had not been issued, and even the miserable pittance pledged to the troops by the British Government was six months in arrears. The arrival of such vital necessities was delayed by the impolitic attempt to import steamers and

other less essential things, which absorbed the available transport. The wonder is that the Sudanese stood it so long, and that in spite of all, and of the appeal of the malcontents, so large a proportion remained loyal and firm.

The pay grievance was accentuated by the fact that the Sudanese brought from Egypt were paid at five times the rate of the Uganda Rifles, and that even some of their own body, enlisted in the neighbouring East African Protectorate, were also paid at these higher rates, as also were the Swaheli porters, while their own rate barely exceeded the wage of the cheapest kind of local coolie labour.

After ordering the dispatch of those three companies, Ternan left for England in August in an indifferent state of health, and the charge of Uganda devolved on Wilson, pending the arrival of Mr. Jackson, who, being shortly afterwards wounded, left Wilson in charge throughout this very critical period, while Thruston became commandant of the troops. The three companies joined Macdonald, and at once put forward their grievances, which, they state, were unheeded. It appears extremely probable that the steps taken to effect a solution were purposely misrepresented to the men by their native officers. They deserted, and went in a body to the "Ravine Station," saying they wished

to state their grievances to Jackson, the Acting Commissioner, whereupon, by order of Captain Kirkpatrick, they were told to ground their arms, and, on their refusal, a Maxim was turned on them. Fortunately it jammed, but the troops ordered to fire on their comrades obeyed the order, though they fired over their heads.

After this incident the men considered that they were no longer soldiers of the Queen, and insubordination became open mutiny. Disregarding Jackson's attempts to effect an understanding, they marched towards Uganda, looting and pillaging on their way, their numbers increasing as they went. Jackson and Macdonald followed with a force of Zanzibaris. Meanwhile Thruston, a man justly loved by his soldiers, in whom he had an implicit belief, hurried to the garrison at Luba's on the Nile (for which the mutineers were making), relying on his personal influence to regain the men to their allegiance. He and Mr. Norman Wilson, commanding at Luba's, were made prisoners by the garrison, who later seized the steamer (with a Maxim), which was in charge of Mr. Scott. On October 19th they attacked Macdonald's force, and, after a very hard battle, in which Lieut. Fielding was killed and Mr. Jackson and Dr. Macpherson were wounded, the mutineers were defeated with an estimated loss of

100. The same night the leaders, fearful lest their men should desert them and submit, murdered the three Europeans. They now sent envoys to invite their comrades throughout Uganda to revolt, and offered the kingdom to Mbogo. But Wilson had already disarmed the Sudanese at Kampala, who cheerfully agreed to the necessity and remained loyal, though many of their wives were at Luba's. Mbogo, too, brought his letter to Wilson, and wrote in reply condemning the action of the mutineers.

Meanwhile, a considerable Waganda army had proceeded to the assistance of Macdonald. From October 19th to January 9th, the siege of the mutineers in Luba's continued, with constant skirmishes, in which Mr. Pilkington and Lieut. Macdonald lost their lives, and a very large number of the Waganda were killed, more especially in an attack by Woodward on November 24th, 1897. Wilson appealed for a strong force from India to help to quell the mutiny, but in the meantime the situation was most critical.

Early in January, Mwanga effected his escape from the Germans, by changing clothes with his attendant, who was in consequence shot by the sentry. Declaring himself a Mohammedan, he was joined by the remnants of that party and other outlaws and malcontents from the German

sphere. His force numbered about two thousand four hundred guns, and rumours reached Kampala that the Buddu garrisons of Sudanese, numbering about two hundred, were wavering. Macdonald, leaving Woodward to prosecute the siege at Luba's, hastened to Buddu with a force of Swahelis and a Waganda army, and defeated the rebels. The Buddu garrisons were disarmed and sent to join the others at Kampala, where there were now some five hundred unarmed Sudanese. The company in Toru remained loyal, as did the garrisons of Unyoro, which numbered about five hundred. At Luba's, the mutinous Sudanese were estimated at about six hundred, with two hundred Waganda Mohammedans. They were well armed, having also the Maxim they had captured on the steamer, and a Government dhow which they had also succeeded in seizing. With this, on January 9th, they effected their escape from Luba's in a leisurely manner, since Macdonald had taken away the steamer to Buddu, and Woodward had not sufficient force to prevent them by land, and also to guard his own camp and stores.

