

POLITICAL THEOLOGIES IN LATE COLONIAL BUGANDA

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Preface

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except where specifically indicated in the text. It does not exceed the limit of 80,000 words set by the Degree Committee of the Faculty of History.

Abstract

This thesis is an intellectual history of political debate in colonial Buganda. It is a history of how competing actors engaged differently in polemical space informed by conflicting histories, varying religious allegiances and dissimilar texts. Methodologically, biography is used to explore three interdependent stories. First, it is employed to explore local variance within Buganda's shifting discursive landscape throughout the *longue durée*. Second, it is used to investigate the ways that disparate actors and their respective communities used sacred text, theology and religious experience differently to reshape local discourse and to re-imagine Buganda on the eve of independence. Finally, by incorporating recent developments in the field of global intellectual history, biography is used to reconceptualise Buganda's late colonial past globally.

Due to its immense source base, Buganda provides an excellent case study for writing intellectual biography. From the late nineteenth century, Buganda's increasingly literate population generated an extensive corpus of clan and kingdom histories, political treatises, religious writings and personal memoirs. As Buganda's monarchy was renegotiated throughout decolonisation, her activists—working from different angles—engaged in heated debate and protest. This debate resulted in massive literary output preserved in the Luganda press, party pamphlets and personal correspondence. Written evidence is taken from private papers, institutional archives and the local and international press. This project is shaped further by oral ethnography.

By suggesting that Buganda's past is well interpreted polemically, the result of this study is a more comprehensive understanding of the life of the mind than has been offered thus far by historians of Uganda. More broadly, by exploring the theological and political within the same analytic framework, this thesis contributes to our understanding of political theology in the history of Africa. Finally, by using biography to rethink Uganda's past globally, this project furthers the use of global intellectual history in the history of modern Africa.

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I stand on the shoulders of many. Before Cambridge, I had not formally studied history; my background is in theology and religious studies. That I have benefited from my principal supervisor, Derek R. Peterson, is an understatement. Through his critical engagement and patience, Derek has opened to me the wonderful world of African history, and for this I am deeply indebted. Alongside Derek, I have been guided expertly and encouraged by John M. Lonsdale, whose enthusiastic engagement with this project has been crucial. Alongside Derek and John, I have benefited from working in a rich Africanist community, and I wish to thank: Felicitas Becker, Eliud Biegon, Florence Brisset-Foucault, Joel Cabrita, Oliver Coates, Emma Hunter, John Iliffe, David Maxwell, Julie MacArthur, Ethan Sanders, Christian Strother, Megan Vaughan, Ruth Watson and Emma Wild-Wood. I have also benefited from the scholarly insight and encouragement of: Chris Bayly, Terry Barringer, Shane Doyle, Valerie Golez, Holger Bernt Hansen, Holly E. Hanson, Paul Kollman, Kristopher Kote, Rhiannon Stephens, Aidan Stonehouse, Carol Summers and Michael Twaddle. Felicitas Becker and Emma Wild-Wood, especially, have provided encouragement, for which I am grateful. Any deficiencies in this thesis are clearly my own.

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abyssus ad; abyssum invocat

Abbreviations: Archives & Private Papers

Aggrey, James, Papers, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center Howard University, Washington, D.C.	JAP
Ascherson, Neal, Papers Copies in Personal Possession	NAP
British National Archives, Colonial Office Records Series Kew Gardens	BNA CO
Buganda Lukiiko Archives, Minutes, 1894 to 1918 Copies in Personal Possession	BLA
Bwete, Erieza, Papers Copies in Personal Possession	EBP
Centre of African Studies, Cambridge, Archives University of Cambridge	CCAS
Church Missionary Society Papers, Cadbury Research Library University of Birmingham	CMS
Earle, Jonathon L., Papers Copies in Personal Possession	JLEP
Fallers, Lloyd A., Papers, Special Collections Research Center University of Chicago	LFP
Grace, Canon Harold Myers and Mollie, Papers Copies in Personal Possession	HMG
Institute of Commonwealth Studies University of London	ICS
King's College, Budo, Archives Budo, Uganda	KCBA
King's College, Cambridge, Archives Cambridge	KCCA
Kiwanuka, Benedicto K.M., Papers Copies in Personal Possession	BKMKP
Makerere University Africana Archives Kampala	MUA

Mukasa, Hamu, Library Kwata Mpola House Mukono, Uganda	HML
Mukasa, Hamu, Papers Makerere University Africana Archives Kampala	MUA HMP
Mulira, Eridadi M.K., Papers, Centre of African Studies University of Cambridge	CCAS MP
Musazi, Ignatius K., Library Copies in Personal Possession	IKML
Nganda, Ssemujju Ibrahim, Papers Copies in Personal Possession	SINP
Perham, Dame Margery F., Papers Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies Rhodes House, University of Oxford	RHOP
Richards, Professor Audrey, Papers London School of Economics	ARP
Royal Commonwealth Society Collections University Library, University of Cambridge	RCMS
Rubaga Diocesan Archives, Kampala	RDA
School of Oriental and African Studies, Archives and Special Collections	SOAS
Uganda Christian University Archives Archives of the Bishop of Uganda, Mukono	UCU BA
Uganda Museum, Library Kampala	UML
Uganda National Archives, Library Entebbe	UNAL
Uganda National Archives, Secretariat Minute Papers Entebbe	UNA SMP

Glossary

<i>Ggombolola</i>	sub-county
<i>Kibuga</i>	capital
<i>Mailo</i>	approximately one square mile, implemented after 1900
<i>Muganda</i> (plur. – <i>Baganda</i>)	citizen/subject of Buganda (or, brother/brothers)
<i>Mukopi</i> (plur. – <i>bakopi</i>)	commoner, person of no particular distinction
<i>Mukungu</i> (plur. – <i>bakungu</i>)	high-ranking chief
<i>Mulangira</i> (plur. – <i>balangira</i>)	prince
<i>Mutaka</i> (plur. – <i>bataka</i>)	hereditary clan head
<i>Mwanika</i>	treasurer
<i>Kabaka</i>	king of Buganda
<i>Katikkiro</i>	prime minister
<i>Lubaale</i> (plur. – <i>balubaale</i>)	deity, hero-god
<i>Lukiko</i>	Buganda parliament
<i>Mulamuzi</i>	chief justice
<i>Nnabagereka</i>	wife of the king of Buganda
<i>Nnamasole</i>	queen mother
<i>Ssaꞛa</i>	Buganda county

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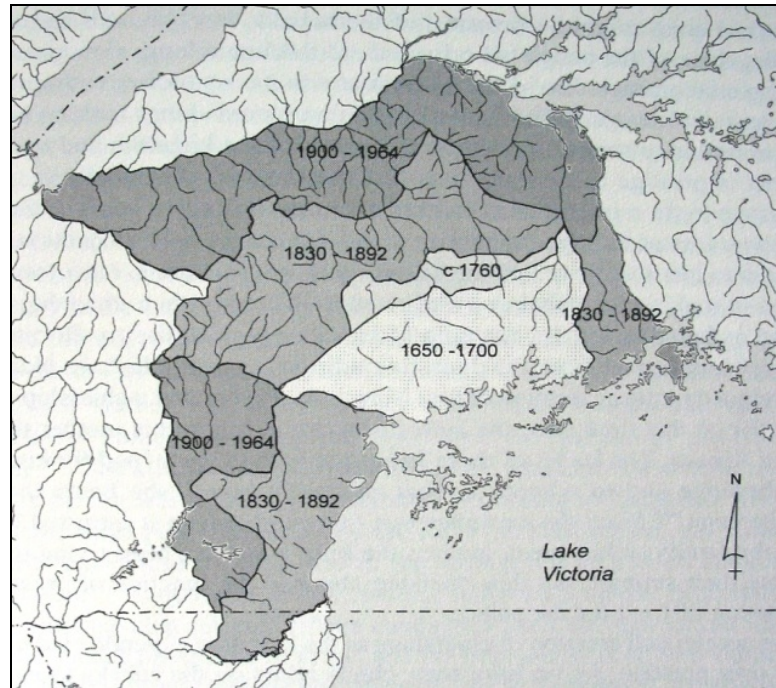


Figure 0.1 Map: Buganda Kingdom, Expansion & Centralisation, 17th century onward
Adapted: Holly E. Hanson, *Landed Obligation* (2003)

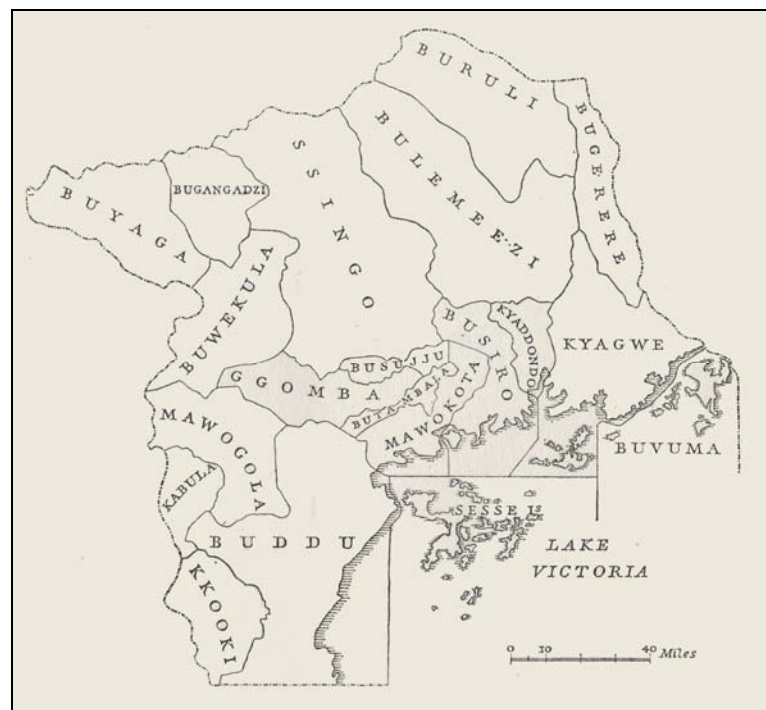


Figure 0.2 Map: Buganda Counties, c. 1950
Adapted: *Buganda and British Overrule*, ed. By D.A. Low & R.C. Pratt (1960)

Introduction

Political Theology in Africa's Past

Buganda: The Polemical Kingdom

Political salvation, therefore, is in enlightened integration of the new and the old.

~Eridadi M.K. Mulira¹

Da-sein [being, or being-ness] can discover, preserve, and explicitly pursue tradition. The discovery of tradition and the disclosure of what it “transmits,” and how it does this, can be undertaken as a task in its own right. Da-sein thus assumes the mode of being that involves historical inquiry and research. But the discipline of history—more precisely, the historicity underlying it—is possible only as the kind of being belonging to inquiring Da-sein, because Da-sein is determined by historicity in the ground of its being. If historicity remains concealed from Da-sein, and so long as it does so, the possibility of historical inquiry and discovery of history is denied it. If the discipline of history is lacking, that is no evidence *against* the historicity of Da-sein; rather it is evidence for this constitution of being in a deficient mode. Only because it is “historic” in the first place can an age lack the discipline of history.

~Martin Heidegger²

The Buganda kingdom was a complex precolonial state in eastern Africa. From the seventeenth century onward, the processes of state formation and political centralisation fuelled shifting debates concerning the practice of power, authority and legitimacy and well-ordered monarchy. Competing activists used history differently to complicate the past and to imagine dissenting visions of the state. Difference constituted a shifting, dynamic polemical arena, further complicated by colonial settlement, where discriminating land policies, agronomy, political restructuring and different religious allegiances and literacy precipitated new forms of reasoning the past and doing politics.

Through superior weaponry and political marshalling, Buganda's colonial state was restructured around the charisma of towering Protestant personalities by the end of the nineteenth century, not the least Apolo Kaggwa. Throughout the twentieth century,

¹ RHOP 514/4 E.M.K. Mulira, ‘The African Revolution: Being the Letter by the Progressive Party to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the Question of the Legislative Council’, Mss., 18 March 1958, p. 6. Italics added.

² Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. by Joan Stambaugh (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1996), p. 18. Cf., Paul Tillich, *Dynamics of Faith* (New York: Harper Collins, 1957); and Paul Tillich, *Theology of Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 18.

Buganda's colonial state favoured a certain cadre of Protestant chiefs—proponents of Buganda's newfound political hegemony and religious orthodoxy. Aspiring Ganda powerbrokers used Uganda's colonial administration and their newfound Protestant devotion to galvanise power and to reinforce authoritative space in Buganda's hierarchical politics. Protestant ascendancy resulted in the political marginalisation of Buganda's precolonial priests as well as Catholic and Muslim converts. In consequence, colonial politics in Buganda was religious politics. Indeed, the inequitable distribution of state resources, government posts and land reinforced the political ostracisation of Catholic and Muslim converts (see Tables 1.1 and 1.2)—practices addressed throughout this thesis.

This thesis is a history of political debate in colonial Buganda. It is a history of how a small cadre of dissenting intellectuals contested Protestant political hegemony and religious orthodoxy. It is a story of how competing actors engaged differently in a polemical arena, contested space informed by conflicting histories, varying religious allegiances, diverse regional pasts and dissimilar texts. Ideas concerning monarchy have never been univocal in Buganda, nor the idea of Buganda myopic—a hegemonising political ethos. Individual actors and their respective communities imagined and contested monarchy from different perspectives and to very different ends. As in the past, Buganda's colonial monarchy was polemical space, a contested body politic comprised of imaginative pluralities.

This project uses archival sources, the Luganda press, private collections and ethno-historiography to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the life of the mind than has been offered thus far by historians of Uganda. By suggesting that Buganda's past is well interpreted polemically, this project builds upon earlier studies that have tended to emphasise particular singular stands of political discourse. Methodologically, this study uses intellectual biography to offer new ways of understanding political theology in the history of Africa, and this by exploring the theological and political (local and global) within the same analytic framework.

Literature Review: The Polemical Kingdom

A distinctly polemical approach builds upon previous scholarship.³ In the 1960s, scholars with the East African Institute of Social Research (EAISR) produced research that elucidated ‘traditional’ patterns of authority.⁴ In 1961, David Apter published *The Political Kingdom of Uganda*, where he used the tools of the political scientist to reason Buganda as a ‘modernizing autocracy’,⁵ a political institution comprised of ‘secular traditionalism’ and modern innovation.⁶ For Apter, Buganda was a ‘secular monarchy geared for adaptation and innovation and built around a central hierarchical *system* of authority’.⁷ Religion, similarly, was considered a tool of autonomous power used by secular monarchs as early as the seventeenth century, which explained why Christianity strengthened Buganda’s pre-existing system.⁸ In 1964, Lloyd Fallers and Audrey Richards published their seminal, co-edited, *The King’s Men*.⁹ Building on the work of numerous scholars and research assistants,¹⁰ this collaborate work of the EAISR explained a ‘neo-traditional kingdom’¹¹ built upon particular substructures and patterns.¹² With the tools of the functional anthropologist, Buganda was framed as a societal whole from which patterns of social

³ For fuller historiographical treatment see: John Rowe, ‘Myth, Memoir, and Moral Admonition: Luganda Historical Writing, 1893–1969’, *Uganda Journal*, 33 (1969), 17–40, 217–19; Michael Twaddle, ‘On Ganda Historiography’, *History in Africa*, 1 (1974), 85–100; and John Rowe, ‘Eyewitness Accounts of Buganda History: The Memoirs of Ham Mukasa and His Generation’, *Ethnohistory*, 36 (1989), 61–71.

⁴ Cf., Terence Ranger, ‘The Invention of Tradition Revisited: The Case of Colonial Africa’, in *Legitimacy and the State in Twentieth Century Africa*, ed. by Terence Ranger and Olufemi Vaughan (Hampshire: Macmillan Press, 1993), pp. 62–111.

⁵ David E. Apter, *The Political Kingdom in Uganda: A Study of Bureaucratic Nationalism*, 2nd edn (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), p. 8.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 9. Italics added.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *The King’s Men: Leadership and Status in Buganda on the Eve of Independence*, ed. by Lloyd A. Fallers (London: Oxford University Press, 1964).

¹⁰ Lloyd A. Fallers, ‘Introduction’, in *The King’s Men: Leadership and Status in Buganda on the Eve of Independence*, ed. by Lloyd A. Fallers (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 1–19 (p. 13).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 6–12.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 12–15.

behaviour were considered applicable to '[a]ll Baganda'.¹³ Like Apter, religion was considered a component of broader cultural change.¹⁴

In 1971, D.A. Low produced his history, *Buganda in Modern History*.¹⁵ More so than his contemporaries, Low recognised and emphasised the sociological diversity of Buganda's kingdom, situating her political past and nationalism alongside broader tensions that existed between monarch (*kabaka*), appointed chiefs (*bakungu*), clan heads (*bataka*) and commoners or peasants (*bakopi*).¹⁶ For Low, political parties were interpreted according to sociological pattern.¹⁷ Buganda's political past was reconstituted sociologically, comprised of five distinct periods: first, a legendary past where people lived under the authority of clan heads;¹⁸ second, a time in which Buganda became ruled by a king, the newfound supreme ruler of clans and clan heads;¹⁹ next, an epoch of increasing chiefly administration and power in the nineteenth century;²⁰ fourth, a period of Ganda chiefly expansion that culminated in the 1888 oligarchical revolution and the subsequent expansion of Ganda interest through colonialism;²¹ and finally, a period of 'new-style political parties' during the 1950s.²² In Low's reading of Buganda's kingdom, religion—distinctly associated with phases four and five—was defined as social instrumentation, a tool used to redefine both precolonial structure in the late nineteenth century and eventual party politics on the eve of independence.²³

¹³ Audrey I. Richards, 'Traditional Values and Current Political Behaviour', in *The King's Men: Leadership and Status in Buganda on the Eve of Independence*, ed. by Lloyd A. Fallers (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 294–335 (p. 314). Italics added.

¹⁴ Fallers, 'Introduction', p. 8.

¹⁵ D.A. Low, *Buganda in Modern History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 42–52.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 169–71.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 170–71. Cf., A.D. Roberts, 'The Sub-Imperialism of the Baganda', *Journal of African History*, 3 (1962), 435–50; J.B. Webster, 'Pioneers of Teso', *Tarikh*, 3 (1970), 47–58; Louise Pirouet, *Black Evangelists: The Spread of Christianity in Uganda, 1891–1914* (London: Collings, 1978); and Michael Twaddle, *Kakungulu & the Creation of Uganda, 1868–1928* (London: James Currey, 1993).

²² Low, *Buganda in Modern History*, pp. 171–72.

²³ *Ibid.* Cf., D.A. Low, *Religion and Society in Buganda, 1875–1900* (Kampala: East African Institute of Social Research, 1956).

This first generation of nationalist scholars of B/Uganda provided indispensable insight into the complexities of Buganda's precolonial and twentieth-century monarchy. Such scholars often lived several years in B/Uganda and worked closely with well-trained research assistants and alongside politically significant interlocutors—something quite distinct from modern day PhD researchers who live only six to eight months in their respective areas of study. After all, David Apter was a good friend of I.K. Musazi and E.M.K. Mulira, among others.²⁴ However, by reasoning Buganda's monarchy alongside political pattern, systems and sociological phases, this early cadre of pioneering scholars tended to produce historically static interpretations. By situating Buganda's monarchy within sociological structure—structures without historical contestation—social scientists failed to illuminate the invention and diversity of political and moral discourse. In short, Buganda's monarchy was translated myopically, an arena of uncontested space directionalised by actors whose projects only represented broader social and political arrangements.

By emphasising the history of social (religious) and political discourse, recent scholars have added intricacy to earlier analyses. Holly Hanson, for example, argues that the affective language of love shaped debates over power and good governance from the kingdom's early past into the 1920s.²⁵ She writes: 'In the Ganda practice of power, visible expressions of love and affection created relationships of mutual obligation between people with authority and those they ruled.'²⁶ For Hanson, '[w]orld religions became a principle for organizing relationships at a time when other means of organizing them were not functioning effectively.'²⁷ In turn, religion became a tool Baganda used to fight one another, 'alternative categories in which people could continue to make the social arrangements they had always made'.²⁸

²⁴ Apter, *The Political Kingdom in Uganda*, p. xi.

²⁵ Holly E. Hanson, *Landed Obligation: The Practice of Power in Buganda* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 2003), p. 3.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

In her research on Buganda's dissenting landscape in the 1940s, Carol Summers uses archival sources to show how political imagination was shaped by generational sensibilities. Summers argues:

For Bataka activists, the politics of grandfathers and grandsons resonated with older Ganda visions of family, moral responsibility, and good behaviour. The participation of living grandparents provided both a source of legitimacy and a sense of grievance as they recalled the ways chiefs and Britons had cooperated to defraud them and their grandchildren.²⁹

In consequence, an emerging generation of dissenting politicians in the 1940s demonstrated an intentional rudeness that evoked the language of social ritual 'tied to an effort to build new sorts of public sociability to replace the older elite private networks'.³⁰ For Summers, 'youth'—not religion, ethnicity or nationalist ideology—provided the rhetorical capital that dissenters used to imagine a new Buganda.³¹

And in his acclaimed work,³² *Beyond the Royal Gaze*, Neil Kodesh reasons a kingdom whose precolonial politics centred on social practices of healing.³³ By constructing history from the healers' shrine and through the eyes of clanship, one sees that 'shifting notions of collective well-being informed the character of political developments in the period preceding the emergence of an instrumentally powerful kingship in Buganda'.³⁴ For Kodesh, healing constitutes a defining social narrative from which the political and moral is made historically comprehensible.³⁵ The practice of power and public healing were intimately intertwined.³⁶

²⁹ Carol Summers, 'Grandfathers, Grandsons, Morality, and Radical Politics in Late Colonial Buganda', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 38 (2005), 427–47 (p. 428). Cf., Carol Summers, 'Young Buganda and Old Boys: Youth, Generational Transition, and Ideas of Leadership in Buganda, 1920–1949', *African Today*, 51 (2005), 109–28.

³⁰ Carol Summers, 'Radical Rudeness: Ugandan Social Critiques in the 1940s', *Journal of Social History*, 39 (2006), 741–70 (p. 741).

³¹ Summers, 'Young Buganda and Old Boys', p. 109.

³² Kodesh's book was awarded the African Studies Association's Herskovits Award, 2011.

³³ Kodesh, *Beyond the Royal Gaze: Clanship and Public Healing in Buganda* (Charlottesville, V.A.: University of Virginia Press, 2010).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 6. Cf., Neil Kodesh, 'History from the Healer's Shrine: Genre, Historical Imagination, and Early Ganda History', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 49 (2007), 527–52.

³⁵ Kodesh, *Beyond the Royal Gaze*, p. 20.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

Similar to earlier scholars, Hanson, Summers and Kodesh provide important insight into Buganda's political and religious past.³⁷ Yet, whereas previous scholars used sociological categories to talk about Buganda's monarchy, contemporary historians illuminate moral constructions centred on particular shifting discourses. New sources, however, allow us to build on these studies, to show how particular discursive stands—whether love, generational discourse or healing—were in conversation with competing political projects. In particular, new sources show that Buganda's polemical landscape was comprised of very different types of political discourse, informed by disparate political traditions and theological interpretations. Neither the affective, generational sensibility nor healing captures fully the contrasts and contradictions of Buganda's moral economy.³⁸

Methodology: Intellectual Biography

In this thesis, I use intellectual biography to historically explore Buganda's polemical kingdom. Biography has long been used as a tool to construct Africa's past,³⁹ and by exploring variant intellectual biographies I illuminate the complexity of disparate political projects. Methodologically, biography is used to explore three interdependent stories. First, it is used to explore local variance within Buganda's shifting discursive landscapes throughout the *longue durée*. Competing projects were not imagined in social and historical vacuums; actors inherited, incorporated and adapted—and readapted—⁴⁰ the discursive projects of their predecessors and regional colleagues and constituents. Second, it

³⁷ See also: Christopher Wrigley, *Kingship and State: The Buganda Dynasty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Mikael Karlström, 'The Cultural Kingdom in Uganda: Popular Royalism and the Restoration of the Buganda Kingship, Volume I' (unpublished PhD thesis, The University of Chicago, 1999); Richard J. Reid, *Political Power in Pre-Colonial Buganda: Economy, Society & Welfare in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: James Currey, 2002); and Henri Médard, *Le Royaume Du Buganda Au XIXe Siècle: Mutations Politiques et Religieuses D'un Ancien Etat d'Afrique de l'Est* (Paris: Karthala, 2007).

³⁸ John Lonsdale, 'Moral Ethnicity and Political Tribalism', ed. by Preben Kaarsholm and Jan Hultin (Roskilde: International Development Studies, Roskilde University, 1994), pp. 131–50.

³⁹ Margery Perham, *Ten Africans*, 2nd edn (London: Faber, 1963); Gerrie ter Haar, *Spirit of Africa: Healing Ministry of Archbishop Milingo of Zambia* (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1992); Michael Twaddle, *Kakungulu & the Creation of Uganda*; Tom Lodge, *Mandela: A Critical Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); and John Iliffe, *Obasanjo, Nigeria and the World* (Oxford: James Currey, 2011).

⁴⁰ Emma L. Hunter, 'Languages of Politics in Twentieth-Century Kilimanjaro' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2008).

investigates the ways that disparate actors and their respective communities used sacred text, theology and religious experience differently to reshape shifting, local discourse and to re-imagine Buganda on the eve of independence. Finally, incorporating recent developments in the field of global intellectual history, biography is used to reconceptualise Buganda's late colonial past globally.⁴¹ By looking beyond the confines of geo-political boundaries, I explore how Ganda intellectuals drew divergently from pan-Africanism,⁴² Asian political thought and American and European constitutional traditions to imagine the postcolonial state.⁴³

The selected case studies illuminate a particular type of political actor, intellectual men who used literacy and global encounter to shape Buganda's local public sphere.⁴⁴ In other words, this study is not exhaustive, nor the biographies being assessed necessarily definitive. There were other important actors on the board, with voices of their own, but time and the lack of empirical sources are the historian's perennial challenge. The particular case studies I have chosen represent some of the most controversial and important activists in late colonial Uganda, activists that in one way or another sought to reconstitute Buganda's colonial hierarchy and Protestant landscape. Whether they failed or succeeded in advancing their particular dissenting agendas, that the activists in question contributed to Buganda's public sphere is clearly discernible.

In Chapter One, I explore the dissenting Protestantism of Ignatius K. Musazi (1905–1990) in mid-twentieth century Buganda. Whereas previous scholarship has tended to position dissenting politics solely alongside Bataka activism and local politics, this study uses new sources to show that Bulemeezi royalist, Ignatius Musazi, used the

⁴¹ Philip S. Zachernuk, *Colonial Subjects: An African Intelligentsia and Atlantic Ideas* (Charlottesville, V.A.: University Press of Virginia, 2000); Linda Colley, *The Ordeal of Elizabeth Marsh: A Woman in World History* (New York: Pantheon, 2007); and Christopher Bayly, *Recovering Liberties: Indian Thought in the Age of Liberalism and Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

⁴² Ethan R. Sanders, 'The African Association and the Growth and Movement of Politics in Mid-Twentieth Century East Africa' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2012).

⁴³ Cf., Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), pp. 153–242.

⁴⁴ Cf., Paul la Hausse, *Restless Identities: Signatures of Nationalism, Zulu Ethnicity and History in the Lives of Petros Lamula and Lymon Maling* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2000); and Bhekizizwe Peterson, 'The Bantu World and the World of the Book: Reading, Reading, and "Enlightenment"', in *Africa's Hidden Histories: Everyday Literacy and Making the Self*, ed. by Karin Barber (Bloomington, I.N.: Indiana University Press, 2006), pp. 236–57.

Bible and global intellectual history to adapt earlier political discourse from the 1920s to imagine a loosely separate project for the 1940s. To contest Buganda's monarchy in 1938, Musazi and a cadre of Baganda established *Abazukulu ba Kintu* (the Descendants of Kintu), where activists used biblical exegesis, Émile François Zola and seventeenth-century English history to critique colonial power. Unlike Bataka activists, Musazi anchored political critique in Buganda's monarchical past. After all, dissidents were *Abazukulu ba **Kintu***, the political heirs of Buganda's proto-mythical king. Musazi's library indicates that to imagine politics in the 1940s he used biblical ideals and world history, reading the Bible and Harold Laski in tandem to advocate for the historical and moral revival of Buganda's monarchy. Musazi, by drawing from his library, imagined an equitable kingdom.

In Chapter Two, I explore the early biography and burgeoning political project of parliamentarian Eridadi M.K. Mulira (1909–1995), B/Uganda's foremost Protestant constitutional thinker during the 1950s. Mulira reasoned Kooki—his home county—one of the three great 'earthly influences' upon his life. As a son of an important political figure in Kooki, Mulira was exposed to the dynamism of Ganda politics at a young age—specifically from Kooki, a marginal tributary state in precolonial Buganda. Mulira used Kooki to reconceptualise Buganda's monarchy as an assimilated and egalitarian polity, a kingdom 'for any man'. Mulira reasoned Canon Grace and the life of James Aggrey as the second and third greatest influences upon his life, influences that he would politically adapt alongside theological ideation to contest Buganda's dissenting landscape. Mulira used novel to push away from Buganda's precolonial powerbrokers—kings, chiefs and clan heads—thereby advocating for ethnic and sociological pluralism. In the next Chapter, I explore how Mulira used Muteesa II's deportation in 1953 to advance his constitutional ideals of the previous decade. As a member of Buganda's delegation to secure Muteesa's return, Mulira used the British press and his personal relationships to disseminate his constitutionalism to a global audience. Mulira used grammar, party politics and novel to reconstitute Buganda, *Uganda Empya*, alongside broader transnational African politics. In 1959, guided by theological imagination, Mulira used global history to creatively redirect Buganda's conservative landscape.

In Chapter Four, I examine the journey of Buganda's Muslim community from political prominence in the mid-nineteenth century to the political periphery in the late nineteenth century; and then, her shift away from the periphery toward discursive centrality in the early 1960s. The social background of Abubakar Kakyama Mayanja (1929–2005) positioned him to adapt earlier Islamic political tradition in Buganda. For Mayanja and Buganda's Muslim community, Muteesa's deportation in 1953 was used to critique colonial power and contest seats in Buganda's Christian parliament. Mayanja used his Cambridge education to imagine a dissenter's historicism, employing history as tool to pluralise political space from which marginal actors could claim political and historical centrality in the postcolony, a tradition that Muslim activists had used in the past. In 1960, working with Badru Kakungulu and Muslim historian Sheik Ali Kulumba, Mayanja used *Kabaka Yekka* (KY) to reposition Buganda's Muslim community toward the focal point of kingdom politics, distancing Islam from the discursive margins.

In Chapter Five, I investigate the history of Catholic political thought in colonial Buganda. As Protestants asserted themselves as Buganda's new executors of autocratic justice (*sala 'musango*), the majority of Buganda's Catholic population was politically distanced from the centre of kingdom politics. To imagine space for majority-based political participation, Catholics redefined older ideals of autocratic justice to press away from earlier definitions that emphasised hierarchical authority. In late colonial Buganda, dissenting Catholics in the Democratic Party (DP) talked about *amazima n'obwenkanya* (truth and justice), a theological assertion that dissidents used to advocate for participation in their kingdom's hierarchical government. After Benedicto Kiwanuka (1922–1972) assumed DP party leadership in August 1958, he used Buganda's Catholic past to historically orient his project. But to conceptualise the reconstitution of Buganda's Protestant monarchy and the national integration of Buganda, he used theology, Locke and Rousseau to reason Buganda's monarchy a state without politically obstructive sovereigns in the postcolony.

In my Postscript, I explore the different ways that variant actors and communities used their dreams to contest power in modern Buganda. In colonial Buganda, dreams were not politically distanced experiences, contained within the walls of religious buildings. From marginal actors to monarchs, activists were challenged to

authenticate political authority through the practice and interpretation of dreams and revelation. The processes of authenticating political power varied in colonial Buganda. Following Muteesa II's deportation, one particular *lubaale* prophet, Kigaanira Ssewanyana, used possession to overtly contest colonial power. Through possession and public displays of supranatural authority, Kigaanira advocated for a participatory politics from which society could be positioned beyond the restrictive politicking of Buganda's constitutional intellectuals. In contemporary Buganda, possession practices provide a participatory sphere of activism where appointed leaders are held to account and the general public is able to redress grievances associated with the failure of the state.

When I began my field research, I had hoped to offer a chapter on women's politics in the 1950s, a neglected field of study. To this end, I interviewed women, such as Rhoda Kalema,⁴⁵ who played an important role in the early formation of women's politics in late colonial B/Uganda. I also interviewed contemporary women activists, such as the current president of the Young Women's Christian Association, Kinyingi Laetitia.⁴⁶ Regretfully, though, I was unable to produce the necessary documentary sources to fulfil this goal. In twentieth-century B/Uganda, women intellectuals did not overly occupy formal politics until the early 1960s, which raised methodological challenges in situating women activists within a study whose focus is almost entirely on the 1950s. But while women may not have formally occupied public political space in the 1950s, they did have an important voice of their own. Women did shape politics in important ways, albeit less formally.⁴⁷ I have, therefore, attempted to weave women's voices and the question and contestation of family and gender into the fabric of my chapters, where sources allow.

Sources

Due to its immense source base, Buganda provides an excellent case study for writing intellectual biography. From the late nineteenth century, Buganda's increasingly literate population generated an extensive corpus of clan and kingdom histories, political

⁴⁵ Interviews, Rhoda Kalema, 5 & 7 January 2010, Kampala.

⁴⁶ Interview, Kinyingi Laetitia, 7 January 2010, Kampala.

⁴⁷ Cf., Kenda Mutongi, "Worries of the Heart": Widowed Mothers, Daughters and Masculinities in Maragoli, Western Kenya, 1940–60', *Journal of African History*, 40 (1999), 67–86.

treatises, religious writings and personal memoirs. As Buganda's monarchy was renegotiated throughout decolonisation, her activists—working from different angles—engaged in heated debate and protest. This debate resulted in massive literary output preserved in the Luganda press, party pamphlets and personal correspondence. Written evidence is taken from private papers, institutional archives and the local and international press. This project is shaped further by oral ethnography.

Having first lived in Uganda for nearly two years prior to one year of field research, I was uniquely positioned to 'build upon'—if one should say such a thing—existing friendships and social networks to conduct research. Through the trust and time extended to me by numerous communities and families throughout central Uganda, I was given unprecedented access to previously unavailable, private documentary sources. As discussed in my Acknowledgements, this project would have been impossible without the generosity, interest and hospitality of numerous individuals. I am deeply indebted. Ignatius K. Musazi's moral project is brought to life by his remaining library and the personal papers of his trade unionist colleague, Erienza Bwete. The Luganda press collection of Sam Kiwanuka, 'Jolly' Joe Kiwanuka's son, proved further illumination. The activism of Eridadi M.K. Mulira is informed through his remaining private papers, which consists of letters, pamphlets, journals and an unpublished autobiography. His broader project is explored alongside papers maintained in the private library of his father-in-law, Hamu Mukasa. The personal papers and photographs of Canon H. Myers Grace provided unique insight into the lives of both Musazi and Mulira. Abubakar K. Mayanja's activism was illuminated through sources provided by his family and documentary evidence produced by *Omulangira* Khassim Nakibinge Kakungulu and the family of Muslim historian, Sheikh Ali Kulumba. Correspondence and personal journals provided by former activists, Neal Ascherson and George Shepherd, opened new perspective into the activism of both Mayanja and Musazi. The remaining papers and library of Benedicto K.M. Kiwanuka offered elucidation into both his own life and Catholic politics in the 1950s. My Postscript discussion on dreams draws, again, from insight gleaned from the personal papers of E.M.K. Mulira and Erienza Bwete.

