THE KINGDOM OF KOOKI DURING THE 19TH CENTURY

By

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(In December, 1971, Professor Semakula Kihanguka of Makerere University, Kampala, and Professor Tem of invited their fellow academics to contribute chapters to a book they were proposing to edit, entitled "East African Kingdoms during the 19th century". Fourteen Kingdoms were selected, and Kooki Kingdom was to occupy a chapter to itself. The book would be published by Messrs Doubleday Publishers of the United States of America.

When the initial response of some of the academics was not followed by actions, and by September 27th, 1972, the Essay on Kooki had not yet been written for the December deadline, Professor Kihanguka invited me to be one of the contributors to the project by writing the chapter on the Kingdom of Kooki, as one outside the academic campus.

From the date I received the invitation in early October, 1972, to the deadline on 31st December, 1972, I had less than three months in which to write the Essay. But with Professor Kihanguka's encouragement, I was persuaded to accept the invitation. Any shortcomings are very much regretted, but the reason for their occurrence will, I hope, be appreciated).
Introduction:

Geoffrey Masafiefield, nephew to the former Poet Laureate,
wrote a poem on Kooki which describes it so well in a nutshell:

"The hills that rise, the road that runs
So white, so straight, so true,
That is the way to rise and run,
The way for me and you.

By scattered bomas, past the kraals,
Beyond the last white farm,
Out in the bush where no one lives
We will never come to harm.

The open space is like thought.
The furthest is so free
There is welcome there for any man
And the things he dares to be.

Beyond the frontiers of the mind
Where cultivations cease,
There is a land which few men know
And the name of it is peace.

Not an adventurer comes back
To tell us of its thrills,
But all have started where the road
Winds upward through the hills."

That is where some of us started if not to rise but to run!

Kooki, which once was a kingdom between Buganda on the east
and north, and Ankole on the west, and Kiziba and Karagwe on the
South, is a hilly grassland with only scattered shrubs with a land
surface that stands at a height of approximately 4,600 feet
above the sea level. The hills have flat table-land type tops
with craggy white sipes due to exposure of kaolin deposits in
the soil. It is a bushy land with a very sparse population of
a density of 20 per square mile. At one time it was a very
good pasture land and was rich in cattle, hence the innumerable
kraals which the poet speaks of; it had also a large population
of such animals as elephants, lions, leopards, buffaloes, elands,
bushbucks, deers, etc., but ever since the rinderpest epidemic
of 1919, and because the area is infested with the tsetse fly,
there is hardly an animal or cattle left now.
It has a mean annual temperature which varies between 25° and 27.5° centigrade, and has a mean annual rainfall of between 30" and 35". Geologically, it lies in what is known as the Karagwe- Ankolean System and is supposed to be rich in quartzites, slates, etc. The eastern part of Kooki was part of the travel route which J. H. Speke and J. A. Grant used when they visited Buganda via Karagwe in 1862. In those days in the 19th century, Kibumbiro and Kakuuto were parts of Kooki and the chief of Kibumbiro was the chief shepherd of the King of Kooki. Kooki was then bounded by River Kisoma in the east, and River Kimanywa in the west, by River Kagoma in the south and by the hills of Kyazanga in the north. Lakes Kijanabarola in the east and Kachera in the west divide Kooki into two almost equal parts and River Ruizi which starts in Ankole passes through Kooki before it joins River Nalugadde to deposit its waters into Lake Victoria. Kooki was from time immemorial divided into four traditional areas: Kibale (South); Mayango (Central); Odungu (North), and Bulaga (West).

THE PEOPLE:

To write about Kooki in the 19th century is like talking about a society that is non-existent to-day. During the last eighty years outside influences have made such inroads on Kooki that today for better or worse the pattern of life has become unrecognizably different. The main influences have been, the Baganda culture and language; the British overlordship; Christianity and Islam; the school and the town and westernisation generally. The school and town have robbed the country side of its young manhood and womanhood; Christianity has changed beliefs and the mode of life; the money economy has changed the standard of living and rinderpest has driven away almost all the cows. And the picture of Kooki today is a picture of a society of different from the Kooki of which I am going to write about in these pages.

Economically, socially and politically, Kooki in line with all countries where there were Bahima dominance, was divided into two distinct racial groups. There was the indigenous peasant group, the Bakoopki (sing. Mukooki) proper who were in the majority, and a tiny minority of the Bahima (sing. Muhima) who composed of the ruling family known as Ababiito (sing. Omubiito). Sir Harry Johnson describes the Bahima as, when they are of pure blood, quite
different from the negroes, "...they have the features of the Hamites or of the ancient Egyptians, and sometimes quite a reddish yellow skin". They were late-comers to Kooki.

1. The Bakooki (i.e. The Peasantry).

The term peasant here, we shall take to mean an undistinguished, ordinary person, distinct from those of the ruling class, the Babito, as the former under the dominance of their overlords had no chance whatsoever to distinguish themselves. But throughout the Essay I will stick to the word Bakooki to distinguish them from the rest.

Ethnically the Bakooki belonged to the Bantu race. They were tillers of the soil and besides doing agriculture for subsistence in plantains, millet, maize, potatoes and other grains, potatoes and green vegetables, they practised hunting, fishing in lakes Kijana, Kachera; they knew how to smelt iron and made many useful implements from the iron ore which was in abundance, such as hoes, knives of all kinds, axes and spears; they were skilled potters making cooking and water pots, eating utensils, refined pipes etc., they made beautiful barkcloth for their own use and for export to the surrounding countries.

The male Bakooki did not engage themselves very much in the production of food; this they left to their women folk and contributed to the economy in other ways. Hunting and fishing was a man's role; as also was the making of banana beer; men built houses and made barkcloth. They made barkcloth from the bark of a tree called Omutura (pi. Emituba), the fig tree. There are two kinds of barkcloth trees: the Enserere (pi. Ensereera), which produces a coarser kind of cloth, which is called Ekitentegere (pi. Ebitenteqere), which was used mostly by the young and the less well-to-do both for wear and for bedding and in the burial of the dead. The other tree is known as Omutura (pi. Emituba), from this a finer cloth was produced, which was used by the well-to-do for clothing, bedding, burial wrappings and for partitioning the rooms of the houses of people of a better class.

The Lusuku (pi. Ensuku), the banana garden, was the main preoccupation of the women folk, from the Lusuku they produced the staple food, the matooke (sing. Looka), which they steamed green after they had peeled off the green skin, and then mash it when it was ready. The Lusuku when looked after lasted for a long time. Both the Nserere and the Mutuba trees are grown in the Lusuku. On the outskirts of the Lusuku, they had plots for the annuals such as maize, ...
more or less pure Muhima generally as follows: "Both sexes incline to be tall and possess remarkably graceful and well-proportioned figures, with small hands and feet. The feet in fact, are often very beautifully formed, quite after the classical European model. Under the natural conditions there is no tendency to corpulence, nor to the exaggerated development of muscles so characteristic of the burly negro. In fact the Bahima have figures and proportions of Europeans. The rather rounded head with its almost European features rises on a long, graceful neck well above the shoulders, which incline to be sloping. The nose rises high from the depression, between the eyebrows, in straight, finely carved, with a prominent tip and thin nostrils. The nose, in fact, in pure-blooded Hima might be that of a handsome Berber of European. The lips are somewhat fuller than in the European, but perhaps not more so than amongst the Berber or Somali. The mouth is often small, and the upper lip is well-shaped with no great distance between it and the base of the nose. The chin is well-developed. The ear is large, but not disproportionately so, compared to Europeans or Barbers. The colour of skin in all people of more or less pure Hima blood is much lighter than in the average negro, being sometimes quite pale yellow or reddish yellow or reddish yellow." After that he went on to add that the hair is the only feature in which the Bahima resemble the negroes rather than the Caucasian race, which he attributes to the suggestion that at one time they mingled considerably with the black race. The hair, he says, "is nearly as woolly as in the ordinary Negro and has also the same appearance."

Sir Harry wrote at the beginning of this century, but we can be sure that the Hima or Muhima, to be more exact, he was describing was no more different than the Bahima of Kooki of the 19th century — they were true to type. The Bahima in general are comparatively newcomers to the region. What is not clear is whether the Bahima of Kooki arrived there via one route — or whether they did not converge here: some, perhaps earlier arrivals, coming from the west, from the regions of Ankole and Rwanda and Burundi; and others, much later newcomers but with a flair to rule as we shall see, from the north in the region of the once renowned kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara. The fact is that in Kooki unlike in any other country where the Bahima had dominance, we have two types of Bahima: The Bahima proper who conform to all the forms of the Bahima, and a tiny group of others called Bahima, comprising of only one family whose role was to rule over all the others Bahima and Bukooki alike.
and Bakonki alike. These were known as Babiito and they came from Bunyoro, and at this time of history, the Babiito were known to exist only in the Kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara, with their kinsmen in Buganda as rulers. The Babiito in some ways are not identical with the other Bahima. This is a very important observation which must be investigated somehow before the allegation that all Bahima came from the north is taken for granted.

(The Bahima of Ankole and the Batwa of Rwanda and Burundi have long-horned cattle. The Bahima of Kooki had long-horned cattle too, and they were very fond of them. There is no clear evidence that the Babiito from the north had the same kind of cattle. The Babiito of Bunyoro, Toro and Kooki have drums and trumpets, which the Bahima of Ankole do not have except those of Buhweju, who must have sprang from the same stock as Babiito — only to mention a few differences.)