Capt. Harrison had arrived from the neighbouring Protectorate with one hundred rifles on December 5th, and Capt. Austin, R.E., reinforced at about the same time with the second column of the Rudolf Expedition.

The Waganda had suffered heavily, and had almost entirely exhausted their ammunition, but fresh supplies were procured by the kindness of the German Commandant at Bukoba, who, when the Arab traders refused to sell, seized the powder and caps and dispatched them to Uganda. Towards the end of January, the situation was as follows: The mutineers, prevented from crossing the Nile at Jinja, marched northwards along the east bank and crossed higher up, on their way towards Mruli. Should they reach that point, it appeared certain that the Sudanese in Unyoro, and the hitherto loyal Mohammedan party in Uganda, both of whom had already shown signs of wavering, would revolt, and the last hope of the Europeans would be lost.

In the south, Mwanga's following still constituted a formidable menace, while Kabarega in North Unyoro had again become active. While small columns continued to hold these two local armies in check and prevent their coalition, Macdonald marched rapidly north to intercept the mutineers, having been further reinforced on January 15th by one hundred and fifty Indian troops. Lieutenant Scott was sent ahead with a force to disarm the different garrisons of Unyoro, which had been previously isolated into detachments, none of which would exceed his force numerically. This most difficult and delicate task he accomplished with

complete success. On February 18th, Macdonald came up with the mutineers in the swamps near Lake Kioja, and after a couple of successful skirmishes he returned to Kampala on the 24th, leaving Captain Harrison in command of the force. That officer, crossing a great swamp, which the mutineers had deemed impassable, attacked them in a position they had previously fortified at Kabagambi.

This was the decisive action, though by no means the last, of the campaign. Refraining, at the final assault, from pouring a deadly fire at close range with the Maxim into the mass of women who were mixed up with the defenders in the stockade, Harrison captured the stronghold at the point of the bayonet. The mutineers were driven into the reeds of the swamps with heavy loss, and a great number of women were captured. The gallant Malony was killed in this assault, and Lieut. Osborne wounded. Meanwhile, a rumour of Kabarega's death having reached Wilson, his son Karukala was proclaimed king. Grant returned to his own province, Usoga, to quell the elements of disorder which were becoming manifest there.

In April, 1898, Commissioner Berkeley returned, and about the same time large reinforcements of Indian troops under Lieut.-Col. Browne reached Uganda. The mutineers were by no means as yet disposed of, nor

were the hostile combinations under Mwanga and Kabarega as yet crushed, but the crisis which had threatened the existence of the Protectorate was past, and there were now adequate troops and officers to deal with the rebel bands. Macdonald left to prosecute his interrupted expedition. Col. Martyn, D.S.O., began the re-organization of the Sudanese, and in May inflicted another heavy defeat on the mutineers near Mruli. The fighting throughout this crisis had been very severe, and the losses of the Protectorate forces are given as four officers killed and three wounded, with one hundred and twenty-five regulars killed and wounded, besides Waganda, whose losses were not very heavy. An application for a special medal and clasps was submitted by Macdonald, and a large number of rewards were conferred on the officers engaged.

Much controversy has raged round the events thus briefly described, more especially regarding the possibility of the prevention of Captain Thruston's murder by timely concessions and the overtures made by the mutineers for surrender, as well as concerning the responsibility for the causes which led to the mutiny. It is obvious that these are questions which cannot be usefully discussed here. All that it is possible to do is to relate briefly the outline of the story of the mutiny. This outline has been taken chiefly from the

only published record of events, namely, the Blue Books presented to Parliament, which of course present the side of the controversy most favourable to those who had played a part in the events narrated.

During this time Mwanga and the ex-Mujasi Gabriel had been kept in check and defeated in various engagements by Price and Sitwell, and South Unyoro was finally cleared of Mohammedans by Fowler. Mwanga, however, had succeeded in breaking away from the forces in South Unyoro, and joining the rebels in the north, where now there were concentrated, in addition to his following, the forces of Kabarega under Ireta, and the remnant of the mutineers under Bilal Amin, with a party of Waganda Mohammedans. First Austin and Barrett, and then Malcolm and Wake, defeated these forces in more than one brilliant engagement, the last named especially acting with conspicuous gallantry. Price in June cleared North Unyoro, and again, in conjunction with Martyr, made a brilliant attack on their stronghold in the mountains away north of the Nile in the Wakedi country. Scaling a steep mountain in the dead of night, he surprised a picquet, jumping into the midst of them as they sat round their fire, and overpowering them with the assistance of one or two intrepid followers.