Personal papers and oral ethnography were considered alongside archival sources. The Luganda (*Ebifa mu Uganda*, *Munno*, *Taifa Empya*, etc.) and English (*Uganda*

Herald/Argus, The Times, etc.) press provided speeches, editorial debates, accounts of public movement and protest, and more generally, insight into the multi-textured layers of public debate and discourse. Unfortunately, throughout Uganda's politically tumultuous past, newspaper sources once housed in Makerere University are now lost. To compensate for this loss, I used Sam Kiwanuka's personal collections and English translations produced by the colonial government. For drawing the English translations to my attention, I owe John Iliffe a particular word of appreciation. In Uganda, collections maintained in the following archives and depositories were consulted: Africana Archives, Makerere University; Hamu Mukasa Foundation Library, Mukono; King's College, Budo; Makerere Institute of Social Research; Rubaga Diocesan Archives, Kampala; Soroti District Archives, Soroti; Uganda Christian University Archives, Mukono; and Uganda National Archives, Entebbe. In the United Kingdom: Audrey Richards Papers, London School of Economics; British Library, Colindale; British National Archives, Kew Gardens; Cambridge Centre of African Studies; Church Missionary Society Archives, Birmingham; Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London; Rhodes House, Oxford; Royal Commonwealth Society, Cambridge; School of Oriental and African Studies, Archives and Special Collections; and University of Cambridge Library, Rare Books and Manuscripts. In the United States: James E.K. Aggrey Papers, Howard University; and Lloyd A. Fallers Papers, University of Chicago.

Personal interviews—informal and semi-structured—shaped and challenged how I understood the actors and projects under consideration. Approximately one-hundred recorded semi-structured interviews were conducted in Uganda from November 2009 to July 2010. Interviews were conducted among family members, former and contemporary activists and Ganda elders. The majority of these interviews were conducted in English, with partial Luganda. In instances where Luganda-framed concepts were relevant, interlocutors were asked to explicate in Luganda. In instances where Luganda was solely used, I was expertly assisted by Mpanga George.

Political Theology Reconsidered

As indicated, politics in colonial Buganda was religious politics, which raises a broader set of historical and interpretative questions: what do we mean by theological imagination? What exactly is the social, the public political? And how have historians methodologically approached these questions in the past? Due to the primary importance of theological imagination in this thesis, it is necessary to (re)consider the history of religions in the history of Africa. In modern Africa, religion and politics was ontological, an equalising process whereby theology and religion shaped the political and the political informed the theological—neither was epiphenomenal.

Social History & Theological Studies: The Disciplinary Gap

Contemporary historians of political thought either mostly ignore religion,⁴⁸ or adapting the methodological traditions of Durkheim, Weber and Ernst Troeltsch,⁴⁹ reason its purposes sociologically. In his critique of the social scientific interpretation of theological phenomena, John Milbank demonstrates that the ‘social’ and ‘political’ are invented fields of enquiry instituted to “‘cope” with the phenomenon of religion’.⁵⁰ Responding to the earlier politico-historical projects of Grotius, Hobbes and Spinoza, Milbank argues that the ‘secular as a domain had to be instituted or *imagined*, both in theory and in practice’.⁵¹

Referencing Middle Age Christendom, Milbank suggests:

Once, there was no ‘secular’. And the secular was not latent, waiting to fill more space with the steam of the ‘purely human’, when the pressure of the sacred was relaxed. Instead there was the single community of Christendom, with its dual aspects of *sacerdotium* and *regnum*. The *saeculum*, in the medieval era, was not a

⁴⁸ As a field of historical enquiry, religion is largely ignored by leading theorists (Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics: Regarding Method* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); J.G.A. Pocock, *Political Thought and History: Essays on Theory and Method* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009). In their discussion on historical method, Geoffrey Elton (*The Practice of History*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2002)) and Keith Jenkins (*Rethinking History*, 3rd edn (London: Routledge, 2003)) follow suit.

⁴⁹ Émile Durkheim, *Les Formes Élémentaires de la Vie Religieuse: Le Système Totémique en Australie* (Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1912); Max Weber, *Die Protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1934); and Ernst Troeltsch, *Die Wissenschaftliche Lage und Ihre Anforderungen an die Theologie: Vortrag* (Tübingen: Freiburg, 1900); and Ernst Troeltsch, *Die Bedeutung des Protestantismus für die Entstehung der Modernen Welt* (München: R. Oldenbourg, 1911).

⁵⁰ John Milbank, *Theology & Social Theory: Beyond Secular Reason* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1990), p. 102.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

space, a domain, but a time—the interval between the fall and *eschaton* where coercive justice, private property and impaired natural reason must make shift to cope with the unredeemed effects of sinful humanity.⁵²

Milbank notes, in particular, that the political was ambiguously reconceptualised in relation to theology. Politics was redefined as a domain of pure power, an invented historicism whose authority rested in complex reduction, the *factum* (or made).⁵³ Milbank observes:

For the *factum* (the made) to become identified with the secular, it was necessary that Adam's *dominium* be redefined as power, property, active right, and absolute sovereignty, and that Adam's personhood be collapsed into this redefined mastery that is uniquely "his own".⁵⁴

Milbank questions the argumentative integrity of contemporary sociological reduction and social science-driven historical method, 'casting doubt on the very idea of there being something "social" [...] to which religious behaviour *could be* in any sense referred'.⁵⁵ It is argued that 'the terms "social" and "society" have so insinuated themselves that we never question the assumption that while "religions" are problematic, the "social" is obvious'.⁵⁶ Contesting Comte, Weber, Durkheim and contemporary sociologist of religions, Peter Berger, Milbank argues that twentieth-century positivist theory provided functional reduction models of religious experience.⁵⁷ Like Mircea Eliade, whose phenomenology contested reductionist theory,⁵⁸ Milbank suggests that the 'political' and 'social' are historical constructs aimed to provide alternative visions of human experience without necessary reference to theology or God.⁵⁹

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid., pp. 10–11.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 12.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 102.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 101–43.

⁵⁸ Mircea Eliade, *Traité D'histoire des Religions* (Paris: Payot, 1949). For secondary discussion see: Daniel L. Pals, *Seven Theories of Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 158–97.

⁵⁹ Cf., Owen Chadwick, *The Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 161–228; C. John Sommerville, *The Secularization of Early Modern England: From Religious Culture to Religious Faith* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 144–64; Ernst Cassirer, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment*, trans. by Fritz C.A. Koelln and James P. Pettegrove (Boston: Beacon Press, 1951), pp. 3–36, 134–274; and Theodore Greene, 'Introduction', in Immanuel Kant, *Religion Within the Limits of Reason Alone*, trans. by Theodore Greene and Hoyt H. Hudson (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1960), pp. ix–lxxviii.

Contemporary historians have demonstrated vigour in reflecting upon the current status, or in Richard J. Evan's case, the analytic legitimately⁶⁰ of historical practice.⁶¹ Similarly, historians have reconsidered the place of religious practice vis-à-vis the political past,⁶² particularly onset by the decline of secularization theories.⁶³ In the last thirty years, notes Miri Rubin, historians have become increasingly preoccupied with religious *culture*.⁶⁴ Shaped by the conceptual influences of American anthropologist Clifford Geertz,⁶⁵ the French *Annales* School⁶⁶ and Subaltern studies,⁶⁷ academic

⁶⁰ Richard J. Evans, *In Defence of History*, 2nd ed (London: Granta, 2001).

⁶¹ *What is History Now?*, ed. by David Cannadine (New York: Palgrave Macmillan Ltd., 2002); Elton, *The Practice of History*; Jenkins, *Rethinking History*; and *A Concise Companion to History*, ed. by Ulinka Rublack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

⁶² *Religion and the Political Imagination*, ed. by Ira Katznelson and Gareth S. Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); and Alexandra Walsham, 'The Reformation and "The Disenchantment of the World" Reassessed', *The Historical Journal*, 51 (2008), 497–528.

⁶³ Contrary to earlier predictions cast by secularisation theorists, the significance of religion in the public sphere has not dissipated—it has intensified. For secondary discussion see: Ingrid Creppel, 'Secularisation: Religion and the Roots of Innovation in the Political Sphere', in *Religion and Political Imagination*, ed. by Ira Katznelson and Gareth Stedman Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 23–45. For studies on public religion note: Jeff Haynes, *Religion, Globalization and Political Culture in the Third World* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999); *Religion, Globalization and Culture*, ed. by Peter Beyer and Lori G. Beaman (Leiden: Brill, 2007); and Bryan T. McGraw, *Faith in Politics: Religion and Liberal Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

⁶⁴ Miri Rubin, 'Religion', in *A Concise Companion to History*, ed. by Ulinka Rublack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 317–30 (p. 319).

⁶⁵ Two important works are: Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968); and Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (London: Fontana Press, an imprint of HarperCollins Publishers, 1973). For secondary discussion see: Megan Vaughan, 'Culture', in *A Concise Companion to History*, ed. by Ulinka Rublack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 227–45 (p. 234).

⁶⁶ Olwen Hufton, 'What is Religious History Now?', in *What is History Now?*, ed. by David Cannadine (New York: Palgrave Macmillan Ltd., 2002), pp. 57–79, (pp. 57–58); Rubin, 'Religion', pp. 317–18; and Vaughan, 'Culture', pp. 235–36. For discussion on the history of the *Annales* School see: André Burguière, 'Histoire D'une Histoire: La Naissance des Annales', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 34 (1979), 1347–59; Jacques Revel, 'Histoire et Sciences Sociales: Les Paradigmes des Annales', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 34 (1979), 1360–76; and George Huppert, 'Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch: The Creation of the Annales', *The French Review*, 55 (1982), 510–13. Pioneering historian of Africa, John Lonsdale, recalls the importance of the *Annales* method—initially mediated to him by Peter Laslett while a student at Cambridge—in the development of his mature method (Dominique Connan and Johanna Siméant, 'John Lonsdale, Le Nationalisme, l'Éthnicité et l'Économie Morale: Parcours d'un Pionnier de l'Histoire Africaine', *Genèses* 83 (2011), 133–54 (p. 136). For further discussion on Peter Laslett's contribution to the 'Cambridge School' see: J.G.A. Pocock, 'Present at the Creation: With Laslett to the Lost Worlds', *International Journal of Public Affairs*, 2 (2006), 7–17. I wish to thank Professor Pocock for drawing this article to my attention.

historians by the 1980s had begun to reason religion as an integral part and producer of culture.⁶⁸ Religion was historically worthy of consideration, but only insofar as it constituted or paralleled broader social, psychological, economic or political determinisms.⁶⁹ To use Milbank's language, an imagined 'social' framed the historian's guiding method and practice. Social historians recognised the importance of religion in political history, but only by situating its phenomena alongside or beneath other causal factors.⁷⁰

Mostly mirroring broader disciplinary trajectory,⁷¹ historians of Africa have employed social scientific models of religious interpretation to 'cope' with religious phenomena.⁷² Religious thought and practice may be many things, but it cannot be *solely* unique in its ability to generate thought and social practice. Two works are explicatory. In Heinemann's series, whose very title is illustrative, *Social History of Africa Series*,⁷³ Paul Landau adapts Geertz's social definition of religion to argue that Christian conversion in colonial Botswana constituted broader social processes of creating and reconstituting a political realm of power.⁷⁴ Similar to Landau, and again, in the *Social History of Africa Series*, Meredith McKittrick builds upon Finnish and Namibia-based archives to conclude

⁶⁷ Christopher Bayly, 'History and World History', in *A Concise Companion to History*, ed. by Ulinka Rublack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 3–25 (pp. 9–10).

⁶⁸ Hufton, 'What is Religious History Now?', p. 59.

⁶⁹ Brian Morris, *Anthropological Studies of Religion: An Introductory Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (New York: Anchor Books, 1990); *Conversion to Christianity: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation*, ed. by Robert W. Hefner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Ulrich Luig, *Conversion as a Social Process: A History of Missionary Christianity Among the Valley Tonga, Zambia* (Hamburg: Lit Verlag, 1996). Cf., R. Bin Wong, 'Causation', in *A Concise Companion to History*, ed. by Ulinka Rublack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 27–54.

⁷⁰ Cf., Barbara Holdrege, 'What's Beyond the Post? Comparative Analysis as Critical Method', in *A Magic Still Dwells: Comparative Religion in the Postmodern Age*, ed. by Kimberley C. Patton and Benjamin C. Ray (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 77–91.

⁷¹ John Parker and Richard Rathbone, *African History: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). Cf., John Lonsdale, 'African Studies, Europe & Africa', *Afrika Spectrum* 40 (2005), 377–402.

⁷² E.H. Carr's social scientific historicism shaped future historical method (E.H. Carr, *What is History?*, ed. by R. W. Davies, 2nd edn (New York: Penguin Books, 1987). For analysis see: Richard J. Evans, *Prologue: What is History? — Now*, in *What is History Now?*, ed. by David Cannadine (New York: Palgrave Macmillan Ltd., 2002), pp. 1–18.

⁷³ Emphasis added.

⁷⁴ Paul S. Landau, *The Realm of the Word: Language, Gender and Christianity in a Southern African Kingdom* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann Educational Publishers, 1995), pp. xvii–xix.

that Christian conversion in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century northern Namibia was part of a broader context of migrant labour and social change.⁷⁵ McKittrick argues: 'Christianity created a desire for goods which could be obtained only through wage labor, while migrant labor gave many men sustained exposure to Christianity for the first time.'⁷⁶ In McKittrick's construction, conversion was fuelled by 'the social dynamics of the late precolonial period and generational conflict'.⁷⁷

But if historians of Africa have situated religious phenomena alongside broader political and sociological context, have they not done so for good reason?⁷⁸ And surely, if as Milbank suggests, the 'social' and 'political' are historical inventions, 'religion' is as well. As Derek Peterson and Darren Walhof persuasively argue, '[c]reating, redefining, and standardizing religion has long been a political strategy linked to the making of national identities and the exercise of colonial power'.⁷⁹ Countering myopic definitions offered by an earlier generation of religious scholars, who tended to separate religious phenomena from 'the study of historical change, social conflict, or political struggle',⁸⁰ Peterson and Walhof rightly suggest that by placing interpretative 'priority on the sacred, the sui generis definition extracted religious actions out of their social and political

⁷⁵ Meredith McKittrick, *To Dwell Secure: Generation, Christianity, and Colonialism in Ovamboland* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 2002), p. 2.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ For further historiographical discussion see: John Lonsdale, 'The Emergence of African Nations: A Historiographical Analysis', *African Affairs*, 67 (1968), 11–28; John Lonsdale, 'States and Social Processes in Africa: A Historiographical Survey', *African Studies Review*, 24 (1981), 139–225; Steven Feierman, 'African Histories and the Dissolution of World History', in *Africa and the Disciplines: The Contributions of Research in Africa to the Social Sciences and Humanities*, ed. by Robert H. Bates, V.Y. Mudimbe and Jean F. O'Barr (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 167–212; Joseph C. Miller, 'History and Africa/Africa and History', *American Historical Review*, 104 (1999), 1–32; Frederick Cooper, 'Africa's Pasts and Africa's Historians', *Canadian Journal of African Studies/Revue Canadienne Des Études Africaines*, 34 (2000), 298–336; John Lonsdale, 'Agency in Tight Corners: Narrative and Initiative in African History', *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 13 (2000), 5–16; Stephen Ellis, 'Writing Histories of Contemporary Africa', *The Journal of African History*, 43 (2002), 1–26; Esperanza Brizuela-García, 'The History of Africanization and the Africanization of History', *History in Africa*, 33 (2006), 85–100; and John Philips, *Writing African History* (Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 2006).

⁷⁹ Derek R. Peterson and Darren R. Walhof, 'Rethinking Religion', in *The Invention of Religion: Rethinking Belief in Politics and History*, ed. by Derek R. Peterson and Darren R. Walhof (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2002), pp. 1–16 (p. 1).

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 5.

contexts, truncating their meanings and segregating religion from the real'.⁸¹ Peterson and Walhof remind us—as does Landau, McKittrick and other distinguished historians—⁸² that it is historically inept to theorise religion as concrete abstraction, a mere set of propositional and apolitical beliefs distanced from the broader processes of social change.⁸³ To the point, Milbank and theologians of Africa tend to dismiss or ignore social discourse and the political character of religion, thereby construing historical process.⁸⁴

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Among others: *Religion & Politics in East Africa: The Period Since Independence*, ed. by Holger Bernt Hansen and Michael Twaddle (London: James Curry, 1995); Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); John Lonsdale, 'Jomo Kenyatta, God & the Modern World', in *African Modernities: Entangled Meanings in Current Debate*, ed. by Jan G. Deutsch, Peter Probst and Heike Schmidt (London: James Currey, 2002), pp. 31–66; David Maxwell, "'Sacred History, Social History": Traditions and Texts in the Making of a Southern African Transnational Religious Movement', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 43 (2001), 502–24; J.D.Y. Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba* (Bloomington, I.N.: Indiana University Press, 2003); Derek R. Peterson, *Creative Writing: Translation, Bookkeeping, and the Work of Imagination in Colonial Kenya* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 2004); Shane Doyle, 'The Cwezi-Kubandwa Debate: Gender, Hegemony and Pre-Colonial Religion in Bunyoro, Western Uganda', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 77 (2007), 559–581; Felicitas Becker, *Becoming Muslim in Mainland Tanzania, 1890–2000: The Spread of Islam Beyond the Indian Ocean Coast* (New York: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2008); Emma Wild-Wood, *Migration and Christian Identity in Congo (DRC)* (Leiden: Brill, 2008); Joel Cabrita, 'Politics and Preaching: Chiefly Converts to the Nazareth Church, Obedient Subjects and Sermon Performance in South Africa', *Journal of African History*, 51 (2010), 21–40; Daniel Magaziner, *The Law and the Prophets: Black Consciousness in South Africa, 1968–1977* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010); and Derek R. Peterson, *Pilgrims & Patriots: Conversion, Dissent, & the Making of Civil Societies in East Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

⁸³ Cf., Frederick Cooper, 'The Problem of Slavery in African Studies', *Journal of African History* 20 (1979), 103–25.

⁸⁴ In her work on contemporary Christianity in Africa, Diane Stinton, an Edinburgh-trained theologian, for example, ignores historical process and fails to recognise regional variance (Diane Stinton, *Jesus of Africa: Voices of Contemporary African Christology* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2004)). Her data is problematically interpreted as representing Uganda or Kenya—not Busoga or Nairobi. See also: Kā Mana, *Christ d'Afrique: Enjeux Éthiques de la Foi Africaine en Jésus-Christ* (Paris: Karthala, 1994); Joseph Healey and Donald Sybertz, *Towards an African Narrative Theology* (Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa, 1996); Laurenti Magesa, *African Religion: The Moral Traditions of Abundant Life* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1997), pp. 245–83; Kwame Bediako, *Jesus and the Gospel in Africa: History and Experience* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2004).

Yet, social history leaves Milbank's concern unanswered. Why is a *social* real given imaginative priority and religion considered necessarily consequential?⁸⁵ What is the 'real' to which Peterson and Walholf refer? After all, if the 'social' (the real) is as equal an invention as 'religion'—if not more so—why do historians give interpretive priority to the former? Further, in societies whose citizenry have been shaped little by the epistemological dichotomisations wrought by the Enlightenment, does it not stand to reason that religion—not the social—offers a more comprehensive historicism and appropriate analytic inclusivity from which to construct the past?⁸⁶ Apropos, is it not historically fitting for Heinemann's sequence to read: *Religious History of Africa Series*?

In summary, not formally trained in philosophic thought and theology, historians of Africa have tended to provide histories of context without grappling with the foundational concerns of epistemology and metaphysics.⁸⁷ Conversely, theologians and historians of religion tend to ignore political discourse, resulting in partial interpretations of religious phenomena. As I will now show, by rereading Africa's past ontologically, political thought and theological imagination can be coherently explored within the same analytic framework.

Ontological Discourse: Bridging the Disciplinary Gap

Theology and politics reflect ontology, the practice of *being* in space and time. Epistemologically, the theological and political undergird social imagination. Social and religious discourse, ultimately, then, is a singular qualitative discourse—an ontological

⁸⁵ In his discussion on theodical epistemology, Leibniz delineated two domains of phenomenological contingency: antecedent nature and consequential volition. For Leibniz, historical contingency (an observable, consequential *a posteriori*) presupposed a limited epistemological antecedent, *a priori* (Gottfried Leibniz, *Theodicy: Essays on the Goodness of God, the Freedom of Man, and the Origin of Evil* (abridged), trans. by Diogenes Allen (New York: J.M. Dent and Sons Limited, 1966), pp. 40–45 & 116–35. Cf., Gottfried Leibniz, *Leibniz: New Essays on Human Understanding*, 2nd edn (Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 92, 239 & 317).

⁸⁶ Stephen Ellis and Gerrie ter Haar, *Worlds of Power: Religious Thought and Political Practice in Africa* (London: Hurst & Company, 2004).

⁸⁷ Cf., R.G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946), p. 214; Alvin Plantinga, 'Reliabilism, Analyses and Defeaters', *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, 55 (1995), 427–64 (p. 441); Alvin Plantinga, 'Epistemic Justification', *Noûs*, 20 (1986), 3–18; Alvin Plantinga, 'Positive Epistemic Status and Proper Function', *Philosophical Perspectives*, 2 (1988), 1–50; Michael Freeden, *Ideologies and Political Theory: A Conceptual Approach* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), p. 6; and Aletta Norval, 'The Things we do with Words—Contemporary Approaches to the Analysis of Ideology', *British Journal of Political Science*, 30 (2000), 313–46 (pp. 317–21).

discourse. This approach builds upon previous scholarship within the historiography of Africa,⁸⁸ particularly the earlier scholarship of John Lonsdale and Fred Welbourn.⁸⁹ John Lonsdale positions Kenya's social past alongside an epistemological project, arguing similarly to Andrew Roberts,⁹⁰ that the political is primarily a condition of mind precipitated by shifting moral rupture and debate.⁹¹ Lonsdale further reasons political debate as a field of inquiry where 'theology and politics can rationally inform each other [...]', disputing the 'modernization myth [that] separated religion from politics'.⁹² Within the context of Buganda, though, this approach furthers the previous scholarship of Revd Fred B. Welbourn. In 1965, Welbourn published *Religion and Politics in Uganda*, where he interpreted Buganda's patriotisms and nationalisms ontologically. Trained as a minister in the Church of England, Welbourn was sensitive to the theological and philosophic complexities that undergirded late colonial Ganda politics. And searching for a useful

⁸⁸ Peter Mandler has argued for disciplinary engagement between the social and empirical sciences (Peter Mandler, 'The Problem with Cultural History', *Cultural and Social History*, 1 (2004), 94–117 (pp. 1–2 & 116–17). For critique see: Colin Jones, 'Peter Mandler's "Problem with Cultural History"', or, Is Playtime Over?, *Cultural and Social History*, 1 (2004), 94–117). Appropriately, then, recent studies in neurological science explore the intrinsic relationship between the encephalon, psychological perception (thought) and religious phenomena. A growing body of literature suggests that there exists an intrinsic interconnectivity between thought, religion and activism. For further discussion see: Fraser Watts and J. Mark Williams, *The Psychology of Religious Knowing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Fraser Watts, *Theology and Psychology* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); James Jones, 'Religion, Health, and the Psychology of Religion: How the Research on Religion and Health Helps Us Understand Religion', *Journal of Religion and Health*, 43 (2004), 317–28; Kevin Seybold, *Explorations in Neuroscience, Psychology, and Religion* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Malcolm Jeeves and Warren Brown, *Neuroscience, Psychology, and Religion* (Edinburgh: Templeton Foundation Press, 2009); and John Hick, *The New Frontier of Religion and Science: Religious Experience, Neuroscience and the Transcendent* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). Cf., James Klagge, 'Wittgenstein and Neuroscience', *Synthese*, 78 (1989), 319–43.

⁸⁹ Cf., J.B. Peires, "'Soft" Believers and "Hard" Unbelievers in the Xhosa Cattle-Killing', *The Journal of African History*, 27 (1986), 443–61; Stephen Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), pp. 3–45 & 69–93; and David Schoenbrun, 'Conjuring the Modern in Africa: Durability and Rupture in Histories of Public Healing Between the Great Lakes of East Africa', *The American Historical Review*, 111 (2006), 1403–39.

⁹⁰ Andrew Roberts, *A History of Zambia* (London: Heinemann, 1976).

⁹¹ John Lonsdale, 'The Moral Economy of Mau Mau: The Problem', in *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya & Africa*, ed. by Bruce Berman and John Lonsdale (London: James Currey, 1992), pp. 265–314 (p. 267–68).

⁹² John Lonsdale, 'The Moral Economy of Mau Mau: Wealth, Poverty & Civic Virtue in Kikuyu Political Thought', in *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya & Africa*, ed. by Bruce Berman and John Lonsdale (London: James Currey, 1992), pp. 315–504 (p. 367).

analytic framework to explore religion and politics in the history of Buganda, he employed Paul Tillich's usage of 'ultimate concern'.⁹³ For Welbourn, Buganda's monarchy was a question of ultimate concern among Baganda, a concern that competing Baganda publically debated—theologically and politically—very differently. Well-captured in Eridadi Mulira's writing in the late 1950s, the political and salvific ('political salvation') were a conceptually singular project.

But if religion and politics are foundational to being (that is, to *be* is to be political, to be theologically reflective), there then arises a further question: what is the *historical* relationship between being (theological and political subjectivity) and public discourse, or cultures of knowledge? If it is the case that humans are hardwired to think theologically and politically—for whatever reason—surely this existential space is not distanced from the broader processes of historical change and social context, as Peterson and Walhof remind us. Political and theological debates were conditions upon which Baganda attempted to imagine a people anchored in different histories and to practice different types of state power. In much the same way as Thomas Carlyle questioned the 'condition of England' during the processes of early nineteenth-century industrialisation,⁹⁴ dissenting Ganda activists disputed the 'condition'—past, present and future—of their monarchy.

Scholars have provided different models for understanding the relationship between subjective being and empirical history. British philosopher and historian, R.G. Collingwood (1889–1943),⁹⁵ suggested that history's concern is not 'successive events or an account of change'.⁹⁶ History's aim, rather, is to explore, first, the role of the subject

⁹³ Fred B. Welbourn, *Religion and Politics in Uganda: 1952-1962* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1965), p. 45–46. Cf., Benjamin C. Ray, *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship in Buganda* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

⁹⁴ Thomas Carlyle, *Past and Present*, ed. by Chris Vanden Bossche, Joel J. Brattin and D. J. Trela (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

⁹⁵ For biographical discussion see: R.G. Collingwood, *An Autobiography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983); William Dray, *History as Re-enactment: R.G. Collingwood's Idea of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); and Fred Inglis, *History Man: The Life of R.G. Collingwood* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).

⁹⁶ Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, p. 217.

in constructing the past,⁹⁷ and second, to construct the past as concerns knowledge itself or the history of ideas over time.⁹⁸ Collingwood notes:

Unlike the natural scientist, the historian is not concerned with events as such at all. He is only concerned with those events which are the outward expression of thoughts, and is only concerned with these in so far as they express thoughts. At bottom, he is concerned with thoughts alone; with their outward expression in events he is concerned only by the way, in so far as these reveal to him the thoughts of which he is in search.⁹⁹

By suggesting that the historian's concern is not event-focused, Collingwood was not categorically dismissing empiricism, or empirical history. His concern was to reconstitute an epistemic whole from which action is historically understandable or demonstrative. In his critique of Johann G. Fichte's historical subjectivism,¹⁰⁰ he argued that the 'idea of constructing history *a priori* seems very foolish'.¹⁰¹ However, Collingwood recognised that 'in all knowledge, of whatever kind, there are certain *a priori* elements',¹⁰² and with this in mind he reconstituted empirical historical methodology. The historian mustn't be concerned that Caesar, with certain men, '[crossed] a river called the Rubicon at one date, or the spilling of his blood on the floor of the senate-house at another.'¹⁰³ The historian's concern is to understand event in relation to thought, such as the defiance of Republican law that directionalised empirical history.¹⁰⁴ Collingwood's concern was intelligible historical understanding, something social action can lead the historian to, but never provide.

⁹⁷ Collingwood argued:

Historical knowledge is the knowledge of what mind has done in the past, and at the same time it is the redoing of this, the perpetuation of past acts in the present. Its object is therefore not a mere object, something outside the mind which knows it; it is an activity of thought, which can be known only in so far as the knowing mind re-enacts it and knows itself as so doing. To the historian, the activities whose history he is studying are not spectacles to be watched, but experiences to be lived through in his own mind; they are objective, or known to him, only because they are also subjective, or activities of his own (Ibid., p. 218. Cf., pp. 14–201).

⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 205–31.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 217. Cf., R.G. Collingwood, *The Principles of History: And Other Writings in Philosophy of History*, ed. by W.H. Dray and W.J. Van der Dussen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 63–110.

¹⁰⁰ Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, pp. 106–11.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 109. Cf., pp. 110–11.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 109.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 213.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

Collingwood recognised that the historical understanding of subjectivity presupposed externality from which deduction could be extrapolated. Through text, spoken word and artefact, the historian reasons contextually and attempts to understand the qualitative character of thought in the past, in a particular social setting. But Collingwood's method presupposed a certain subject (mind) and object (body) dualism that is not historically useful for recasting intellectual history, in general, and B/Uganda's intellectual past in particular. How do cultures of knowledge and social discourse shape subjectivity differently? Yes, thought shapes societal spheres through advocacy, but societies also influence thought and the constitution of moral projects. By over-emphasising an empirically distanced epistemology, history remained dichotomised for Collingwood, rendering subjective concern and objective phenomena disparate.

The interface between subjective being and social discourse concerned Michel Foucault (1926–1984). In *Order of Things*, Foucault defined what he considered an existential 'middle region' from which 'the already "encoded" eye and reflexive knowledge' are grounded in subjective being and shifting historical context.¹⁰⁵ For Foucault, there necessarily existed in all cultures an epistemological foundation 'anterior to words, perceptions, and gestures',¹⁰⁶ from which modes of being, order and reflections of that order derive.¹⁰⁷ Like Collingwood, Foucault found problematic the epistemological project of the Enlightenment, noting that by the eighteenth century Europe's intellectuals had problematically invented pure, objective forms of knowledge.¹⁰⁸ But whereas Collingwood disregarded Enlightenment historicism because it distanced empirical history from subjective causality, Foucault critiqued the Enlightenment because it attempted to create an empirical knowledge apart from the mediation of predetermining power structures.¹⁰⁹ In consequence, for Foucault, author(s) and their respective texts *reflected* discursive shift and communality,¹¹⁰ determinism that

¹⁰⁵ Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, trans. (London: Routledge, 1989), p. xxi.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 248.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., pp. 248–49.

¹¹⁰ Michel Foucault, 'What Is an Author?' in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. by Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon, 1984), pp. 101–20.

actors were incapable of transcending.¹¹¹ For instance, when Foucault talked about Nietzsche,¹¹² he positioned him beyond the interlocution of personal agency,¹¹³ reconstituting a subject whose project was foundationally derivational.¹¹⁴ If, for Collingwood, empirical history provided the means through which the historian reassesses thought and agency, for Foucault, the empirical predetermined both—agency is attenuated.

The relationship between personal subjectivity and historical process is best explored alongside the philosophic project of Martin Heidegger (1889–1976). He conceptualised ontology (being) as a dynamic relationship between subjectivity and social being-ness, *dasein*.¹¹⁵ For Heidegger, *dasein* presented a coherent and comprehensive mediation of the subject (being) and the object (a being in time, being in ‘worldliness’).¹¹⁶ To exist, to *be*, is to exist in a particular time and place, in social relation.¹¹⁷ Ontology, therefore, is a distinctly *historical* ontology comprised of political and theological subjects operating in social being-ness.¹¹⁸ Comprehensively, Heidegger holds in useful tension historical contingency as being, on the one hand, and being as being *in* time and space on the other. In contrast to Collingwood and Foucault, Heidegger showed that agency and historical empiricism are mutually interdependent. Heidegger resolves, then, the disparate projects of the theologian and social historian by situating being and public discourse within the same analytic framework. The societal is not secondary to the theological, nor

¹¹¹ For further discussion on Foucault’s position on human nature—a phraseology he contested—see Noam Chomsky’s and Foucault’s 1971 debate on human nature (Noam Chomsky and Michel Foucault, *The Chomsky-Foucault Debate: On Human Nature* (New York: New Press, 2006), pp. 29–30 & 43–44).

¹¹² Michel Foucault, ‘Nietzsche, Genealogy, History’ in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. by Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon, 1984), pp. 76–100.

¹¹³ I wish to thank Martin Ruehl for drawing this point to my attention. Cf., Annabel Brett, ‘What is Intellectual History Now?’, in *What is History Now?*, ed. by David Cannadine (New York: Palgrave Macmillan Ltd., 2002), pp. 113–32 (pp. 120–21). Cf., Gary Shapiro, *Archaeologies of Vision: Foucault and Nietzsche on Seeing and Saying* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

¹¹⁴ Foucault, *The Order of Things*, pp. 303–43. Cf., Brett, ‘What is Intellectual History Now?’, pp. 120–21.

¹¹⁵ Heidegger, *Being and Time*, p. 1.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 1–39, 49–56, 219–40 & 341–63. For secondary discussion on the history of subject and object see: Laurence Wood, *God and History* (Lexington, K.Y.: Emeth Press, 2005).

¹¹⁷ Heidegger, *Being and Time*, p. 49.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 17. Italics added.

the theological interpreted epiphenomenally, and this within the context of historical change and rupture.

In this study, I presuppose Heidegger's analytic framework. Religion was not simply a tool that secular agents used to practice or contest power. Before institutional religion is anything, it is a conceptual category from which the empirical is practiced. But as Heidegger also shows, this 'category' is neither static nor removed from historical processes. Dissenting Baganda were not distanced from the hullabaloo of social life. Their projects were dissenting, and this implied historical and dynamic response to the practice of power in the colonial state.

Protestant	Area Square	Catholic	Area Square
Bugerere	246.0	Buddu	2,604.0
Bulemeezi	1,442.0	Bugangazzi	944.0
Buruli	1,682.0	Busujju	216.0
Busiro	343.0	Buvuma	122.0
Ggomba	702.0	Buwekula	1,024.0
Kabula	262.0	Buyaga	1,028.0
Kooki	736.0	Mawogola	374.0
Kyaddondo	162.0	Mawokota	306.0
Kyaggwe	1,584.0	Sub-Total	6,618.0
Ssesse	264.0	<i>Percent</i>	<i>40.4%</i>
Ssinga	2,122.0		
Sub-Total	9,545.0	Muslim County	
<i>Percent</i>	<i>58.2%</i>	Butambala	230.0
		Sub-Total	230.0
		<i>Percent</i>	<i>1.4%</i>
Total			16,393.0

Table 1.1 Buganda Land Distributions, c. 1900
UNA SMP 44/255 'Report on the Kingdom of Buganda, 1907–08'

Protestant Counties	<i>Mailo</i> Distributions	Catholic Counties	<i>Mailo</i> Distributions
Bugerere	205.0	Buddu	820.0
Bulemeezi	969.5	Bugangazzi	361.0
Buruli	447.0	Busujju	242.0
Busiro	467.5	Buvuma	183.0
Ggomba	272.0	Buwekula	401.0
Kabula	152.0	Buyaga	441.0
Kooki	201.0	Mawogola	175.0
Kyaddondo	293.0	Mawokota	327.0
Kyaggwe	790.0	Sub-Total	2,950.0
Ssese	159.0	<i>Percent</i>	<i>35.5%</i>
Ssinga	1,089.0		
Sub-Total	5,045.0	Muslim County	
<i>Percent</i>	<i>60.6%</i>	Butambala	127.0
		Sub-Total	127.0
		<i>Percent</i>	<i>1.5%</i>
		'King and his Chiefs'	198.00
		Sub-Total	198.00
		<i>Percent</i>	<i>2.4%</i>
Total			8,320.00

Table 1.2 *Mailo* Settlements: Initial Allocations, c. 1900
West, *The Mailo System in Buganda*, p. 170

Chapter One

Dissenting Protestantism

Ignatius K. Musazi: The Equitable Kingdom

Your humble servants and petitioners are a people much aggrieved and in diverse ways suffering injustices, on account of which we now cry to You and to Your God, our God, who, we believe is no respecter of persons [sic.], but who inspires men with truth and justice to work and live for the welfare of and protection of their fellow men.