They lived in a collection of ten to twenty houses inside a strong fence called Ekiraalo (Kraal) built of thornbush or euphorbia. These fences had two or three entrances, which were blocked up at night by logs or thorny branches. The houses were built inside the curve of the fence opening to the enclosed ground; their heads lived inside the enclosure. The ordinary Muhima hut was rounded in shape constructed of sticks and wattle with a loosely thatched roof and had one entrance to it. The floor might be or might not be covered with clean grass. For the bed they raised hard mud and it was shut off from the rest of the house by a screen of reeds; the fire place was near the entrance where drinking utensils were cleaned by smoking them everyday after being washed by the woman folk.

The ruler of Kooki who was known as Omukama after the _mu ama_ of Bunyoro-Kitara belonged to the Babiito group — the ruling family of the Bahima. Unlike the other Bahima, his Headquarters, called Ekikaali, was a permanent settlement at a place called Rakai, which was the capital. By the 19th century the Ekikaali of Omukama was a huge place.

1) A man of over ninety years of age and former page to Omukama in the 19th century Kategaya estimates that it measured about half a square mile and inside it were numerous huts of all description.

Although Omukama lived in the Kikaali a permanent settled life, yet his children whenever they came of age and all his relatives lived with their cattle in kraals. In Buganda where cattle could not survive very well, the princes and princesses depended for their

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living on land and since all land belonged to the Kabaka and no prince could claim any title to any piece of it, as time went on, the Baganda princes passed on into the ranks of commoners or peasants. In fact, at the death of a Kabaka in Buganda, after the heir had been selected from among the princes the Katikiro (Prime Minister), announced to the whole kingdom that all those princes who tried to fight must be killed at once. Buganda for that reason is conspicuous for the lack of a class of Aristocrats— all people except the Kabaka had the same equal opportunity, and perhaps those of the royal origin with less of it than the mere commoners as they were not even allowed to become chiefs.

For Kooki, on the other hand, the opposite system was the rule: there was a very strong class of Aristocrats as the Genealogy will show. Each prince almost at birth got cattle and by the time one became a man one had acquired a herd of one’s own. Therefore, greater independence in Kooki than in Buganda, and this independence was enjoyed not only by the members of the royal family but also by the other Bahima, who counted their heads of cattle in hundreds; they were like lords, although their status socially was not to be compared to that of the royal blood. In Kooki there was a continuing nobility which we do not find in Buganda, and there were two classes of nobility: one, the Omukama and his immediate Sabiito relatives; and two, the noble Bahima. Each Mubiiito and Muhima noble man had his own kraal with a number of dependants and to the rank and file would fall the work of making the fence, taking the animals to pasture and to water places, clearing the cow-dung from the enclosure and milking the cows. The women looked after the milk and fed the household and made butter as well as cleaning the drinking pots. The children took care of the calves. The nobles spent most of their time settling disputes, talking to each other and planning the next place of resettlement. The Bahima never practised trade of any kind unless it was to sell butter to the local residents.

The chief food of the Bahima was milk of their cows and the flesh of such cattle. Banana, except ripe banana which they loved, they ate reluctantly; it was taboo for them to eat fish, fowl or eggs. Besides milk they drank largely two forms of alcoholic beverage. One was abusara, a thick drink made from grain (sorghum or millet), and the other, amaalwa, the fermented juice of the ripe banana mixed with crashed sorghum, which they adored.

They kept dogs and sometimes sheep which grazed together with the cattle and occasionally they possessed fowels for ritual purposes.
In the early days they wore skins, but by the close of the 19th century the well-to-do had started the use of clothes which the men wore very sparingly: a loin cloth and a small piece of cloth which they just wrapped across the chest and left hanging on one shoulder. Sir Harry Johnson says that the men displayed little or no anxiety to cover the pudenda. The women covered themselves most elaborately with skins covered with oil, especially when they were out of doors, but by the 19th century, they were using either bark-cloth perfumed with oil or cotton clothes which they wore very loosely over them. Women and girls wore beads of different sizes round their waists, and girls went naked. Women wore lair upon lair of anklets upon both legs which harboured a lot of dirt and lice but men used only one or two of such anklets. Both men and woman wore charms round the neck hung on strings and these were supposed to have magical value. They also wore armlets of wire, and bracelets of ivory, iron, copper and brass. Men also fastened tight wire armlets round the upper part of the left arm and below the knees of each leg. Men painted themselves all over with white Kaolin especially when they were herding cattle.

Young men never shaved their heads completely but left some tassels of hair which they called anshunju standing out at the top of the head signifying their three loyalties; to father, king and clan; but although they practised a certain amount of scar ornamentation, especially in the forehead, they neither pierced nor mutilated the ear or knocked out the teeth. And they never practised circumcision.

The Bahima admired a fat woman and their women folk were mountains of fat. A partition in the upper front teeth and a black gum were regarded as the whole marks of beauty to be highly envied in the possessors of them.

II

The coming of Arabiito

The kingdom of Kooki was an offshoot of the kingdom of Bunyoro. The kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara at one time dominated a lot of what is Uganda to-day extending across the Nile to Busoga, in the East; to the Mountains of the Moon, in the West, and beyond River Kagera, in the South. But during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries she lost most of her empire either to Buganda, in the south-east, which had grown more powerful than her; or to her run-away princes, who went and set up rival kingdoms to her.
The last dynasty of the rulers of Bunyoro was known as Babitto (sing. Mubitto). The Babitto were a family of rulers, who are supposed to have come from the north-east, in the region of Ethiopia, and conquered a lot of what is Uganda today, starting with Bunyoro-Kitara. Here they conquered the earlier rulers known as Abachwazi and established an empire of their own.

There are many legends of the coming of Babitto, it is difficult to know which is truer than the other, and although Archaeology has started to unravel the mystery, yet it is still too early to establish conclusive evidence. It is safe to say, however, that Rukidi Mpuga Ssengoma was the founder of the Babitto Dynasty in Bunyoro, and that his brother Kintu became the first Kabaka of Buganda. Altogether twenty four Babitto kings, from Rukidi Mpuga Ssengoma to the last one, Tito Winyi Gafabusa, ruled over Bunyoro. Olimi 11 Isansa Gabigogo was the sixteenth Babitto king of Bunyoro.

Isansa Gabigogo had three sons: Ruhaga 1, Isansa 11 and Bwowe. When he died Ruhaga 1 succeeded him, and no sooner had Ruhaga 1 succeeded to the throne than he began to hate and ill-treat his brothers. As a result Bwowe fled with his mother Ndagano to Ankole and sought refuge there. After sometime Ruhaga felt that he must bring back his brother and he went and sought him in Ankole until he found him and persuaded him to come back to Bunyoro, and he agreed.

1. Bwowe (1740-1760)

On their way back from Ankole, Ruhaga and Bwowe and his mother went through Kooki - with the intention of annexing it because at that time it belonged to Kaziransomo of Kiziba in what is Tanzania to-day. When Ruhaga got there he found the people so peaceful that they would not offer any resistance to him, instead they willingly accepted his overlordship.

When Bwowe saw the loyalty of the people he loved them and their country, whereupon he asked his brother to allow him to settle "here" permanently instead of going back to Bunyoro, suggesting to him at the same time that he would pay tribute to him. Ruhaga conceded to his request. But Bwowe, to test his sincerity, suggested to him, too, that he must first accompany him back to Bunyoro leaving his mother behind; he would return after seeing him safely back. And to this Ruhaga conceded, too. On his return Bwowe became the first Omukama (King) of Kooki - all the Babitto rulers were called Abakama (sing. Omukama). At once he began to harrass his kinsmen.
of Kiziba, sons of Kaganda Kibi, who had been sent there by Winyi 1 of Bunyoro. He conquered them. Next he harassed the Baganda. But as Bunyoro was a large country at that time no one took any notice of these exploits of their offshoot. He soon consolidated his position and became a ruler in his own right.

Bwowe had four sons: Kiteimbwa, Mujwiga, Mugenyi and Ndawula. 12

2. KITEIMBWA I (1750–1770)

When Bwowe died, his son Kiteimbwa I succeeded him. Kiteimbwa was a very brave warrior and he fought against the Baganda and defeated them in a major battle causing them to abandon a lot of their fighting equipment including dozens of spears. He took a lot of the booty to his uncle Ruhaga I of Bunyoro, hoping to get a word of praise from him, but when he got there Ruhaga’s courtiers through envy simply cautioned him against his gallant nephew, adding that unless he killed him at once he would be the next to go because the young man was getting too powerful seeing that he could overcome the might of the Baganda; - it would not be difficult for him now to "eat the drum of Bunyoro!"

Ruhaga seized his nephew and killed him. But Kiteimbwa, on his way to his execution, made a vow that all his successors should no more come to Bunyoro, but should ally themselves with the kingdom of Buganda. Henceforth the Babiito of Kooki never went to Bunyoro.