The ubiquitous foe was hunted backwards

and forwards by Price, Malcolm, and Wake, but in October they recrossed the river, and managed to surprise Lieutenant Hannington in thick jungle, and to cut up his party, wounding that officer himself severely. In reprisal for this, Fowler, by rapid marches, on October 24th surprised the whole party, consisting of some two hundred to three hundred Sudanese and five hundred Waganda Mohammedans. They were beginning to construct a powerful fort, to set up their headquarters once more in North Unyoro (having suffered much from the hostility of the Wakedi across the river), but were once more driven out with great loss to join Mwanga and Kabarega across the Nile. These outlaws thus remained a thorn in the side of the Administration until late in the year 1899, when it fell to the good fortune of Lieut.-Colonel Ewart to capture both Mwanga and Kabarega, who were at once deported to the coast.

Thus ended the careers of two men who had for years been the cause of a vast amount of bloodshed, while Mwanga at least was responsible for the cold-blooded murder of a white man. Kabarega seems to have had some good points, and Emin spoke highly of him, but Mwanga was in every way despicable and base. His leading characteristic was a craven fear; he was ruthless in his cruelty,

treacherous, and debauched with the vilest obscenities. He can hardly be said to have had a single redeeming feature.

On September 8th, Martyr started for Wadelai and Dufie, in the hope of reaching Fashoda, but was stopped by the sudd after hoisting the British flag along the Upper Nile and making treaties with the local chiefs.

The railway is now nearing the Lake, and with its completion and the era of peace and progress which now dawns on Uganda it is to be hoped that the country, for which during 1898 the sum of £329,000 was granted in aid by Parliament, will prove its value and gradually become self-supporting. In the autumn of 1899 Mr. Berkeley returned to England, and his place was taken by Sir H. H. Johnston, who left England in September as Special Commissioner to take charge of the Protectorate, it is understood for eighteen months. Mr. Wilson also returned for a short and well-earned rest. Mr. Grant remained at his post, which he had never left since he entered the country in 1890.

Thus ends the story of Uganda in the nineteenth century. The rivalry of contending religions has been the bane of the country, though the results achieved by both Christian missions have in themselves been splendid. The Katikiro now transacts his business with

paper and pens and copying clerks around him, while every chief considers it a disgrace to be unable to read and write ; and far more important than this are the ideas of truth, mercy and justice which the native Christians have learnt. Another evil has been the lack of continuity in the administration of the country. No individual has remained continuously in control, since the time of the Company's rule, for more than a few months at a time. This, which in a settled country with a well-understood system of administration would not be advantageous, has in a land like Uganda been positively fatal. It is to be hoped that the experience gained at the cost of so much blood and treasure, in the troublous times through which the country has passed, will guide the conduct and the policy of the future, and that Uganda, which from its geographical position, the intelligence of its people, and its progress in civilization and Christianity, must form the key to Central Africa, will soon take its place as one of the most progressive and valuable of the outlying dependencies of the British Empire.

APPENDIX :

MISSION STATISTICS

THE European staff of the Protestant Mission (Church Missionary Society) in Uganda consists, according to the returns for 1899, of 20 clergymen, 13 laymen, 3 medical missionaries (including one lady), 8 wives of missionaries, and 14 other lady missionaries. The native staff, entirely supported by the native church, consists of 21 clergymen, 1,197 laymen, and 275 women. The year's statistics of this Mission also include the following :—baptized persons, 22,166; catechumens, 2,622; communicants, 5,317; baptisms in 1899, 3,524 adults and 1,272 children; scholars under instruction, 11,359; hospital in-patients, 451; out-patients' visits, 26,823; sales, 5,339 Bibles and New Testaments, 8,445 Gospels and other portions, 5,247 prayer-books and hymn-books; paid by natives for books, £1,443.

In connection with the Roman Catholic Mission (Vicariate-Apostolic of the Upper Nile) the following statistics are published, the year referred to being the twelve months ending with September, 1899 :—Catholics, 3,529; catechumens, 9,947; mission stations, 4; churches or chapels, 4; priests, 11; schools, 3; medical dispensaries, 4; baptisms, 748 adults and 875 children; confessions, 19,963; communions, 19,680; marriages, 74; funerals, 64; children in schools, 177; confirmations, 665.

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