~*Abazukulu ba Kintu* to *Kabaka* Daudi Chwa¹

The ancestral burial ground of Ignatius K. Musazi (1905–1990), one of Buganda’s most important activists of the 1940s, is in the former Buganda county of Bulemeezi. Adjacent to this ground is a house that contains Musazi’s remaining library, which is preserved in two stacks. Resting in one corner of the residence that houses the collection sits a bundle of approximately nine books. This small collection is stored with other sources, including a journal used in the 1980s and a picture of Musazi in Moscow. On the other side of the room, hidden behind a white cloth, sits a second deposit of around ninety books on a medium-sized bookshelf. Musazi’s existent library of 100 books is the vestige of a collection once far more voluminous.² In his 1927 copy of H.M. Gwatkin’s *Early Church History, Vol. II*, Musazi recorded that the book was the only one remaining from a personal library of 300 volumes destroyed in 1966.³ From his library, one can see that Musazi was an avid reader, actively engaged in reading from the time of his education at King’s College, Budo, in the early 1920s to at least 1987. Among the eighty-two texts I have analysed—those texts he actually autographed—no fewer than 2156 passages are underlined and 297 annotated.⁴

¹ BNA CO 536/197/16/1 Descendants of Kintu to Daudi Chwa, 19 September 1938.

² Interviews: E.N. Musazi, 11 December 2009, Timina (Luwero); Elizabeth Musazi, 10 February 2010, Kampala; and Mary Mulira, 11 June 2010, Kampala.

³ Musazi’s library contains nine additional books from approximately the same period as Gwatkin’s church history and an additional thirty-six books published and/or autographed before 1966. As a frequent traveler who took books and papers with him, it is likely that Musazi kept portions of his library in various locations, then consolidated his collection after 1966.

⁴ In my analysis, one underscored unit constitutes an underlined sentence or cluster of sentences within a single paragraph. In instance of multiple underscore within a prolonged paragraph or section, numeration is topically interpreted.

In the library are two books that Musazi clearly read more than any other: an English Authorized Bible used from 1924 to at least 1946 and an English Book of Common Prayer used during the same period.⁵ With no fewer than 1321 underlined passages and 226 annotated texts combined, Musazi's Bible and prayer book constitute roughly 62 percent of all underscored text and 76 percent of all annotation in the library. Next to the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer, Musazi's most-read book in the remaining library is Harold Laski's *Reflections on the Revolution of our Time* (1943), which he read during the 1940s.

This Chapter explores Musazi's dissenting Protestantism in mid-twentieth century Buganda. Whereas previous scholarship has tended to position dissenting politics solely alongside Bataka activism and local politics, this study uses new sources to show that Bulemeezi royalist, Ignatius Musazi, used the Bible and global intellectual history to adapt earlier political discourse from the 1920s to imagine a loosely separate project for the 1940s. To contest Buganda's monarchy in 1938, Musazi and a cadre of Baganda established *Abazukulu ba Kintu* (the Descendants of Kintu), where activists used biblical exegesis, Émile François Zola and seventeenth-century English history to critique colonial power. Unlike Bataka activists, Musazi anchored political critique in Buganda's monarchical past. After all, dissidents were *Abazukulu ba **Kintu***, the political heirs of Buganda's proto-mythical king. Musazi's library indicates that to imagine politics in the 1940s he used biblical ideals and world history, reading the Bible and Harold Laski in tandem to advocate for the historical and moral revival of Buganda's monarchy. Musazi, by drawing from his library, imagined an equitable kingdom.

Monarchy in Context: Economic & Political Transition in Buganda, c. 1900 to 1949

Debate concerning Buganda's monarchy and the rise of dissenting politics in the first half of the twentieth century was fuelled by shifting economic and political change, transition that scholars have given considerable attention.⁶ Economic tension

⁵ Musazi's autograph indicates that the Bible was received in 1924. Two separate annotations are dated in 1946.

⁶ R.C. Pratt, 'The Politics of Indirect Rule: Uganda, 1900-1955', in *Buganda and British Overrule*, ed. by D.A. Low and R.C. Pratt (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 163–316; David E. Apter, *The Political Kingdom in Uganda: A Study of Bureaucratic Nationalism*, 2nd edn (Princeton:

precipitated local debate concerning Buganda's monarchy. In May 1903, the colonial government first considered proposals to cultivate cotton in Uganda.⁷ Shortly thereafter, the colonial government began importing cotton seed varieties from Egypt, and by 1904 high quality cotton seed was distributed throughout the Protectorate.⁸ Due to its ideal climate, Uganda was the second largest producer of cotton in Britain's empire by 1939—second to India.⁹ With rising global demands for cotton in the early twentieth century, Ganda chiefs placed increasing pressure on rural farmers to produce. No later than 1909, *ssaza* chiefs appointed assistants to travel throughout their respective districts to enforce cotton regulations.¹⁰ The manner in which Baganda cotton inspectors dealt with rural farmers caused considerable alarm among colonial officials. The superintendent of the cotton department noted: 'These men often deal with peasants in a most high-handed way, calculated to make cotton culture distasteful rather than attractive to the natives.'¹¹

Uganda's cotton production brought increasing revenues to the country. By 1930, Uganda was exporting approximately 23,428 metric tons of cotton lint annually, generating revenues of 31,107,000 /-.¹² Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, cotton yield

Princeton University Press, 1961); *The King's Men: Leadership and Status in Buganda on the Eve of Independence*, ed. by Lloyd A. Fallers (London: Oxford University Press, 1964); and D. A. Low, *Buganda in Modern History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971). For the most useful economic analysis see: Jan J. Jørgensen, *Uganda: A Modern History* (London: Croom Helm, 1981). For additional economic discussion see: Cyril Ehrlich, 'The Economy of Buganda', *Uganda Journal*, 20 (1956), 17–25; Cyril Ehrlich, 'Cotton and the Uganda Economy, 1903–1909', *Uganda Journal*, 21 (1957), 162–75; A.R. Morgan, 'Uganda's Cotton Industry: Fifty Years Back', *Uganda Journal*, 22 (1958), 107–12; C.C. Wrigley, *Crops and Wealth in Uganda: A Short Agrarian History* (Kampala: East African Institute of Social Research, 1959); C.C. Wrigley, 'The Changing Economic Structure of Buganda', in *The King's Men: Leadership and Status in Buganda on the Eve of Independence* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 16–63; W. Senteza Kajubi, 'Coffee and Prosperity in Buganda: Some Aspects of Economic and Social Change', *Uganda Journal*, 22 (1965), 135–47; B.D. Bowles, 'Economic Anti-Colonialism and British Reaction in Uganda, 1936–1955', *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines*, 9 (1975), 51–60; and Mahmood Mamdani, *Politics and Class Formation in Uganda* (Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 1976).

⁷ UNA SMP A45/199 'Report on the Cotton Growing Industry in Uganda', 11 June 1909.

⁸ UNA SMP A43/346 'Cotton and Its Cultivation in Uganda (Botanical and Scientific Department)', 1907.

⁹ UNA SMP A46/1054/224-25 P.E. Mitchell, Governor, to Malcolm MacDonald, Secretary of State for the Colonies, 3 August 1939.

¹⁰ UNA SMP A45/422 Acting Superintendent, Cotton Department, to Chief Secretary to the Government, 30 December 1909.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Jørgensen, *Uganda*, p. 349.

produced increasing remuneration.¹³ Participation in global markets resulted in frustration among rural farming communities. In 1938, global prices significantly decreased due to production surfeit in the United States.¹⁴ Price deflation resulted in lower earnings for rural farmers. In 1930, farmers were paid on average 14.80 shillings per 100 lbs of seed cotton. However, by 1938 farmers were earning a little over 8 shillings for the same quantity.¹⁵ It is of no coincidence, therefore, that *Abazukulu ba Kintu* formally organised during the same year.

By the late 1940s, Ignatius Musazi's home county, Bulemeezi, was Buganda's largest producer of cotton.¹⁶ Here and elsewhere, rural farmers complained regularly of cut earnings at the hand of Indian ginneries, who became a focal point of political resistance. In a letter sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, A. Creech Jones, organisers of the Uganda African Farmers' Union (UAFU), Ignatius K. Musazi, Erienza Bwete and Peter Sonko, complained that farmers had failed to receive 'amelioration and removal of an oppression which brinks to sheer robbery and [have not received] any redress from the Police who are responsible to see that any violation of the cotton ordinances be brought to book'.¹⁷ The triumvirate spoke of 'open robbery' and ginneries who had 'accumulated enormous wealth at the expense of the illiterate cotton growers'.¹⁸ Musazi, Bwete and Sonko used biblical language to argue that the only purpose served by ginneries was 'to grab the tax from the pockets of the peasant seller as soon as he receives in some cases his widow's mite'.¹⁹ In an additional letter sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies Musazi reflected: 'The Uganda Government makes the Africans a prey for Indians. On the ground of "malpractices" in the cotton industry by Indians, the Africans are justified in seeking understanding and arbitration from you.'²⁰

¹³ Deflation occurred in 1935, 1938, 1942–1943 and 1946.

¹⁴ UNA SMP A46/1054/210-213 'Notes on the Cotton Situation in Uganda', June 1938. In 1938, America produced a record yield of 19,000,000 bales.

¹⁵ 'Report of the Cotton Commission', 1939 (Entebbe: Government Printer), in Apter, *The Political Kingdom in Uganda*, p. 189.

¹⁶ UNA SMP A43/200/1 Leakey to Deputy Commissioner, 27 August 1907.

¹⁷ BNA CO 536/216/1/11 Musazi, Bwete and Sonko to A. Creech Jones, 6 May 1948.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid. See: Mark 12^{41–44} and Luke 21^{1–4}.

²⁰ BNA CO 536/216/1/66 Musazi to Jones, 11 February 1949.

Economic tension constituted one factor in a larger political equation. The *Nnamasole* Affair, the acquisition of land for Makerere College and the resignation and assassination of *Katikkiro* Martin Luther Nsibirwa impelled seismic political shifts in Buganda,²¹ shifts that instigated the 1945 and 1949 disturbances. Following controversy surrounding the remarriage of Buganda's Queen Mother to a *mukopi* in the early 1940s—the *Nnamasole* Affair (see Chapter Two)—Samwiri Wamala successfully campaigned for the resignation of then *katikkiro*, Martin Luther Nsibirwa, securing his own appointment to the premiership.²² Following Wamala's appointment, tension developed over a piece of legislation drafted by the colonial government to empower the *kabaka* to acquire land for public purposes. Conservative Baganda interpreted the legislation as a colonial ploy to grab land at Mulago and Makerere. The colonial government forced Wamala to place legislation concerning land acquisition before the *Lukiiko*, but he ensured that it did not pass. Uncooperative toward British land policy, Wamala was forced to resign. Following Wamala's premature resignation, his supporters mobilised to remove *Omuwanika* Serwano Kulubya from power. Conservatives, who believed Kulubya too sympathetic toward British policy, petitioned Buganda's king to remove him from the *Lukiiko*. However, a young and recently appointed Muteesa II was unwilling to cooperate.

Tension culminated in protest in January 1945, first in Entebbe and then throughout the kingdom.²³ On 15 January, 'groups of intimidators were at work bringing pressure to bear and assaulting those who remained at work'.²⁴ The Enquiry into the disturbances summarised: 'They [protesters] were armed with sticks and stones and attacked Indian property as well as their servants. They invaded private dwellings including those of Europeans. Their object clearly was to force every African to stop work.'²⁵ The following day, riots climaxed when after 110 European and 48 Asian Special Constables were deployed, a demonstrator shot and killed a police officer.²⁶ Following

²¹ For fuller treatment see: E.M.K. Mulira, *Troubled Uganda* (London: Fabian Publications, 1950).

²² This summary draws from Apter (Apter, *The Political Kingdom in Uganda*, pp. 226–33).

²³ 'Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances which Occurred in Uganda During January, 1945' (Entebbe: Government Printer), p. 14.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 15.

²⁶ Ibid.

the outbreak, Muteesa II returned from safari and organised an investigation committee that focused its attention on Musazi, who was deported to northern Uganda following a formal Commission of Enquiry.²⁷ Accused of going away on a hunting expedition while colonial police shot his subjects, Muteesa II was allegedly slapped.²⁸ Amid threats of burning down the king's palace, Muteesa II yielded to earlier populist demand to force the resignation of Kulubya.²⁹ And in September 1945, *Katikkiro* Martin Luther Nsibirwa was assassinated at St. Paul's Cathedral, Namirembe.³⁰ For Musazi, the disturbances of 1945 set the political timbre of the second half of the decade, including the eventual 1949 disturbances.³¹

Ignatius K. Musazi: Early Biography & Training, 1905 to c. 1938

Musazi's political sensibilities were first shaped by the unusual social characteristics of Bulemeezi, where political tenacity accompanied intense monarchical loyalty. Bulemeezi was Buganda's largest Protestant county, where church membership statistics indicate religious enthusiasm. Musazi was no exception to Bulemeezi's Protestant fervour, and in 1925 he matriculated at Trent College, Nottingham, after which he transferred to St. Augustine's College, Canterbury. Training for ordination in England provided a certain theological and global framework for Musazi to imagine his political project in the late 1930s and 1940s.

Bulemeezi: A Royalist Outpost

Musazi's political sensibilities were first shaped by the peculiar social characteristics of Bulemeezi, Buganda's second most populated *ssaza*.³² At the time of Musazi's birth,

²⁷ Apter, *The Political Kingdom in Uganda*, p. 228.

²⁸ I.K. Musazi, Interview by S.S. Kayunga, June 1988, Tinda (Kampala), in Sallie S. Kayunga, 'Uganda National Congress and the Struggle for Democracy: 1952–1962' (Working Paper No. 14, Centre for Basic Research Publications, Kampala, 1995).

²⁹ Apter, *The Political Kingdom in Uganda*, p. 228.

³⁰ MUA Ssejjemba Ssewagaba, '*Lwaki Katikkiro; Martin L. Nsibirwa Yatemuha nga 5/9/1945*' (Printed Pamphlet, n.d.).

³¹ BNA CO 536/223/4 I.K. Musazi, 'Some Observations on the Kingdom Report', Mss., May 1950. For further discussion on the 1949 disturbances see: Apter, *The Political Kingdom in Uganda*, pp. 256–62.

³² Shortly after Musazi's birth, colonial reports recorded Bulemeezi's population at 78,881. In land, Bulemeezi constituted 1442 square miles, Buganda's fifth largest *ssaza* (UNA SMP A44/255 'Report of the Kingdom of Buganda', 1907–1908).

1905, Bulemeezi was described as an outpost for Buganda in her perennial political and military struggle with Bunyoro.³³ Richard Reid suggests that by 1875 the *ssaꝛa* chieftaincy of Bulemeezi, *kangaawo*ship, was considered a military command post.³⁴ When the *ssaꝛa* chiefs of Ssinga and Bulemeezi were first described to Henry M. Stanley, they were portrayed as ‘military commanders in charge of certain stretches of frontier’.³⁵ And it does not seem to be any coincidence that Stanley first observed the use of bronze cast spears in Bulemeezi.³⁶ Ritual reflected bordered hostility and reminded Bulemeezi’s chiefs of their vexatious relationship with Bunyoro. One commentator in *Munno* suggested that when ‘*kangaawo*’s were appointed they had to announce the spirit of the first dead *kangaawo*, Matumpaggwa, who reigned in the times of the King Mawanda [sic].’³⁷ As part of this initiation ceremony, guests and chiefs assembled at night to eat the liver of a sacrificed cow, in which under no circumstance could a Munyoro participate.³⁸

Life in Bulemeezi was uncharacteristically difficult. Nyoro campaigns into northern Buganda in the nineteenth century resulted in the seizure of slaves from Ssinga and Bulemeezi.³⁹ As a result of constant military activity and forced migration, Bulemeezi experienced frequent plantation abandonment, resulting in the decline of agricultural productivity.⁴⁰ One Ganda proverb reflected the adversity of life in Bulemeezi: ‘The Bulemeezi are similar to banana stalks left in the cooking pot.’⁴¹ In consequence, Bulemeezi were characterized by tenacity, as those who did not possess *obuntubulamu*, Buganda’s highest virtue in public morality.⁴² *Obuntubulamu* was aspired to in speech and

³³ Richard J. Reid, *War in Pre-Colonial Eastern Africa: The Patterns & Meanings of State-Level Conflict in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: James Currey, 2007), p. 183.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 209.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 85

³⁷ RCMS 126/IV/S1/318–25 ‘The Ancient Acts of the Rulers of Bulemezi’, *Munno*, n.d.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Reid, *War in Pre-Colonial Eastern Africa*, p. 117.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 37.

⁴¹ ‘*Abalemeezi nkolo: ziremedde mu ntamu*.’ The stocks of the banana were typically eaten only during famine and not highly valued (Ferdinand Walser, *Luganda Proverbs* (Berlin: Reimer, 1982), no. 30).

⁴² Interview, Fred Guwedeko, 25 February 2010, Makerere University. See also Mikael Karlström, ‘Imagining Democracy: Political Culture and Democratisation in Buganda’, *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 66 (1996), 485–505 (p. 486). The term also received

social etiquette. Deference toward elders and clansmen characterized social interaction.⁴³

By contrast, Balemeezi were renowned for shrewd manners. One proverb stated:

‘*Bulemeezi teva muto: eva musisiirwa*’, ‘There comes no simple/young child from Bulemeezi, only someone fully grown’.⁴⁴ And, ‘*Abalemeezi nkucwa: bazibira kangaawo ekkubo*’, or ‘The Balemeezi are daring: they prevent even their *ssaza*-chief from passing’.⁴⁵

Political tenacity accompanied intense monarchical loyalty among Ganda chiefs appointed to Buganda’s bordered county. Buganda’s current *kangaawo*, Gideon Kisitu, for instance, spoke about monarchical allegiance when he reflected on Buganda’s distant past. ‘The largest part of Bulemeezi was under the Bunyoro Empire,’ he explained.⁴⁶ He noted:

From Nakaseke, the next hill over was where Buganda ended. It is a very long hill and wherever it goes, it has different names. At that [exact] spot we call it *Migganvule*. There was once a *kangaawo* [sent] to fight and expand Buganda. His name was Matumpaggwa of the Mamba clan. He went with Ssempala of the Fumbe clan and Namuguzi of the Empologoma clan. Wherever they defeated the Banyoro they came and gave reports. One time they gave a report that “we have fought and the enemies are running away from us. We are at the river Kafu now. Should we cross the river?” The Kabaka said, “No. Halt. Stop there for a time.” When the Banyoro heard this, they translated it into Runyoro as *kangaawo* which means “stop there.”⁴⁷

Kangaawo Kisitu’s account is instructive. The task of creating and defending military borders not only fostered obstinacy, it instilled the importance of political hierarchy, where the chain of command in military conflict was crucial. Geopolitical expansion

considerable treatment in *Munno* in the early twentieth century and was generally thought of as ‘implying the possession of courtesy, compassion, good breeding, culture, etc.’ (John D. Murphy, *Luganda-English Dictionary* (Washington: Consortium Press for Catholic University of America Press, 1972), p. 44). Commenting on *obuntubulamu*, E.M.K. Mulira wrote: ‘Good manners and kindness were the chief virtues and manners were inspired by the idea of “Obuntu”—a difficult word which has no proper equivalent in English, but according to one writer it is the spirit of humanity or humaneness’ (Mulira, *Troubled Uganda*, p. 7).

⁴³ Carol Summers, ‘Radical Rudeness: Ugandan Social Critiques in the 1940s’, *Journal of Social History*, 39 (2006), 741–70.

⁴⁴ Walser, *Luganda Proverbs*, no. 1013.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 31.

⁴⁶ Interview, *Kangaawo* Gideon Kisitu, 14 January 2010, Nakulabye.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* Apolo Kaggwa provided discussion on the *kangaawo*’s military relationship with Bunyoro during the reign of Kabaka Mawanda (Apolo Kaggwa, *Bassekabaka be Buganda*, trans. by Semakula Kiwanuka (Nairobi, Dar Es Salaam, Kampala: East African Publishing House, 1971), pp. 69–76). Cf., Apolo Kaggwa, *Ekitabo Kye Mpisa Za Baganda*, ed. by May M. Edel, trans. by Ernest B. Kalibala (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), p. 163.

presupposed a dynamic social relationship between Buganda's military chiefs and her monarch. In Ganda military culture, monarchy was a vested interest that created intense feelings of monarchical loyalty.

I.K. Musazi's father, Nakyama Kangave, typified the tenacious and royalist spirit of Bulemeezi. Nakyama was a *ggombolola* chief in Bulemeezi, posted to the Buganda-Bunyoro border. And as chief, he was referred to as '*omulinda buzibu*.'⁴⁸ Following the religious wars in the 1890s, Nakyama played a reluctant role in apprehending *Kabaka* Mwanga from Acholiland shortly before the latter's deportation to the Seychelles.⁴⁹ Upon apprehension, Mwanga was detained in Nakyama's village.⁵⁰ During Mwanga's incarceration, Nakyama demonstrated loyalty through prepared banquets and prostration, which infuriated Buganda's aspiring premier, Apolo Kaggwa.⁵¹ Nakyama had been a leading contender for *kangaano*, but due to his monarchical fidelity was overlooked.⁵² The position was given to the seemingly more predictable Samwiri Mukasa—a decision Kaggwa miscalculated (see below). Whereas Kaggwa was content to do away with Buganda's king, Nakyama advocated reform and did not quickly cast aside the royalist traditions of Bulemeezi.

Throughout his political career, I.K. Musazi remained emotionally close to his father and Bulemeezi. Indeed, Musazi's heir, E.N. Musazi, recalled that his father had an unusually close relationship with Nakyama (see Figure 1.1).⁵³ He suggested: 'Some people said it was so because by the time of Musazi's birth, his father was old.'⁵⁴ Musazi, too, often confided to his children that their closeness was due to the fact that Musazi cultivated his relationship with Nakyama 'at the time he had gray hair'.⁵⁵ Musazi's

⁴⁸ The term literally means, 'one who waits for trouble' (Interview, Hugo Barlow, 11 November 2010, Munyonyo (Kampala)).

⁴⁹ Interview, Sallie S. Kayunga, 25 November 2010, Makerere University. For Nakyama's account see: George Shepherd, *The Early Struggle for Freedom and Unity in Uganda: I K Musazi and the Farmer's Cooperative Movement* (New York: The John Day Company, 1955), pp. 36–38.

⁵⁰ Interview, Hugo Barlow, 11 November 2010, Munyonyo (Kampala).

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Interview, E.N. Musazi, 11 December 2009, Timina (Luwero).

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

political project was often associated with his Bulemeezi heritage.⁵⁶ Bulemeezi owned Musazi as a son and her political constituency—throughout his long political career—publically and consistently offered support.⁵⁷

Ministerial Training

Bulemeezi was also Buganda's largest Protestant county in the early twentieth century, where church membership statistics indicate religious fervour. The Church Missionary Society reported that by the 1907–1908 colonial fiscal year Bulemeezi and Buruli had 181 churches combined, with an average weekly attendance of 9260.⁵⁸ In Buganda, this accounted for 26 percent of all churches and 28 percent of total Protestant membership.⁵⁹ By 1939, *Lukiiko* reports estimated that there were 81,019 Protestants in Bulemeezi and Buruli, with 69,160 of these being Bulemeezi.⁶⁰ This, for Bulemeezi and Buruli, constituted a 775 percent increase from the 1907–1908 fiscal year.

Complementing large Protestant congregations, Bulemeezi was appointed leading *Protestant* chiefs. In 1892, Zakariya Kizito Kisingiri was appointed *kangaawo*. Kisingiri had been an early convert from Islam to Protestantism and was admired in the Native Anglican Church (NAC) for his role in the religious wars during the 1890s. Kisingiri was known as one who had 'fought in many wars in Buganda where he exhibited [...] courage and strength'.⁶¹ In 1900, having been appointed one of Daudi Chwa's three regents, Kisingiri was appointed to the then recently created position, *omuwaniika* (treasurer).⁶² Revd Samwiri Mukasa was appointed Bulemeezi's next *kangaawo*. Prior, Mukasa had been an assistant translator for Henry Wright Duta and George Pilkington in their work to translate the Bible into Luganda.⁶³ After serving earlier as deputy *mukwenda*, the assistant

⁵⁶ Interview, Nick Ssali, 17 November 2009, Radio One (Kampala).

⁵⁷ 'Musazi ye President: Ab'e Bulemezzi Bwe Batyo Bwe Bagamy'e', *Uganda Eyogera*, 9 October 1956, p. 1. Cf., Interviews: Nick Ssali, 17 November 2009, Kampala; and *Kangaawo* Gideon Kisitu, 14 January 2010, Nakulabye.

⁵⁸ UNA SMP A44/255 'Report of the Kingdom of Buganda', 1907–1908.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ RDA 99.2 'Bulange-Enju-Y'Olukiko Mmengo; Emitwe Egy'omwaka,' 1939.

⁶¹ Apolo Kaggwa, 'Ebyobulamu bwa Z.K. Kisingiri', *Ebifa mu Buganda*, (1917), 228–32 (p. 229).

⁶² Ibid., p. 230.

⁶³ J.D. Mullins and Ham Mukasa, *The Wonderful Story of Uganda* (London: Church Missionary Society, 1904), p. 82.

ssaza chief of Ssinga, Mukasa responded to an invitation from Bishop Tucker to minister in the NAC. In his autobiography, Mukasa recalled:

Bishop Tucker asked for volunteers from the Baganda Christian chiefs to serve in the church. I volunteered to forsake the importance of a chief and serve my country in this sphere. I was accordingly ordained a Reverend by the bishop and I took to preaching the gospel. I established a church where I was posted, at Kakiwate in Kyaggwe. With Reverend Blackledge we established other churches under this one. When one of us was inspecting the churches, the other remained behind, ministering in the church.⁶⁴

Musazi and his father were no exception to Bulemeezi's Protestant fervour. Nakyama Kangave was a devout Protestant. When he recounted the religious wars in the early 1950s to George Shepherd—an American economist then working with Musazi's Uganda African Farmers' Union—he employed the rhetoric of 'God's glory' and 'God's wrath'.⁶⁵ With large portions of land to sell, he arranged for his son to pursue ministerial studies in England.⁶⁶

In 1925, Musazi matriculated at Trent College, Nottingham, after which he transferred to St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, no later than October 1927.⁶⁷ Earlier at Trent, Musazi testified to a calling to missions.⁶⁸ In a five-page letter to Bishop Willis, Musazi shared that at the age of nine he felt God's calling upon his life to missionary service while in his father's village, a calling that 'kept on knocking within'.⁶⁹ After Musazi's village experience, he enrolled at Mengo High School (later merged as King's College, Budo), where he was surprised to find two classmates with similar calling. The three prayed regularly about their calling, specifically asking God to make them 'perfect

⁶⁴ Samwiri Mukasa, 'The Record of My Service to the Kingdom of Buganda and the Important Government of Britain, the Protector of this Nation Buganda,' in *The Mind of Buganda: Documents of the Modern History of an African Kingdom*, ed. by D.A. Low (London: Heinemann Educational, 1971), pp. 57–61 (p. 58).

⁶⁵ Shepherd, *The Early Struggle for Freedom and Unity in Uganda*, p. 37.

⁶⁶ ARP 7/4/71 Audrey Richards, Field Notes, 24 January 1956. Richard Reid suggests that the chieftainship of *kangaano* was a highly coveted position in Ganda politics by the late nineteenth century due to the financial and political advancement it promised (Reid, *War in Pre-Colonial Eastern Africa*, p. 209).

⁶⁷ UCU BA 1/66.2 Knight, St. Augustine's Warden, to Bishop Willis, 15 October 1927. For additional discussion on St. Augustine's College see: Hillary M. Carry, *God's Empire: Religion and Colonialism in the British World, c. 1801–1908* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 271–86.

⁶⁸ UCU BA 1/66.2 I.K. Musazi to Bishop Willis, 16 March 1927.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

to do His will'.⁷⁰ Musazi wrote: 'We wanted to take up missionary work before we could accomplish, our education, [and] we went to Mr. Holden who was our school master that time, he advised us not to until we finish our training.'⁷¹ Undeterred in their zeal, Musazi and his classmates continued to pursue their ministerial ambition:

Few months later we were again in wish of going, we went to Archdeacon Baskerville, who with an affectionate face offered us a prayer, smilingly but courageously he told us to keep, and obey our call with a determination minds, but [stick] to our education until we have good and a better training. With unsatisfactory minds we troded back to our enclosure. But still having the same idea of going, our last effort was to go to Archdeacon Blackledge, who advised us the same. Unknowingly we thought them as great boulders which blocked our way to respond to our call. [O]nly afterwards we confessed our sudden rush, that it was rather foolish of us to had given up our education.⁷²

As an ordinand, Musazi interacted with texts, not the least the Bible.

Examination for Orders required demanding exegetical assignments on numerous biblical passages. Musazi exegeted passages from Isaiah and translated Greek texts, such as portions from Mark's gospel and Acts—passages that contained political implication.⁷³ Musazi, moreover, would have written papers and sermons on Christology, Pneumatology, pastoral theology, religious education and the question of race in relation to Christianity.⁷⁴ In her recent study on St. Augustine's College, Hilary M. Carey shows that St. Augustine's three-year programme emphasised ancient languages.⁷⁵ In the school's early curriculum, first year students studied the history of the Bible, the Greek gospels, Latin and apologetics.⁷⁶ In the second year, students studied Bishop John Jewell's *Apology of the Church of England* (1562), Christopher Wordsworth's manual,

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ UCU BA 1/66.2 'Examination for Priests' Orders', 1929. Students were asked to translate Acts 3²¹ from Greek to English: 'ἄχρι χρόνων ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων ὧν ἐλάλησεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων ἀπ' αἰῶνος αὐτοῦ προφητῶν[.]' The passage speaks to the universal social and political restoration of heaven and earth, a theme Musazi notated in his personal Bible (IKML English Bible/Revelation 20⁴⁻⁵, annotation).

⁷⁴ UCU BA 1/66.2 'Examination for Priests' Orders', 1929.

⁷⁵ Carry, *God's Empire*, p. 279.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

Theophilus Anglicanus, the Thirty-Nine Articles, as well as Hebrew and additional Greek.⁷⁷ In their final year, students continued to study language, the history of Christian mission and Joseph Butler's *Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed* (1736).⁷⁸

Musazi completed ordinand requirements at St. Augustine's, but was not permitted to remain in England for ministerial appointment. He was instructed to return to Uganda for six months of local parish ministry, a decision that 'annoyed Musazi greatly'.⁷⁹ Musazi later expressed to George Shepherd that 'he could not accept ordination because of the discrimination against Africans by the Church of England'.⁸⁰ Musazi's frustration was further exacerbated by circumstances surrounding an engagement with an English woman, what some have identified as the actual cause of his return to Uganda.⁸¹ After returning to Uganda, Musazi continued pursuing ordination. As an instructor at King's College, Budo, where he worked from 1928 to 1933, Musazi read additional books required by the Church. These books, no fewer than nine, covered the topics of biblical study, prayer and sacraments, doctrine and Church history.⁸² Formal ministerial pursuits ceased after the Bishop of Uganda expressed strong disapproval toward a homily Musazi preached.⁸³ By the early 1930s there was evident tension

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Interview, Hugo Barlow, 11 November 2010, Munyonyo (Kampala).

⁸⁰ George Shepherd to Jonathon L. Earle, 24 January 2010.

⁸¹ ARP 7/4/71 Audrey Richards, Field Notes, 24 January 1956. Richards noted that the woman in question was English; family members recalled Musazi identifying the woman as a daughter of a British parliamentarian (Interviews: Hugo Barlow, 11 November 2010, Munyonyo (Kampala); and E.N. Musazi, 11 December 2009, Timina (Luwero)).

⁸² UCU BA 1/66.2 E.S.D., CMS, to Bishop of Uganda, n.d. Musazi was asked to read two works by John Paterson Smyth: *The Bible in the Making in the Light of Modern Research* (1914) and *A People's Life of Christ* (1920). Additional readings included: on biblical studies, commentaries on St. Matthew's gospel and I Corinthians; on prayer, Charles Neil and J.M. Willoughby (eds.), *The Tutorial Prayer Book: For the Teacher, the Student, and the General Reader* (1912/13); on doctrine, Griffith Thomas, *The Catholic Faith: A Manual of Instruction for Members of the Church of England* (1920); on Church history, Henry Melvill Gwatkin, *Early Church History to A.D. 313, Vol II* and Edward L. Cutts, *Turning Points of General Church History*. In mid-January 1930, Musazi requested the Bishop of Uganda to bring the required books to him at Budo (UCU BA 1/66.2 I.K. Musazi to Bishop of Uganda, 13 January 1930).

⁸³ ARP 7/4/71 Audrey Richards, Field Notes, 24 January 1956. The whereabouts of Musazi's homily are unknown.

between Musazi and the Church of Uganda—compounded by the inability of Musazi and Budo’s headmaster, Canon Grace, to ‘get on’ with one another.⁸⁴

In 1930, Musazi—with the assistance of Kupuliano Bisase Kisosonkole, Serwano Kulubya, and to a lesser extent, Eridadi M.K. Mulira—established the Young People’s Organisation (YPO), a co-educational students’ society organised to ‘discuss problems of common interest’.⁸⁵ YPO proved a useful vehicle for Musazi to articulate his burgeoning political project. In the same year, Musazi and Kisosonkole published a missive on education in Uganda,⁸⁶ where the two argued that ‘if coercion is used for making people grow cotton, it must be used for making them go to school’.⁸⁷ Contextualising the co-educational philosophies of Canon Grace and Dr James Aggrey (see Chapter Two),⁸⁸ the two argued that there ‘is no hope for any country to advance if its women are left behind’.⁸⁹ For Musazi, debate concerning female education provided a platform to engage in broader reflection on social equality, a time when Africa would be ‘God’s servant, the world’s master, and his own man’.⁹⁰ Musazi argued that Africa’s ‘true emancipation’ rested solely with the African, thereby requiring ‘co-operation in all directions’.⁹¹ Using W.E.B. Du Bois and II Thessalonians 3¹⁰, Musazi called for the religious education of African women and men:

Religious Education is capable of bringing the African to the day of his salvation more quickly than the Secular Education, for the simple reason that while the

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ CCAS MP E.M.K. Mulira, [‘Autobiography’], Mss., n.d., p. 51.

⁸⁶ I.K. Musazi and K.B. Kisosonkole, ‘Education in Uganda’, *Uganda Church Review*, 18 (1930), 50–55.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 51.

⁸⁸ Familiarity with Aggrey in Buganda was a result of the Phelps-Skokes Commission (see Chapter Two). Pictorial evidence shows that Musazi personally met Aggrey during the Commission (HMG). Aggrey’s philosophy of co-education was mediated to Musazi through Canon Grace, whose own ideals had been ‘profoundly’ shaped by Aggrey (CCAS MP Mollie Grace to E.M.K. Mulira, 28 April 197[5(?)]). For further discussion see: Gordon P. McGregor, *King’s College Budo: A Centenary History, 1906–2006* (Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 2006), pp. 53, 66 & 84.

⁸⁹ Musazi and Kisosonkole, ‘Education in Uganda’, p. 52.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 53.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 55.

latter makes one fit to earn meat, the former makes one know “the end and aim of life which meat nourishes.”⁹²

Whereas secular education tended to ‘make a person a tool’,⁹³ religious education produced ‘the carpenter and the tools’.⁹⁴ In short, by the early 1930s Musazi had begun using his religious training to cultivate his political ethos, to imagine Buganda’s kingdom as an equitable society for women and men (see Figure 1.2).

In 1934, Musazi left Budo to assume a position as educational inspector in the colonial department of education, an experience that incited his growing concern over social inequality.⁹⁵ Protesting low housing standards for African inspectors on assignment, Musazi refused to travel to Fort Portal and resigned shortly thereafter.⁹⁶ After stepping down, Musazi transitioned into full-time politics. But before addressing his nascent project, it is necessary to return to Musazi’s training in England, to rethink his emerging political sensibilities in global context.