3. MUJWIGA (1770–1790)

Mujwiga succeeded his brother Kiteimbwa as the third king of Kooki and seems to have enjoyed a long reign. When he came to the throne, he sent emissaries to Kabaka (King) Junju of Buganda avowing that he no longer wished to have connections with Bunyoro, and that he preferred to ally himself with Buganda. He asked him to combine forces and annex Buddu from Bunyoro 13 so that their two countries might become contiguous. Junju appointed Luzige to lead an expedition to attack the Banyoro in Buddu from the eastern side while Mujwiga’s men fought from the south-west. Buddu fell to Buganda and Luzige was made the first Pookino (chief of Buddu), and Buddu as a province of Buganda became a buffer state between Kooki and Bunyoro, and whenever the king of Kooki wanted to visit the king of Buganda he had to be chaperoned by the Pookino.

4. MUGENYI (1790–1810)

When Mujwiga died, his brother, Mugenyi, succeeded him.
Mugenyi's reign does not seem to have been very eventful. He was the contemporary of Ssemakookiro of Buganda and Winyi Ruhaga II of Bunyoro. In Ssemakookiro's reign cotton cloths first came to Buganda and he used to send to Karagwe to obtain from the Arabs cloth in exchange of ivory. It is probable that Mugenyi who was even nearer to Karagwe than Ssemakookiro might also have had cotton cloth in his time.

He ruled round the close of the 18th century, his rule spreading over into the 19th century for about ten years. But in the reign of his successor Ndaula I, which really is the more fitting point of time from which to take political stock of Kooki in the 19th century. And over to Ndaula we turn now.

5. NDAULA (I) (1810-1835)

Ndaula reigned at a particularly interesting period in the annals of the kingdom. He was a contemporary of Kabaka Kamanya of Buganda and Omukama Ruhaga II of Bunyoro. At this time, the long isolation of centuries of these regions from the rest of the world was beginning to crumble down - through the Arabs and the Swahilis with whom they traded in Karagwe, light was beginning to reach them although in a flicker.

The Abakama had by now consolidated their position in Kooki: Buddu had been snatched from Bunyoro by Buganda with the help of Kooki nearly two generations back, and was now a buffer state between Kooki and Bunyoro. There was, therefore, no longer any threat from that quarter.

Although the Kabaka Ssemakookiro, Kamanya and Sauna14 of Buganda had practised a policy of domination and suppression by constant warfare against the surrounding countries of Busoga, Bunyoro, Ankole, Kiziba and to some extent Lango, there is no indication whatsoever that they did the same to Kooki; they seem to have abode by the earlier alliance very well. Ndaula's reign was a reign of peace, and for that matter the first three quarters of the 19th century were years of unhurled peace in Kooki.

Upon him falls the credit of fashioning the Kingdom into its final shape as the British found it. My father used to say that Ndaula was a very respectable man and every inch a King. He became the major lineage of royal succession to the throne, i.e. from him onwards only his direct descendants were the ones in the line of direct succession to the throne.

Two institutions, the crown and the drum distinguished a kingdom from a mere principality. In Kooki these two institutions by the mid 19th century had been fully developed. Both were important in the coronation of a new king.
F. Lukyu Williams, writing about the coronation of the Abakama of Kooki, said, "The word 'coronation' may be used with exactitude when describing the installation ceremonies of the Kooki Abakama, because a crown, the sign of sovereignty, is one of the leading features of the ceremony."  

Crowns: Kooki had two crowns: (1) Lwabusunqwe, which was decorated with white and red beads; (2) Nwirima, which had black and white beads. 

Drums: She had royal drums such as (i) Namuziro Kwimwa: This was the chief drum. It was a very tinny drum and was always kept at night at the head of Omukama's bed. Omukama himself played it on very important occasions or if he wanted to kill a person of some importance, and once played the condemned could not live again. (ii) Alumutanga, which resembles the Mujaguzo of Buganda, which was later named by Kiteimbwa I, Mayanga, from the verb ku-yanga (to refuse or protest) signifying his protest against Bunyoro, when he refused his descendants to have any more associations with Bunyoro. It was a unity of one big drum and eighteen other small ones, and the chief drummer was called Kawalla. It was played in the evening at every new moon, as a sign of marking time and of ritual recognition of the dangers passed during that period. It was also played on joyous occasions, e.g. at the coronation of Omukama or on royal weddings when it would be accompanied by three other important drums (iii) Entimba (another eighteen small drums; (iv) Kababembe and (v) Butentwe and trumpets (amakondere) and it was a real big do. I remember when my elder sister was married the flayange was played. Butentwe was the most favourite drum, signifying the clan of the Babito, and was used whenever Omukama was at war and when he was visiting other areas. The Makondere were a regular feature, being played every day and might, in shifts.

Other historic regalia were: the rod of office Abagambira (consisting of nine thin sticks bound together with bands of iron and iron ring at the top with four small bells); a spear called Katantayi (swallow-killer); a bow and arrows; a dagger (Njima); a small shield; wooden bowls (obucuba) for food, with nine legs on a base; a blacksmith hammer.

Kooki was ruled by one despotic family of Ababiito. It was a centralized form of government. Originally the Bataka heads of clans had ruled the country but when the Babito came, although in such a small minority, they usurped power because at first they had the whole might of Bunyoro behind them. The Omukama became the overlord. He accomplished his overlordship over
them in three stages: first by taking control of all land, which meant that because their power over land had diminished they had no more right over the people living on it. Secondly, by appointing them his representatives in their areas. And thirdly, by appointing his own territorial officials, abatongole.

We have already seen what the ordinary abukooki did both for his sustenance and ordinarily in order to carry on the business of living. Here we will try to trace briefly his responsibilities generally towards his overlord, the Omukama. He supplied his labour free of charge to do such things as to build abikaali (sing. akikaali) enclosures; to build houses; to fight whenever called to do so; to carry errands either social or commercial; to carry him whenever he was travelling; to provide music and general entertainment etc. In addition, he voluntarily presented food of all sorts and goats, sheep and chickens, to his lord, and his representatives, a custom known as Okugamula; and he was required also almost compulsorily to send a portion of whatever he did or grew such as beer, plantains, knives, spears, pots, barkcloths, etc., what was known as Okuvujila.

The role of abatongole was to be the Omukama's official representative in the area. He did not usurp the power of the Omutaka (elder). He was to supply labour for the work of the Omukama by allotting men jobs from his area, or to supervise the collection of food, goats, sheep, beer, pots, knives, barkcloths, firewood etc., from his area. Omutongole took part, too, in the Rukurato (Council of the Omukama). There were Bakunqu, too, but their position is not clear now.

The Bataka were the elders of the people and as such they were respected by all their off-springs. In practice, they bore almost the same responsibilities to the Omukama as the Batonqole, and they, too, were members of the Rukurato and as such advisers to the Omukama. Ababiito, on the other hand, were not affected by this division of labour which the ordinary people underwent, their's was to give moral support to the Omukama and as such to be kind of ex-officio members of the Rukurato.

The Rukurato was inside the Kikaali and was a three tier process: first, there was (i) Ekiganga or an outer house, which was the reception place where members reported on arrival and then they would be ushered in to the Omukama, one by one, according to first come first served. They would find the Omukama in the inner chamber Akagang (the smaller chamber) normally with his Katikiro
Here the business of state was transacted, and would begin by the Omukama announcing what he wanted done; and the business on the Agenda would be discussed, but no Mukoni was allowed here unless he be one of urshers-in, an errand boy or executioner. From here the Omukama would go to (3) Akaganco, the inner-most chamber, where he met his wives and woman-callers generally.

The Katikiro had his own court outside the Ekikaali and his chief work was to settle disputes of all kinds and to pass judgement on criminals. He was aided by the Bakunqu. There was a chief jailor known as Kannyambo. Punishments varied from imprisonment to extraction of eyes, cutting of ears or hands, to death sentences. There were appeals to the Omukama.

The Omukama was an absolute ruler and, although he paid tribute to the Kabaka of Buganda of iron hoes, cowrie shells, etc., to keep the raids of the Baganda away, yet in many ways his was an independent kingdom.

The Omukama's children were not brought up in the Kikaali but in the kraals with someone to look after them as a private tutor and the head of the kraal as supervisor of their education.

6. KITEIMBWA II KAIBA (1835-1875)

Kiteimbwa II succeeded Ndawula I and had a very long reign of over thirty five years. When he began to rule Ssuna had been three or four years on the throne of Buganda; when he died Mutesa I had ruled for nearly twenty years. Of the kings of Bunyoro, Kasoma, Kyebamba Nyamutukura, Nyabongo Mugenyi Kamurasi and Kabaraga were his contemporaries. It was a time of a lot of movement by people of the outside world; the Arab slave traders were at their peak; J. H. Speke and J. Grant visited the court of Mutesa and set their eyes at the source of the Nile; Sir Samuel Baker came to Kamurasif's capital and became the first European to see the Mutanziga Lake, which he named Lake Albert, on a second visit he fought Kabaraga and got defeated; and H. M. Stanley visited Muteesa I and first pronounced the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Kiteimbwa cannot have escaped the influence of all this impact; certainly there developed a constant trade in slaves and ivory with the Arabs based in Karagwe towards the end of his reign. He had peace in his time only to be disturbed towards the end of his life by the Baganda. In 1875, Mutesa I out of the blue decided to dispose Kiteimbwa II. He appointed Tabukoza Kyambalango to conduct this invasion.
It must have been a quick lightning raid because musician sang afterwards:

"Lubambula tawamulaba
Twalaba Canyudda."
("We did not see Lubambula
We saw only Canyudda."