God & Global History

Ministerial training in England provided a global framework for Musazi to conceptualise his project in the late 1930s and 1940s. In Buganda, Christian experience had long provided neophytes with a global framework to identify with a universal other. Through Christian liturgy, biblical text and personal relationships with foreign missionaries, Ganda converts used religious experience to reposition themselves globally. When CMS missionary Alexander Mackay explained to Hamu Mukasa and Bartolomayo Musoke Zimbe the significance of the arrival of Christianity in Buganda, he talked about Asian and European Church history. Zimbe recalled:

⁹² Ibid., p. 54. In the same paragraph, Musazi and Kisosonkole specifically cite II Thessalonians. And while Du Bois is not directly referenced, the statement, ‘the end and aim of life which meat nourishes,’ is a direct quotation from *The Souls of Black Folk*:

And this course of study will not change; its methods will grow more deft and effectual, its content richer by toil of scholar and sight of seer; but the true college will ever have one goal,—not to earn meat, but to know the end and aim of that life which meat nourishes (W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, ed. by Brent H. Edwards (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 58).

⁹³ Musazi and Kisosonkole, ‘Education in Uganda’, p. 54.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Interview, Hugo Barlow, 11 November 2010, Munyonyo (Kampala).

⁹⁶ ARP 7/4/71 Audrey Richards, Field Notes, 24 January 1956. See also: BNA CO 536/197/16/1 Descendants of Kintu to Daudi Chwa, 19 September 1938.

On 29th November 1885 Bwana Mackay preached to us taking his theme from the Gospel of St. John 12–20. The Greeks went to a feast and went to [Philip] who went to [Andrew] and both went to Jesus Christ—John 12–20; 21, 12; 23–24. You are the Greeks who were brought to Isa Masiya (Christ). The Greeks had learned something about the religion of the Jews and you had learned something about [Mohammedanism] [sic.] before you came to us who stand in the place of [Philip] and [Andrew]. The Scots in Europe love the Apostle [Andrew] very much and their Church is called after him. I too am a Scot, their representative who has to give you the Greeks to Christ and this is why I tell you that you have been presented to Christ here at Natete. Let this place therefore be a monument in remembrance of your salvation by Christ of the calling of Gentiles to Jesus for the first time in Buganda. And he chose St. Andrew's day for all Christians in Buganda to gather at Natete to commemorate the coming of Christianity.⁹⁷

For Musazi, living and studying in England with international ordinands afforded him an opportunity to personally experience a *global* Christianity.⁹⁸ From its founding in the nineteenth century, St. Augustine's had been a training ground for colonial diocesan clergy and 'native' ministers,⁹⁹ a tradition the school upheld at least until the mid-twentieth century. In 1953, St. Augustine's student body was comprised of students from no less than thirteen countries from around the world.¹⁰⁰ And it is reasonable to suggest that St. Augustine's student body constituted a diverse international body during Musazi's time of study.¹⁰¹

Musazi used his courses to critically and theologically reflect on world history. In an essay on the person and work of the Holy Spirit in the New Testament, students reflected upon Christianity's global dissemination. One supervision essay read:

They went through the region of Phrygia and Galatia, having been forbidden of the Holy Ghost to speak the word in Asia [Acts 16:6].

Shew the importance of this upon the destinies of the Western World. Can you trace any analogy in the founding of the Uganda Mission?¹⁰²

⁹⁷ B. Musoke Zimbe, *Buganda and the King*, trans. by F. Kamoga (Mengo, 1978), pp. 136–37.

⁹⁸ Interview, Semakula M. Kiwanuka, 19 November 2010, Muyenga (Kampala).

⁹⁹ Carry, *God's Empire*, pp. 275–76.

¹⁰⁰ UCU BA 1/179.9 K. Sansbury to Anglican Archbishops and Bishops, December 1953. Students were represented from: East, West and Central Africa, Canada, Ceylon, England, India, Hong Kong, Japan, Mauritius, New Zealand, Pakistan and the United States.

¹⁰¹ Cf., Carry, *God's Empire*, p. 285.

¹⁰² UCU BA 1/66.2 'Examination for Priests' Orders', 1929.

In his Bible, Musazi took note of the extra-Judean character and dissemination of the gospel. Global dissemination in the books of Acts was defined as a ‘liberating idea’,¹⁰³ a phrase used four times to describe the inexorable propagation of the gospel. Musazi first used the phrase to describe Pentecost, the moment when early Christians were believed to have first received a supernatural ability to speak different languages for the purpose of evangelisation.¹⁰⁴ In his second and third usage, Musazi applied the phrase to Acts 4^{18–20}, where Peter and John were commanded by hostile rulers to cease evangelisation. In response, the two replied: ‘we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard.’¹⁰⁵ In its final usage, Musazi employed the phrase to refer to the diffusion of ‘the word’ made possible by persecuted migrants.¹⁰⁶ In short, early Church history provided Musazi with a collection of case studies to observe a ‘going to and fro’ for the dissemination and increase of knowledge,¹⁰⁷ a pattern of global movement and solidarity.

Theological interpretation of world history coincided with Musazi’s growing interest in global political struggle and the relationship between faith and politics, an interest he cultivated while at St. Augustine’s. After all, St. Augustine’s founder, Edward Coleridge (1800–1883), situated his political nationalism alongside the English Church, an agenda he inherited from his forebear, Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834).¹⁰⁸ Musazi’s stay in England coincided with the general strike of May 1926, which shaped his developing sense of social justice.¹⁰⁹ Organized by the Trade Union Congress over low wages and poor working conditions among coal miners, the strike demonstrated to Musazi the importance of social protest and labour strikes—strategies he incorporated in the 1940s. Further, the general strike fuelled Musazi’s growing interest in the history of peasant struggle in nineteenth-century France. He returned to Uganda considering Émile François Zola one of his favourite writers and activists.¹¹⁰ Musazi’s deep appreciation for

¹⁰³ IKML English Bible/Acts 2^{1–4}, annotation.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ IKML English Bible/Acts 4^{18–20}, annotation.

¹⁰⁶ IKML English Bible /Acts 8^{1–4}, annotation.

¹⁰⁷ IKML English Bible/Daniel 12⁴, annotation.

¹⁰⁸ Carry, *God’s Empire*, pp. 272–73.

¹⁰⁹ Interview, Hugo Barlow, 11 November 2010, Munyonyo (Kampala). Cf., ‘Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances which occurred in Uganda during January, 1945’, pp. 9 & 11.

¹¹⁰ Interview, Hugo Barlow, 11 November 2010, Munyonyo (Kampala).

Zola resulted in effort to persuade his sister to name her son, Émile. Having failed to convince his sister, Musazi lobbied the name of his second favourite French writer, Victor Hugo, and succeeded.¹¹¹ Musazi studied French,¹¹² and read Zola's *J'Accuse!*, the central literary document of the Dreyfus Affair.¹¹³ Printed in *L'Aurore* on 13 January 1898, Zola argued:

Since they have dared, I myself shall also dare. I shall speak the truth, because I promised to do so if the normal channels of justice did not proclaim it fully and completely. My duty is to speak. [...] My night would be haunted by the specter of the innocent man who, far away, is suffering the most atrocious of tortures for a crime he did not commit. I cry out this truth to you, *monsieur le Président*, with all the force of my outrage as an upright and decent man. In deference to your own honor, I am convinced that you do not know the truth. And to whom else shall I denounce the maleficent crowd of true criminals, if not to you, the chief magistrate of the land.¹¹⁴

For Musazi, Zola's letter provided a moral critique from which he railed political and economic abuse in twentieth-century Buganda (see below). In summary, Musazi's political sensibilities had been distinctly shaped by theology and global history by the 1930s, to which I now turn.

Adapting Social Critique: The Bible & Global Intellectual Capital

Scholars of Uganda have interpreted Buganda's dissenting politics in the 1920s and 1940s alongside Bataka politics. Holly Hanson argues that in the 1920s clan elders, royals, spirit mediums and in some instances chiefs, argued for 'multiple structures of power that had characterized Buganda in the past'.¹¹⁵ To dispute Buganda's *mailo* restructuring and Kaggwa's political project, observes Hanson, activists imagined a past when kings mediated their power through acts of reciprocity with clan heads.¹¹⁶ Exploring the discursive relationship between Bataka activists during the 1920s and 1940s, Carol Summers argues that Bataka in the 1940s reasoned 'a vision of citizenship rooted in the

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² UCU BA 1/66.2 Knight, St. Augustine's, to Bishop of Uganda, 15 October 1927.

¹¹³ Mark K. Jensen, *Emile Zola's J'Accuse!: A New Translation with a Critical Introduction* (Soquel, C.A.: Bay Side Press, 1992), p. 5.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 15.

¹¹⁵ Holly E. Hanson, *Landed Obligation: The Practice of Power in Buganda* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 2003), pp. 203 & 217.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 212–16. Cf., Neil Kodesh, *Beyond the Royal Gaze: Clanship and Public Healing in Buganda* (Charlottesville, V.A.: University of Virginia Press, 2010).

rights and responsibilities of grandfathers and grandsons [...]’.¹¹⁷ To practice dissent, activists used generational sensibility and ‘deployed understandings of power, identity, and connectedness rooted in specifically Ganda understandings of the relations between grandfathers and grandsons’.¹¹⁸ In so doing, activists employed the language of generational and moral responsibility and rights to rebuff ‘inequitable hierarchies’.¹¹⁹

In this final section, I use Musazi’s annotated library to show that that he used theology and global history to reinterpret Bataka discourse from the 1920s. Building upon Bulemeezi’s royalist past, Musazi used his Bible and Harold Laski to argue that Buganda’s monarchy was an equitable kingdom governed by just sovereigns who were obliged to care for their subjects, protecting them from greedy and corrupt chiefs. While Musazi and Bataka activists both sought to push Buganda’s Protestant chiefs to the margins, their projects were conceptually different in one important respect: whereas Bataka activists anchored their project in Buganda’s pre-monarchical past, Musazi imagined a distinctly royalist past, historical space where moral kings ruled Buganda with equity.

Abazukulu ba Kintu

To contest Buganda’s monarchy, I.K. Musazi and a cadre of Baganda established *Abazukulu ba Kintu* (the Descendants of Kintu) in 1938.¹²⁰ The immediate circumstances surrounding the formation of the organisation were economic, political and historical.¹²¹ Economically, members of Uganda’s first registered trade union, The Uganda Motor Drivers’ Association (whose membership largely constituted *Abazukulu*),¹²² critiqued the colonial government’s plan to restrict African-owned public transportation services.¹²³ Politically, *Abazukulu* reacted strongly against the Native Administration Ordinance,

¹¹⁷ Carol Summers, ‘Grandfathers, Grandsons, Morality, and Radical Politics in Late Colonial Buganda’, *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 38 (2005), 427–47 (p. 428). Cf., Summers, ‘Radical Rudeness’, pp. 741–70.

¹¹⁸ Summers, ‘Grandfathers, Grandsons, Morality, and Radical Politics in Late Colonial Buganda’, p. 428.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ ICS 29/1/5/3 ‘Who’s Who of Buganda’s Troubles’, Mss., n.d. David Apter dated the founding of *Abazukulu* to 28 May 1938 (Apter, *Political Kingdom*, p. 203).

¹²¹ For additional context, refer to the opening section of this Chapter.

¹²² Apter, *The Political Kingdom in Uganda*, p. 203.

¹²³ BNA CO 536/197/16/1 Descendants of Kintu to Daudi Chwa, 19 September 1938.

which, if passed, would ‘amalgamate the Native Government of Buganda with any of the other Native Administrations of the Protectorate’.¹²⁴ For *Abazukulu*, this was considered ‘absurd’, a ploy to undermine Buganda’s sovereignty.¹²⁵ Historically, *Abazukulu* politicking reflected the forceful, discursive character of Bulemeezi royalism. *Abazukulu* actors sought to undermine Apolo Kagga’s historical and political project, and to do this dissidents used biblical exegesis and global intellectual history to adapt Bataka critique from the 1920s.

Abazukulu discourse echoed earlier Bataka critique from the 1920s. Like Bataka, *Abazukulu* argued that Buganda’s regents were no longer concerned for the welfare of ordinary Baganda.¹²⁶ However, their project was noticeably different in one important respect—*Abazukulu* did not anchor their activism in an imagined, pre-monarchical past. By contrast, they embraced and advanced the political and historical purposes of Buganda’s absolute monarchy, not its clan heads. On 19 September 1938, Musazi and *Abazukulu* forwarded a nineteen-page missive to *Kabaka* Daudi Chwa, where they accused Buganda’s regents of intimidating members of the *Lukiiko*, mismanaging kingdom estates and misappropriating revenues.¹²⁷ *Abazukulu* argued that chiefs no longer cared for the ‘interests of the people in general and their business enterprises in particular’.¹²⁸ Out of fear of compromising potential promotion, chiefs no longer represented the interest of their people.¹²⁹ As sons of Buganda’s proto-mythical king, Kintu, *Abazukulu* appealed to their current king for justice: ‘We suffer injustice; we dread the future; will your Highness then now turn a deaf ear to our miseries? It is the duty of our Protector to guard us against any evil.’¹³⁰

One reason that explains why *Abazukulu* focused their project around Buganda’s monarchy—and not clan heads—is because Bulemeezi activists shaped the organisation’s discursive character. I.K. Musazi was a son of Bulemeezi. Earlier Bataka activists *Kangaano* Samwiri Mukasa and his son, Shem Spire Mukasa, Daudi Chwa’s

¹²⁴ BNA CO 536/202/4/53 A.H. Cox to Ministers, Mengo, 4 October 1938.

¹²⁵ BNA CO 536/202/4/ 2 Descendants of Kintu to Secretary of State, 17 December 1938.

¹²⁶ BNA CO 536/197/16/1 Descendants of Kintu to Daudi Chwa, 19 September 1938

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

personal secretary,¹³¹ were also important leaders in Musazi's movement.¹³² Another important organiser of the movement was Revd Reuben Spartas Mukasa, whose Orthodox devotees in Buganda were primarily Balemeezi.¹³³ Musazi and Samwiri Mukasa embodied Protestant fervour that tended to characterise activism in Bulemeezi, where, not unlike Catholic politics in Buddu (see Chapter Five), Protestant and regional politics were closely unified. In 1938—as *Abazukulu* was being organised—Balemeezi Church leaders and *ggombolola* chiefs developed a consolidation fund for the purpose of simultaneously funding priests, a *mutaka*, and the *kangaawo* with his assistants. The stated intent of the fund was to further peace and stability in the county.¹³⁴

Abazukulu activists used biblical passages to argue politics. For Bulemeezi's ministerial trainee, Musazi, and former Bible translator, *Kangaawo* Samwiri Mukasa, the Bible provided extensive moral capital from which to reconceptualise Buganda's monarchy, language that activists readily employed in their lament to *Kabaka* Chwa:

We are the only most precious heritage bequeathed to Your Highness by Kintu; we are the only people on the earth whom the Good God has placed under your protection and governance. But still, your humble servants and petitioners will not loose [sic.] heart; we know that in your lifetime your right hand will ever stretch out to defend us[.]¹³⁵

Musazi and his colleagues argued that Buganda's kingship was an equitable monarchy, established by a God believed to be 'no respecter of persons', one 'who inspires men with truth and justice to work and live for the welfare and protection of their fellow men'.¹³⁶ Rendering themselves the political heirs of Kintu, Bulemeezi's *Abazukulu*

¹³¹ Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, p. 217.

¹³² ARP 7/4/62–63 Audrey Richards, Field Notes, 24 January 1956; and Apter, *The Political Kingdom in Uganda*, p. 203. Cf., Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, pp. 206–20.

¹³³ By the mid-1940s, Spartas suggested that the Orthodox Church had approximately 4924 adherents in Buganda and an additional membership of 5367 in Busoga and Lango. In Buganda, Balemeezi devotees constituted 74 percent of Spartas' following (MUA Revd Reuben Spartas Mukasa, 'History', Mss., 1946). I wish to thank Derek Peterson for providing me with access to his notes on Spartas' history.

¹³⁴ UCU BA 1/41.12 Rev. Canon Kezekiya Kaggwa to Bishop of Uganda, C.E. Stuart, 8 August 1938.

¹³⁵ BNA CO 536/197/16/1 Descendants of Kintu to Daudi Chwa, 19 September 1938. God's 'right hand' is associated with Protection and favour in the Hebrew Bible.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

activists used the Bible to imagine monarchical revival in order to contest corrupt and unjust rulers.

By using the Bible to contest Buganda's monarchy, Musazi and his political community employed a practice that Ganda Christians had come to use to challenge Apolo Kagwa's project. This point warrants emphasis. Recent scholars, such as Neil Kodesh, argue that Protestant Baganda used their Bibles and biblical teaching to 'consolidate their position at the apex of the reconstituted political order'.¹³⁷ But Protestantism clearly was not a hegemonic community in Buganda, and neither was the Protestant Bible used only to consolidate power. While some Protestants used their Bible to legitimise political ascendancy, others used biblical narration to question political promotion. In 1939, Revd Bartolomayo Zimbe published his extensive history, *Buganda ne Kabaka*. His use of scriptural reasoning throughout the work demonstrates the extent to which early Protestant converts mined the Bible for a moral grammar to envision competing claims of political legitimacy in *Protestant* Buganda—a hermeneutical and political method not unique to B/Uganda.¹³⁸ The purpose of Zimbe's history was to

¹³⁷ Kodesh, *Beyond the Royal Gaze*, p. 65.

¹³⁸ Adrian Hastings argued that the 'Bible provided, for the Christian world at least, the original model of the nation', further suggesting that without the Bible 'and its Christian interpretation and implementation, it is arguable that nations and nationalisms, as we know them—including Africa—could never have existed' (Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 4). Similar to Hastings, J.D.Y. Peel suggests that Bible translation played a crucial part in the creation of Yoruba national identity. More than their European counterparts could have imagined, contends Peel, African agents defined themselves in the language of biblical narration. (J.D.Y. Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba* (Bloomington, I.N.: Indiana University Press, 2003), pp. 155 & 288–89). Similarly, Derek Peterson argues that 'Bible translation was one way that Gikuyu argued about the morally challenging implications of economic and political change' in twentieth-century Kenya (Derek Peterson, 'The Rhetoric of the Word: Bible Translation and Mau Mau in Colonial Central Kenya', in *Missions, Nationalism, and the End of Empire*, ed. by Brian Stanley and Alaine Low (Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2003), pp. 165–79 (p. 166)). Bible translation allowed Kikuyu youths to create new political grammars 'to serve in internally contentious ethnic debates over age, power, and wealth' (Ibid.). And more recently, Daniel Magaziner shows how South Africa's Black Consciousness Movement conceptualised political resistance through a critical interaction with theological and biblical metaphor (Daniel Magaziner, *The Law and the Prophets: Black Consciousness in South Africa, 1968–1977* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010). See also: John Lonsdale, 'Jomo Kenyatta, God & the Modern World', in *African Modernities: Entangled Meanings in Current Debate*, ed. by Jan G. Deutsch, Peter Probst and Heike Schmidt (London: James Currey, 2002), pp. 31–66; and Joel Cabrita, 'Politics and Preaching: Chiefly Converts to the

complicate Apolo Kaggwa's earlier, functional histories, *Bassekabaka be Buganda* (1901) and *Ekitabo Kye Mpisa Za Baganda* (1905). Zimbe noted:

We read these books [*Bassekabaka* and *Empisa*] with great interest and appreciate that without them it would be difficult for us to get the history of Buganda at present. [...] In this book I intend to write about other things which you cannot find in those books, and I have attempted to correct those I found untrue [...] ¹³⁹

Kaggwa used his history on Buganda's precolonial monarchy to historicise the legitimacy of his political project.¹⁴⁰ Kaggwa's interest concerned political adaptation and progress, sociality and power restructured along non-monarchical lines.¹⁴¹ Unlike Kaggwa, when Zimbe talked about Buganda's monarchy he talked about justice and social stability:¹⁴²

The meaning of this name Kintu is "Kintu kya Mukama" 'The person of God (Katonda). The Baganda distinguished Katonda (God) as the creator of all things in the world: people and animals. Accordingly, Kintu was called "Muntu wa Mukama" and when a person stabbed his enemy while fighting in the battle he would refer the blame to the Kabaka; saying, "Kulwa Kabaka" meaning I have killed you but on behalf of Kabaka because I have no power to kill the man of God. They know that God gave only Kabaka the power of killing another person and also to give judgement to the people. Even [as] a person stabbed an animal whilst hunting would say "Kulwa Kabaka" (on behalf of the Kabaka). This shows us two things. The first thing is this that the people, since long time ago, knew that there was God who created things and all the things belonged to him. Another thing is that the people respected the Kabaka and put all the things under his power.¹⁴³

Like *Abazukulu* activists during the same period, Zimbe did not create an historical and political narrative steeped in the language of Bataka. His project attempted to imagine an equitable and living monarch—*Buganda ne Kabaka*, Buganda and the [living] King. Through the biblical reinterpretation of Buganda's past, Zimbe aligned Buganda's historical kingdom along the lines of an existing, morally endowed monarch, bringing

Nazareth Church, Obedient Subjects and Sermon Performance in South Africa', *Journal of African History*, 51 (2010), 21–40.

¹³⁹ Zimbe, *Buganda and the King*, p. 1.

¹⁴⁰ John Rowe, 'Myth, Memoir, and Moral Admonition: Luganda Historical Writing, 1893–1969', *Uganda Journal*, 33 (1969), 17–40, 217–19 (pp. 21–22); Michael Twaddle, 'On Ganda Historiography', *History in Africa*, 1 (1974), 85–100 (p. 91); John Rowe, 'Eyewitness Accounts of Buganda History: The Memoirs of Ham Mukasa and His Generation', *Ethnohistory*, 36 (1989), 61–71 (p. 62); and Kodesh, *Beyond the Royal Gaze*, p. 33.

¹⁴¹ Apolo Kaggwa, *Ekitabo Kye Kika Kya Nsenene*, trans. by John Rowe, 2nd edn (Mengo, Uganda: 1905), pp. 136–38.

¹⁴² Kaggwa, *Ekitabo Kye Mpisa Za Baganda*, pp. 122–33.

¹⁴³ Zimbe, *Buganda and the King*, p. 8.

into question Kaggwa's history of dead kings—*Bassekabaka*.¹⁴⁴ A history of a living, moral monarchy was placed in contrast to a history of deceased, administrative kings—the difference could not be starker.

Dissenting uses of the Bible often accompanied the political adaptation of world history. *Abazukulu* was the first important political platform of Revd Reuben Spartas Mukasa, whose Orthodox project was shaped by critical interaction with text and world history. Born in the late nineteenth century, Spartas began his formal education at an Anglican school in Nakanyonyi at the age of eight.¹⁴⁵ Spartas' exceptional performance was recognised by Archdeacon Daniel, who arranged for Spartas to live with his household at the diocesan theological college in Mukono (now Uganda Christian University), where he completed his primary education in a nearby school.¹⁴⁶ From Mukono, Spartas earned a scholarship to attend King's College, Budo, where he considered pursuing priesthood in the Anglican Church.¹⁴⁷ However, 'during the course of his reading [...] he discovered that "Anglicanism was a mere branch of the true Church"'.¹⁴⁸ In course, during his service in the King's African Rifles during World War I, Spartas read Marcus Garvey's *Negro World*, where he learned about the African Orthodox Church in America before establishing the Orthodox Church in Uganda.¹⁴⁹ For Mukasa, Orthodoxy provided an historical capital to critique colonialism and missionary paternalism (see Postscript).¹⁵⁰

Global intellectual capital provided Musazi, too, with rhetorical content to proffer moral critique, especially toward colonial rulers. As discussed earlier, by the time Musazi returned from Britain he had already familiarised himself with the history of European politics. And in the late 1930s and 1940s, Musazi argued that if Britain was going to govern Buganda, it was expected that they would rule in the historical (imagined) tradition of British justice. In a ten-page letter sent to the Secretary of State

¹⁴⁴ *Enkuluzze y'Oluganda ey'e Makerere*, ed. by K.B. Kiingi and others (Kampala: Foundation Publishers (2007), p. 844.

¹⁴⁵ F. W. Welbourn, *East African Rebels: A Study of Some Independent Churches* (London: SCM Press, 1961), p. 77.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 78–79.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 84.

concerning the high-handed dismissal of leaders within the *Lukiiko*, Musazi expressed prayerful hope for the application of ‘the principle of human liberty [...] English justice and fair play’.¹⁵¹ Musazi used language that closely resembled Émile François Zola’s to critique British policy. In the 1930s, the British government had dismissed without trial two important members of Buganda’s *Lukiiko*—Buganda’s treasurer, Simeoni Damulira; and acting private secretary to Daudi Chwa, *Omutaka* Ivan G. The dismissal reminded Musazi of Captain Alfred Dreyfus’ controversial sentencing, and to chide British policy Musazi argued similarly to Zola:

[I]f anyone lying under the flag of the British Justice can be dismissed without having his case first tried by the Lukiiko, and if this becomes a custom, many people are liable to suffer a doom when those People in authority know very well that they can do whatever they like without being checked.¹⁵²

Following this initial letter to Uganda’s governor, *Abazukulu* produced further correspondence, drawing explicitly from British history. Contextualising seventeenth-century English Civil War history, *Abazukulu* vowed to relentlessly confront colonial injustice for the sake of Buganda’s king:

We are decided and determined to fight their [British] tyranny, although remains unchecked for ever; unceasingly in the same way as was done by the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England and Scotland; Oliver Cromwell, in 1654–1659, when he said to the tyrant Parliament that “Begone and make room for better men”. So, unceasingly, we will fight for our country and our constitutional Kabaka, as long as we live under the UNION JACK which bespeaks of Justice, Freedom and Fair-play.¹⁵³

In short, Musazi and dissenting activists in the late 1930s used the Bible and global intellectual history to adapt political critique inherited from the 1920s.

Reading Revolution: Harold Laski and the Prophets

By the mid-1940s, Musazi’s political project shifted, refocusing primarily on grievances among rural farmers. Marginalia in Musazi’s library indicates that to imagine politics in the 1940s he used biblical ideals and world history, just as he and *Abazukulu* had earlier in the late 1930s. But before exploring Musazi’s marginalia, methodological discussion is

¹⁵¹ BNA CO 536/202/4/2 Descendants of Kintu to Secretary of State, 17 December 1938.

¹⁵² BNA CO 536/202/4/6 The Kintu Descendants to Governor of Uganda, 30 August 1939.

¹⁵³ BNA CO 536/202/4/5 The Descendants of Kintu to Governor of Uganda, 29 September 1939.

necessary. When annotation is not dated, nor used in public discourse, to what extent can it illuminate the political thought of a subject? Does marginalia indicate the creation of new ideals or reflect presupposing proclivity? In other words, is text generative or reflective? Why did Musazi underscore one passage as opposed to any other? Why did he use a yellow pencil to underline one passage in Acts 10, only to use orange and purple in Acts 11? And was there even a reason for this? Perhaps Musazi's randomly selected yellow pencil had simply broken, requiring the use of another arbitrarily selected colour. Historians approach these sorts of questions differently. Roger Chartier argues that a 'history of reading and readers, popular or otherwise, is [...] an account of the historicity of the process of the appropriation of texts'.¹⁵⁴ Examining practices of public reading in early modern Europe, Chartier suggests that historians must understand the reader in the broader context of the community, exploring shared 'competencies, habits, codes and interests'.¹⁵⁵ More recently, Eamon Duffy studies prayer annotations in the Book of Hours in medieval England. For Duffy, owners' annotations allow the historian a rare opportunity to see what is 'intensely personal' and a 'set of clues to what it was [that] brought these first owners of these books to use them at all'.¹⁵⁶ Whereas Chartier emphasises the public usage of text, Duffy conceptualises marginalia as a personal archive, 'a series of unexpected windows into the hearts and souls of the men and women who long ago had used these books to pray'.¹⁵⁷

Following Chartier, social historians of Africa tend to emphasise the public, political utility of text—rendering reading and literacy social processes of personal self-

¹⁵⁴ Roger Chartier, 'Reading Matter and "Popular" Reading: From the Renaissance to the Seventeenth Century', in *A History of Reading in the West*, ed. by Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), pp. 269–83 (p. 276). Cf., Roger Chartier, *L'ordre des Livres: Lecteurs, Auteurs, Bibliothèques en Europe entre XIV^e et XVIII^e siècle* (Aix-en-Provence: Alinéa, 1992). For further discussion on the history of literacy and libraries in Europe see: Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); and Reinhard Wittmann, 'Was there a Reading Revolution at the End of the Eighteenth Century?', in *A History of Reading in the West*, ed. by Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press), pp. 284–312.

¹⁵⁵ Chartier, 'Reading Matter and "Popular" Reading', p. 276.

¹⁵⁶ Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers, 1240–1570* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), p. ix.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

positioning.¹⁵⁸ Exploring the political function of literacy among Kikuyu intellectuals in twentieth-century Kenya, Derek Peterson argues that readers often took ‘books’ characters on themselves, mining the storyline for words, phrases, and ideas that are *usable* in their own world’.¹⁵⁹ Peterson suggests that texts ‘do not belong on library shelves, tucked away from the sweat, blood, emotion, and idealism of human life’.¹⁶⁰ By contrast, ‘[r]eaders and writers are participants in a much wider body of composition that goes on off the written page’.¹⁶¹ Similarly, Karin Barber argues that ‘tin-trunk’ sources—diaries, notebooks, pamphlets, letters, etc.—show how reading and writing offered new ways for literate Africans in colonial Africa to engage in ‘the constitution of new kinds of self-representation and personhood’.¹⁶² For Barber, African literacy embodied aspiration, ‘new ways of being social, and new ways of relating to the world of officialdom’.¹⁶³

I do not dispute Peterson and Barber. As I have shown, I.K. Musazi, Reuben Spartas Mukasa and other activists in the late 1930s mined their books to inform social critique—to find words to *use*. Biblical passages and global intellectual capital were incorporated into numerous letters *Abazukulu* sent to both Baganda and Britons. But words and the formation of personal libraries are not only functional tools from which actors and communities practice empirical politics.¹⁶⁴ Words and marginalia are not

¹⁵⁸ Karin Barber, ‘Introduction: Hidden Innovators in Africa’, in *Africa’s Hidden Histories: Everyday Literacy and Making the Self*, ed. by Karin Barber (Bloomington, I.N.: Indiana University Press, 2006), pp. 1–24 (p. 5).

¹⁵⁹ Derek R. Peterson, *Creative Writing: Translation, Bookkeeping, and the Work of Imagination in Colonial Kenya* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 2004), p. xi. Italics added.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Barber, ‘Introduction’, p. 7.

¹⁶³ Ibid., pp. 3–4. See also: Alan G. Copley, ‘Literacy, Libraries and Consciousness: The Provision of Library Services for Blacks in South Africa in the Pre-Apartheid Era’, *Libraries & Cultures*, 32 (1997), 57–80; Bhekizizwe Peterson, ‘The Bantu World and the World of the Book: Reading, Reading, and “Enlightenment”’, in *Africa’s Hidden Histories: Everyday Literacy and Making the Self*, ed. by Karin Barber (Bloomington, I.N.: Indiana University Press, 2006), pp. 236–57; and Karin Barber, *The Anthropology of Texts, Persons and Publics: Oral and Written Culture in Africa and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 103–225.

¹⁶⁴ Complicating earlier scholarship that tended to reason language as expression or embodiment of thought, scholars such as John Austin, John Searle and Quentin Skinner, in the 1950s and 1960s argued that words are particular social acts aimed to *do* things (Annabel Brett, ‘What is Intellectual History Now?’, in *What is History Now?*, ed. by David Cannadine (New York: Palgrave Macmillan Ltd., 2002), pp. 113–32 (pp. 116–17). For further discussion see: Aletta

distant instruments of an agent removed from linguistic constitution.¹⁶⁵ To use Annabel Brett's summary: '[...] language does not reflect an independent reality or world, but instead *constitutes* that reality or world.'¹⁶⁶ In the creation of annotation, subjective being (expressed in marginalia) and social context (the text being annotated and the social purposes for which it is chosen) is comprehensibly and simultaneously observed.¹⁶⁷ Like Eamon Duffy, I suggest that marginalia provides unique insight into the heart and mind of a social subject. And by analysing *how* Musazi responded to a certain text through the creation of marginalia, the historian observes what later Wittgenstein rendered, 'a social conscious activity of the mind'.¹⁶⁸ When Musazi read text, he observed, took notes and intellectually and emotionally responded to narrative with meaningful reflection and commentary that often paralleled the discursive character of his public activism during the late 1930s and mid-1940s. Annotation and underscored text, therefore, reflect meaningful and intentional action, discourse and embodiment of a peculiar, shifting paradigm. Marginalia in Musazi's library not only shows us what he *did* with text, it shows us what he was *thinking*—and in turn how private reading shaped the qualitative character of public discourse. To reference Ricoeur, Musazi's marginalia represents 'signs', necessary conditions for historical understanding.¹⁶⁹

Norval, 'The Things we do with Words—Contemporary Approaches to the Analysis of Ideology', *British Journal of Political Science*, 30 (2000), 313–46.

¹⁶⁵ My language here is taken from Annabel Brett (Brett, 'What is Intellectual History Now?', p. 119).

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 120.

¹⁶⁷ Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 2nd edn, trans. by Joan Stambaugh (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1996), pp. 1–39, 49–56, 219–40 & 341–63; and Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 2nd edn, trans. by Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall (London: Sheed & Ward), 1989, pp. 265–491.

¹⁶⁸ Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, 2nd edn, trans. by G.E.M. Anscombe (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), section 156.

¹⁶⁹ Expounding Wilhelm Dilthey's contention that 'externalization in signs is the first condition for understanding others', Ricoeur argued that historic understanding is contingent upon the consideration of 'written signs or any other kind of sign which resembles writing and which constitutes an inscription in the broad sense of the term' (Ricoeur, 'History and Hermeneutics', *The Journal of Philosophy*, 73 (1976), 683–95 (p. 692). For Ricoeur, history was essentially 'a particularly explicit case of remembrance by means of traces and imprints' (Ibid., p. 691). See also: J.G.A. Pocock, *Political Thought and History: Essays on Theory and Method* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 108–10.

In 1944—on the eve of the January 1945 protests—I.K. Musazi was reading Harold Laski (1893–1950),¹⁷⁰ Labour parliamentarian and lecturer at the London School of Economics.¹⁷¹ Laski's *Reflections on the Revolution of our Time* was published in 1943 and is one of only two books dated to the 1940s that remain in Musazi's library.¹⁷² Musazi's copy of *Reflections* contains twelve annotated passages and no fewer than fifty-three underscored sections; Buganda's political landscape is specifically referenced five times.¹⁷³ The first four read:

Laski Text: The challenge to our system of values is, if this argument be correct, the outcome of our failure to maintain the right to hope; and that failure, in its turn, is born of the fact that our relations of production do not enable us to exploit with sufficient adequacy the forces of production at our disposal. [...]

Annotation: Yes So it is in Buganda now.¹⁷⁴

Laski Text: [...] and we are entitled to conclude that where, to-day, that development is not organized it is because those who refuse to attempt it have vested interests enlightenment would weaken.

Annotation: True with Buganda of today.¹⁷⁵

Laski Text: For any society in which the few are so wealthy and the many so poor that their minds are driven to perpetual consideration of their wealth and poverty is, in fact, a society at war, whether the fight be open or concealed. It is a society, once its power to expand is arrested, which cannot think in terms of a common interest because whatever is taken from one class is given thereby to another.

Annotation: Is Buganda not challenged!¹⁷⁶

Laski Text: The public opinion of this country is ready for fundamental change. Its traditional habits have been profoundly disturbed.

Annotation: Buganda too¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁰ IKML Harold Laski *Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time*, pastedown, annotation.

¹⁷¹ Isaac Kramnick and Barry Sheerman, *Harold Laski: A Life on the Left* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1993). Cf., Jeanne Morefield, 'States Are Not People: Harold Laski on Unsettling Sovereignty, Rediscovering Democracy', *Political Research Quarterly*, 58 (2005), 659–69.

¹⁷² Musazi's library contains a copy of P.A. Wadia and K.T. Merchant's *Our Economic Problem* (Bombay: New York Company, 1945), which he autographed in 1948.

¹⁷³ Additionally, Musazi referenced 'Uganda' in relation to the Atlantic Charter (IKML Laski *Reflections*, p. 190, annotation).

¹⁷⁴ IKML Laski *Reflections*, p. 179, annotation.

¹⁷⁵ IKML Laski *Reflections*, p. 185, annotation.

¹⁷⁶ IKML Laski *Reflections*, p. 186, annotation.

Clearly, Harold Laski's metaphors captured for Musazi his economic and political critique of the mid-1940s. Musazi and his colleagues believed themselves economically and politically undercut by corrupt Baganda with vested interest, Indian ginners and colonial bureaucrats. Unsurprisingly, Musazi's marginalia emphasised public morality and justice, political equality and economic emancipation. Buganda was considered a kingdom adversely impacted by 'relations of production', a polity ruled by leaders whose 'interests Enlightenment would weaken'. Consequently, Buganda was a 'society at war', a kingdom 'ready for fundamental change'.

Musazi used Laski to envision his project globally, to rethink economic struggle in Buganda outside the historical and political immediacy of eastern Africa:

Laski Text: [...] It is expressed again in the French Revolution by the *Enragés*, and by those who, with Babeuf, made the last despairing effort to recapture the fraternity for which men hoped in the great days of 1789 when those "petty lawyers and stewards of manors" whom Burke regarded with such contempt, legislated a new world into being. We catch again the same accent in the spacious dreams of 1848 and, above all, in that supreme optimism which enabled Marx and Engels, in a hundred pages, to trace the whole pattern, past and future, of human evolution. It is present, again, in that sudden sense of emancipation felt by the whole world when the Russian people struck off the chains of Czarist despotism. [...]

Annotation: True[;] May it come in Buganda of today?¹⁷⁸

Musazi's global reading of local economic struggle raises broader historical questions, calling into discussion dissenters' texts that have been typically read along Bataka lines. During the same year that Musazi read Laski, Bataka activist Daudi S. K. Musoke circulated one of the decade's more controversial political treatises, *Buganda Nyaffe* (Buganda our Mother). In the document—which was quickly proscribed by the colonial government—Musoke critiqued European sensibility.¹⁷⁹ To do so, he used the economic history of sub-Saharan Africa, including the Atlantic slave trade. In his concluding section, 'Britain still Favours the Keeping of Slaves', Musoke guided his readers through an account of British exploitation, from a history of the Royal Niger Company to the

¹⁷⁷ IKML Laski *Reflections*, p. 190, annotation.

¹⁷⁸ IKML Laski *Reflections*, p. 184, annotation.

¹⁷⁹ Summers, 'Radical Rudeness', pp. 749–51.

beginnings of the Imperial British East African Company.¹⁸⁰ For Musoke, 'Britain at one time detested the trade of slaves who were bought or robbed and sold to America and to other countries which were in need of slaves'.¹⁸¹ Following the abolition of the slave trade, Britain encouraged transnational trade 'in any other commodities or merchandise exchangeable in a proper manner'.¹⁸² However, in course, Britain used economic policy to create new forms of slavery:

it appears that Britain devised a scheme of buying slaves in a different manner: slaves bought within their own nation or land of their own origin in times past, which means that the slaves of the English do not have to go in other counties as prisoners.¹⁸³

Musoke continued:

Slave trade was abolished in one way while slave trade was again established in another form. The former slave trade was rather better as only few were transported from the country while their fellowmen who remained behind were left in peace; but the prevailing form of slavery includes children and women. Our necks are placed in the bondage of European laws even though we may have the impression that we are still in our birth-place homes.

The state of slavery in our nation of Buganda is not yet very acute but the time is not distant when we shall loose our land and become squatters on European estates, when the acute state of slavery shall be imposed on us in the same way as was done to our fellowmen in Kenya, South Africa and elsewhere. Our country is likely to suffer this fate of which our own people will be responsible: such people who are light hearted, who work for bribes and some of whom are already well known: beware of such men and more so when they are promoted to high ranks such as the Katikiroship.¹⁸⁴

To imagine moral critique against British policy and Ganda collaborators, Musoke situated political and economic corruption in Buganda alongside the Atlantic slave trade. In this respect, Bataka activists in the 1940s—like Musazi—used global history to rethink local contestation.

Musazi's 1944 reading of Laski is thematically consistent with two biblical passages he annotated during the same period. Following the 1945 disturbances, Musazi

¹⁸⁰ LFP 30/12 D.S.K. Musoke, '*Buganda Nyaffe*, Part I: A Descriptive Booklet about Land and its Users', Mss., [c. June 1944], pp. 33–36.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., p. 33.

¹⁸² Ibid., p. 34.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 35–36.

was deported to northern Uganda,¹⁸⁵ where in July 1946 he believed that God ‘revealed’ to him the meaning of Isaiah’s ‘trust fast’ (see Figure 1.3).¹⁸⁶ Isaiah’s prophecy reinforced Laski’s ideals of social justice, equality and emancipation:

Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? when thou seest the naked, that thou cover him; and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh? [...]¹⁸⁷

In the same year, Musazi read Amos, a book in the Hebrew Bible that explores a shepherd’s prophecy in the ancient Levant. Amos castigated Israel’s elites, those ‘[t]hat pant after the dust of the earth on the head of the poor, and turn aside the way of the meek’[.]¹⁸⁸ For Amos, opulence at the expense of the poor resulted in ‘a famine in the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the Lord’, or what Musazi simply called ‘A Hungry World’.¹⁸⁹ Throughout Musazi’s Bible, these dated themes are consistently annotated. It is apparent that Musazi focused his reading on the interdependence of social justice and the necessity of moral monarchialism, which helps explain how and why Musazi envisioned Buganda as an equitable kingdom. In biblical narrative, God used kings to redress social injustice and reform corrupt societies, particularly in the Hebrew Bible. And with the Bible’s repeated critique of corrupt monarchs who fail to administer justice, it is little wonder why the Bible was Musazi’s most annotated text.

Musazi annotated the themes of justice and kingship in Daniel and the Gospels, where monarchial justice implied social equality before an impartial God, societies concerned for the rights of the poor and economically oppressed. God’s kingdom was characterised by perfect justice and political kingdoms upon the earth progressed or collapsed according to their ability—or inability—to ensure social rectitude. In Daniel, Musazi focused mostly on chapters two, four and seven, which record a series of

¹⁸⁵ For further discussion see: ‘Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances which occurred in Uganda during January, 1945’.

¹⁸⁶ IKML Common Book of Prayer/Isaiah 58, annotation. In his Bible, Musazi recorded, ‘Revealed to me on 30/7/46 Kitgum Deportation’.

¹⁸⁷ IKML English Bible/Isaiah 58⁶⁻⁷, underscore.

¹⁸⁸ IKML English Bible/Amos 27.

¹⁸⁹ IKML English Bible/Amos 8¹¹⁻¹², annotation.

Nebuchadnezzar's and Daniel's dreams, and Daniel's subsequent political interpretation. In Daniel 2⁴⁴, Musazi noted Daniel's claim that the kingdoms of the earth would collapse eschatologically with the advent of God's eternal kingdom. In Daniel 4^{3 & 34} and 7^{13-14 & 27}, Musazi annotated 'Everlasting Kingdom', 'His Kingdom from generation to generation', 'His Kingdom not to be destroyed', and 'Whose Kingdom is an everlasting Kingdom'.¹⁹⁰ God's kingdom was compared with the Exodus narrative recounted in Daniel 9,¹⁹¹ where in Israel's deliverance from social oppression, Musazi observed a 'Righteous God' and political template for Buganda.¹⁹² Similarly, in II Chronicles 18¹⁻³ and 19² Musazi observed divine judgment exhibited toward corrupt monarchs and rulers.¹⁹³ In Isaiah, again, he specifically noted that God removed royalty from power for refusing to care for the poor and oppressed.¹⁹⁴ Failure to care for the disenfranchised was intrinsically linked to the 'perishing of kingdoms and nations'.¹⁹⁵ For Musazi, God's work on earth—and in consequence, the function of political monarchy—was to facilitate a 'habitation of justice'.¹⁹⁶

In the New Testament, Musazi noted how state sovereigns interacted with John the Baptist and Jesus. In the Markan narrative, John the Baptist loses his life on account of corrupt sovereigns in the royal palace. The Baptist was arrested for speaking against conjugal infidelity between Herod and his brother's wife. Initially, John was protected from Herod's lover's desire to have him executed. As Musazi noted, Herod feared John because he was a 'just man'.¹⁹⁷ However, through a rather bizarre sequence of promises, Herod executed John. For Musazi, this reflected the historic struggle between just peasants and corrupt royals. John and Herod's confrontation was considered a 'moral battle',¹⁹⁸ and having defined this narrative as moral, Musazi applied the story to his immediate political context, annotating: 'live as it was 1,900 years ago'.¹⁹⁹ Matthew 27

¹⁹⁰ IKML English Bible/Daniel, varied annotations.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² IKML English Bible/Daniel 9¹⁴, annotation.

¹⁹³ IKML English Bible/II Chronicles, underscore.

¹⁹⁴ IKML English Bible/Isaiah 3¹³⁻¹⁶, annotation.

¹⁹⁵ IKML English Bible/Isaiah 60, annotation.

¹⁹⁶ IKML English Bible/Jeremiah 31²³, annotation.

¹⁹⁷ IKML English Bible/Mark 6²⁰, underscore.

¹⁹⁸ IKML English Bible/Mark 6²¹⁻²⁸, annotation.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

tells the story of Judas' suicide and Jesus' trial and crucifixion. In Matthew's narrative, the governor who tried Jesus' civil case, Pilate, is portrayed as someone who knew with some degree of certainty about Jesus' innocence before his accusers. In this regard, the story is like Herod and John the Baptist. Regardless of Jesus' innocence, Pilate capitulated to the demand of the masses due to 'fear'.²⁰⁰ In Musazi's words, Pilate 'fear[ed] to do justice'.²⁰¹ Whereas Pilate refused to administer justice due to political expediency and fear, Musazi noticed Jesus' willingness to confront Judas, the corrupt and bribed. In Matthew 26, Jesus exemplified for Musazi the 'courage of a true man'.²⁰² In summary, just monarchs were obliged to care for their subjects, protecting them from ill-informed masses and royal politics. Clearly Musazi understood Pilate and Herod as corrupt for having failed to do either.

Conclusion

Musazi's marginalia provides a rare window into the political mind of dissenting politics in the 1940s. In the late 1930s, Musazi and *Abazukulu ba Kintu* adapted biblical exegesis and global political capital to directionalise royalist ideals derived from earlier Bulemeezi politics, and Bataka grievance from the 1920s. Marginalia helps explain why Musazi used the language of equitable monarchy to talk about Buganda, a moral kingdom governed by just sovereigns. Musazi believed that Buganda's citizenry was oppressed by powerful chiefs, like Israel's community in Egypt. Buganda was a kingdom 'at war', in need of 'fundamental change'. In 1945, demonstrators argued that Buganda's powerful chiefs sought to corrupt their kingdom's young sovereign, to eat Buganda's kingship—'*okulya Bwakabaka*'.²⁰³ And to contest Buganda's hungry chiefs, Musazi advocated for the historical and moral revival of monarchy, conceptually guided by Harold Laski and the Prophets.

²⁰⁰ IKML English Bible/Matthew 27²⁴, annotation.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² IKML English Bible/Matthew 26:15, 23 & 25, annotations.

²⁰³ 'Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances which occurred in Uganda during January, 1945', p. 10.

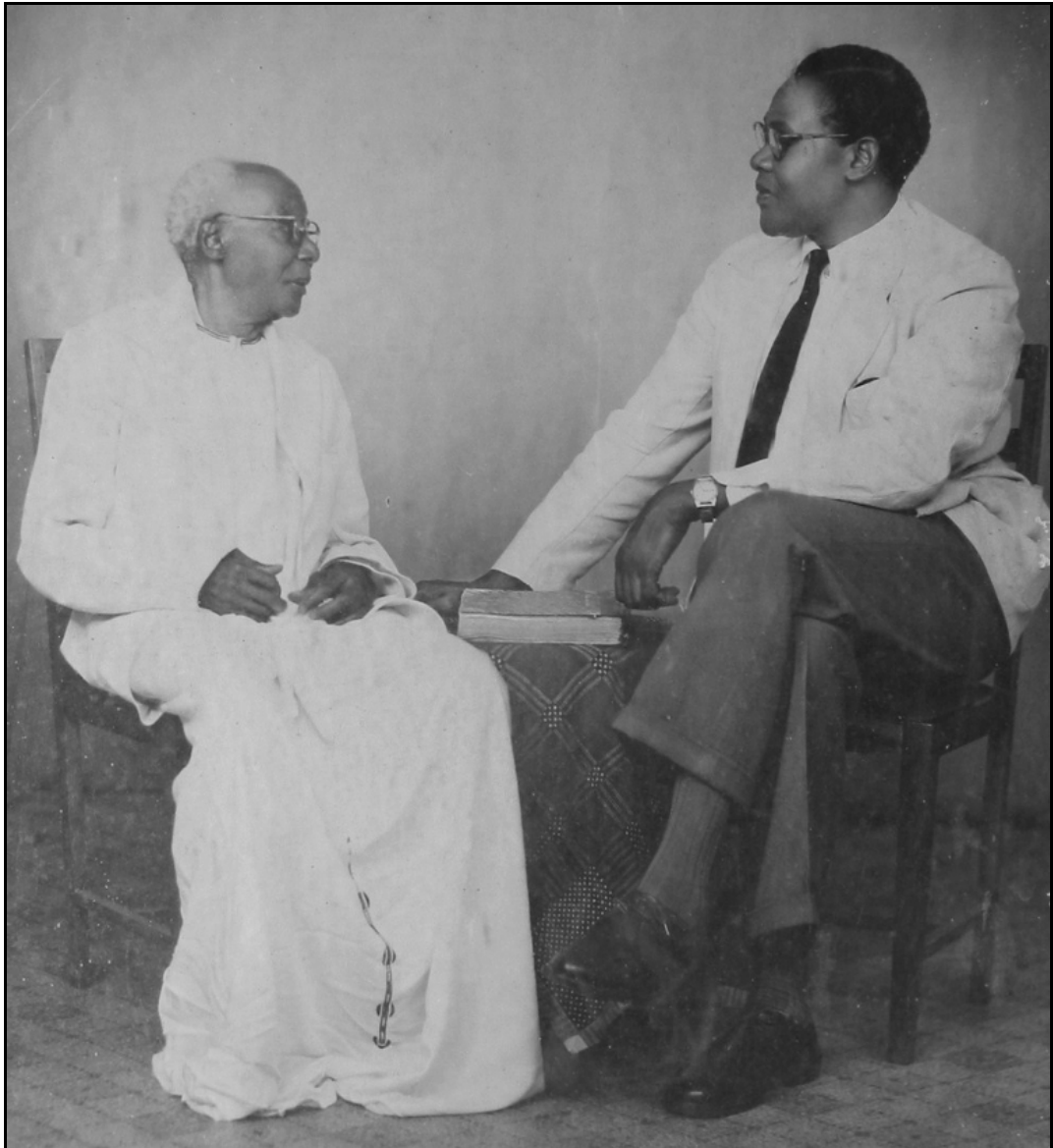


Figure 1.1 Nakyama Kangave and I.K. Musazi with family Bible, n.d.
Courtesy of E.N. Musazi



Figure 1.2 Co-educational Student Conference, King's College, Budo, 1932
 Mollie Grace (Row 2, 2nd left, sitting); Bisase Kisosonkole (Row 2, 5th left, sitting);
 I.K. Musazi (Row 2, far right, sitting); Thomas Makumbi (Row 3, 1st left, standing);
 Canon Grace (Row 4, 1st left, standing)
 Courtesy of Michael and Rae Grace

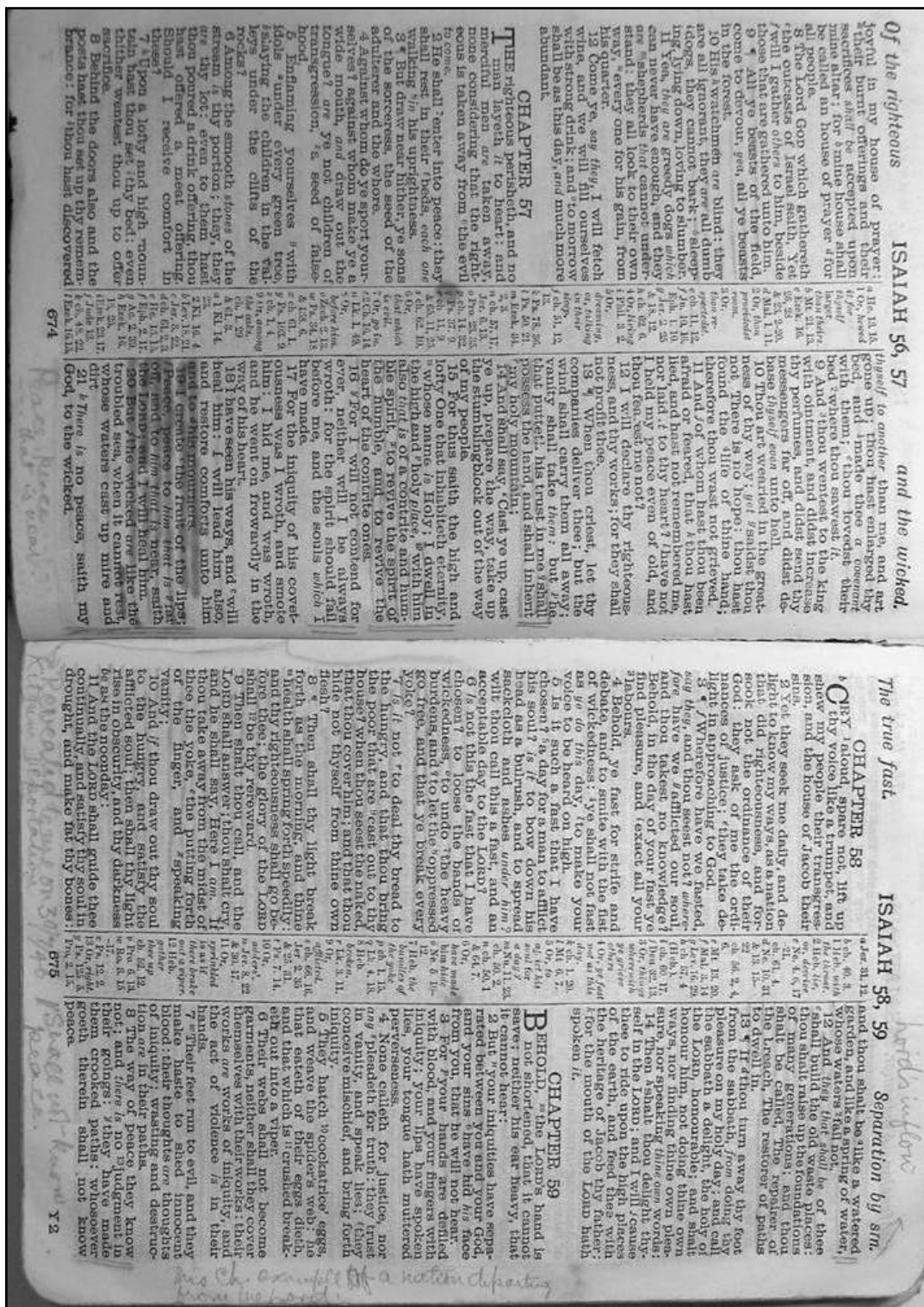


Figure 1.3 Isaiah 567–59
IKML English Bible (190mm x 260mm)

Chapter Two

Centrist Protestantism

Eridadi M.K. Mulira: 'The Commoners' Kingdom, c. 1909 to c. 1950

There is no nation on earth that can progress when one part is enjoying freedom while the rest are slaves. But the Bakopi in Buganda cannot claim freedom. [...] We long for a government with peoples' representation. We want all the parts to be with representation in all the councils of this nation. It sounds a distant cry from where we now are, but when you look at it critically, you find that it is the only type of government that can satisfy everyone's soul.

~Eridadi M.K. Mulira¹

Musazi had founded Bazzakulu ba Kintu [...] and incurred immediate opposition from Mengo. [...] Mulira was less forceful—quiet, very truthful, and always refusing to make rash promises. He was very inclusive—always trying to heal divisions and bring people together.

~Ernest K.K. Sempebwa²

Less than four months before the 1945 riots, Ignatius K. Musazi visited his former King's College, Budo, colleague, Eridadi M.K. Mulira (1909–1995).³ Now at Bishop Tucker's School, Mukono, Mulira received from Musazi the first draft of a memorandum that he was preparing to send to the *kabaka* and the colonial government.⁴ Musazi asked Mulira to think through the document during the evening that its contents might be discussed the following morning.⁵ In the evening, Mulira read Musazi's memorandum with care. Musazi argued that the social and political hope of Buganda rested with infusing the *Lukiiko* with a new order of moral chiefs uncorrupted by bribery—a

¹ E.M.K. Mulira, *Government Gyennonya: Abakopi Okuba N'eddobozi mu Buganda* (Kampala: Uganda Bookshop Press, 1944), p. 5.

² Interview, Gordon P. McGregor with Ernest Sempebwa, March 2002, Makerere, in Gordon P. McGregor, *King's College Budo: A Centenary History, 1906–2006* (Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 2006), p. 138.

³ CCAS MP E.M.K. Mulira, ['Autobiography'], Mss., n.d., p. 84 (hereafter 'Autobiography'). Mulira dates their visit to an unidentified Saturday in September 1944.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

chieftaincy to champion economic and political equality on behalf of the *bakopi*.⁶ Upon reflection, Mulira concluded: '[U]nfortunately, I was not satisfied, in fact to be truthful I was very disappointed. I did not feel the Memorandum had tackled the problem at issue; in the main it was very vague.'⁷ Mulira further remarked: 'I wondered very much whether, if that was the best that could be expected, we would give the new leadership we were clamouring after. I went to bed very disturbed.'⁸

Having gone to bed distressed because of Musazi's analysis, Mulira woke at 3:00 a.m. with what he described as a crystal clear proposal for the reform of Buganda's monarchy. Inspired by what he considered an 'unknown source', Mulira adapted and contested Musazi's proposal.⁹ Mulira imagined a political blueprint to recast Buganda's tainted polity,¹⁰ resulting in the publication of his first public political treatise, *Gavumenti Ey'abantu: Abakopi Okuba N'eddobozi Mu Buganda* (*Government of the People: The Commoners to Have a Voice in Buganda*). In his sixteen-page treatise, Mulira provided a detailed administrative model for Mmengo. Like Musazi, Mulira believed that Mmengo had become a government operating 'in darkness'.¹¹ But unlike Musazi, Mulira argued that Mmengo was morally obliged to provide equal parliamentary representation from among Buganda's peasants. In fact, Mmengo's political 'darkness' had resulted directly from its failure to legislatively incorporate *bakopi*, Buganda's commoners. For Mulira, Buganda's political development was intrinsically bound to *kopi* representation.¹² To frame the administrative structure of his ideal government,¹³ Mulira synthesized structures of

⁶ CMS ACC 549/z6 E.M.K. Mulira, 'The Legacy of Two Schools: Being a Historical Background to the Causes of Trouble in Uganda, in 1945', Mss., [c.] 1945, p. 8.

⁷ 'Autobiography', p. 84.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Mulira, *Government Gyennyanya*, p. 2.

¹² Ibid., p. 5.

¹³ Mulira's theoretical government was composed of two branches, similar to the Uganda Legislative Council: a legislature and an executive. In the Legislative branch (*Olukiko oluteseza ensi era nga lwe luteka n'amateka*), Mulira devised an equal assemblage of elected chiefs and *bakopi* representatives whose responsibility entailed the creation of law. In the Executive branch (*Olukiko oludukanya enkola n'ebitwesebwa byonna era nga lwe lulabirira amateka agatekebwa*), a council comprised solely of chiefs was responsible for enforcing legislation. Mulira argued that representative government ought to enable the creation of administrative assemblies, an equal representation of chiefs and *bakopi* at the *ggombolola* (sub-county) and *ssaza* (county) levels.

colonial governance with twentieth-century Ganda polity to conceptualise a kingdom for commoners to call their own. In Mulira's Buganda, commoners had equal footing alongside Musazi's chiefs and kings, and Bataka's antediluvian clan heads.

This Chapter explores the early biography and burgeoning political project of parliamentarian and educationalist Eridadi M.K. Mulira, B/Uganda's foremost Protestant constitutional thinker during the 1950s. Mulira reasoned Kooki—his home county—one of the three great 'earthly influences' upon his life. Mulira used Kooki to reconceptualise Buganda's monarchy as an assimilated and egalitarian polity. Mulira considered Canon Grace and the life of James Aggrey as the second and third greatest influences upon his life, influences that he would politically adapt alongside theological ideation to contest Buganda's dissenting landscape. Activists in the 1940s used literature concerning reproduction to instigate demonstration throughout Buganda. Similarly, Mulira used pamphlets and plays to debate the customs that governed conjugal relations. To contest Buganda's hierarchy in the 1940s, dissenting activists also imagined idyllic pasts, places uncorrupted by colonial and chiefly exploitation. Mulira used novel to push away from Buganda's historical powerbrokers, thereby advocating for ethnic and sociological pluralism.

Eridadi M.K. Mulira: Early Biography, c. 1909 to c. 1938

As a son of an important political figure in Kooki, E.M.K. was exposed to the dynamism of Ganda politics at a young age—specifically from Kooki, a marginal tributary state in precolonial Buganda. Mulira interpreted Kooki's past to reconceptualise Buganda's monarchy as an assimilated and egalitarian polity, a kingdom 'for any man'. Mulira matriculated at King's College, Budo, in January 1927, where his political sensibilities were shaped by Christian experience, the mentorship of Budo's headmaster, Revd Canon Harold M. Grace, and the biography and thought of diasporic thinker Dr James E.K. Aggrey. In course, Mulira used Christianity to drive his political project in the late 1940s and 1950s. The gospel parables permeated his literary corpus and he defined his later political nationalism as a distinctly *Christian* nationalism. Mulira adapted Canon Grace's social centrism to argue for the adaptation of western and African political traditions. In the mid-1930s, Mulira followed Canon Grace to study at Achimota in Ghana, where

Mulira was shaped further by James Aggrey's social philosophy and rising pan-African sentiment.

Kooki: An Idyllic Past

Eridadi Medadi Kasirye Mulira was born on 28 February 1909 in Kamesi, Kooki.

E.M.K.'s father, Rwamahwa Nasanaeri Ndawula Kiwomamagaaya [Mulira] (c. 1873–1953), was the paternal grandson of *Omukama* (King) Ndaula I, whom E.M.K. reasoned to have ruled the small kingdom of Kooki from approximately 1810 to 1835.¹⁴ At the time of Nasanaeri's birth, Kooki was in tributary relation with her much larger neighbour to the east, Buganda.¹⁵ If late nineteenth- to early twentieth-century Bulemeezi can be described as a platform for tenacious and royalist politics (see Chapter One), Kooki can be equally understood as a domain of regional and political negotiation. By the nineteenth century, Kooki's *kibiito* kings had taken formal steps to sever their royal ties in Bunyoro, the land of their origin.¹⁶ According to Mulira, as early as the late eighteenth century, Kooki's third king, Mujwiga, sent emissaries to *Kabaka* Jjunju to reinforce dissociation from Bunyoro.¹⁷ Michael Twaddle suggests that by the nineteenth century, Kooki 'depended upon playing off one powerful neighbour against another while keeping its own agricultural clans and slaves under careful control'.¹⁸ Further, Kooki increasingly relied upon 'controlling an appropriate percentage of the manufactures imported into the East African interior during the second half of the nineteenth century, firearms especially'.¹⁹ Amid Bunyoro/Kooki negotiation and Kooki's effort to

¹⁴ CCAS MP E.M.K. Mulira, 'The Kingdom of Kooki during the 19th Century', Mss., 1972, p. 13. Rwamahwa was the childhood name of Ndaula. After being taken captive he was given the names Katezi and Kiwomamagaaya ('Autobiography', pp. vii–viii).

¹⁵ Michael Twaddle, *Kakungulu & the Creation of Uganda, 1868–1928* (London: James Currey, 1993), p. 2.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

¹⁷ CCAS MP E.M.K. Mulira, 'The Kingdom of Kooki', pp. 11 & 37. E.M.K.'s sources included his recollection of oral traditions, his father's narration, Apolo Kagga's histories and traditions reprinted in *Munno* and *Ebifa*.

¹⁸ Twaddle, *Kakungulu & the Creation of Uganda*, p. 1. For further discussion on the history of Kooki see: 'Ebyafaayo bya Kokɛ', *Munno*, 1929, pp. 99 & 193; and Nasanaeli Ndawula Mulira, 'Engoma ye Kokɛ', *Munno*, November 1921, pp. 171–72.

¹⁹ Twaddle, *Kakungulu & the Creation of Uganda*, p. 1. Richard J. Reid suggests that by the mid-1890s Buganda's chief source of imported iron was Kooki, whose smelting sites are dated to at least the early first millennium BC. 'Blacksmiths may also have travelled,' observes Reid, 'from

consolidate armament,²⁰ Muteesa I authorised a plundering expedition into Kooki in 1875.²¹ Muteesa's raid resulted in the loss of approximately 4000 cows and an unidentified number of women and children were taken into servitude.²² Nasanaeri and members of the royal family were taken to Buganda's capital (*kibuga*) by Tebukozza Kyambalango, the Ganda commander spearheading the operation.²³ Muteesa I distributed the Kooki royals and Nasanaeri was placed under the family of Kisawuzi, a Ganda chief living near Mmengo.²⁴

Amid the early struggles for conversion in mid-nineteenth century Buganda, Nasanaeri—following his newfound chief—converted to Islam.²⁵ However, following Christian effort to reclaim Buganda's throne from *Kabaka* Kalema in October 1889 (see Chapter Four),²⁶ a malnourished Nasanaeri converted to Protestantism under the care of Christian chief Danieri Mulyagonja, who provided Nasanaeri with the name Mulira, taken from the phrase *mulira mu ngalo* (one who eats from the fingers).²⁷ As a Protestant, Mulira participated in the religious wars of Mmengo, where he met CMS missionary George Baskerville. Eventually, Nasanaeri became an *omuweereza* (servant) for Baskerville, before accompanying him in January 1893 to establish a mission outpost in Ziba, Kyaggwe.²⁸ In

Koki to Buganda on a fairly regular basis, either to sell their implements or to teach the profession itself (Richard J. Reid, *Political Power in Pre-Colonial Buganda: Economy, Society & Welfare in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: James Currey, 2002), pp. 76–77). By the age of eight, E.M.K. had learned how to forge iron ('Autobiography', p. 18).

²⁰ For further analysis see: John Beattie, *The Nyoro State* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 33–94. Cf., Shane Doyle, *Crisis and Decline in Bunyoro: Population and Environment in Western Uganda 1860–1955* (Oxford: James Currey, 2006), pp. 42–93.

²¹ Twaddle, *Kakungulu & the Creation of Uganda*, p. 4.

²² Ibid.

²³ CMS ACC 265 z6/1 A.B.K. Mulira, 'Ebisarira okumpi ebyo bulamu bwa Nasanaeri Ndaula Mulira', Mss., 1956. Cf., 'Autobiography', p. vii.

²⁴ CCAS MP E.M.K. Mulira, 'In Search of My Origin: Being an Attempt to Trace the Origin of the Hamite Rulers of Uganda', Mss., n.d., p. 43.

²⁵ 'Autobiography', p. viii.

²⁶ For further discussion see: John M. Gray, 'The Year of the Three Kings of Buganda', *Uganda Journal*, 14 (1949), 15–52; C. C. Wrigley, 'The Christian Revolution in Buganda', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 2 (1959), 33–48; John A. Rowe, 'The Baganda Revolutionaries', *Tarikh*, 3 (1970), 34–46; and Michael Twaddle, 'The Muslim Revolution in Buganda', *African Affairs*, 71 (1972), 54–72.

²⁷ 'Autobiography', p. viii.

²⁸ CMS ACC 265 z6/1 Mulira, 'Bulamu bwa Ndaula Mulira'. For further discussion on the Baskerville Mission and the life and ministry of Nasanaeri see: John V. Taylor, *The Growth of the Church in Buganda: An Attempt at Understanding* (London: SCM Press, 1958), pp. 73–84; and W.S.

the same month, Nasanaeri was baptised, and in September 1894 he was commissioned by Baskerville to evangelise and teach near Ngogwe, Kyaggwe.²⁹ In May 1896, Nasanaeri married Esiteri Nnambirya (c. 1877–?).³⁰ Like Nasanaeri, Esiteri was an early convert to Islam. Her mother, Tebetonderwa (?–?), was a daughter to the *kabaka*'s representative in Miyinziro, Tanzania;³¹ her Muslim father, Sowedi Nyanzi (?–c.1890), was killed by Christian neophytes.³² However, Esiteri converted to Protestantism and was baptised at Namirembe in 1893, after which she became active alongside her husband in the life of the CMS mission in Kyaggwe.³³ In late 1898, Nasanaeri returned to Kooki with his family for the first time since his captivity in 1875.³⁴ After 1898, the Mulira family spent significant periods of time in Kooki alternating between church and government responsibilities.³⁵ And following the 1900 Agreement, *Kamuswaga* Edward Ndaula II proportioned Nasanaeri—his cousin—two square miles.³⁶

Musoke, 'Reverend George Baskerville's Work at Ngogwe and the Rest of Kyaggwe County' (unpublished Bachelor of Arts thesis, Makerere University, 1970).

²⁹ 'Autobiography', p. ix.

³⁰ CMS ACC 265 z6/1 Mulira, '*Bulamu bwa Ndaula Mulira*'. Cf., 'Autobiography', p. ix.

³¹ 'Autobiography', p. xi.

³² Ibid., pp. xi–xii.

³³ Ibid., pp. xiii–xiv. When E.M.K. wrote about his mother, he spoke of her commitment to Protestantism and her assiduous work ethic:

She prepared the young and old for Baptism and she accompanied the Lady Missionaries on many tours of the churches. She worked hard at home [and] she used to wake up very early in the morning, at about 5:00 a.m. [to dig] before going to her classes at 8:00 a.m. In this way she managed to make a very thriving banana garden which was the wonder for all at Ngogwe ('Autobiography', p. xiv).

³⁴ CMS ACC 265 z6/1 Mulira, '*Bulamu bwa Ndaula Mulira*'.