Lubambula was a very brave prince, and son of Kiteimbwa, and he had a gun which he called Balikyawunya (they will wonder at it), yet when this raid took place, he was nowhere to be seen implying that perhaps he was not in town and by the time he knew about it, it was all over.

There is no explanation why Muteesa should flout away the age-long alliance at this juncture. Whatever the reason for it, without this raid the present writer would not be writing this history of Kooki. It was during this raid that the writer’s father and his younger sister and two of his cousins were taken captives as small children from their kraal by the Baganda raiders. Hence they were brought up in Buganda with the result that they availed themselves very early with the Christian teaching which became prevalent in Buganda during the last quarter of the 19th century” Sir Apollo Kagwa says in his book, “Bassakabaka ba Buganda” that it was soon after this raid of Kooki that the great explorer H. M. Stanley came to Buganda in 1875. Kiteimbwa seems to have died soon after. Matambagala, the father of Samai Kakungulu was one of the sons of Kiteimbwa II.

7. SSANSA (1875-1880)

Ssansa succeeded his father, Kiteimbwa II, but he had a very short reign indeed. Ntare, who was the ruler of the biggest area in Ankole, had long protruding front teeth. One day Ntare was talking to Ssansa and there developed a misunderstanding and Ssansa said to him, ”I will pull out your long teeth.” This annoyed Ntare very much. He went back and collected a large army and attacked Ssansa by surprise. Ssansa was staying at a place called Kisansa near Rakai. When his chiefs saw Ntare’s army advancing towards Kisansa, they advised him to run away. But he disdainfully replied, “Mpunga nta”, (How can I run away?). He decided instead to put up a fight. He struck with his own hand four of his assailants with arrows before they could overpower him and he killed them. He, too, was killed.
LUBAMBULA (1880-1886)

Lubambula Kiteimbwa III succeeded his father, Ssansa, and at once planned to avenge his father. He invited some Baganda to help him. The Baganda went and pretended that they were going to make blood-brotherhood with the Bainda, the princes of Ankole, who were in Kabula. They built a large house for the occasion Kiganda fashion with partitioning bark-cloths. Behind the bark-cloths, they hid Lubambula and his men. When about twenty Bainda had come and entered the house, without knowing the plot, Lubambula emerged with his men and started to slaughter them all one by one as they were defenseless. War had broken out and Lubambula went farther in an attempt to find Ntare and spear him. In this way he annexed the province of Katoma from Ntare.

Lubambula died young; he died of small pox. He had one grown up son in Kooki, Kato, and another small boy, who was born in Karagwe and remained there with his mother, Abiiza Kazindusi; a Barenisiti Bimanywenda (it is the womb alone which can tell) was still in the womb. He did not think that Kato would make a good ruler, so he willed his brother Ndawula Kamuswaga to succeed him. Ndawula Kamuswaga succeeded his brother about 1886, thus it was he who saw the close of the 19th century and the dawn of the 20th century in Kooki.

With all her long history, with all her peaceful existence, Kooki would still today be an insignificant place in the annals of the history of Uganda but for her three most prominent sons, all born in the second half of the 19th century, all of the royal family, all cousins to each other and by a strange coincidence, all making their contribution not specifically in terms of Kooki but in those of Buganda and at the same time although independently of each other. They were Kazakia Edward Ndawula II, Kamuswaga, the ninth ruler of Kooki; Samai Bana Lwakirenzi Kakungulu, and Nassanaari Ndula Mulira - the three make Kooki look beyond her borders and perhaps this is the chief contribution they made. These are "the Kooki Trio" indeed.

III

THE KOOKI TRIO

NDAWULA II KAMUSWA (1886-1910)

Kazakia Edward Ndawula II Kamuswaga was the son of Ssansa and younger brother of Lubambula. The name Kamuswaga, by which he was
known all his life, was a distortion by the Baganda of Kamusaaga (one who jokes) which really was his name and a nick name.

Those who knew him agree that he was a very good-looking man, tall of reddish brown colour with distinguished Bahima features, coupled with a sense of power and dignity. Bishop Alfred R. Tucker, then Bishop of Uganda and East Africa, when writing about him, describes him as "tall and lithe in figure, with a light complexion -- easily recognized as one of that interesting people -- the cattle breeders and tenders of central Africa." F. Katagaya who was his page and who accompanied him on several such occasions, says of him that whenever he came to Buganda, he was marked by his distinguished appearance and that the Baganda respected him very much. He always wore a turban which he removed only in the presence of the Kabaka of Buganda. He used to attend the Buganda Lukiiko whenever he was in Mengo. At such occasions he sat on a mat next to the Kabaka; he would not accept a chair in the Lukiiko because, he said, that would be tantamount to having two thrones and two kings at the same Lukiiko. Katagaya added that whenever the Kabaka visited Kooki he, too, could not sit on the Kabaka's throne.

As a ruler he was a great authoritarian and was both feared and loved by his people. He hated any kind of fraud and corruption and he determined to eliminate all theiving in Kooki, and for this reason he was ruthless and would kill anyone who was caught stealing. He used to say that a nation free from fraud was a nation at peace, and that fraudulent dealings start in the leaders. As a result he never coveted anybody's property. But his strong rule was no respector of persons. One day it was reported to him that Musamba his Katikiro (Prime Minister) was getting too friendly with the people of Kabula in Ankole (and Ankole since the outrageous act of killing his father was regarded as enemy territory) so he ordered his death and he was killed. On another occasion, he ordered a number of rival princes to be killed which included his cousin Lwakiraizi Kakungulu.

Otherwise he was a good man, not avarice of gain, warm-hearted and above all a friendly man, although austere in character, he had many friends especially among the Baganda whom he admired and loved. He first came into contact with the Baganda, when the Baganda Christians took refuge in Kabula after the Muslim takeover of Government in Buganda in 1888. Although he was himself not a Christian at the time, yet he sympathized with their cause and he used to give them material assistance in their hour of need. When they determined to make a comeback, they needed a king around whom to fight their way back to Buganda, and they would have made him king, Kabaka of Buganda.
Buganda, but for Ham Mukasa who volunteered to go to Buderwe Islands, where Mwanga had led and bring him back. All the same, he raised an army for them and he himself joined them and many of his men lost their lives in the warfare that ensued. After the Christian conquest over the Moslems and Mwanga’s restoration to the throne, Ndaula II Kamusuwaga played a more direct part in the politics of Buganda.

To-day it is fashionable in some nationalist quarters to blow the trumpet of those nineteenth century African leaders who chose the path of resistance against the general enlightenment that was coming from the West, and against the British might, in particular, and to regard such resistance as the true and heroic patriotism. While admitting that it would be too much and perhaps unfair to expect all African leaders than not to prefer to hold on to what they had got, I question whether we of the present generation would have fared the better if their patriotism had won the day.

The alternatives were, one: the stark reality that the British would have conquered by force patriotism or no patriotism all the area we now call Uganda, as jolly well they did conquer elsewhere those who offered them resistance; and the aftermath of it would certainly have been peace on the conqueror’s terms! And the other, and this if the African patriotism of the type had won, was the restoration of the old order relegateing each tribe to its old vices and the consequent retardation of progress. There can be such a thing as blind patriotism!

There were other leaders in the nineteenth century, however, such as the stalwarts who pulled Buganda through that turbulent period, Mutesa I, Sir Apollo Kagwa, Stanislaus Mugwanya, Zakalia Kizito Kisingiri, Samuel Kakungulu, Ham Mukasa, Alikisi Sebowa and their friends; Y. Duhaage of Bunyoro and Nuwa Ndagula of Ankola, to mention only a few — and here lies the significance of the Baganda martyrs, who chose the other path, the path of non-surrendering of what they had got and at the same time not trying to stop what was universal and inevitable; in short men who chose the policy of give and take, or of enthusiastically accepting elements of the new culture but confining these within, and adapting them to traditional culture and social structure. Here lay true wisdom!

And King Ndaula II Kamusuwaga was of such vision. He was a forward-looking man and he adopted the policy of co-operation with both the Baganda and the British. We owe the Uganda of today to such men and not to the negative thinkers of their day. Bishop Alfred R. Tucker writes that Kamusuwaga seeing what faith in Christ as a living saviour had done for the Baganda, became not only anxious to be taught himself, but most desirous that his
people should also be instructed in the new religion which he saw to be as "good for this life as for the next." He, therefore, appealed, in 1894, to the Mango Church Council for help. In a short time there were four Baganda evangelist volunteers. He returned to Kooki with these men.

When Christianity was first preached there, there was at first defiant opposition, slander and misunderstandings, but with Kamusuwaga's encouragement after only a few months there was a weekly congregation of as many as two or three hundred; of the eighty chiefs of the country twenty-four were able to read the Gospels, books were being bought in great numbers. By the end of 1895, Kooki was regarded as a mission field big enough as to warrant a Missionary, and Leaky was sent there as a Resident Missionary with Tomasi Senfuma to assist him. After that it became a popular resort of the missionaries with Fisher, Roscoe, Pike, Pilkingston visiting it from time to time. And Leaky could report at the end of 1895, "When I arrived here there was but one church in Kooki, now there are eight; then no baptised Christians, now twenty-two adults and eight infants; then books sold very slowly, now there is a good sale. I have about twenty-four names of candidates under instruction for baptism, and about sixteen for confirmation. Drink is far less. Slavery and slave trade is also less - the King is trying to stop it."