³⁵ During the early twentieth century, colonial officials argued that Kooki chiefs inhibited economic development in the region and the performance of the *kamuswaga*. In a letter to the colonial government, Kooki's provincial commissioner noted: 'The work of the Kooki Chiefs has been very unsatisfactory for some time past, and Captain O'Neill informed me that the repeated warnings they have received had no effect' (UNA SMP A46/668/13 Provincial Commissioner to Government Chief Secretary, 5 February 1913). The commissioner continued: 'With such incapable Sub-chiefs no doubt *Kamuswaga*, the Saza Chief, is handicapped, but as soon as they are weeded out and replaced by capable men, there is no reason why Kooki should not go ahead and keep pace with the other Sazas of this district' (Ibid.). Prior, Apolo Kaggwa and Zakariya Kisingiri had informed colonial officials that the *Lukiiko* was sending a Muganda chief and *Lukiiko* clerk to 'help show him [*kamuswaga*] what he must do' with the hopes that this might persuade the colonial government to offer the *kamuswaga* at least six months to improve his performance (UNA SMP A46/663/3 A. Kaggwa and Z. Kisingiri to Buganda Provincial Commissioner, 2 June 1911). Nasanaeri was elected to go to the *Lukiiko* in late 1910, before being appointed as the *kabaka*'s representative in Buddu in 1911, where he worked with the

Eridadi Mulira's political sensibilities were shaped strongly by Kooki.³⁷ In adulthood, Mulira wrote about Kooki nostalgically:

Most of our relatives: uncles, aunts, grand uncles and grand aunts etc. lived in [the kraal] with their cattle. We paid many happy visits to them and stayed with their cattle. Thus we learnt to look after the cattle and to milk the cows. I loved these visits very much; I loved the smell of burnt cow dung; which kept the fire going all the time; I loved the fresh milk drunk immediately after milking—it was hot—I loved the roasted meat eaten at Olusaka (Olusaka simply meant a bush). [...] In the Kraal we slept together on one large bed called Ekitabub. I loved the stories told at night.³⁸

Mulira recalled spending time as a youth in the Kooki *Ekikaali* (Palace), listening to extended discussions concerning Apolo Kagga, Stanislaus Mugwanya, Zakariya Kisingiri, Hamu Mukasa and Revd Henry Duta Kitakule.³⁹ E.M.K. recollected: '[R]akai was my first real eye-opener. At the palace I saw splendour that I had not imagined. [...] There was court everyday and I loved to go and listen to the [courtiers] wrangle public affairs.'⁴⁰

Mulira's life-long interest in Kooki resulted in two unpublished histories: *In Search of My Origin: Being an Attempt to Trace the Origin of the Hamite Rulers of Uganda* (forty-nine pages, n.d.),⁴¹ and *The Kingdom of Kooki during the 19th Century* (thirty-eight pages, 1972).⁴² In course, Mulira used Kooki to reason Buganda's kingdom a place for rural *bakopi* to live lives of rewarding labour in ethnically inclusive communities, a theme most readily observed in his novel *Teefe* (see below).⁴³ Mulira further used Kooki in the mid-1950s to critique patriotic politics, seen in his novel *Aligaweesa: Omuvubuka wa Uganda Empya* (see

district surveyor (CMS ACC 265 z6/1 Mulira, '*Bulamu bwa Ndaula Mulira*'). In 1914, Nasanaeri and two chiefs—one Roman Catholic and one Muslim—supervised the partitioning of southeastern Buddu ('Autobiography', p. 7).

³⁶ CMS ACC 265 z6/1 Mulira, '*Bulamu bwa Ndaula Mulira*'. Cf., 'Autobiography', p. 1.

³⁷ 'Autobiography', p. 12.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 5.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 10.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 9.

⁴¹ CCAS MP Mss.

⁴² CCAS MP Mss.

⁴³ E.M.K. Mulira, *Teefe* (Kampala: Uganda Publishing House, 1968).

Chapter Three).⁴⁴ For Mulira, corrupt chiefs and modernity had undermined eastern Africa's esteemed tradition of political assimilation. Mulira used Kooki to recover this imaged past and reconceptualise Buganda's monarchy as an assimilated and egalitarian polity,⁴⁵ a political vision well captured in his use of Geoffrey Masefield's poetic reflection of Kooki:

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 furthestest 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.⁴⁶

For Mulira, Masefield's poetic interpretation embodied his political philosophy, a philosophy that had equipped Mulira 'to run'. In summary, Mulira used Kooki to reason a kingdom 'for any man', a broad space without harm—a land of peace.

Early Education & Christian Conversion

After attending central schools in Gomba and Kako, E.M.K. matriculated at King's College, Budo, in January 1927.⁴⁷ According to Mulira, the student body at the time of his matriculation was composed of two sets of students: the sons of preeminent Ganda chiefs who had studied at Mengo High School (est. 1905),⁴⁸ and sons of *bakopi* who had studied at Mengo Central School (est. 1910).⁴⁹ The distinction of the two resulted in

⁴⁴ E.M.K. Mulira, *Aligaweesa: Omuvubuka wa Uganda Empya* (Kampala: Uganda Bookshop Press, [1955]). Cf., E.M.K. Mulira, *Kiribedda ne Balizŋakiwa: Abavubuka Ababiri Ab'omulembe* (Nairobi: East African Printers Kenya Ltd., 1963).

⁴⁵ For further discussion see: E.M.K. Mulira, *Thoughts of a Young African* (London: Lutterworth Press for the United Society for Christian Literature, 1945), pp. 50–64.

⁴⁶ CCAS MP Mulira, 'The Kingdom of Kooki', p. 2.

⁴⁷ 'Autobiography', p. 36.

⁴⁸ I.K. Musazi studied at Mengo High School.

⁴⁹ CMS ACC 549/z6 Mulira, 'The Legacy of Two Schools', p. 1.

pejorative name calling by the students.⁵⁰ The term used by the sons of chiefs to describe a *-kopi* student was ‘*Nakumusana*’—a created term that denoted a poor person going about their labour in the heat of the sun.⁵¹ Although Mulira associated with Mengo High students, he considered himself an outsider. Having come from an outlandish school in Gomba, he was ‘*Nakumusana*’.⁵² At Budo, Mulira’s political sensibilities were shaped by Christian experience, the mentorship of Budo’s headmaster, Revd Canon Harold M. Grace, and the biography and thought of diasporic thinker, Dr James E.K. Aggrey.

As indicated, Mulira’s parents were ardent Protestants. His father read the Bible every day, prayed privately every morning and evening (which included praying for each Mulira child by name) and led compulsory family prayers twice daily.⁵³ E.M.K. Mulira exhibited his father’s spiritual fervency. He first experienced a revelation of God’s voice during the time of his acceptance to King’s College.⁵⁴ Mulira had received a scholarship to meet most of the funding for his course, yet there remained a sizeable deficit that created anxiety. After worrying considerably about the remaining deficit, Mulira heard God speak to him ‘clearly and unmistakably [sic.] in Luganda, “*Kitawo ye mugagga asinga abagagga bonna*” (literally, “your father [God] is the rich one who surpasses all other rich people” i.e. “your father is the richest person”).⁵⁵ Throughout his career, like Erienza Bwete (see Postscript), Mulira experienced repeated divine revelation,⁵⁶ including a vision of Abraham Lincoln while in political exile in Gulu in 1959.⁵⁷

⁵⁰ Gordon McGregor’s research indicates that discipline was a particular problem during the initial years of consolidation (McGregor, *King’s College Budo*, p. 61): ‘[E]ach of the two former separate schools had its own traditions and the boys tended to resent the loss of any of them.’

⁵¹ CMS ACC 549/z6 Mulira, ‘The Legacy of Two Schools’, p. 1.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁵³ ‘Autobiography’, p. xi.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Mulira’s next vision occurred while a student at Makerere, on ‘Trinity Sunday Morning June, 1930, at exactly 5 a.m.’ (‘Autobiography’, p. 50) (see Postscript). Following this vision, Mulira received a revelation in June 1932 (‘Autobiography’, pp. 56 & 64), one in the early 1940s (*Ibid.*, p. 88) and another around 1944 (*Ibid.*, pp. 83–84b). Moreover, as a member of the *Lukiiko* in November 1953, Mulira recalled God speaking to him while driving to an assembly to discuss Muteesa II’s deportation—God exhorted him to fight the colonial government’s decision (Interview, Eve Mulira, 10 November 2009, Kampala).

⁵⁷ Mulira’s fullest treatment of his vision of Abraham Lincoln is preserved in a speech given in Limuru, Kenya:

At Budo, Mulira experienced an evangelical conversion in 1929 under the preaching of Bishop Taylor Smith.⁵⁸ Taylor shared with the Budo student body that ‘God [had been] urging him to come back and preach [... of a] special calling’.⁵⁹ In his sermon, Taylor contrasted Abraham’s nephew, Lot, with the prophet Daniel, exhorting the student body to follow in the footsteps of the latter.⁶⁰ Following Bishop Taylor’s talk, an emotionally stirred Mulira transcribed from memory the entire sermon, which he submitted the following morning to *Ebifa mu Uganda*.⁶¹ The sermon was reproduced in March.⁶² In his autobiography,⁶³ Mulira recalled his conversion:

I said life would not be the same as before. I turned “Right-about-turn”—⁶⁴ Not that I was openly a bad boy; I had never tested many of the sins of the world, and in school my friends thought I was a pious boy who would later take to Holy orders; [...] I said my prayers at night, and practised a general outward piety. The trouble was that I was as it were, still looking at my own “shadows”. I had not yet realised that life consisted in looking face to face at the sun that shone so brightly behind me. That the shadows that we saw were the work of the devil [sic.]. So I made my decision “To Right-about-Turn” once and for all.⁶⁵

In course, Mulira’s political project in the late 1940s and 1950s was driven by his Christian conviction. The gospel parables permeated his literary corpus,⁶⁶ and he defined

I lived in political deportation in the town of Gulu in Northern Uganda. One night I went to bed with a heavy heart because of a letter I had received from my wife giving me alarming news, which was tantamount to a break up of all I had done. When I woke up at about 5:00 a.m. the following morning, I was still brooding over this matter. Then lo! I saw a vision of Abraham Lincoln in his full stature standing beside my bed and bending a little towards me, and a voice said to me clearly in the following words, “Anyone who kills Abraham Lincoln kills God in action.” Lincoln disappeared and my worry disappeared, too. I never brooded over the matter again but gained wonderful peace of mind from that moment (CCAS MP E.M.K. Mulira, ‘The Christian and the State: Being a Talk to the Graduate Fellowship Conference at Limuru, Kenya’, 11–15 April 1968).

⁵⁸ ‘Autobiography’, p. 41.

⁵⁹ Ibid. Taylor had spoken at King’s College two years prior to this visit.

⁶⁰ CCAS MP E.M.K. Mulira, ‘A Christian in Public Life: Being a talk given to the Makerere University Christian Union’, 13 February 1966.

⁶¹ ‘Autobiography’, p. 42.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Peter Mulira suggests that E.M.K.’s autobiography was written largely while in exile in the late 1950s, as a means of passing time. To Peter’s knowledge, E.M.K. did not attempt to publish his autobiography (Peter Mulira to Jonathon L. Earle, 22 December 2011).

⁶⁴ Mulira uses Bishop Taylor’s language, here.

⁶⁵ ‘Autobiography’, p. 42.

⁶⁶ For example, Mulira uses the parable of the prodigal son in St. Luke’s gospel (15^{11–32}) to frame his politically-purposed novel, *Teeffe* (1968 [1950]).

his later political nationalism as a distinctly *Christian* nationalism.⁶⁷ In his Progressive Party manifesto, Mulira framed politics as reciprocity toward God: ‘We must join public service because we want to serve our country and people; because we want to give some of the gifts which God has given to us back to Him through service to our fellowmen, to whom in turn we owe so much for our existence.’⁶⁸

Cultivating Centrism: Canon Harold Myers Grace & Achimota (Dr James E.K. Aggrey)

Mulira was deeply influenced by H.M. Grace and the life of James Aggrey.⁶⁹ Revd Harold Myers Grace (1888–1967) served with the CMS in Uganda from 1914 to 1934, and served as headmaster at Budo from 1926 to 1934. Prior, he taught at Mbarara and Mengo High, respectively.⁷⁰ While a student at Budo, Mulira forged a mutually influential relationship with Grace that characterised their friendship until the latter’s passing in the late 1960s.⁷¹ Mulira’s evangelical conversion distanced him from his peers.⁷² Indeed, Mulira’s ardent faith led fellow students later at Makerere College to label him a ‘mad man’.⁷³ Distanced from fellow students, Mulira found solace in his friendship with Grace, often going to his office for prayer and spiritual guidance.⁷⁴ Grace’s amity toward Mulira was demonstrated in the welcome he extended Mulira in his home:

The Rev. Grace had [...] given me permission to borrow any book from his study. [...] Because I could drop in at the Grace’s house any time especially at the week-ends, I managed to meet important people who visited the school either at 10.00 o’clock tea or at afternoon tea.⁷⁵

Following a period of study at Makerere in the early 1930s, Mulira returned to teach at King’s College in 1932,⁷⁶ where for the next few years he worked closely with Grace. From this experience, Mulira’s early centrism was shaped. Writing at length, Mulira recalled:

⁶⁷ UCU BA 1/136.5 E.M.K. Mulira to H.M. Grace, [c.] 4 October 1959.

⁶⁸ ICS PP.UG.PP/1 E.M.K. Mulira, ‘Self-Government for Uganda, An African State: Manifesto by the Progressive Party’, Mss., n.d.

⁶⁹ ‘Autobiography’, p. 12.

⁷⁰ For further discussion see: McGregor, *King’s College Budo*, pp. 52–86.

⁷¹ Interview, Peter Mulira, 3 November 2009, Kampala.

⁷² ‘Autobiography’, p. 42.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

Grace had the gift of making people try to do the best in everything they did not through fear of him but through loving devotion. All of us loved and respected him and we would do anything to support his cause, and it was a very noble cause he had at Budo. *His chief aim was to give to the African the best in the Western culture at the same time helping him to develop the best in his own culture.* This was the conscious and visible effort at Budo. Grace never believed in educating for the sake of getting the highest marks; he taught in order to impart life and this in every-way possible on the playing field; in the classroom; in the dormitory; in the chapel and everywhere on the school compound, and this life was life after the pattern of Jesus.

It was the law of love, and really we found love everywhere at Budo in those days; we taught and worked so hard because we were loved and we loved; we loved our children; we loved each other like brothers and sisters on the staff. We were inspired for higher things, and Grace was the central figure in all this. His example of unselfish living, of hard work, of love of God and his fellowmen was the source of that inspiration.⁷⁷

In course, Mulira adapted Grace's centrism to argue for the adaptation of western and African political traditions.⁷⁸ As early as July 1944, for instance, Mulira argued that Baganda should neither superficially dismiss nor blindly incorporate the political traditions of Great Britain. For Mulira, Baganda rulers were well-positioned to analyse various national polities,⁷⁹ an argument he consistently used throughout the 1950s. And in 1958, Mulira positioned his centrism alongside his call for African revolution:

Salvation is not in going back to the old ways as some mis-leaders of the people allege. Muteesa I saw this more than 80 years ago. Nor is merely anglicising [sic.] everything and destroying the old. Political salvation, therefore, is in enlightened integration of the new and the old.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 63. Italics added. For further discussion see: CCAS MP E.M.K. Mulira, 'Memorial Service to the Late Rev. H.M. Grace: Talk to King's College, Budo, Chapel Service', Mss., 11 June 1967; and CCAS MP E.M.K. Mulira, 'Obituary: One of Africa's Best Friends, H.M. Grace, Dies', Mss., [1967].

⁷⁸ 'Autobiography', p. 63.

⁷⁹ Mulira, *Government Gyennonya*, p.5. Mulira's syntax is ambiguous, but seems to suggest that Buganda should adapt, when appropriate, British and extra-African political tradition: '*Tetugenderera kukoppa bukoppi Gavumenti ya Bungereza nga abatalaba* [We are not going to blindly copy Britain's government], *naye kyetugenderera kwe kugezako okutandika ennono ya Gavumenti zonna ennungi mu nsi yaffe* [...] [but we are going to set up cultures (traditions) of all good Governments in our country].'

⁸⁰ RHOP 514/4 E.M.K. Mulira to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 'The African Revolution: Being the Letter by the Progressive Party to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the Question of the Legislative Council', Mss., 18 March 1958, p. 6.

At the request of Alek G. Fraser,⁸¹ Canon Grace left King's College to assume the position of principal at the Prince of Wales' College, Achimota. Grace arrived on 19 March 1935 and served until 1939.⁸² Fraser, Gordon Guggisberg (former colonial governor) and James Aggrey, had founded the Prince of Wales' College in 1924. Uninterested in the position at first, Grace evidently took the post to secure further education for Budo's African teaching staff.⁸³ Accordingly in January 1936 Mulira and Amos K. Sempa set out on a fifty-six day journey to Accra.⁸⁴ Formally, Mulira's and Sempa's two years in Achimota were in purpose academic. Grace identified Sempa as King's College's first African headmaster;⁸⁵ Mulira studied for the Cambridge School Certificate and the London University Intermediate Course.⁸⁶ Informally, Achimota mediated to Mulira two important influences that he would later politically adapt. First, Mulira was shaped further by James Aggrey's social philosophy (see below). Second, as he studied and lived with Ghana's future political leaders, Achimota exposed Mulira to rising pan-African sentiment (see Chapter Three). Indeed, Kofi Busia's dormitory room was adjacent to Mulira's.⁸⁷

Play, Novel and the Making of Egalitarian Society, c. 1938 to c. 1950

Following Achimota, Mulira returned to Uganda in 1938 and took a position as headmaster at Mengo Junior Secondary School.⁸⁸ In 1941, he returned to King's College, Budo, where he taught until late 1942.⁸⁹ And from January 1943 until late 1947, Mulira

⁸¹ CCAS MP E.M.K. Mulira, 'H.M. Grace at Achimota', 25 June 1967. Cf., McGregor, *King's College Budo*, pp. 80–83; and W.E.F. Ward, *Fraser of Trinity and Achimota* (Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1965) pp. 263–64. I wish to thank Holger Bernt Hansen for drawing my attention to Ward's work on Alek G. Fraser.

⁸² Ward, *Fraser of Trinity and Achimota*, p. 273; and JAP 147–4/26 'Achimota School: Golden Jubilee Celebration, 1927–1977', Mss., 1977, p. 51.

⁸³ ARP 6/20/T2 E.M.K. Mulira, 'My Life Since 1930', Mss., n.d., p. 1.

⁸⁴ 'Autobiography', pp. 70 & 74.

⁸⁵ CCAS MP E.M.K. Mulira, 'Memorial Service to the Late Rev. H.M. Grace'.

⁸⁶ ARP 6/20/T2 Mulira, 'My Life Since 1930', p.1.

⁸⁷ 'Autobiography', p. 75

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁸⁹ For discussion on the political circumstance surrounding Mulira's departure see: Carol Summers, "'Subterranean Evil' and 'Tumultuous Riot' in Buganda: Authority and Alienation at King's College, Budo, 1942', *The Journal of African History*, 47 (2006), 93–113. By the early 1950s, Mulira regretted the manner in which he left King's College:

worked at Bishop Tucker's College, Mukono. At Mukono, Mulira spent considerable time writing plays and essays to contest Buganda's dissenting landscape.⁹⁰ Eastern Africans throughout the 1940s were engaged in debate regarding marriage, family and gender. In 1946, Mulira produced a three-act play where he advocated for sexual equality in Buganda, which reinforced his broader attempt to imagine Buganda as a kingdom for commoners. To contest Buganda's hierarchy in the 1940s, dissenting activists also imagined pasts uncorrupted by colonial and chiefly exploitation. Bataka and Farmers' activists, respectively, used rural land (*-ttaka*) to rhetorically shape monarchical critique. Mulira used novel to reason Buganda's soil a place on which to build inclusive societies governed by communal principles. For Mulira, Buganda's kingdom is made meaningful as urban youth find themselves through lives devoted to rural labour and the making of communities in Buganda's peripheral polities.

'Is it a Crime to Have Been a Woman?': Women's Representation & Equality in the Home

Eastern Africans throughout the 1940s were engaged in debate regarding marriage, family and gender.⁹¹ In Buganda, dissenting activists used literature concerning fertility and reproduction to engender demonstration throughout Buganda. In one pamphlet, it was argued that women at Mulago Hospital were being given injections to prevent pregnancy.⁹² Infertility among women resulted in social stigma in Buganda and by arguing that women who visited Mulago Hospital would experience sterility,⁹³ dissenters

1942 (December), 18 teachers of King's College, Budo, demanded the resignation of their Headmaster (I am ashamed to say that I was one of the eighteen). It was not granted (and through this stupid act on our part we lost our good case), and we felt we were unjustly treated. Many of 18 teachers still think so to this day, which is a pity (BNA CO 537/4677/87 E.M.K. Mulira to Joseph Sheridan, 'Background to the Troubles in Buganda: Being a Contribution to His Honour Sir Joseph Sheridan's Enquiry', n.d.).

I wish to thank Kristopher Cote for drawing my attention to Mulira's letter to Sheridan, a parallel to *Troubled Uganda* (1950).

⁹⁰ 'Autobiography', pp. 82b–83b.

⁹¹ Derek R. Peterson, *Pilgrims & Patriots: Conversion, Dissent, & the Making of Civil Societies in East Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

⁹² 'Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances which occurred in Uganda during January, 1945', p. 7.

⁹³ One Ganda proverb stated: "Nnazaala omu": *kwewonya obugumba*, or '(A woman who can say) "I have brought forth one child": is free from the reproach of barrenness' (Ferdinand Walser, *Luganda Proverbs* (Berlin: Reimer, 1982), no. 3291). For further discussion see: John Roscoe, *The Baganda: An Account of their Native Customs and Beliefs*, 2nd edn (London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd.,

intentionally undermined the moral credibility of annexing Ganda land for colonial purposes. In another pamphlet, it was suggested that veterinary officers were inoculating Ganda cattle in order to cause premature death or poison bovine milk supply.⁹⁴ Cattle provided important currency in earlier Buganda, and were in the twentieth century considered symbols of wealth in rural communities.⁹⁵ One Ganda proverb stated: ‘N’ow’emu: akoomera’, ‘Even he who owns only one cow: fumigates it.’⁹⁶ In short, dissenting Baganda used the language of fertility and barrenness to critique social practice in the 1940s.

But in Buganda, dissenters’ debate was intensified by two monarchical controversies: the *Nnamasole* Affair of 1941 and the marriage of *Kabaka* Muteesa II in 1948. In earlier history, the *nnamasole* was the second most powerful person in Buganda.⁹⁷ She conducted her own courts, controlled her own estates and chiefs ‘and had the power of life and death over her own people, who were responsible directly to her and were not under the jurisdiction of the kabaka’s chiefs’.⁹⁸ This political authority was undermined by the Agreement of 1900.⁹⁹ As Holly Hanson observes:

1965), p. 46; Lucy Mair, *An African People in the Twentieth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1965), pp. 37–56; and Reid, *War in Pre-Colonial Eastern Africa*, pp. 97 & 122–23.

⁹⁴ ‘Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances which occurred in Uganda during January, 1945’, p. 7.

⁹⁵ Reid, *War in Pre-Colonial Eastern Africa*, pp. 50–51.

⁹⁶ Walser, *Luganda Proverbs*, no. 3323.

⁹⁷ Holly E. Hanson, *Landed Obligation: The Practice of Power in Buganda* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 2003), p. 49. For further discussion see: Roscoe, *The Baganda*, p. 237; Laurence D. Schiller, ‘The Royal Women of Buganda’, *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 23 (1990), 455–73 (pp. 458–63); Holly E. Hanson, ‘Queen Mothers and Good Government in Buganda: The Loss of Women’s Political Power in the Nineteenth Century’, in *Women in African Colonial Histories*, ed. by Jean Allman, Susan Geiger and Nakanyike Musisi (Bloomington, I.N.: Indiana University Press, 2002), pp. 219–36.

⁹⁸ Schiller, ‘The Royal Women of Buganda’, p. 459. Cf., John Iliffe, *Honour in African History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 170.

⁹⁹ On the impact of the 1900 Agreement on the *nnamasole*ship see: D.A. Low, ‘The Making and Implementation of the Uganda Agreement of 1900’, in *Buganda and British Overrule, 1900–1955: Two Studies*, ed. by D.A. Low and R.C. Pratt (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 3–159 (pp. 52–81). By stipulation of the Agreement, the *nnamasole* was designated a lifetime allowance of £50 per annum (‘The Uganda Agreement of 1900’, Article 7, in *Buganda and British Overrule, 1900–1955: Two Studies*, ed. by D.A. Low and R.C. Pratt (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 350–64 (p. 353). The Agreement further stipulated tax exemption for the *nnamasole*’s residence (‘The Uganda Agreement of 1900’, Article 12, p. 357). Finally, the Agreement proportioned sixteen square miles to the *nnamasole*, under the condition that she would retain only six square

Their [*Bannamasole*] political role of providing a counterbalance to the power of the kabaka lost meaning when the kabaka lost power in the civil wars. The hierarchy of administrative chiefs established by the regents and the British chiefs ignored royal women. After 1900, royal women had large amounts of land, but they could not do with it what they had done in the past.¹⁰⁰

The *Nnamasole* Affair was a political controversy that centred on the remarriage of *Kabaka* Daudi Chwa II's widow, Irene Dulusira Namaganda. Prior to the twentieth century, it was acceptable for Buganda's royal women to have paramours,¹⁰¹ though custom prohibited formal marriage or child bearing—a custom that lasted until the Affair.¹⁰² According to Mulira, the *Nnamasole* Affair was the greatest social upheaval of the first half of the twentieth century in Buganda.¹⁰³ The Protestant Church and her bishop, Cyril E. Stuart, sanctioned the wedding and in turn faced severe criticism from Bataka activists such as Semakula Mulumba.¹⁰⁴ Buganda's *katikkiro*, Martin Luther Nsibirwa, was pelted with stones and a number of high-ranking members of the *Lukiiko* were forced to resign for supporting the wedding, including Nsibirwa and Hamu Mukasa.¹⁰⁵ The Affair and the controversial acquisition of land at Makerere precipitated Nsibirwa's assassination on the doorstep of St. Paul's Cathedral, Namirembe, in September 1945 (see Chapter One).¹⁰⁶

Following the *Nnamasole* Affair, dissidents debated monarchical marriage custom. On 19 November 1948, Muteesa II married Catherine Damali Nakawombe.¹⁰⁷ For dissenting Baganda, Muteesa's marriage confirmed the extent to which their monarchy had run astray, a kingdom corrupted by powerful chiefs that no longer considered

miles in the instance of dowager ('The Uganda Agreement of 1900', Article 15, p. 359). Ten square miles were designated for each succeeding Queen Mother and Mwanga II's mother was allotted ten square miles (Ibid.).

¹⁰⁰ Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, p. 145.

¹⁰¹ Roscoe, *The Baganda*, p. 237.

¹⁰² Schiller, 'The Royal Women of Buganda', p. 459.

¹⁰³ Mulira, *Troubled Uganda* (London: Fabian Publications, 1950), p. 23.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. Mulumba and 207 Bataka activists presented their grievance against Stuart to the Lambeth Conference in 1948 (BNA CO 537/3593/65 Semakula Mulumba to Bishops of Lambeth Conference, 25 May 1948). For further assorted correspondence see: UCU BA 1/112.9.

¹⁰⁵ E.M.K. Mulira, *Troubled Uganda*, pp. 23 & 35.

¹⁰⁶ For further insight see: MUA Ssejjemba Ssewagaba, '*Lwaki Katikkiro; Martin L. Nsibirwa Yatemuwa nga 5/9/1945*' (Printed Pamphlet, n.d.).

¹⁰⁷ Ernest Z. Kibuuka, *Omulembe gwa Muteesa II* (Kampala: Crane Books, 2004), p. 32. I wish to thank Omulamuzi A.D. Lubowa for directing me to this book.

Buganda's ancient customs. Buganda's new queen (*nnabagereka*) was the granddaughter of Hamu and Hanna Wawemuko Mukasa.¹⁰⁸ The daughter of former *katikkiro*, Christopher Ssekkuuma Kisosonkole,¹⁰⁹ Damali belonged to the *Nkima* (Monkey) clan—the only clan prohibited from marrying Ganda monarchs.¹¹⁰ The *mutaka* of the *Nkima* clan, *mugema*, was considered the 'King's father',¹¹¹ or 'Grand-Ancestor or forefather [...] of Buganda'.¹¹² And for Bataka activists, Muteesa II's marriage violated political boundaries that had mediated power within Buganda in the past. In a letter to Muteesa II, Mulumba presented fifteen disadvantages of the marriage.¹¹³ Mulumba reminded Muteesa that Damali was a Munkima,¹¹⁴ and to pursue a 'publically known [...] taboo' of this magnitude would result in the public attenuation of the monarchy and Bataka.¹¹⁵ 'The Kabaka, Sabataka, and the Bataka will no longer be able to speak effectively,' lamented Mulumba, 'when other people are involved in irregularities connected with our totemic taboos and other social matters.'¹¹⁶ Throughout the 1940s, Bataka activists criticised the Protestant Church's liberalising influence, focusing their critique on Bishop Stuart.¹¹⁷ In

¹⁰⁸ For further discussion see: Jonathon L. Earle, 'Hamu Mukasa', in *Dictionary of African Biography*, ed. by Henry Louis Gates, Jr. and Emmanuel Akyeampong (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

¹⁰⁹ Written histories differ on which Kisosonkole was Damali's father. One account references T. [K.] Kisosonkole (Erosa Kyomya, '*Ebyafaayo bya Kabaka: Oluliiko ne Nnamulondo*', printed pamphlet, [digital copy in author's possession] n.d.), p. 19. Oral sources indicate that Damali's father was Christopher Ssekkuuma (Interview, George Kasedde Mukasa, 23 June 2010, Kampala).

¹¹⁰ Kibuuka, *Omulembe gwa Muteesa II*, p. 32.

¹¹¹ Roscoe, *The Baganda*, p. 156.

¹¹² LFP 30/12 D.S.K. Musoke, '*Buganda Nyaffe*, Part I: A Descriptive Booklet about Land and its Users', [c. June 1944]. In earlier times, the *mugema* was considered the *katikkiro* of the deceased kings (Ibid.). As the clan head of the *Nkima* clan and hereditary *ssaza* chief of Busiro (literally, place of the tombs), the *mugema* was Buganda's most powerful clan head and chief. For further discussion see: Apolo Kaggwa, *Ekitabo Kye Bika Bya Baganda* (Kampala: Uganda Bookshop and Uganda Society, 1949); and Michael B. Nsimbi, *Amannya Amaganda N'ennomo Zaago* (Kampala: Published for the Uganda Society by the East African Literature Bureau, 1956).

¹¹³ BNA CO 537/3594/125 Semakula Mulumba to Muteesa II, 28 October 1948.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ CMS ACC 549–50 The Rt. Rev. C.E. Stuart, '28 Years of Happiness in Africa', Mss., n.d., p. 31. For related discussion see: BNA CO 537/3593 Semakula Mulumba to Cyril E. Stuart, 26 July 1948; BNA CO 537/3593 Semakula Mulumba to Clement R. Attlee, 24 August 1948; BNA CO 537/3593 Semakula Mulumba to Cyril E. Stuart, 29 August 1948; and BNA CO 537/4666

course, Muteesa's sexual activity continued to stir controversy in Buganda—readily observed in debate surrounding Muteesa's coital relationship with E.M.K. Mulira's sister-in-law (see Chapter Three).

E.M.K. Mulira was not distanced from social debate concerning the etiquette of marriage in the 1940s. Indeed, when Mulira wrote his biography of Apolo Kaggwa in the late 1940s, it is with reason that he included a section entitled, 'His Homelife'.¹¹⁸ Through pamphlets and plays, Mulira debated the customs that governed relations between husbands and wives in Buganda, where he used Aggrey's philosophy of co-education and theology to reason Buganda a kingdom of gendered equality.

Aggrey's philosophy of co-education was mediated to Mulira through the mentorship of Canon Harold M. Grace¹¹⁹ and Achimota.¹²⁰ On 7 January 1939, Mulira

Semakula Mulumba to Boyd, 31 March 1949. Stuart insisted that most Baganda supported the wedding, stating in a letter to Muteesa II:

As regards the general situation, I think it is all right really. We always knew that as soon as rumours got about some people with axes to grind would make trouble and they have hit on this clan business but as far as I can make out the general body of opinion is that the really vital thing is that you should marry the girl you are in love with and I am told that the 'Bataka' who are trying to stir up agitation are not really the influential ones (UCU BA 1/112.11 Cyril E. Stuart to Muteesa II, 8 April 1947).

¹¹⁸ LFP 54/7/105 E.M.K. Mulira, *Sir Apolo Kaggwa, KCMG, MBE* (Kampala: Uganda Bookshop, 1949). The contents of this section are missing from the available text.

¹¹⁹ In a letter written on 3 January 1962, H.M. Grace reflected: 'I loved Aggrey; he stayed with us in Uganda for 2 or 3 weeks [during the Phelps-Stokes Commission] and I ran him all over the Protectorate and he spoke to about 40 crowded meetings at that time' (CCAS MP H.M. Grace to W. Kingsley, 3 January 1962). In an additional letter written after Canon Grace's passing, Mollie Grace, Canon Grace's widow, wrote to Mulira that the impact of Aggrey upon Canon Grace was 'profound':

Aggrey's thoughts and ideals and theories made a profound impression on H.M.G. I should say that [Aggrey] influenced him almost more than anything else in his attitude to and thinking about education in East Africa[,] and naturally one of his subjects that was influential as much as any was the education of girls: the question of co-education (CCAS MP Mollie Grace to E.M.K. Mulira, 28 April 197[5(?)]).

Following Aggrey's visit to Uganda, Canon and Mollie Grace visited Aggrey in the United States. Mollie recalled that the highlight of the trip was a visit to the Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes:

[T]he schools were co-educational and we were profoundly impressed by the obvious complete lack of sex discrimination and the equality of boys & girls, completely different from what we were used to in Uganda. I should say that this visit was one of the most informative contributions to H.M.G.'s future attitude to Education in E.A (Ibid.).

Inspired by Aggrey and his trip to the United States, Grace implemented co-education at King's College, Budo, in the early 1930s (for further discussion see: McGregor, *King's College Budo*, pp. 53, 66 & 84).

married Rebecca Allen Namugenze Mukasa,¹²¹ the eldest daughter of Hamu and Sarah Mukasa. By the 1930s, Hamu Mukasa was observably sympathetic toward women's political participation, ideals keenly shaped by Aggrey.¹²² In March 1924, James Aggrey visited B/Uganda as a member of the Phelps-Stokes Commission, which concerned 'Native education'.¹²³ Prior to arriving in Uganda, the Commissioner's principal, Jesse Jones, stated that education should concern itself with home life and female education.¹²⁴ The Commission's emphasis on home life precipitated the formation of the Buganda Welfare Association, which resulted from a meeting Aggrey held with Canon Grace and

¹²⁰ In *Thoughts of a Young African*, Mulira addressed the question of women and co-education in his chapter on Achimota (pp. 20–23), and in an additional chapter titled, 'Advantages of Co-Education' (pp. 29–33). Having attended Achimota, Mulira's philosophy of education had taken on easily discernible Aggrey and Fraseresque overtones. Mulira referenced Fraser's philosophy of co-education, suggesting that Fraser's ideals were necessary to think upon should one want to understand the advantages of co-education:

It is never possible to protect the liberty of a country unless the people are capable of protecting themselves. For this reason the education of girls is more important than that of boys, for they are the passers on of their education to their children, the coming generation. A boy's education is often lost (Alek G. Fraser, in Mulira, *Thoughts of a Young African*, p. 29).

Mulira argued that the advantages of co-education were social, moral, intellectual, physical and economic (Mulira, *Thoughts of a Young African*, p. 29). Co-education, for Mulira, was a good and natural practice and integral to the cohesion of society, sentiment Fraser reflected and published on years earlier. 'One sided-education,' wrote Fraser, 'breaks up village and tribal life, and increases immorality. If boys are to be educated, as they must be, a serious effort must be made to get an equal number of girls rationally trained' (Alek G. Fraser, 'Notes on West African Education', in *The Future of the Negro: Some Chapters in the Development of a Race*, ed. by Brig-Gen Sir Gordon Guggisberg and Alek G. Fraser (London: Student Christian Movement, 1929), pp. 101–49 (p. 114). For further discussion on Fraser's philosophy of co-education see: Ward, *Fraser of Trinity and Achimota*, pp. 163–81.

¹²¹ 'Autobiography', p. 84.

¹²² Hamu Mukasa was keenly interested in Aggrey, and in likelihood the two met (W.J.W. Roome, 'Visit of the Phelps-Stokes Commission', *Uganda Herald*, 28 March 1924, p. 13). When Mulira initiated his research for 'Aggrey, *Muganda Waffe*' (Aggrey, Our Brother), he designated Mukasa as a key informant (CCAS E.M.K. Mulira, 'Aggrey, *Muganda Waffe*', Mss., n.d.). Mukasa's library shows that he began reading Edwin W. Smith's *Aggrey of Africa* on 13 June 1929, annotating 64 passages and underscoring an additional 104 (HML Edwin W. Smith, *Aggrey of Africa: A Study in Black and White*, 2nd edn (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1929), annotations). Mukasa specifically considered a speech Aggrey delivered on gender equality in black communities during the American Civil War (HML Smith, *Aggrey of Africa*, p. 130, annotation), a theme he incorporated in his *magnum opus*, *Simuda Nyuma* ('*Okugenda mu maso kugenda kubita*' (MUA HMP AR/BUG/78/1 Ham Mukasa, *Simuda Nyuma I: Ebiro bya Mutesa*, Mss., 1938, p. 4).