In 1897, the mission was reinforced by the addition of Clayton to it; and by J. J. Willis, who succeeded Bishop A. R. Tucker as Bishop of Uganda later. Two ladies Robinson and Atlee, the last one cousin to Clement Atlee, Labour Prime Minister in England after the Second World War, also served there.

When Bishop Alfred R. Tucker visited the station for the first time in April 1897, he was able to confirm on Sunday, April 23rd, some fifty-two candidates, of whom thirty-seven were men and fifteen women. Before long Kooki was sending evangelists of her own to Ankola, such as Anderea Kamya, Firipo Bwamulanzaki and Yayiro.

Ndawula II Kamusuwaga had himself been baptised earlier on and he got the names of Kazakia Edward. At one time his chief weakness was strong drink, but when he became a Christian he was able to control it and was able to lead a new life.

He had twelve wives. When the Christians in Buganda decided to abide by one wife, he expelled all but Kazia Bwamulamira, the mother of his only child, George Safasi Kabumbuli.

In 1893, he was one of the thirty-one signatories to the Agreement of freeing their slaves when the chiefs in Buganda decided to do so.
In 1894, it was felt that Kooki was too small to be a viable unit, he decided to unite with the Kabaka of Buganda, making Kooki a hereditary county. He concluded a Kooki Agreement with the Kabaka and the British. When Kooki became a county he took his seat in the Lukiko with the rest of Ssaza chiefs and began to sit on a chair there.

He was one of the nine 1900 Agreement negotiators and signatories with Sir, Harry Johnson at Entebbe: the three Regents; Prince Mbogo, himself and four Ssaza chiefs.

In the land distribution that followed the 1900 Agreement, Professor Antorny Low says that the Baganda got several allotments in the Sazes that either wholly or in part had been acquired from Bunyoro in the recent past, but not so in Kooki. In Kooki all land went to Bakooki for the good reason that Kooki had joined Buganda voluntarily, and certainly without suffering conquest. Land in Kooki was, therefore, "not available as a happy hunting ground for the Baganda, like some of the other areas."21

His respect by the Baganda was such that in the order of precedence he was always placed, after the Regents, next to Prince Mbogo the then surviving son of Mutesa I and a kind of Shaik Kadi of the Moslems in Uganda.

Ndawula II Kamuswaga died in 1910, and his only son George Safasi Kabumbuli Kamuswaga. It was a difficult role Kabumbuli succeeded and at first he displayed a certain amount of irresponsibility, which necessitated the Kabaka's Government to send Baganda advisors to help train him in his new duties. Messrs Sendikwanawa and Yoweri Bazirondere were accordingly sent to Rakai for this purpose.

Kabumbuli ruled Kooki for forty three years and died in 1953. His was a handicapped rule because he was the first to feel the full impact of the new relationship of Kooki with Buganda and also that of the British protection. He was succeeded by his son Yoweri Kayiba Kayemba the Kamuswaga, and Kayemba was ruling when Kooki as a Kingdom together with the other kingdoms in Uganda was abolished by Milton Obote as President of Uganda in 1965.

1) I am indebted for this story on Kakungulu to Sir Apolo Kaggwa's "Passakabaka B'e Buganda", to H. B. Thomas's Article in the Uganda Journal, January 1939, entitled "Capax Imperi, the Story of Ssemu Kakungulu, pp. 125, to my father and to the late Zabuloni Mugumbule.
Semei Bene Luakirenzi Kakungulu was born about 1860 at Kibanda in southern Kooki. His father was Matambagala son of King Kitaimbwa II of Kooki and his mother was one of the wives of Muwamba, Katikkira (Prime Minister) of Kitaimbwa II. Therefore, he was brought up in Muwamba's enclosure, and was named Luakirenzi (born of a youth).

Luakirenzi learnt the use of a gun very early in life and distinguished himself as a brave young man by hunting elephants for king Lubambula.

When King Ndawula II Kamuswaga ordered the death of Muwamba, he condemned Luakirenzi as well. When Luakirenzi heard of it he managed to escape to Buganda and chose to attach himself as a loyal dependent (okusenqa) to Mwanga, King of Buganda. It is thought it was at this time that he took on the name of Kakungulu, by which he was known ever afterwards. He was soon given Ekitonqole (official estate) of Ekirumba (the one which attacks) in Buddu county very near to the Buddu-Kooki border. His responsibility was to hunt elephants and produce ivory for the King. It was at this time he first came into contact with Christianity. He was later baptised and got the name of Semei.

When the Christians fled to Ankole as a result of the Mohammedan coup d'etat he must have had many contacts with them. When the Christians decided eventually to invade Buganda, he certainly joined them and he soon distinguished himself as one of the foremost leaders. He won most of the battles, which led to the Christians' victory and the restoration of Mwanga. He earned another victory over the Mohammedans at Kijungute. To reward him, at the restoration he was made Mulondo, chief of Bulondoganyi, part of what is Bugarera today. This was a poor reward for the contribution he had made.

In 1892, he was regarded as the most renowned warrior in Uganda and had been used to suppress disorders here and there with outstanding success, and in the Protestant versus Roman Catholic war of 1892 it was he, more than anybody else, who helped to save the situation on the Protestant side. Other expeditions in which he took part at this time were to re-open communications with the south of the Lake; to Busoga; to Buvuma; against the Mohammedan rebellion of 1893; to Kyagaga in Toro to relieve British officers, Oume and Grant, who had been trapped by the Mohammedans and many others.
In 1892, after the Roman Catholics had been beaten by the Protestants and had fled to Buddu, Kakungulu was appointed Kimbugwe, which had been held by Stanislas Muguwanya - the Kimbugwe was not then, as now, a county chief but was an officer only second in importance to the Katikirio...22

Now Kakungulu had proved himself a successful general and a political figure and one of the most prominent men in Buganda. Captain Lugard pays a glowing tribute to him, "He is one of a number of specified absolutely reliable loyal man," and goes on to add, "there were but three men in Uganda (1891) whom I thoroughly trusted, but in them I had implicit faith. They were Zachariah (Protestant), Sekeiboobo (Roman Catholic) and Mulondo (Protestant) - the last was not a Muganda by birth." (Their real names were Zachariah Kisingiri, Ssekiboobo and Semei Kakungulu).

In November 1893, he was appointed General by Mwanga of a vast army of over 15,000 Baganda to deal with Kabarega near the Kafu river, while Colonel Colvile, a British soldier, commanding a Sudanese contingent attacked Kabarega at Hoima. The Banyoro fled for their lives into the Budongo forest. Colonel Colvile writing about this campaign said, "To Kakungulu, the General of the Ugandans, my thanks are specially due......for his well-directed influence with his chiefs and men, the skillful simultaneous concentration at Kaduna of 15,000 troops, and for his brilliant surprise and defeat of Kabarega's army in Budongo forest."23 It was after this campaign that Buganda acquired the so-called lost counties of Bugangazi and Buyaga.

On 15th October 1894, Kakungulu married Nnakalema, the Protestant Lubuga and Mwanga's sister, which gave him a big boost. But Buganda had no room for such two dominant personalities as that of Sir, Apollo Kagwa and of Kakungulu - all the time they were at loggerheads. The final breach came after Kakungulu had led an expedition of the Baganda aimed at capturing Kabarega near Mruzi. There followed a dispute regarding the distribution of cattle captured in this expedition, which resulted in a court case at Mango, which Kakungulu lost and was heavily fined. After this he resigned his office of Kimbugwe and withdrew from Buganda politics altogether. He went and lived at his home in Bugaraa.

However he continued his military exploitations in the field, taking part in action in 1895, against tribes around Mumias who had been harassing caravans going to the coast.

In 1896, the British asked him to help to come to terms with people around the east shores of Lake Kigea, who were suspected of helping Kabarega. Because he was already...
in touch with these people, he accordingly organised a deputation of Kumam and Teso chiefs to Mango to ask for protection against the Langi.' But when the Sudanese mutiny broke out in 1897, Kakungulu did not play a very significant part for the simple reason that Sir Apollo Kagwa, the Katikkiro, was in command of the Baganda army, until the mutineers came to his area round Lake Kioga, when in collaboration with Major McDonald they together managed to capture the Nubians at Kabagamba.

On 1st December 1897, Mwanga left Mengo and went to Buddu planning to fight to expel the Europeans from Buganda. But his chiefs were divided: Sir Apollo Kagwa, Stanslas Mugwanya, Samei Kakungulu etc., did not support him in this. With the other chiefs, who supported him, he put up a fight near Masaka and was defeated and he withdrew into Tanganyika. The chiefs being tired of his erratic behaviour supported the British when they decided not to return Mwanga to the throne and to make his infant son, Daudi Chwa, King. Chwa became King and there was a Regency. Mwanga being determined to come back to the throne, he now crossed from Tanganyika through Ankole and went and joined Kabarega in his hiding in Lango to the north of Uganda. And now the whole combined might of the Baganda and the British was turned against the two kings and on 9th April, 1897 Kakungulu captured both Mwanga and Kabarega at Kangai in South Lango.