¹²³ 'The Phelps Stokes Commission', *Uganda Herald*, 29 February 1924, p. 25.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

a cadre of influential Baganda (see Figure 2.2).¹²⁵ Of the four sub-committees formed, one was devoted to 'home-life', which concerned itself with 'care of the Home'.¹²⁶ The Commission's emphasis on home life and women's education was politically adapted in the early 1930s. As referenced in Chapter One, I.K. Musazi and Kupuliano Bisase Kisosonkole in 1930 (then teachers at King's College, Budo), argued that 'to neglect Female Education is to neglect the home; [and] the system of Education that does not take home-life in its account is worthless'.¹²⁷ The two reasoned that there 'is no hope for any country to advance if its women are left behind'.¹²⁸ Musazi's discussion employed the earlier language of Aggrey and the Commission. And in the same year, Musazi and Kisosonkole initiated the Young People's Organisation, a society that built on the momentum of the Phelps-Stokes Commission to bring men and women together to 'discuss problems of common interest'.¹²⁹ The society met in the home of Serwano Kulubya, where Mulira was invited by Kisosonkole and Musazi to be a founding member (see Chapter One). According to Mulira, the organisation was the first society in B/Uganda designed to bring women and men together for political and educational purposes.¹³⁰

¹²⁵ 'Buganda Welfare Association', *Uganda Herald*, 18 April 1924, p. 12.

¹²⁶ Ibid. The committee explored themes such as: 'Child Welfare'; the 'dangers of strong drink'; 'Relationship of the sexes'; 'Education of women in Hygiene, &c.'; and 'a model home, with a cotton patch, a coffee patch, chickens, a cow or two' (Ibid.).

¹²⁷ I.K. Musazi and K.B. Kisosonkole, 'Education in Uganda', *Uganda Church Review* 18 (April 1930), 50–55 (p. 52).

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ 'Autobiography', p. 51. The Luganda press indicates interest in Achimota among Baganda, especially concerning co-education. See: 'The Prince of Wales College & School Achimota. Gold Coast', *Ebifa mu Uganda*, June 1931, pp. 125–28; 'Okuyigirizibwa kwe Achimota [Education at Achimota]', *Ebifa mu Uganda*, August 1932, pp. 184–91; and 'Okulengera ku Nkigiriza mu Gold Coast ne Uganda [Looking at Education in the Gold Coast and Uganda]', *Ebifa mu Uganda*, January 1933, pp. 66–67.

¹³⁰ 'Autobiography', p. 51. The Kisosonkole family was particularly interested in the life and teaching of James Aggrey. Following Aggrey's death in the early 1940s, the West African Students' Union of Great Britain and African Students' Association of the United States published a memorial document entitled 'Know this of Aggrey' (JAP 147–3/15), where K.B. Kisosonkole was cited:

When one knows the life of Dr Aggrey, his open-heartedness to every man, and his capacity for finding humour and jokes in bullyings and abuses, one can understand that his idea of closeness penetrated and influenced his whole life. Dr Aggrey did not love Africa, his Africa, with prejudice. To his mind brotherhood of man was the climax. He realized, as few men who have suffered from racial discrimination do realize, that racial

As early as 1936, Mulira advocated for women's political participation. In his words, "They are not devils".¹³¹ And during the height of Farmers' Union and Bataka activism in 1944, he argued that Buganda's laws should be constructed by a female-inclusive legislature.¹³² In 1946, Mulira produced a three-act play where he advocated for sexual equality in Buganda, argument that reinforced his broader attempt to imagine Buganda as a kingdom for commoners. Mulira's play, *Omw. N'Omuk. Yokana Kaye: Omuzanyo Ogulaga Obufumbo Obwada Obuggya* (Mr and Mrs Yokana Kaye: A Play Showing a Marriage Made Anew), was first performed on 25 March 1946 at the residence of the Bishop of Namirembe,¹³³ and was reproduced in *Ebifa mu Uganda* during the same year.¹³⁴ The play focuses on the marriage of a Mr and Mrs Yokana Kaye, whose marriage, as indicated by the title of the first scene, *Obufumbo Obutabusse* (A Marriage Gone Wrong),

differences are not accidental, but have a purpose, and that the world is wide enough for all living (Ibid.).

During Aggrey's visit to Uganda, he spent time with the family of Serfio Kisasonkole, written about in a manuscript possibly written by K.B. Kisasonkole. The Luganda manuscript is deposited with the Mulira Papers; titled *Aggrey*. In the manuscript, the author is knowledgeable of the Kisasonkole family. The author further speaks of having met Aggrey at Selly Oak, Birmingham, an institution where B.K. Kisasonkole earlier undertook a course in education (Bisase and Musazi, 'Education in Uganda', p. 72). In Aggrey's personal collection of photographs, he possessed a portrait of the Kisasonkole family, which included K.B. Kisasonkole (JAP 147-6/19). When Mulira set out to write 'Aggrey, *Muganda Waffe*', he designated a family member as an interlocutor (CCAS MP Mulira, 'Aggrey, *Muganda Waffe*').

¹³¹ CCAS MP E.M.K. Mulira, 'Let us Learn from Nature', Mss., 6 November 1936.

¹³² Mulira, *Government Gyennonya*, p. 7. When Mulira developed his memorandum for the Progressive Party in the mid-1950s, he sought to 'raise the status of women' (BNA CO 822/852 'Extract from Uganda Monthly Intelligence Appreciation', 31 January 1955). During the party's early branch elections, Rebecca Mulira was elected Kampala's branch chair (CCAS MP Mary Stuart, 'Rebecca Mulira: A Great Lady of Uganda', Mss., n.d., p. 15), a position she maintained until 1958 (Rebecca Mulira, 'Curriculum Vitae', [c. 2001]). During the same year, Makerere College hosted a conference entitled, 'The Christian in Politics', where Mulira argued for the participation of women in national politics (MUA AF UC UZ.67 Extra Mural/CCE/164c John Colman, 'Weekend Conference on "The Christian in Politics"', 28 January 1958). I wish to thank Ham M. Mulira for disclosing to me a copy of Rebecca Mulira's *curriculum vitae*.

¹³³ E.M.K. Mulira 'Omw. N'Omuk. Yokana Kaye: Omuzanyo Ogulaga Obufumbo Obwada Obuggya: Scene 1, *Obufumbo Obutabusse*', *Ebifa mu Uganda*, May 1946, pp. 80–81 (p. 80) [hereafter 'Scene 1, *Obufumbo Obutabusse*'].

¹³⁴ 'Scene 1, *Obufumbo Obutabusse*', pp. 80–81; 'Omw. N'Omuk. Yokana Kaye: Omuzanyo Ogulaga Obufumbo Obwada Obuggya: Scene 2, *Ewa Muliranwa*', *Ebifa mu Uganda*, June 1946, pp. 99–100 [hereafter 'Scene 2, *Ewa Muliranwa*']; and 'Omw. N'Omuk. Yokana Kaye: Omuzanyo Ogulaga Obufumbo Obwada Obuggya: Scene 3, *Mu Maka ga Kaye Nate*', *Ebifa mu Uganda*, July 1946, pp. 120–23 [hereafter 'Scene 3, *Mu Maka ga Kaye Nate*']. Copies of the *Ebifa* reproductions and Mulira's English translations are deposited in the Cambridge collection. My citations draw from Mulira's English translations.

has run astray. The story begins with Mrs Kaye and a group of children sitting in the living room of the Kaye home as tea time approaches. One child, Nasimbwa (a niece), arranges tea cups while another, Yakobo (a son), enters the room with a kettle of hot water.¹³⁵ As tea is being prepared, Mrs Kaye expresses her frustration of constantly taking tea without milk and sugar: 'Endless tea without milk and sugar is somewhat tiresome.'¹³⁶ Upon hearing his mother's lament, Yakobo is reminded that his father accidentally left the keys to the cupboard, where Mr Kaye securely stores the household supply of sugar.¹³⁷ To this, Mrs Kaye responds:

Bring them so that we too can have some sugar. In fact, the sugar is dying in there! He [Mr Kaye] comes home having already drunk his alcohol; he doesn't take tea and yet for those of us who take it he is forever not giving us any sugar! Go and bring them.¹³⁸

Following a heated discussion on what might happen should Mr Kaye learn of the sugar's depletion, the family carefully removes sugar from the cupboard and container. During the process, however, Mrs Kaye unnoticeably spills sugar on the floor. And once the sugar is in their possession, Mrs Kaye and the children use an exorbitant amount:

Mrs Kaye: (To Yakobo) How much shall I put for you?
Yakobo: Five spoonfuls.
Mrs Kaye: He has hidden it from us for a long time—today is his day of reckoning.¹³⁹

As the story continues, Mrs Kaye and Nasimbwa enter into a discussion regarding the ill-mannered Mr Kaye, asking: what kind of man buys sugar, only to refuse sharing it with his family?¹⁴⁰ Who would entertain guests without offering them sugar?¹⁴¹ Nasimbwa complains: 'And even when there's a visitor we have to fight to give him some sugar.'¹⁴²

Shortly after the family begins drinking their tea, Mr Kaye is heard outside the home. Quickly, the family removes the cups from the room as Mr Kaye enters the home

¹³⁵ 'Scene 1, *Obufumbo Obutabusse*', p. 80.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 81.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid.

and quickly passes his wife, only to hear her make rude gesture toward him.¹⁴³ Yokana then notices spilt sugar near the cupboard:

Mr Kaye: Where did this sugar come from?
Mrs Kaye: Where [What sugar?]?
Mr Kaye: This [Here].
Mrs Kaye: I don't know.
Mr Kaye: Why do you lie on such a small matter? Do you think it came here by itself?
Mrs Kaye: Hmm! (She makes the rude gesture again.) Are you so sure that I'm the one who put it there! Do you think we know where you drink *your* sugar? I'm a poor frustrated lady who doesn't drink sugar.¹⁴⁴

Mr Kaye then locates his keys to the cupboard and discovers a depleted canister of sugar, confirming his suspicion. The two then enter into a heated verbal exchange; Mrs Kaye is physically abused. While quarrelling, Mrs Kaye interrogatively vents, 'How can I keep quiet when you are constantly picking on me whenever you are drunk! Is it a crime to have been a woman'? Conversely, Mr Kaye voices: 'Poor old me! Quarrelling! Quarrelling! Won't I ever get any peace!'¹⁴⁵ The scene concludes with the two in separate rooms loathing their marriage.

Scene two, *Ewa Muliranwa* (At the Neighbours), takes place on the following day. Mrs Kaye and two women, Mrs Lutta and Zirimu, are found discussing their inebriate husbands. As the conversation unfolds, the audience is informed that Mr and Mrs Kaye's conjugal difficulty is further irritated by Mrs Kaye's affair with Omuseveni, a soldier in the King's African Rifles.¹⁴⁶ Commenting to her neighbour, Mrs Lutta, Mrs Kaye remarks: 'My friend, for my husband it is not only *waragi*. (She talks somewhat gleefully.) It is my serviceman boyfriend who is worrying him.'¹⁴⁷ Mrs Kaye's affection toward the unidentified serviceman is based upon aesthetics and manners, which Mulira illustrated by scripting Mrs Kaye bursting into song:

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ 'Scene 2, *Ewa Muliranwa*', p. 100. The term, *omuseveni*, refers to a war veteran. However, the word is used here to refer to one who served in World War II as a member of Uganda's 7th Battalion of the King's African Rifles (John D. Murphy, *Luganda-English Dictionary* (Washington: Consortium Press for Catholic University of America Press, 1972), p. 380).

¹⁴⁷ 'Scene 2, *Ewa Muliranwa*', p. 99.

I love him, I love him
 He who walks smartly, truly speaking;
 In his Khaki Uniform, he surpasses
 I love that “darle” so much.
 I love that boy, I love him
 He is far better than all of them that I have
 I love that boy, I love him,
 He is better than all I knew.¹⁴⁸

After Mrs Kaye concludes her song, the ladies hear a bicycle approaching. Contrasting yesterday’s unwanted arrival, the serviceman appears. Mrs Lutta invites him in, but he is unable to do so. However, he offers a gift of an expensive dress to Mrs Kaye before then saluting her and departing.¹⁴⁹ Contrasting Yokana Kaye’s tight-fistedness, Mrs Kaye’s lover is seen as one who is not only aesthetically pleasing to look upon, but also well mannered, a bearer of gifts.

The play’s final scene, *Mu Maka ga Kaye Nate* (In Kaye’s Home Again), occurs six months after the second scene.¹⁵⁰ The scene begins with Mrs Kaye in her residence meticulously cleaning and beautifying the home with flowers.¹⁵¹ Mrs Kaye calls for Nasimbwa and then asks her to prepare a glass of orange juice for the soon to arrive Mr Kaye.¹⁵² Yakobo is once again asked to prepare tea. As the home is being prepared for Yokana, Mrs Kaye is visited by her two friends, Mrs Lutta and Zirimu. The two ladies are puzzled by the cleanliness and arrangement of the home:

Mrs Lutta:	You appear to be busy; are you expecting visitors?
Mrs Kaye:	My friend, these days I am like this all the time, even when I am not expecting visitors.
Mrs Lutta:	Mhuph! You have turned into a <i>Muzungu</i> !
Mrs Zirimu:	Look at how the table cloth is even shining. (At the same time inspecting the tablecloth.) Everything! Look at the chairs! My friend you have really turned into a <i>Muzungu</i> !
Mrs Kaye:	Actually, it is not really being like a <i>Muzungu</i> . [...] It is a reviving that has brought all this. After all, did you ever see me doing this in the past?
Mrs Lutta:	What kind of reviving is this?

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 100.

¹⁵⁰ ‘Scene 3, *Mu Maka ga Kaye Nate*’, p. 120.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Ibid.

Mrs Kaye: These days we are in a new “life”. My husband had a change of heart suddenly and he really became someone new. He even buys meat and sugar now. [...]
 [...] [...]
 Mrs Lutta: By the way, what changed you?
 Mrs Kaye: God’s grace.¹⁵³

Mr Kaye then returns home and the play concludes with an extended conversation between Mr and Mrs Kaye, written to contrast Scene 1:

Mrs Kaye: Welcome home.
 Mr Kaye: (Still very cheerful) Yes! (To Yakobo) My child, undo what I have brought for your Auntie on the bicycle.
 Mrs Kaye: What have you brought for me?
 Mr Kaye: You will see. (Addressing himself to the ladies) I am very pleased to see you.
 The Ladies: We are, too.
 Mr Kaye: How are you?
 Mrs Kaye: What would you like, orange juice? You see I had prepared it at lunchtime but you didn’t come home. Or would you prefer some tea?
 Mr Kaye: Not to trouble you too much, I think I will have some of the orange juice.

(His wife brings the orange juice on a tray. At the same time Yakobo brings in the package he has taken from the bicycle. Mrs Kaye puts the tray in front of Mr Kaye. She turns to look at what Yakobo has brought in.)

Mrs Kaye: Oh! My dear! (Looking into the basket.) Goat’s meat which I love! And a cake, too! Thank you very much, dear.¹⁵⁴

Following, the two discuss God’s transformative work in their marriage before heading into their bedroom to kneel and pray together.¹⁵⁵

As Mulira’s play begins, the Kayes disembody reciprocal manners and fidelity. Mr Kaye is cast as one who does not provide his family with basic provisions, such as sugar. In consequence, Mrs Kaye identifies herself as ‘a poor frustrated lady who doesn’t drink sugar’.¹⁵⁶ Even to their guests, Mr Kaye’s stinginess is known. Parsimonious behaviour exhibited by husbands and hosts was frowned upon in Buganda and resulted in social and conjugal strain, aptly demonstrated in Mulira’s play. One Ganda proverb embodied

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 121.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ ‘Scene 1, *Obufumbo Obutabusse*’, p. 81.

the frustration that wives felt due to inhospitable husbands: ‘My husband, you despise me: give me at least a hoe and a working garment (that I can offer food to my relations, when they come to visit me).’¹⁵⁷ The generosity of Mrs Kaye’s lover, Omuseveni, contrasts Mr Kaye’s lack thereof. While Mr Kaye refuses to provide something as basic as sugar, Omuseveni is portrayed as a generous gift bearer, one who is gladly received.¹⁵⁸

Mrs Kaye is portrayed as obstinate, gossipy and sexually promiscuous—a wife who fails to demonstrate faithful reciprocity toward her husband. Her sexual relationship with a member of the King’s African Rifles is evocative, embodying what Mulira saw as the disintegration of Ganda social values. In the late 1930s, Mulira had joined the 7th Battalion of the King’s African Rifles,¹⁵⁹ where he witnessed and wrote about sexual passion that tended to stereotype military culture. Mulira commented on a Nubian wedding festival he attended at a military post in Bombo:

When they [female dancers] come to the men they just pass each other, but one man, I remember, was brave enough to touch the lady whom he met, whilst we watched. He touched her breasts with his right hand and pressed them inwardly, and her back with his left hand and pressed the back towards the front. [...]

Our men tried to learn these dances impromptu, but when they seemed to have mastered the secret, our hosts dispersed, one and all, and our men were left in the field solitary like the historic Sphinx, so they retired too. When I asked one who knew their ways well, I was told that the men are very jealous of their women, and they can fight anyone who tried to bring familiarity, in no time. [...] We left rather late, spirit and the rest having been taken, and we came back to find our womenfolk wondering much what had befallen us.¹⁶⁰

Timothy Parsons argues that members of the King’s African Rifles ‘often entered into informal and unauthorized relations with women’.¹⁶¹ ‘Women provided companionship, sexual gratification, and domestic labor, but more significantly,’ observes Parsons, ‘askaris also used their military connections to circumvent established social norms

¹⁵⁷ Walser, *Luganda Proverbs*, no. 0935.

¹⁵⁸ For further discussion on the politics of manners in colonial Buganda see: Carol Summers, ‘Radical Rudeness: Ugandan Social Critiques in the 1940s’, *Journal of Social History*, 39 (2006), 741–70.

¹⁵⁹ Mulira, *Thoughts of a Young African*, pp. 10–17; and ‘Autobiography’, p. 87. For further insight into the 7th Battalion see: Timothy Parsons, *The African Rank-and-File: Social Implications of Colonial Military Service in the King’s African Rifles, 1902–1964* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1999), p. 24.

¹⁶⁰ Mulira, *Thoughts of a Young African*, p. 17.

¹⁶¹ Parsons, *The African Rank-and-File*, p. 158.

governing marriage and procreation'.¹⁶² Categories such as 'wife' and 'family' were ambiguous,¹⁶³ and women entered into relationship with soldiers to obtain wealth during economic hardship.¹⁶⁴ Parson further notes: "Unofficial" military women formed relationships with African soldiers for a variety of reasons. Prostitutes traded sexual gratification for money; other women sought the protection of servicemen during troubled times or simply fell in love.'¹⁶⁵ And while Mrs Kaye's relationship with her serviceman embodied partial reciprocity, Mulira intentionally framed the relationship as unsustainable. Upon being invited to sit and visit, Omuseveni can *only* present gifts. He is unable to enter into committed and normative expectation and exchange. Illicit sex and alluring gifts are tools used to cover inadequate reciprocity.

Mulira used theology and Christian experience to imagine social reciprocity, a filial ideal he developed by adapting the co-educational ideals of Canon Grace and James Aggrey. Once Mulira's actors experienced Christian conversion, they sacrificially provided for one another's needs and committed to mutual prayer in the bedroom, not unrestrained sexual impulse. Mulira used his theology to cast marriage as a levelling ritual, a process through which women and men were placed on equal footing:

Marriage is the greatest experiment in living; it is the greatest risk: "For this reason a man shall leave his father and mother, and be made one with his wife; and the two shall become one flesh. They are no longer two but one flesh. What God has joined together let no man put asunder."

If anybody thinks that such an undertaking can be easy, I can say that he has neither experienced it nor known what we are talking about. We are talking about Christian marriage, the kind of marriage that is enter[ed] into by both parties and continues to function for the rest of their lives, being based on the understanding that the aim of husband and wife is to create a new synthesis or union and become one body instead of two.¹⁶⁶

Mulira further used theology to cultivate the language of equality, a relationship characterised by oneness, something entered into by two consenting parties for the purpose of synthesis and union. In so doing, Mulira used his Christianity to imagine

¹⁶² Ibid., p. 145.

¹⁶³ Ibid., p. 151.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 146.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 159.

¹⁶⁶ 'Autobiography', p. 85.

social practice in Africa's past, a time when Ganda homes were characterised by reciprocity and manners between women and men. One year prior to the production of his play, Mulira grieved:

With this new state of things, co-operation, which once was the rule of society, is now dying. Individual responsibility has produced division of labour. The husband is very seldom at home, he leaves early in the morning and goes to his work, and he comes back late in the evening. House-work is left entirely in the hands of the wife.¹⁶⁷

Accordingly, following their conversion, Mr and Mrs Kaye exemplified a relationship in which 'everyone [is] considerate of everyone else',¹⁶⁸ no longer tight-fisted, argumentative or sexually unrestrained. In short, theological ideation allowed Mulira to position gender relations alongside his broader attempt to imagine a commoners' kingdom, a place of unhindered equality.

Sons of the Soil

To contest Buganda's hierarchy in the 1940s, dissenting activists imagined idyllic pasts, places uncorrupted by colonial and chiefly exploitation, a time when 'everything was organised and done on a communal basis'. Bataka activists argued that B/Uganda was being 'adulterated' by British culture, a process characterised by '[r]obbery, stealing, eating, drinking, trickery, hypocrisy, murder, imprisonment, deportation, immorality, [and] corruption'.¹⁶⁹ In February 1949, Mulumba advised Muteesa II that 'the Protectorate Government ought to be proud of the "Bataka Uganda" (BU), because it is the *only* indigenous institution truly representative of our unadulterated Uganda culture'.¹⁷⁰ The priority of the Bataka was to 'see that the indigenous customs and traditions, rights and powers of *the Bataka* of Uganda are most carefully preserved in their purity and integrity for the perpetuation of the national culture of Uganda'.¹⁷¹ Mulumba

¹⁶⁷ Mulira, *Thoughts of a Young African*, p. 55.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 49.

¹⁶⁹ BNA CO 537/3593 Semakula Mulumba to Bishop C.E. Stuart, 26 July 1948.

¹⁷⁰ BNA CO 537/4666/24 Semakula Mulumba to Muteesa II, 21 February 1949. Italics added.

¹⁷¹ BNA CO 537/3593 'The Bataka of Uganda (BU)', n.d. Italics added. Cf., BNA CO 537/3593 Semakula Mulumba to Grandfathers and Sirs, the Chiefs and all Ankole people, 17 May 1948; and BNA CO 537/4666 For and on behalf of the Christians of Uganda [21 signatures] to Semakula Mulumba 14 February 1949.

envisioned a society where children and grandchildren presented their concerns ‘to the Bataka for public discussion’.¹⁷²

To critique B/Uganda’s religious hierarchy, Bataka activists infused historical reflection with ecclesiastical analysis. For Mulumba, the Anglican Church was an instrument used by colonial imperialists, an institution used to steal land and mineral rights. To Bishop Stuart, Mulumba scathed: ‘The Church of England and the British Government are the mother and the father of their daughter, Uganda. Indeed, it makes one feel most uncomfortable to think of a mother who screens her husband while he rapes their own charming little daughter of 6!’¹⁷³ Mulumba and Bataka imagined a Church that did not encumber ‘national traditions and customs’.¹⁷⁴ Indeed, one of the main objectives of Bataka was to insure that ‘Churches do not trespass on the ground of national custom and tradition’.¹⁷⁵

As a former Catholic ordinand (see Chapter Five), Mulumba used theology to critique missionary and colonial practice. In 1949, he argued that Britain’s empire was under God’s curse.¹⁷⁶ To Buganda’s British Resident, Mulumba adapted the Decalogue to evaluate colonial policy in Uganda:

Christ must come back and teach his doctrines a new. “Love one another as I have loved you” is the Divine Master’s injunction. Today we are taught to hate some people because they are “pagans”, and to cherish others because they are rich! No man on earth can change God’s law. “THOU SHALT NOT KILL” is God’s law, which is binding as well in peace time as in war time. “THOU SHALT NOT STEAL” is God’s law, which applies as well to the so-called “CROWN LANDS AND CHURCH LANDS” in Africa. “HONOUR THY FATHER AND THY MOTHER” is God’s law, which impels us Uganda Africans to honour and love our national GRANDPARENTS, THE BATAKA, whom the British Protectorate Government of Uganda, the African quisling chiefs and the missionaries, harass and persecute for denouncing their stagnation and administrative blunders.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷² BNA CO 537/4666 Semakula Mulumba to Boyd, British Resident in Buganda, 31 March 1949.

¹⁷³ BNA CO 537/3593 Semakula Mulumba to Bishop C.E. Stuart, 26 July 1948.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ BNA CO 537/3593 ‘The Bataka of Uganda (BU)’, n.d.

¹⁷⁶ CO 537/4666 Semakula Mulumba to Boyd, British Resident in Buganda, 31 March 1949.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

Mulumba sarcastically described the spiritual condition of Britons, advocating the African evangelisation of Britain:

Which white missionary can allege that we black people do not value religion? We believe in God whom you exiled from your souls and conduct. If we did not, we could not live in the conditions in which you keep us systematically, or you could not live in our countries. In fact, we have comparatively too much religion in our souls. It is now our turn to evangelize you white people; and, by God, it will be a hell of a job!¹⁷⁸

Like earlier Bataka activist Jemusi Miti, Mulumba believed that God had endowed Buganda's pre-monarchical Bataka with divine blessing. Indeed, Miti opened his 300,000 word history with a theological assertion, contextualising biblical narration to argue that God had a special relationship with Buganda's pre-monarchical rulers—in much the same way as he had with Israel's patriarchs prior to the Davidic monarchy:

Although our forefathers did not know God as Heavenly Father, yet they knew that there was a God who created the people and all the things that dwell on earth. They did not know how to write, but what they thought of the beginning of the world is very much like what we read in the Holy Bible, in the book of Genesis 1:26, where is says "Let us make man in our image ..." ¹⁷⁹

Broadly, Mulira sympathised with Bataka critique in the 1940s. He explained the 'institution' of *bataka* as 'one of the most important, the most respected and the most fundamental in Buganda'.¹⁸⁰ Mulira concluded that the *bataka* had been 'weakened greatly' due to the 1900 Agreement,¹⁸¹ and suggested that the impasse between Bataka activists and the colonial government resulted from 'misunderstanding'.¹⁸² Like Mulumba, Mulira lamented the deterioration of Buganda's 'communal' past:

African life has been very much lived under the influence of the community. The community has been the ideal. But with the spread of education and civilization, there has resulted the disintegration of this spirit of community life. Education is fostering the spirit of western individualism (without the full implications of its best side) rather than this African idea of community, and it is dangerous here.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ James Kibuka Miti Kabazzi, *Buganda, 1875–1900: A Centenary Contribution*, trans. by G. K. Rock, 2 vols (London: United Society for Christian Literature, n.d.), I, p. 3.

¹⁸⁰ BNA CO 537/4677/87 E.M.K. Mulira to Joseph Sheridan, 'Background to the Troubles in Buganda: Being a Contribution to His Honour Sir Joseph Sheridan's Enquiry', n.d.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² 'Autobiography', section b, n.p.

¹⁸³ Mulira, *Thoughts of a Young Africa*, p. 24.

For Mulira, communality exemplified the social pinnacle of Africa's precolonial history.¹⁸⁴ Individuals were responsible to families and clans; communities provided belonging and protection.¹⁸⁵ With responsibilities, rights and representation, commoners (*bakopi*), clans and villages were unified under a single *kabaka*, together in community.¹⁸⁶

While there was evident similarity between the projects of Mulumba and Mulira (and Musazi), they differed in two important aspects. First, Mulira believed that Christianity provided *the* conceptual capital to facilitate a commoners' renaissance, to model the present alongside a past characterised by social equality. Christianity was believed to be 'the organ of the new structure of society',¹⁸⁷ a tool to rebuild Africa's brotherhood.¹⁸⁸ For Mulumba, Christianity was a colonial tool used to undermine Buganda's clan heads. Second, when Mulira spoke about his principled past, he did not concern himself with Mulumba's clan heads or Musazi's kings. Mulira used theology to imagine political space for commoners, a place where 'all are brothers':

A new communal life is born based on new ideals, rule by a new law, which claims that all are brothers, and their Father the Great Creator of the universe. This is the great improvement on the old idea of brotherhood, which had no common faith for the whole of the community, and it is revolutionary. [...] In the long run it will be these values, if understood well and practiced, that will be the chief factor in reintegrating the African community, for they leave the individual a great deal of opportunity for activity as a member of the whole, and at the same time give him the feeling of security, so that the old habits of clan life, brotherliness and readiness to help, find a new expression.¹⁸⁹

In so doing, Mulira did not look toward the political heart of Buganda's distant past—Kintu's monarchy—nor to Buganda's healers' shrines and *bataka*. His gaze focused elsewhere, toward an ethnically inclusive Kooki.

In the late 1940s, Mulira produced a novel, *Teeffe*, where Kooki and theological narration is used to contest political dissidents whose projects were considered legitimate by claim (virtue) of being 'sons of the soil'. As early as the 1920s, Bataka activists

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 41.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 42.

¹⁸⁶ For further discussion see: Mulira, *Thoughts of a Young Africa*, pp. 50–64; and E.M.K. Mulira, *The Vernacular in African Education* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1951), p. 30.

¹⁸⁷ Mulira, *Thoughts of a Young Africa*, p. 63. Cf., Mulira, *The Vernacular in African Education*, p. 32.

¹⁸⁸ Mulira, *Thoughts of a Young Africa*, p. 58

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 64.

protested the loss and abuse of *their* land. In the 1924 Bataka trials, Shem Spire Mukasa argued: '[T]his Commission will do a great deal towards restoring our good native customs which had been spoilt by the Respondents [Regents].'¹⁹⁰ Plaintiffs would 'give evidence as to how the Respondents seized the estates which belonged to the Bataka and how they drove the Bataka away from these estates'[,]¹⁹¹ Adapting earlier discourse, Bataka in the 1940s sought to preserve and reclaim Buganda's land, what was argued to be *-ttaka* land.¹⁹² Similarly, Farmers' activists praised the land that God had given them. Reflecting upon dissenting songs in the 1940s, organising Farmers' activist Erieza Bwete recalled: 'The farmers' songs carried different tunes and meanings. The songs were nice to listen to and praised the fertility of the soil and the blessings that God gave to both the farmers and to the people in general.'¹⁹³ For Mulira, Buganda's soil was a place to build virtuous, inclusive societies governed by communal principles—communities not dominated by any one claimant, Baganda, Bataka or otherwise. Buganda's kingdom is made meaningful as commoners find themselves through lives devoted to rewarding labour and the making of inclusive communities, not through riot or claim of land.

Mulira produced a first draft of his thirty-nine page novel as early as 1948,¹⁹⁴ before publishing a first edition in 1950.¹⁹⁵ The book is titled after the story's protagonist, Mensusera William Besweri Teefe, whose name derives from the Luganda proverb, *Eteefe etuusa mugenyi*.¹⁹⁶ Literally, the proverb means: 'The chicken that is not going to die shall bring a visitor.' Or more loosely, 'Visitors often save people from harm'.¹⁹⁷ The book's opening chapters are set in Kampala in the early 1940s,¹⁹⁸ where

¹⁹⁰ BNA CO 536/133 Shem Spire Mukasa, 'Bataka Land Commission Minutes', 'Evidence, Written Statements, etc.', 11 April 1924.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² LFP 30/12 D.S.K. Musoke, '*Buganda Nyaffe*, Part I: A Descriptive Booklet about Land and its Users', [c. June 1944], p. 1.

¹⁹³ EBP Erieza Bwete, [Memoirs], Mss., n.d.

¹⁹⁴ CCAS MP Uganda Bookshop to E.M.K. Mulira, 17 August 1948.

¹⁹⁵ CCAS MP E.M.K. Mulira, 'Curriculum Vitae', Mss., n.d.

¹⁹⁶ I wish to thank George Mpanga for drawing this proverb to my attention.

¹⁹⁷ Walser, *Luganda Proverbs*, no. 5010.

¹⁹⁸ Mulira, *Teefe*, p. 7.

Teefe is portrayed as a young Muganda originally from Kooki. Young and dislocated,¹⁹⁹ Teefe devotes his time to living loosely in the city, spending his days drinking: ‘Teefe and his friend Paatiriisi were known drunkards who set off to look for drink in the morning until late at night’.²⁰⁰ On the morning of 2 February 1941, Teefe—with hangover—is visited by a long-lost friend, Matiya, who has brought an article taken from *Ebifa mu Uganda*. The article, *Atakola n’okulya talyanga* (S/he who does not work shall not eat),²⁰¹ builds on II Thessalonians 3¹⁰ to argue that Ganda poverty and political discontent has been caused by excessive drinking among youths.²⁰² Neither the confiscation of Bataka land, corrupt chiefs or colonial policy is to blame for rampant poverty. Rather, paucity is due to a lack of work intensified by excessive drunkenness.²⁰³ Matiya and *Ebifa* teach Teefe that the accumulation of wealth is possible, but through a life of meaningful labour in the village, where Baganda commoners and non-Baganda (Banyankole, Bakiga, Banyarwanda, et. al.) have learned to live and work together in reciprocal community, and in so doing have become wealthy.²⁰⁴

¹⁹⁹ While it is not made clear in the novel, Mulira likely cast Teefe as an urban ‘house boy’. In *Thoughts of a Young African*, Mulira wrote about in detail the sociological dilemma confronting migrant youth in Kampala:

Office work, shops, hospitals, schools and garages are drawing people from the village to come and live in towns, the town dweller is becoming a new actor in the community. He is different both in thought and occupation from the villagers. [...] Among the town dwellers the most conspicuous is the class of house boys. These are young men who have left their homes on the farm to come to work for Europeans and Indians. Most of them, are uneducated, and work for low wages, almost all of which they spend on food and drinks and cigarettes. They want to go back to the village sometimes, but it is a social scandal for a man to go back to his people from work without taking them some cash and some materials in the ways of gifts. So a man goes on working in the town month after month, year after year, hoping that one day things will become better, till all the years prove to be the same, and he remains there for an indefinite number of years. And once a person has lived in town in this way, he soon finds it difficult to go back to the village permanently, or even at all. He is used to handling money, and village life is too dull and slow for him. He must return to the village once again; but it is impossible to expect great happiness for such a person (Mulira, *Thoughts of a Young African*, pp. 60–61).

²⁰⁰ Mulira, *Teefe*, p. 7.

²⁰¹ Ibid., pp. 10–11.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Ibid., p. 11.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 10.

Matiya's *Ebifa* article emphasised the ideals of James Aggrey and the New Testament. Aggrey is presented as a brilliant African who argued that Africa's greatest resource is in the soil, being walked upon unknowingly.²⁰⁵ In addition to II Thessalonians, the article uses Jesus' wilderness temptation to advocate labour: '*Anti oli Mwana wa Katonda, gamba amayinja gano gafuuke emmere*', 'If you are the Son of God, tell these stones to change into food'.²⁰⁶ Refusing to succumb to temptation, Jesus resists Satan by committing to a life of hard work—walking while preaching, diligent thinking, wearing a crown of thorns, bearing the cross and undergoing physical abuse.²⁰⁷ From this, the article suggests that God has called his followers to a life of difficult, but rewarding labour.²⁰⁸ After listening to Matiya and reading *Ebifa*, Teefe decides that he—like Jesus—must work. Teefe concludes that he must return to his father's land in Kooki. And after thinking about the story of the prodigal son, he concludes that his father might warmly welcome him and sets out on a pilgrimage that offers the promise of communality, diversity and rewarding labour.