By 1900, Kakungulu was in a class apart; he was now above the position of Ssaza Chief, and there was no room for him on the top, and since he was drawing too many followers from everywhere in Buganda, Mengo was beginning to look at him with some suspicion and disfavour. Sir Harry Johnson realizing this recommended that he should be made an Assistant District Commissioner for Lango, although the Foreign Office does not seem to have approved of this. At the same time he allowed him to extend his influence eastward to Teso. From Teso, Kakungulu saw a possibility of including Bugisu also in his sphere of influence and he planned, at the same time, work for evangelising the area. It was at this time that Sir Harry Johnson visited him at Mbumudde (I have rested) and took him to the top of Blount Nkokonjeru near Bibale (in a similar fashion the devil took Jesus Christ, in the Bible story, to a very high mountain) and showed him, waving his arm to the west and all the land below and said to him, "I will ask that you be made Kabaka (King) of all this country."

Although the "if you will fall down and worship me" part was missing, Kakugulu waited for no further notice before he began to behave as a fata accompli Kabaka of Bukedi which included Teso, Bugwere, Bunyoli, Budama etc. He moved his headquarters from Mbumudde (the present Nabumuli) which he left to the Church Missionary
Society as their station to Budaka. He worked with absolute alacrity to organise the territory. He divided it into counties on the Buganda model and Baganda were appointed as Ssaza chiefs with titles similar to those in Buganda and he introduced a system of Lukiiko. He also made grants of land to his followers, and the words "Kabaka Kakungulu" were inscribed on the stocks of his guns, and he flew the Union Jack, and prepared his tomb - a pit 30 or 40 feet deep.

He at once began to introduce measures of development aimed at the enlightenment of the area. First, he reduced the area to order by directing the local chiefs and suppressing inter-tribal fights, exhibiting a very rare capacity for organisation and government. He constructed good straight roads where no roads were before planted with trees; swamps were bridged; Mbale which was non-existent before his advent, was now a centre bursting with new life: shops springing up, and well cultivated gardens surrounding it all around, etc. Even the language of the people was affected; Luganda became the lingua franca of the area, and the salutation used "Mulamba/Mulamba gwa Kakungulu" ("Peace/Kakungulu's peace") which was coined from the Luganda Language, is a lasting testimony of his success. But Kakungulu was an autocrat and he accomplished this with an iron hand. Some of his followers used methods that are difficult to justify to acquire wealth for themselves at the expense of the poor people. But all agree that although his rule through his followers caused some desolution, yet it left lasting benefits to the area.

Col. Hayes Sadler who was the Commissioner of the area has left his impressions on record of "Kakungulu's personality and obvious powers of command," and of "the oasis of civilization which he had created with his Baganda settlement." But Kakungulu soon became the subject of envy by both the Baganda chiefs in Buganda and the British who knew not Joseph. The Baganda Regents were, on the one hand particularly upset to find that here was an upstart who was attracting more attention than themselves; and on the other, terribly vexed to see the drift of Baganda from Buganda and Bakooki from Kooki going to join Kakungulu.

There are unconfirmed reports that they, the Regents, began to threaten the British that seeing that Kakungulu was being given so much power if he joined hands with Ethiopia and began to cause trouble to the British, the Baganda would never come to their help.

The British, too, would have wished Kakungulu did not take the show so much on his own terms. Complaints of ill-treatment of the people especially by his Baganda chiefs were piling up from the people. In 1902, the British forced him to lower his Union Jack and his Kingdom was taken over by the British although his followers remained as British officials; he himself was made a Ssaza chief.
plus confirmation of the grant of 20 square miles around Mbale Township.

Certainly, Kakungulu had passed his noontide and the shadows were beginning to lend then. History was repeating itself; this time there was no room for both Kakungulu and the British in the same empire, the empire he had helped to create! At this time Kakungulu decided to marry again, the first marriage having been dissolved by judicial divorce; he married Basemeresi, another Princess from Buganda, but this time the daughter of King Kalema.

But Sir Hesketh Bell arrived in Uganda at this time as Governor and he thought that rather than waste a man of Kakungulu's stature they must use him elsewhere. He assigned him the duty of welding the chieftainships in Busoga into a tribal organisation with the title of President of Busoga Lukiiko.

On 11th August, 1909, Kakungulu formally constituted the Busoga Lukiiko. At the same time he helped to form a trading company in Jinja called "S. Kakungulu and Co.", which, unfortunately, left him in debt. Here again after he had reorganised the place, it was found that for Kakungulu there was "no real place for him in the complex of modern administration machinery, which was taking shape around him." On 30th December, 1913, he left Busoga and returned to Mbale, back to his position as a Ssaza chief although he was given special salary and some privileges.

Kakungulu, who was a deeply religious man, spent his last days contemplating religion. At one time he was supporting the Rev. Mwileki Musajojaka to form his Malakite Movement; and lastly he founded his own sect called 'a Christian Jew Religion', whose teachers he paid from his own pocket.

He died on 24th November, 1928, and H. B. Thomas wrote of him, "In Kakungulu's character there was nothing mean, money meant little to him except as an instrument of power, and a means of supporting retainers. He amassed no great wealth, and, even during his years of virtual independence, it was his followers rather than he, who dispossessed the local natives."

Nasanaeri Ndawula Mulira

Nasanaeri Ndawula Mulira was born about 1872, at Nnakabazi in Kooki. His father was Kyamatundu, the son of Busoita, and Busoita was the son of King Ndawula I of Kooki. His mother was called

....../29
Mukaabakooki, and his childhood name was Rwamahwa.

When he was about three or four years old, King Muteesa of Buganda ordered the invasion of Kooki in a war known as Kyambalango’s war, 1875, and Rwamahwa and his younger sister and two cousins, a girl and a boy, were kidnapped by the Baganda and taken as spoils of war from their kraal. The Rev. R. P. Ashe, in his book "Two Kings of Uganda", observes that Bahima slave boys were much sought after as pages by the Baganda chiefs; they had a bearing which flattered their masters.

Rwamahwa was therefore, brought up as a young slave by a Buganda chief called Kisawuzi. His new master gave him two names, Katezi and Kiwomamagaya (the taste of the pudding is in the eating), and they lived at Nansana near Kampala.

Kisawuzi had acted as a guarantor to a friend in a money loan. His friend failed to pay back the money. Kisawuzi was away in the country. The money lender, demanding his "pound of flesh," took Kisawuzi’s wife and Kiwomamagaya as hostages whereupon, to make sure that they did not escape, he put them in wooden yoke bonds. It was at this time that the Mohammedan coup d’etat took place in Buganda, in 1888, when they chased out the Christians to Ankole. One day the Mohammedans in their campaign to wipe out the Christians, surrounded Nansana, Kiwomamagaya and his master’s wife, who were in bonds were hid in the forest, but they were discovered and taken captive after the wooden bond had already cut Kiwomamagaya’s leg. The leg went bad but the Mohammedans took him with them as they chased out the Christians, and when they reached Mbaale near Mpiigi in Mawokota, he could not go any farther because of his bad leg, so he was left there in the keeping of a certain woman. But as luck would have it, this woman happened to be the niece of Kisawuzi’s master. Eventually he found his way back to his master and he became a Mohammedan.

When the Christians made a comeback two years later and the Mohammedans, his master fled to Kyaggwe leaving Kiwomamagaya in hiding at a place called Kiryagonja, also near Kampala. When he could hide no longer for lack of food and water he gave himself up to the Christians. The leader, Danieri Mulyagonja, was glad to make Kiwomamagaya his page.

Mulyagonja loved Kiwomamagaya so much that he gave him the name of Mulira (Mulira-au-ngalo), meaning a person who is such a favourite that he eats from his master’s hands.

His new master was then promoted and he became the Ssekiwala, the chief of Mityana, in Ssingo county. Soon a war between the
Protestants and the Roman Catholics broke out in 1892. Ssekiwala fought on the side of the Protestants and he was the chief representative of the Mukwenda, the Ssaza chief of Sango. Mulira accompanied his master in this war. After the Protestants had beaten the Roman Catholics, Ssekiwala was one day visiting the Missionary, George Baskerville, when Baskerville saw Mulira and liked him. Later he sent word to Ssekiwala requesting him to give him the boy. But Ssekiwala would not part with Mulira, so he gave him another boy instead, but this boy had his ear cut off— in Buganda dishonest people were punished by mutilating parts of their bodies. Baskerville was not willing to have such a boy and he insisted on having the boy he had seen with Ssekiwala. In the end Ssekiwala reluctantly sent him Mulira. That was December, 1892, and Baskerville was staying with George Pilkington in the house where the latter was translating the Bible, at Kakeeka, near St. Paul’s Cathedral, Namirembe. Thus Mulira had at long last jumped into freedom!

In January, 1893, Baskerville went to Kabinda’s place at Zzibé in Kyaggwe to found, at Kikusa, the first out Mission Station after the one at Mango (Namirembe). Mulira together with several other boys went with him. These formed the Baskerville household, and it was like a Boarding School, where he gave them special instruction. Mulira was baptised on January 21st 1893, at Kikusa, and became Nasanaeri Mulira. He was soon afterwards confirmed in the Church.

In 1894, he became a teacher and an evangelist and started a church at Guama near Ngogwe and taught there. After spending three years at Guama he was transferred to Sai in Bukunja, and then to Kkojja. While at Kkojja he married Ceiteri Nnambirya, on 8th May 1895. Then he was transferred to Ngogwe. Baskerville had made Ngogwe his headquarters by this time and it was also the headquarters of the Seekiboobo, Ssaza chief of Kyaggwe.

In 1897, the Nubian Mutiny broke out, and Mulira fought at Bukalaaba in Busoga alongside the missionaries, who had been called by the authorities to join in the war. When George Pilkington was shot dead, Mulira was one of the man who helped to remove his body. After the death of Pilkington, Baskerville went to the front and left the charge of the Mission station at Ngogwe in the hands of Nasanaeri Mulira.

Perhaps I may be permitted to comment on the three cousins here. The three cousins: Kamuswaga, Kakungulu and Mulira came to the world Movement of the Kingdom of God in widely separated ways, almost at the same time; they accepted it and got involved in it.

At the time Kakungulu, Napoleon-like, was conquering territorial empire, spreading light as he went along for the future ......./31
of Uganda; and while Kamuswaga, stateenalika, was allowing in the
wind of change to blow off the centuries - old cobwebs of stag­
nation from Kooki and settling for a sureer basis for the future,
Mulira was trying to expand the borders of the Spiritual Kingdom
of Christ in remoter areas of Buganda. Beyond the horison of their
childhood dreams, the three cousins were being used to lay the
ture foundations for nation-building. Can it be due to mere coin­
cidence or chance? But Mulira's wider contribution was yet to be
made.

In 1898, Mulira was identified by Ndawula II Kamuswaga as
Ruwamahwa, one of the Princes of Kooki who had been kidnapped by
the Baganda in the war of Kyambalango many years back. He visited
Kooki for the first time only to find that his father and his
mother had died many years previously. He was happy, however,
to see his nurse Aniyamuzaala, who had nursed him as a child and
from whose hands he had been kidnapped. Her testimony was conc­
lusive in the story of his identification. In Kooki he was
received with great honour by everyone there. He had achieved more
than his contemporaries in Kooki had any hope of achieving. He
was also told that his true name was Ndawula, and he gave himself
another name of Kikonyogo, from the proverb "Kikonyogo baakikasuka
kulalira, kyadda na Kirimba". (Someone threw away a club into a
fruit-bearing tree in order to get rid of it there, but it fell
back on the ground and brought back with it a batch of fruits).

In 1900, a constitutional Agreement was made between the
Queen of Britain and the Kabaka, the chiefs and people of Buganda,
known as "the Uganda Agreement of 1900". By this Agreement 8,000
square miles were alloted to over 1,000 notable Baganda as free
hold land. Nasanaeri Ndawula Mulira got three square miles.

In 1903 and 1904 he studied for ordination, and in 1906, he
went back to Kooki to teach his own people without yet being ordained,
but he started to suffer from poor eye-sight, which compelled
him to resign from teaching in 1909. He went and settled on his
land at Kamase in Kooki.

In 1910, he entered the Buganda Lukiiko (Parliament) by which
he was appointed supervisor of land distribution in Masaka District
from 1911 to 1915. In 1916, he became a Gombolola Chief, Sebagogbo
of Kooki, but chieftainship was never his line and he did not like
it and he resigned in March 1919. He left Kooki for good and came
and settled at Masaka in Buddu. He was about 46 when he retired
from Public Service and lived in retirement ever afterwards and
had the leisure to bring up his family.

Mulira was not a saint, but he loved his Lord with all his
heart, and with all his soul, and with all his mind. His patriarchal
like figure in all my childhood likened him to me to King David
and perhaps with David he could fittingly sing.

He read his Bible daily; he had family prayers, morning and evening and his devotional prayers both before going to bed in the evening and soon after rising up in the morning. He prayed for his children every day mentioning each one by name to God.

His main contribution, I think, is the education of his children. Because he was brought up as a slave in the Baganda chiefs' enclosures, he learnt all that there was to be learnt in the Kigaanda (adj. of Buganda) culture; and by associating himself with top-ranking missionaries so intimately, he imbibed the Christian teaching almost at source. Therefore, he had in his equipment all that was of value in society. All this he tried to transmit to his children either through formal education or by practical application. He taught them the 3-Rs himself before they went to school; he taught them to do things with their hands from digging and cooking to building houses and doing carpentry work, what father did to the boys, mother did to the girls; there was nothing that was required in society he did not try to teach them to do. What he could not teach himself he made the local people take charge of the children. Thus my elder brother Asanasio and I learnt before we were ten years old, how to forge iron, how to make bark-cloth; how to do pottery work; how to brew beer; how to hunt, with the grownups; how to trap guinea fowl etc.

He had twelve sons and six daughters. Although his total income in all his life never came up to anything like $20,000 or £2,500, yet he managed to bring up that large family, educate its members in the best schools and gave them to the world. He had a vision of education very early. When Gayaza High School, a Boarding School, was built as the first girls' school in the country, he sent his first born there in 1907, and subsequently, three of the other daughters; six of the boys went to King's College, Budo, and to universities in Great Britain and the U.S.A.

Among his sons there have been a qualified surveyor; teachers, an Editor and Newspaper proprietor; Members of Parliament; authors, a judge in the once Kabaka's Government; a lawyer; university lecturers; businessmen; voluntary social workers; members of several church councils and assemblies including the First World Council of Churches in Amsterdam in 1948, a Life Governor of the Church Missionary Society, etc., and among the daughters, leaders of women organisations; teachers; a woman Member of Parliament and of the East African Central Legislative Assembly; a UNESCO official; a business woman who owns a dress-making shop in Kampala; a college hostel warden, and a Film Star, one who played a leading role in an Arthur Rank film called "Man of two Worlds" in 1946.
And this is a fitting point at which to end this Essay on Kooki—a tiny place indeed—an outlook to the whole world.

E. M. K. Mulira

APPENDIX I

THE KOOKI ROYAL FAMILY TREE
(up to the end of the 19th century)
Springing from the Royal Family of Bunyoro.

1. Rukidi I Mouge (first King of Bunyoro)
2. Rwangirra Ocaki I
3. Nyimba Cyo I
4. Rubembaka Winyi I
5. Awakalimbi Olimi I
6. Rulama Nyabongo I
7. Rubagira Winyi II
8. Ruhundwangeya Olimi II
9. Omuzarrakyaro fylyarwa I
10. Rumoma Mahanga Cwamali I
11. Mashamba I
12. Omuzikya Kyabamba I
13. Ruguruka Winyi III
14. Nyayika I
15. Bikaju Kyabamba II
16. Isansa Gabigogo Olimi III

---(1) Swowe
Mujwiga Ruhaga II
etc.

(2) Kiteimbwa I
(3) Mujwiga
(4) Mukenyi
(5) Ndawula I

(6) Kiteimbwa II
Busoita

Matambagala
(7) Saansa
Kyamatundu
Kabiguwa, etc.

Samei Bane LWakirenzi
(8) Lubambula
Kakungulu

(9) K.E. Ndawula II
Nasaneeri
Kamuswaga
Ndawula Mulira
APPENDIX II

THE ROYAL GENEALOGY

(up to the end of the 19th century)

1. BWUWE:

   Bwwe's other children who did not succeed to the throne were:

   (1) Kanyabyiru whose children are not known.

   (2) Bwanda and Bwanda was the father of Lulala and Nanywe, and Lulala was the father of Mukasa I, Lubayonbya, Wbida and Mukasa II. Mukasa I was the father of Nabuzaza and Mukasa II, and Mukasa II was the father of Lugambwa, and Lugambwa was the father of Lutaaya.

   (3) Lubongo Kiwwe, and Lubongo Kiwwe was the father of Kwira, and Kwira was the father of Kasena and Kasena was the father of Kitungira and Kitungira was the father of Zabuloni Mugumbula (first generation of Christian) etc.

   (4) Lubongo II, and Lubongo II was the father of Buzala and Kakoko, and Kakoko was the father of Matambo, and Matambo was the father of Mbingi.

   (5) Nyamulumba, and Nyamulumba was the father of Wajuma, B whether, Muzigo, Muwagero, Kutagaka and Kanyabula. Bwhether was the father of Kasa, Alideki, Sitfano Mulumba and Karamenti Zibunya (the last two being Christians). Kasa was the father of Kulemalingi, Lukandika, Bwewe and Kizal Alideki was the father of Asanasio Mivule (a Christian). Muzigo was the father of Mlangate, Binyaga and Bugondo Kabirizi. Muwagero was the father of Zabwani Balironda and Anania Kasigala the last two being Christian and Anania Kasigala a clergy man.

   (6) Luyirika, and Luyirika was the father of Lukomoza, and Lukomoza was the father of Galitwolaka, and Galitwolaka was the father of Lukulwasa and Sebalijja. Lukulwasa was the father of Kimonde and Bitamala. Sebalijja was the father of Bakubya, Kapelaga, Saengoma, Kasirisimbi and Odamulira. Odamulira was the father of Baziwe and Tanansi. Saengoma was the father of Youane Kasajja (a Christian), and Guszite Katwanga (a Christian).

   (7) Luziga, and Luziga was the father of Nakabululu, and Nakabululu was the father of Kamondo.
(2) **Kiteimbwa I:**
No children of Kiteimbwa I are known.

(3) **Mujwiga:**
Mujwiga had no children.

(4) **Mugenyi:**
Mugenyi had one son, Lubambe, and Lubambe was the father of Kannawingi, and Kannawingi was the father of Katunda, Luyirika and Lukemwa. Katunda was the father of Bigira and Luyika, and Luyika was the father of Katembe. Lukemwa was the father of Blasio Bikambwesi (a Christian).

(5) **Ndawula**
Ndawula had seventeen sons: (1) Kiteimbwa II, Kaiba who succeeded him (see No. 6 below); (2) Busoita, and was the father of Kyamutundu, Kabigwa, Mbuyi, Kalasa, Kala, and Mubasa (and four daughters). Kabigwa had only one son, Saabakaaki. Kyamutundu was the father of Nasanaeri Ndawula Mulira (first generation of Christian) and Matyansi Luwasa. Nasanaeri Ndawula was the father of Asanasio Busoita Kaggwa Mulira, Eridadi Madadi Kyamutundu Kyabembe Kasirye Mulira (the author of this Essay), Enoch Emmanuel Keirimba Mulira, Isiraeli Kala, Mulira, Yona Mubasa Mulira, Nasani Kityimbwa Mulira, Bulasio Bwowa Mulira, Daniel Mugenyi Mulira, Sesane Gatabako Mulira, Stephen Luwabulanga Mulira, David Nyondo Mulira and James Mujwiga Mulira (and six daughters). Matyansi Luwasa was the father of Lubombe, Ntonyo Katanywa and Sitefano Byamugwama, Kabigwa.

(3) **Kasolo,** and Kasolo was the father of Luwirimbwa, Kibazi and Makaru.

(4) **Ndagala,** and Ndagala was the father of Mutama and Mutama was the father of Kasolo, Ndawula, Bwamulange and Kasajja.

(5) **Kasajja,** and Kasajja was the father of Ndagala.

(6) **Kanywamu,** and Kanywamu was the father of Amani Kasajja (first generation of Mohammedanism) and Luwakata. Amani Kasajja was the father of Amani Kitiyimbwa, Muni Budula Omurungi Kabuya, Baswari Kakungulu, Taiwu Kaisi, Kasimu I, Amani Kitiyimbwa, Sasa Mupasa, Yusufu Mujwiga Kabwino and Kasimu II.

(7) **Keirimba,** and Keirimba was the father of Babeya, Luziga, Muyombira and all these had no sons, they bore only daughters.

(8) **Buyogera,** and Buyogera was the father of Kijunyula, Buyogera and Lukalaga, and Lukalaga was the father of Kijunyula.
(9) **Lwakabeete and Lwakabeete was the father of Kayege.**
The offspring of the other sons of Ndawula II are not known and the sons were (10) Luwangumba, (II) Luwanyomba, (12) Byandu, (13) Kyasereka, (14) Kabondo, (15) Balyaki, (16) Luwakairu and (17) Bweesiki.

(6) **KITIEIMBUKA II KAIIBA**
Kiteimbwa II Kaiba had twenty one sons: (1) Matambagala, and Kakungulu was the father of Yuda Matambagala, Nimulodi Kitayimbwa, Ibulaimu Ndawula and Isiraeri Bogere Mugenyi Kakungulu.
(2) Nansata, and Nansata was the father of Hitala,
(3) Nakatama, and Nakatama was the father of Babiryangamdaba,
(4) Kabuya, and Kabuya was the father of Telfro Mpisi,
Lugando, Nukasa, Abudalazizi Muwanga, Idi Kyamanywa and Zakalia Namaime was the father of Yakana Muwonge, Eriddi
Lubega and Muse Kiteimbwa, and the others were:
(5) Luganyware, (6) Luwakairu, (7) Kasajja, (8) Luamuyika,
(9) Kalanda, (10) Luwamuiju, (11) Muganyi, (12) Kabunge,
(13) Kiise, (14) Kyabuguge, (15) Luwamuba, (16) Ntana,
(17) Ssansa, (who succeeded him — see No.7 below), (18) Kato,

(7) **SSANSA:**
Ssansa had twelve sons, and they were: (1) Kanyonyi, and
Kanyonyi was the father of Semasitiane Katonene, and
Ssemasitiane was the father of Ssansa and Kato; (2) Kanga,
(3) Lubambula Kiteimbwa III (who succeeded him — see No.8 below), (4) Kinyi, (5) Birikujja, and Birikuja was the
father of Jabari, Mazinga, Luganyoire and Juma Ndawula,
(6) Ndawula Makirinyi, (7) Kanamatone, (8) Mazinga, and
Mazinga was the father of Luwankuzire and Semei Nyongo;
(9) Kalya, (10) Luwabula, (11) Luwakatamba (12) Ndawula II
Kamuswaga.

(8) **LUBAMBULA KITEIMBUWA**
Lubambula had only three sons: (1) Kato, (2) Erenesiti
Ndawula Bimanywa and Abiyaza Kazindusi.

(9) **KEZEKIA EDUARD NDAWULA KAMUSWAGA:**
K. E. Ndawula Kamuswaga had only one son, George Safasi
Kabumbuli, who succeeded him.

**N.B.** This Genealogy gives the names of the Kooki Royal Family up to the 6th generation only.
### APPENDIX III

**COMPARATIVE REIGNS OF THE KINGS OF BUNYORO, KOOKI AND BUGANDA**

#### SSANSA GABIGOGO OLIMI III

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BUNYORO</th>
<th>KOOKI</th>
<th>BUGANDA</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1731</td>
<td>Ruhaiga I</td>
<td>1740 Buwese</td>
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<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1760 Kitaimbwa I</td>
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<td>1770 Mujwiga</td>
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<td>Chwa I</td>
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<td>Winyi IV</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1790 Muganyi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ruhaiga II</td>
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<td>1810 Ndagula I</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kasoma</td>
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<td>1835 Kitaimbwa II</td>
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<td>Kysabembe Nyamukula</td>
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<td>Nyabongo Muganyi</td>
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<td>Kamulasi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kabaraga</td>
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<td>1875 Ssansa</td>
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<td>1890 Lubambula</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
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<td>1886 Ndagula II</td>
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<td>Kitaimbwa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Duhaga</td>
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<td>1910 S.G.Kabumbuli</td>
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<tr>
<td>Winyi Tito Gafabusa</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1953 Yoweri Kayiba 1953</td>
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<td>up to 1967</td>
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E. M. K. MULIRA.
NOTES TO THIS ESSAY.

1. I am basing this essay on Kooki in the 19th century on my childhood memories—since I was twelve I have never lived in Kooki—and on the things I learnt from my father.

I was given only two and a half months to write it in and that was too short a time to do any proper research; besides I am not an academician but a farmer, and there are very few old men still living in Kooki. I am therefore, very grateful to Firimoni Kategaya, a man of about ninety two, whose memory is still as clear as anything, who supplied me with a lot of useful information, especially as regards King Kazekia Edward Ndawula II Kamuswaga, whose page he was.

I am indebted to Sir Apollo Kaggwa's story of the Kingdom of Kooki in his book "Basaakabak b'e Bugenda", and to the late H. B. Thomas' speech published in the Uganda Journal, for the article on Ssemak Kakungulu.

To my father I owe the Genealogy of the Royal Family of Kooki which he wrote down before he died; I have used it with slight modification and improvement. To him I also owe the description of the crowns and drums of Kooki which appeared in the Ebif a Mu Uganda of January 1922, p. 20-21; and in the Munno of February 1922.

The list of the Abakama of Bunyoro, I have borrowed from Nyakatura's book the "Abakama of Bunyoro-Kitara" and that of the Kabaka's Of Buganda from Sir Apollo Kaggwa's "Basaakabaka b'e Buganda". To Professor M. S. Kiwanuka of Makerere University, I am very grateful for the encouragement and suggestions he gave me to write the Essay.


4. See p. ...... of this Essay.

5. Sir Harry Johnson, the Uganda Protectorate p. ......

6. L. A. Faller, King's Men p. 64

7. See Appendix IV p. ......

8. Sir Harry Johnson, the Uganda Protectorate p. ......

9. See Appendix

10. Nyakatura

11. Sir Apollo Kaggwa p. 301

12. Ibid p. 302

13. Uganda Journal Vol. VI p. 313; Kasagama, Munno 1914; N. Nd Mulira Munno, 1922; Ebif a Mu Uganda, 1922

14. Sir Apollo Kaggwa, p. 155

15. Alfred R. Tucker 1908 p. 186

16. See article on Kakungulu in this Essay.
Slave (omuddu). In Buganda there were two kinds of slaves:

1) Omuddu onfenvuma was a slave bought with money, and as such he had no hope of regaining freedom unless the money which was paid for him was repaid in full.

2) Omuddu very often gotten as a spoil of war. This kind of slave was almost the same as a servant. If he proved himself faithful, he might even eventually become a member of the family and of the clan and take a clan name.

Kiwomamagaya was a slave in the content of second meaning.

Baskerville later became the Archdeacon of the Church of Uganda up to 1921, when he retired from the Mission field see also J. V. Taylor, the "Growth of the Church in Buganda".