As he begins his journey, Teefe finds it difficult to deviate from what is considered Satan's desire to keep him in urban circumstances.²⁰⁹ But as he confronts constant opposition, Teefe imagines a new social identity, where being virtuous is more important than being Baganda or Bataka. Into his journey, Teefe's bicycle is damaged, from whence he approaches someone purposely cast as a Muganda. After greeting, Teefe asks his fellow Muganda to assist him by virtue of being a Muganda: 'Please help me, I am your fellow Muganda.'²¹⁰ To his dismay, Teefe's fellow Muganda sharply responds: 'You are a Muganda? And where did we meet to decide that I would help you simply because I am a Muganda?''²¹¹ Teefe's fellow Muganda is willing to help, though on the condition of exorbitant compensation. Perplexed, Teefe next sees a man who Mulira

²⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 11.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 12.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ '*Mu Kulowooza ennyo n'ategeera nti Ssetaani y'ayagala okumunyweza, naye asana omulundi guno amuwangule, naye ne Ssetaani n'agaana*', 'Thinking deeply, he realized that Satan wanted to fully own him, but this time he had to come out victoriously, and yet Satan persisted' (Ibid., p. 17).

²¹⁰ Ibid., p. 22.

²¹¹ Ibid.

casts as an ‘Omuniyarwanda’.²¹² Contrasting his fellow Muganda, the Rwandese man happily aids Teefe, adamantly refusing compensation.²¹³ The newfound Rwandese companion invites Teefe into his home, where he is generously fed and offered lodging for the evening. Determined to reach Kooki, however, Teefe refuses and ventures out. Following his departure, Teefe is chased by a lion that nearly kills him, before finding a tall tree to rest safely on for the night. The following morning, Teefe is found and consoled by a non-Baganda woman, Kooga, a Muhima. The two then come to love one another and marry and settle in Kooki. Teefe’s journey is complete.

In time, Teefe develops into one of Kooki’s exemplary farmers²¹⁴—employing thirty workers, cultivating 180 acres and possessing forty head of cattle.²¹⁵ Teefe and his Muhima wife become renown in the area for exhibiting kindness toward their neighbours and workers, embodying the conjugal virtues addressed in Mulira’s 1946 play. Once an urban youth, Teefe is transformed into an agrarian contemplative—virtuous, sociable and given to a life of productive farming and constant reading and prayer:²¹⁶

His fame spread in many places. [...] The agricultural officer always cited him as an example to the farmers and included him in many reports. Teefe experienced a new life through hard work. The words of our Lord are very relevant to Teefe, when he said, “Whoever loses his life shall regain it.”²¹⁷

The novel concludes after Teefe presents a testimonial speech, where he articulates six insights to Kooki’s farming community:

1. In the past, I wanted everything to be done for me. But now, I ask: “What have I done for Buganda?”
2. In my garden, I contemplate two particular issues: plants and my manners/behaviours. A farmer who is not trustworthy loses out.
3. All we can do is plant, but it is God who causes the growth. It is for this reason that I never stop asking God to bless my work.
4. I have dedicated my entire life to my garden. It is by being in one’s garden that one becomes a man.
5. Plants are like children, they need feeding. I use the insights I gain from my [non-Baganda] workers to feed the plants.

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ *‘Teefe afuuka ekyokulabirako ky’abalimi’* (Ibid., p. 32).

²¹⁵ Ibid., p. 34.

²¹⁶ Ibid., p. 35.

²¹⁷ Ibid., p. 36.

6. The stomachs of the labourers are the theme of the garden. I try hard to provide them with food and shelter. When I pay them well, they work hard and are full of happiness. When you do this, you will not be short of workers.²¹⁸

The speech climaxes when Teefe contrasts his newfound agrarian philosophy with the dissenting ethos of Mulumba's and Musazi's 1945 rioters:

I who had died have been resurrected by agriculture. When I lay on my bed, I reflect on the life of ignorance I once lived—the years spent looking for joy were wasted! I remember that one day we rioted to add but one mere shilling to our salary. When I remember all that, I can't stop thinking how God has opened my eyes.²¹⁹

After Mulira questions B/Uganda's dissenting rioters, he offers a poignant question to admonish readers to replicate Teefe: '*Kale bannaffe olugero lwa Teefe lukomye awo. Ggwe obulamu obubwo buli butya?*', 'My friends, the story of Teefe ends here. How have you spent your life?'²²⁰

In summary, Mulira used his novel to recast Ganda social life in the 1940s. Whereas Bataka and Farmers' activists, respectively, used rural land (*-ttaka*) to rhetorically shape monarchical critique and cast a place for Bataka to contest power, Mulira used land to imagine a place where 'there is no Muganda, Munyoro, Musoga, Mukedi, Munjunja, or Muzungu'.²²¹ For Mulira, Buganda's sons of the soil are those 'resurrected through agriculture', activists positioned alongside egalitarian community made meaningful through virtue and shared labour. In Mulira's kingdom, it was pointless to unquestionably advocate the rights of Bataka and 'fellow' Baganda. Of importance was social cooperation, creating communities unaltered by 'profit making concern'.²²² Mulira's ideal kingdom was reconstituted as a place for virtuous commoners—whether Baganda, Banyarwanda or Bahima—not rioting Bataka and moral monarchs.

Finally, by creating space for urban Baganda to participate in rural and egalitarian assimilation, Mulira situated his project alongside a long history of ethnic and migratory

²¹⁸ Ibid., p. 38.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Ibid., p. 39.

²²¹ SOAS MS 380474 E.M.K. Mulira, 'Mackay the Dauntless: A Play in Three Acts', Mss., c. 1944, p. 7. Cf., 'Autobiography', p. 82. Mulira uses Alexander Mackay's words to imagine a space where tribes are politically equal.

²²² Mulira, *Thoughts of a Young African*, p. 56.

integration into Ganda political life. However, Mulira's assimilatory process positioned Teefe away from Buganda's monarchical and hereditary traditions, thereby politically inverting Buganda's rich tradition of assimilating its neighbours.²²³ By adapting Ganda names, dress and architecture, immigrants from central Africa had long assimilated into Buganda's political and economic culture.²²⁴ Bakooki, too, had a long tradition of assimilating into Ganda polity, dating no later than the mid-nineteenth century. Through political ambition and military prowess, Mukooki, Semei Kakungulu, ascended Buganda's hierarchy.²²⁵ But Mulira's assimilatory process occurred in Buganda's political periphery, not its capital. By casting Teefe's social redemption in an ethnically diverse Kooki,²²⁶ Mulira used his novel to push away from Buganda's precolonial powerbrokers—kings, chiefs and clan heads—thereby advocating for ethnic and sociological pluralism.

Conclusion

This chapter concludes as it began, with Musazi and Mulira together. E.M.K. Mulira spent the closing years of the 1940s in the United Kingdom, where he developed a standardised Luganda orthography at the School of Oriental and African Studies (see Chapter Three). After he returned to Uganda, Mulira was elected to the *Lukiiko* in late 1950.²²⁷ In 1951, Mulira and a small coterie organised a society that advocated political unity between Buganda and the remaining Protectorate.²²⁸ During this time, Musazi launched the formation of the Uganda National Congress on 2 March 1952.²²⁹ Mulira

²²³ P.G. Powesland, 'History of the Migration in Uganda', in *Economic Development and Tribal Change: A Study of Immigrant Labour in Buganda*, ed. by Audrey I. Richards, 2nd edn (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 17–51.

²²⁴ Audrey I. Richards, 'The Assimilation of the Immigrants', in *Economic Development and Tribal Change: A Study of Immigrant Labour in Buganda*, ed. by Audrey I. Richards, 2nd edn (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 161–93.

²²⁵ Twaddle, *Kakungulu & the Creation of Uganda*, pp. 1–134. Kakungulu was E.M.K. Mulira's paternal uncle, perhaps, and Mulira's own father had ascended Buganda's hierarchy with relative success.

²²⁶ Audrey Richards' study does not indicate that Kooki had a particularly high percentage of labour migrants in the early twentieth century (*Ibid.*). Cf., J.M. Fortt, 'The Distribution of the Immigrant and Ganda Population within Buganda', in *Economic Development and Tribal Change: A Study of Immigrant Labour in Buganda*, ed. by Audrey I. Richards, 2nd edn (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 77–118.

²²⁷ 'Autobiography', pp. 204–06.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 208. Cf., BNA CO 822/849/2 'Uganda National Congress', Mss., n.d.

attended Musazi's meeting, but felt as he did earlier in 1944 that Musazi's policies were convoluted.²³⁰ In Mulira's words, Musazi's meeting 'was a flop'.²³¹ One year later in January 1953, Mulira and Musazi boarded a plane in Entebbe bound for Rangoon, where they would attend as delegates the First Asian Socialist Conference held in Burma.²³² In route, Musazi was delayed in Egypt due to logistical difficulties with the airline,²³³ failing to reach the conference by the time he was scheduled to speak at a plenary session.²³⁴ In his place, Mulira was asked to speak, from which he adapted his earlier literary discourse on egalitarian virtue to speak to his predominantly Asian audience:

Africa with her philosophy of love and brotherhood which is universal in scope, beckons the western world to the fact that the battle is one—a battle against man's inhumanity to man—which can be fought victoriously if we will plan to treat others the way we wish them to treat us.²³⁵

Mulira adapted regional, theological and global discourse to advocate social community in the mid-twentieth century. In so doing, unbeknownst to him, Mulira typified a genre of political adaptation that would characterise the coming decade of Ganda politics.

During the 1940s, political activists in Buganda used competing pasts to propel variant political projects. There were no less than three competing visions (Musazi's, Mulumba's and Mulira's); and there were certainly more (see Chapters Four and Five).

²³⁰ 'Autobiography', p. 209.

²³¹ Ibid., p. 208.

²³² For Mulira's account see: 'Autobiography', pp. 212–18. For additional coverage see: 'First Asian Socialist Conference', *New Times of Burma*, 7 January 1953, p. 1.

²³³ 'Autobiography', p. 214.

²³⁴ Ibid., p. 216.

²³⁵ 'Speech by I.K. Musazi President of the Uganda National Congress and Representative of Kenya African Union', *New Times of Burma*, 15 January 1953, p. 6. Mulira expressed frustration that his speech was printed under Musazi's name, which had been written in the original programme ('Autobiography', p. 216). Mulira wrote that his speech had been reproduced the following morning, 9 January, in *The Rangoon Times*. However, *The Rangoon Times*, had ceased circulation by 1942 ('Chronology of the Press in Burma', *The Irrawaddy* (May 1, 2004) <http://www.irrawaddy.org/research_show.php?art_id=3533>). Having examined the Burmese press for January 1953, I suggest Mulira was referencing the *New Times of Burma*, which did not reproduce his speech until 15 January, not 9 January as he initially recalled. Both Musazi and Mulira were well received during the conference. In the *Daily Herald*, Prime Minister Clement Attlee noted:

There were also a number of fraternal delegates from Africa. Of these, the Egyptian and Tunisian delegates seemed to be rather more Nationalists than Socialists, but the two representatives from Uganda made an impression by their good sense (Clement R. Attlee, 'Socialist Leaders of the East', *Daily Herald* (London), 23 January 1953, p. 4).

Dissenting activists asked for whom does Buganda exist; who are its exemplars—kings, clan heads or virtuous commoners? Such questions were largely self-referential, focused on the internal governance and moral economy of their kingdom. This changed after Muteesa II's deportation (1953–1955), when activists were pressed to engage in new forms of national and international politicking. Like Mulira in Rangoon, who contextualised earlier ideals to communicate to a global audience, Ganda intellectuals adapted their political ideals in the 1950s to engage in an all together different kind of moral debate. After 1955, political gravitas shifted, raising with it a new set of constitutional questions: What will constitutional monarchy look like in Buganda? And what is Buganda's constitutional relationship with Uganda in the postcolonial state? To these questions and the 1950s I now turn.



Figure 2.1 King's College, Budo, Staff, c. 1933

Usher Wilson (Row 1, 5th left); Bisase Kisosonkole (Row 2, 1st left); Mollie Grace (Row 2, 2nd left); I.K. Musazi (Row 2, 6th left); Canon Grace (Row 2, 7th left); E.M.K. Mulira (Row 2, 8th left)
 Courtesy of Michael and Rae Grace



Figure 2.2 Phelps-Stokes Commission, 1924
James Aggrey (Row 1, 1st left); Canon Grace (Row 1, 2nd left);
Serwano Kulubya (Row 2, 2nd left)
Courtesy of Michael and Rae Grace

Chapter Three Centrist Protestantism

Eridadi M.K. Mulira: 'The Commoners' Kingdom. c. 1953 to c. 1959

We had struggled long and hard to retain our integrity during the life of the Protectorate Government. Now the situation was to be different and we looked ahead to see if there were different dangers. Where would we stand in an independent Uganda?

~Kabaka Edward Muteesa II¹

When the Kabaka, Sir Edward Muteesa, was allowed to come back from exile in 1955, there was a new Constitution, a Buganda Constitution. [...] In that Constitution there was a time frame, a provision [...] for political development not only in Buganda but in the entire Uganda set-up. That time frame was that there [should] be no major changes [...] for six years from the time the new Constitution of 1955 started. [...] All the politicians in Buganda—in the *Lukiiko* and the political parties—[...] were preparing themselves [for] the major changes that would take place after six years. [...] The *Lukiiko* was very watchful. In that generation there was a lot of debate.

~Omulamuzi A.D. Lubowa²

As soon as the recommendations of the Namirembe Conference were published the traditionalists seized the opportunity to get into power. It was easy. What they had to do was to accuse the Committee of having betrayed the country and of having robbed the Kabaka of his power. This was in objection to the Kabaka being a Constitutional Monarchy. The Constitution framers were thrown out overnight. [...] They [traditionalists] are the last to admit that they owe their tremendous power to the Namirembe Conference which democratised Buganda for the first time.

~Eridadi M.K. Mulira³

By the early 1950s, Eridadi M.K. Mulira was a member of Buganda's *Lukiiko*. Toward the end of 1952, Buganda's king was deported to London by Uganda's new governor, Andrew Cohen. Without her king, Buganda's parliament was forced to debate if Buganda would constitutionally reform her monarchy. In an emergency session convened on 23 March 1954, Buganda's chiefs, clan heads and appointed members to the *Lukiiko* debated in earnest the future of their kingdom. In the past, Buganda's king was the focal

¹ Kabaka Edward Muteesa II, *Desecration of My Kingdom* (London: Constable, 1967), p. 143.

² Interview, A.D. Lubowa, 23 November 2009, Maya, Mpigi District.

³ Anonymous, 'A Background to the Political Scene in Buganda', *Uganda Church Review*, (Winter 1958), 21–26 (p. 26). While published anonymously, vocabulary and syntax is Mulira's.

point of political rule, one who exercised ‘direct rule over the natives of Uganda’.⁴ Amid political pandemonium, Eridadi Mulira addressed Buganda’s parliament. As a member of Buganda’s delegation to London (see below) Mulira spoke at length, fervently advocating constitutional reform. In the intensity of his address, Mulira collapsed on his knees⁵ and argued that Buganda’s king should ‘be above politics’.⁶ In depth, he asserted:

He [the *kabaka*] will then be a spire of a political building and not a centre pole of a building as he is now. As a centre pole he bears the political burden; whenever there is a quarrel that quarrel ends with him and whenever there is trouble in his Kingdom he is held responsible and penalised as in the case of Kabaka Mutesa II. But if he was a spire of a building as in the case of the King of England, he remains Kabaka and beautifies Buganda in the same way as a spire beautifies any building. As a spire rests on a house bearing no burden—so would he rest on Buganda as Kabaka but bearing no burden. The burden of responsibility would rest on the Lukiiko and the Ministers, he being required only to approve their resolutions by signing them but bearing no responsibility for them.⁷

Mulira had by the end of the 1940s envisioned Buganda’s kingdom as a place for commoners. Unlike Musazi, Mulira argued that Mmengo was morally obliged to provide equal parliamentary representation from among Buganda’s peasantry. In 1954 he pressed this earlier argument even further, advocating that monarchical power be transferred in entirety to Buganda’s citizenry. Through his passionate plea, Mulira persuaded Buganda’s *Lukiiko* to pass a resolution to appoint a committee to address constitutional reform;⁸ the Namirembe Conference followed.

⁴ ‘The Uganda Agreement of 1900’, Article 6, in *Buganda and British Overrule, 1900–1955: Two Studies*, ed. by D.A. Low and R.C. Pratt (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 350–64 (p. 352).

⁵ Paulo Kavuma, *Crisis in Buganda, 1953–55: The Story of the Exile and Return of the Kabaka, Mutesa II* (London: Rex Collings, 1979), p. 71. Cf. ARP 7/6/125 Audrey Richards, Field Notes, May 1954.

⁶ ICS 29/1/1/10c ‘Report of the Buganda Kingdom Lukiiko Delegation to England on the Question of Arrest and Deportation of His Highness Kabaka Mutesa II of Buganda’, 23 March 1954 (hereafter ‘Report of the Buganda Kingdom Lukiiko Delegation to England’).

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ ICS 29/1/1/10b ‘The Session of the Great Lukiiko which was held on 23rd–26th March, 1954’. Resolution No. 9 stated:

The Great Lukiiko has resolved to select a Committee which will deal with Professor Keith Hancock on the Constitutional Development and Reform in the Kingdom of Buganda. The Great Lukiiko has nominated ten names of people to be on the Committee and has been authorised to appoint two co-opted members to make a Committee of twelve.

For reasons I shall explore in this Chapter, the time period from 1953 to 1955 was both a constitutional crisis and moment in Buganda's history. It was a crisis because Buganda had indefinitely lost her king due to constitutional stipulation set out in the 1900 Agreement. It was a moment because it provided political space for competing actors—such as Mulira—to debate and advocate diverging political agendas, a space in time when Buganda's monarchy was up for grabs. Nothing was predetermined; nothing certain. However, it was also a constitutional moment because Muteesa's deportation resulted in a new Agreement that set in motion the terms of B/Uganda's future independence. This forced Buganda's parliament and dissenting activists to wrestle with the question of Buganda's future political integrity in the postcolony, Buganda's position in an independent Uganda.⁹ Until 1953, moral debate within Buganda was largely self-referential, focusing on the internal governance and moral economy of Buganda's kingdom. Political gravitas did not centre on Buganda's constitutional relationship with the remaining Protectorate; for Mmengo politicians, the Agreements of 1894 and 1900 provided adequate safeguards in the past. This was no longer the case after 1955.

In this Chapter, I explore how one particular activist capitalised on Buganda's constitutional moment. Muteesa's deportation precipitated emotional current that Mulira and others were challenged to navigate. For Mulira, this provided an opportunity to advance his constitutional ideals of the previous decade. Mulira used Muteesa's deportation to assert national unity and to reconstitute Buganda, *Uganda Empya*, alongside broader transnational African politics. Until 1959, Mulira's liberalism evoked intense opposition from Buganda's conservatives. Guided by theological imagination,

⁹ This is not the first instance when Ganda intellectuals looked beyond Buganda's political borders, per se. What I am suggesting, however, is that activists were forced to wrestle with Buganda's constitutional integrity in ways not as readily evident in the past. (For further discussion see: H.B. Thomas, 'Capax Imperii—The Story of Semei Kakungulu', *Uganda Journal*, 6 (1939), 125–36; A.H. Cox, 'The Growth and Expansion of Buganda', *Uganda Journal*, 14 (1950), 153–59; Roland Oliver, 'The Baganda and the Bakonjo', *Uganda Journal*, 18 (1954), 31–33; A.D. Roberts, 'The Sub-Imperialism of the Baganda', *Journal of African History*, 3 (1962), 435–50; John M. Gray, 'Kakungulu in Bukedi', *Uganda Journal*, 27 (1963), 31–59; Louise Pirouet, 'Evangelists and Subimperialists', *Dini Na Mila*, 4 (1969), 28–41; J.B. Webster, 'Pioneers of Teso', *Tarikh*, 3 (1970), 47–58; Michael Twaddle, 'Ganda Receptivity to Change', *The Journal of African History*, 15 (1974), 303–15; Louise Pirouet, *Black Evangelists: The Spread of Christianity in Uganda, 1891–1914* (London: Collings, 1978); and Michael Twaddle, *Kakungulu & the Creation of Uganda, 1868–1928* (London: James Currey, 1993).

Mulira altered political strategy, purposely labouring alongside conservative actors to reshape politics from *within* Buganda's patriotic landscape.

The Deportation of Kabaka Edward Muteesa II: Affective Politics

The immediate circumstances precipitating Muteesa II's deportation surrounded a speech given by Oliver Lyttleton, Secretary of State for the Colonies.¹⁰ During a dinner speech delivered to the East African Dinner Club on 30 June 1953, Lyttleton remarked: 'Nor should we exclude from our minds the evolution, as time goes on, of still larger measures of unification, and possibly still larger measures of the whole East African territories.'¹¹ Lyttleton's remarks—which followed a statement made on Central African Federation—were received in Uganda shortly after,¹² and by 2 July a committee of elected members to the *Lukiiko* issued a formal statement to the Secretary of State opposing regional federation; Mulira was secretary of the council.¹³ On 3 July, Lyttleton's statement was reproduced in the *East African Standard*.¹⁴ Following, on 6 August Muteesa issued a letter to Governor Cohen, where he highlighted the reprehensible behaviour of Kenya's white settlers and the creation of Central African Federation:

[O]ur future has ceased to be guaranteed as had been previously, thus the more our fears and forebodings about the future, for Her Majesty's Government seems

¹⁰ For further discussion see: Colin Legum, *Must We Lose Africa?* (London: W.H. Allen, 1954), pp. 11–125; *Buganda and British Overrule, 1900–1955: Two Studies*, ed. by D.A. Low and R.C. Pratt (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 317–49; David E. Apter, *The Political Kingdom in Uganda: A Study of Bureaucratic Nationalism*, 2nd edn (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), pp. 276–300; D.A. Low, *Buganda in Modern History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 101–38; Kevin Ward, 'The Church of Uganda and the Exile of Kabaka Muteesa II, 1953–55', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 28 (1998), 411–49; Caroline Howell, 'Church and State in Crisis: The Deposition of the Kabaka of Buganda, 1953–1955', in *Missions, Nationalism, and the End of Empire*, ed. by Brian Stanley and Alaine Low (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2003), pp. 194–211.

¹¹ 'Uganda Protectorate: Withdrawal of the Recognition from Kabaka Mutesa II of Buganda' (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1953), p. 6.

¹² Apter suggested that Lyttleton's speech was first brought to the attention of Paulo Kavuma, E.M.K. Mulira and C.M.S. Kisasonkole at a Bible Society tea party in Kampala (Apter, *The Political Kingdom in Uganda*, p. 276). Kavuma confirmed Apter's observation: 'I first heard the news while attending a tea-party given in honour of a visitor from Nairobi representing the Bible Society' (Kavuma, *Crisis in Buganda*, p. 20).

¹³ CCAS MP E.M.K. Mulira, ['Autobiography'], Mss., n.d., p. 223 (hereafter 'Autobiography').

¹⁴ Kavuma, *Crisis in Buganda*, p. 19.

to have ceased to embody the element of certainty in the path of our political development, it being apparently concerned only with the present.¹⁵

The letter contained two requests. First, Muteesa called for Buganda to 'be managed by the Foreign Office as was originally done, and no longer by the Colonial Office'.¹⁶

Second, Muteesa asked the colonial government to 'prepare and put into effect a plan designed to achieve our independence and if possible within a short stated space of time'.¹⁷ In late September, a seven-member *Lukiiko* committee, which again included Mulira,¹⁸ assembled to consider the question of East African federation, a topic debated in Buganda as early as the 1920s.¹⁹ The *Lukiiko*, speaking 'on behalf of the people', argued similarly to Muteesa: 'We are not a colony and we have never been a colony.'²⁰ The committee reinforced Muteesa's demand for transfer to the Foreign Office and his demand for a definitive timeline toward independence.

Following Muteesa's missive and the *Lukiiko*'s memorandum, Cohen drafted a response dated 27 October 1953, where he stated that transfer to the colonial office was not possible, and Ganda independence from the Protectorate to be avoided. He assured Muteesa that Britain's government had 'no intention whatsoever of raising the issue of East African federation either at the present time or while local public opinion on this issue remains as it is at the present time'.²¹ And in an effort to thwart imminent independence, Cohen coaxed Muteesa, reminding him of the benefits colonial protection brought his kingdom.²² In his letter, Cohen enforced the government's request for Ganda participation in Uganda's Legislative Council (Legco): 'With Buganda members

¹⁵ Muteesa II to Andrew Cohen, 6 July 1953, in 'Uganda Protectorate', p. 26.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 27.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ 'Autobiography', p. 224.

¹⁹ For further insight into Closer Union debate in the 1920s see: R.C. Pratt, 'The Politics of Indirect Rule: Uganda, 1900-1955', in *Buganda and British Overrule*, ed. by D.A. Low and R.C. Pratt (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 163-316 (pp. 254-62). For primary sources: Kabaka Daudi Chwa II, 'Memorandum on the Proposed Federation of the British East African Dependencies. Its Effects on the Constitution of Buganda Kingdom', 29 October 1927, in *The Mind of Buganda: Documents of the Modern History of an African Kingdom*, ed. by D.A. Low (London: Heinemann Educational, 1971), pp. 73-81; and UNA SMP A46/2631, 'Notes and Letters from the Commission on Closer Union', December 1927-January 1928.

²⁰ 'Lukiiko Memorandum', n.d., in 'Uganda Protectorate', p. 30.

²¹ Andrew Cohen to Muteesa II, 27 October 1953, in 'Uganda Protectorate', p. 33.

²² Ibid., p. 35.

on the Legislative Council, these would have full opportunity to express the views held by the Baganda on this subject [federation]; but if they were not on the Legislative Council this opportunity would be lost.²³ Further, Cohen pressured Muteesa to sign a declaration affirming support of the colonial government's position on federation (that it would only occur should public opinion alter), transfer to the foreign office (a logistical impossibility) and a definitive timetable toward independence (something the government could not offer in good faith).²⁴ Muteesa conceded to the first stipulation, but refused to support the latter two.²⁵ On 30 November,²⁶ Muteesa travelled from Mmengo to Entebbe with three chief ministers and a personal assistant,²⁷ where he reaffirmed his demands.²⁸ In turn, Cohen produced a written withdrawal of British recognition of Muteesa's kingship under violation of Article 6 of the 1900 Agreement.²⁹ Muteesa was immediately boarded onto a London-bound plane with his assistant Robert Ntambi.³⁰

Muteesa's deportation was perceived as a moral violation for many Baganda, resulting in immediate and vehement protest throughout the kingdom. Mulira referred to the initial days of deportation as 'the darkest days Buganda had known in this century'.³¹

²³ Ibid., p. 37. As early as the 1920s, Ganda politicians expressed suspicion toward Uganda's Legco. Buganda's participation in the Legco was first debated during the Join Select Committee on Closer Union in East Africa in the early 1930s, where *Omwunika* Serwano W. Kulubya argued:

[T]he Baganda did not want representation on Legislative Council because they had "their own constitutions" and if they were given one or two representatives, would be out-voted by the majority and then it would be difficult for Buganda to re-open matters passed through Legislative Council which they were then able to do by approaching the Secretary of State (T.W. Gee, 'Uganda's Legislative Council Between the Wars', *Uganda Journal*, 25 (1961), 54–64 (pp. 59–60).

²⁴ 'Uganda Protectorate', p. 10.

²⁵ Ibid. Cf., UCU BA 1/72.1 Muteesa to Cohen, 28 November 1953.

²⁶ Kavuma, *Crisis in Buganda*, p. 31. Kavuma recalled conversation with Muteesa on 30 November regarding perturbation throughout Buganda (Ibid.). Once in Entebbe, Muteesa ordered his armed assistant to fire if necessary—something Muteesa was equally prepared to do (Muteesa, *Desecration of My Kingdom*, p. 121). According to Kavuma, Muteesa privately threatened to shoot a colonial official after being issued withdrawal of recognition (Kavuma, *Crisis in Buganda*, p. 34).

²⁷ Muteesa, *Desecration of My Kingdom*, p. 121.

²⁸ 'Uganda Protectorate', p. 13.

²⁹ Kavuma, *Crisis in Buganda*, p. 33. Cf., Muteesa, *Desecration of My Kingdom*, p. 33.

³⁰ Muteesa, *Desecration of My Kingdom*, p. 33.

³¹ 'Autobiography', p. 227.

Mulira continued: 'We were like a ship at sea without a compass; nobody knew what should be done or what was going to happen.'³² Buganda's regents experienced immediate opposition. Kavuma recalled: 'Many of my countrymen thought that I was an evil man and that I should be struck by lightning because, they said, I had sold the Kabaka to the Europeans[.] [...] For four months I was unable to move freely about the country for fear of assassination.'³³ He further remembered: 'As I travelled about people pointed at me accusingly. Threatening letters reached me by post; one of them, addressed to my wife, contained a bullet. I received abusive telephone calls, and people passing by my house called out that I should be cursed.'³⁴ Mulira's colleague, and eventual delegation secretary, Amos Sempa, disclosed to Bishop Leslie Brown:

We are by no means finding things too easy, but by the Grace of God all is not lost. More than anything else this is a matter for prayer, and when ones comes to think of the moral issues involved in it as shown in the manner the Kabaka was arrested[,] at once the issues comes one for the Church to challenge.³⁵

Another activist, T. Luwule, argued that by deporting the Kabaka, 'the Protectorate Government abandoned its duty as protector and assumed a status as ruler'.³⁶ The colonial government, he proposed, 'did not have the authority to deport the Kabaka'.³⁷

Emotional distress was exhibited by women, citizens who lamented the metaphorical lose of a husband.³⁸ To this, E.M.K. Mulira's wife, Rebecca Mulira, was no exception. As early as January 1954, Rebecca Mulira initiated various campaigns to restore Muteesa. With four women, she warned Bishop Leslie Brown that Muteesa's deportation 'might result in bloodshed, as God's just reprisal against the British Nation

³² Ibid.

³³ Kavuma, *Crisis in Buganda*, p. 1.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 2.

³⁵ UCU BA 1/113.6 Amos Sempa to Leslie Brown, 22 December 1953.

³⁶ ICS 29/1/14/42 T. Luwule & Co. to Constitutional Committee, c. 12 July 1954.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ For further discussion see: Carol Summers, 'All the Kabaka's Wives: Baganda Women, the Kabaka Crisis (1953–6), and the Politics and Perils of Loyalty', Draft Paper, African Studies Association, New York, 2007. For additional insight into the role of royal women activists during the deportation see: ICS 29/1/10/14 Damali to Hancock, [c. 1954]; and Musa K. Parma-Ntanda, *Deposition of H.H. The Kabaka of Buganda: The Representative in London of the Women of Uganda Challenges Her Majesty's Government's White Paper and the Secretary of State's Decision* (Sussex: Grange Press for The Women's League of Buganda, February 1954).

for destroying our God-given nation of Uganda'.³⁹ Drawing from Pauline theology and Old Testament monarchialism, Rebecca Mulira argued that Muteesa had been forcibly 'divorced [...] from his people'.⁴⁰ In length she wrote:

[I]t is Your Lordship who crowns the King and invests him with the royal ring whereby he becomes united or married to his own people, according to the established Christian rites of our Church. Wherefore, 'THAT WHICH GOD HAS JOINED TOGETHER, LET NO MAN BREAK ASSUNDER'. By reason of the fact that King Mutesa II became united or married to his own people, the British Government has no right in all justice, to force his separation from us, without the previous unanimous consent of his people.

It pains us most deeply to see he, whom God did anoint in his royal position in a long and unbroken [dynasty] of Buganda Kings, should have been 'kidnapped', as it were, and hurried away from his own country! David, the holy Prophet, says, who can stretch his hand against him whom God has anointed, without being guilty of a sin.⁴¹

By the end of January, Rebecca, with twenty-four 'Christian women, who have our Nation at heart' petitioned Uganda's governor, reminding him that Muteesa's authority derived from the consent of the people, Buganda's clans and the Church; not the colonial government.⁴² The following day, Rebecca mobilised three buses of women to express grievance and protest before Governor Cohen.⁴³

In summary, Muteesa's deportation was not simply an abstract political principle. On the streets of Kampala and throughout rural Buganda, Muteesa's deportation precipitated affective politics, emotional current that Mulira and others were challenged to navigate. In the 1940s, dissenting populists critiqued Muteesa's fledgling monarchy, but deportation decisively altered public opinion. In the 1950s, a moral community considered themselves politically handicapped, a people whose political tradition was overtly affronted by colonial force. This opened a new type of politics where Baganda

³⁹ UCU BA 1/113.7 Rebecca Mulira, et. al., to Leslie Brown, 16 January 1954.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² UCU BA 1/113.7 Rebecca Mulira, et. al., to Andrew Cohen, 27 January 1954.

⁴³ Rebecca Mulira, 'Rebecca Muliira', in *A Rising Tide: Ugandan Women's Struggle for a Public Voice 1940–2004*, ed. by Winnie Byanyima and Richard Mugisha (Kampala: Forum for Women in Democracy, 2005), pp. 38–46 (p. 41); and UCU BA 1/113.7 O.G. Griffith to Rebecca Mulira, 13 February 1954.

imagined themselves inheritors of personalised monarchy, made meaningful through a newfound sense of hierarchical ownership.

Constitutionalising Buganda's Monarchy

If Mulira was going to constitutionally re-imagine Buganda's monarchy, it was necessary to find a way to morally equate kings with commoners. Grammar provided one such means. As a member of Buganda's delegation to secure Muteesa's return in the mid-1950s, Mulira used the British press to disseminate his constitutionalism to a global audience. Activists such as Mulira were not only pressed to allay emotional anxiety on the streets of Kampala, they were challenged to talk about Buganda's monarchy in ways that would be found meaningful to Britons. In course, delegates secured the Namirembe Conference, where Mulira advocated the constitutional levelling of Buganda's hierarchy. Conservative populists by contrast generated political legitimacy by anchoring their projects in the purposes of Buganda's monarchy, thereby undermining Mulira's project.

The Grammar of Monarchy

Mulira's plea on the floor of the *Lukiiko* in March 1954 reflected ideals referenced earlier in the 1940s. As I have shown (see Chapter Two), Mulira in 1944 in *Gavumenti Ey'abantu* argued for 'peasants to have a voice in Buganda'.⁴⁴ In 1950 in *Teeffe*, Mulira envisioned an egalitarian kingdom, political space governed by communal virtue, sociability and reciprocity. And in the same year he published *Teeffe*, Mulira was thinking through the constitutional implications of *Gavumenti Ey'abantu*, suggesting that Buganda's king 'ought to be above politics'.⁴⁵ Muteesa's deportation provided Mulira with opportunity to advocate this burgeoning constitutionalism. In the late 1940s and 1950s, Mulira sought to create—quite literally—a political grammar to contest Mmengo's, Musazi's and Mulumba's disparate projects. Through grammar, Mulira used linguistic expertise to imagine a place where kings, chiefs and rural cultivators, such as Teeffe, were equal under law.

⁴⁴ E.M.K. Mulira, *Government Gyennonya: Abakopi Okuba N'eddobozi mu Buganda* (Kampala: Uganda Bookshop Press, 1944).

⁴⁵ ARP 7/6/7 Audrey Richards, Field Notes, October 1950.

While involved in Buganda's dissenting politics in the 1940s through his writing, Mulira spent the decade's closing years in London, where from late 1947 to late 1950 he worked with a small team of linguists at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS). Mulira's fellowship was designed to enable him to teach and study Luganda 'in a scholarly way, with a view to becoming an acknowledged authority of its structure and authority'.⁴⁶ During his tenure, he worked on a Luganda orthographical project that resulted in two publications:⁴⁷ a Luganda-English dictionary published in 1952,⁴⁸ and a Luganda grammar published in 1954.⁴⁹ Mulira's dictionary was written to revise A.L. Kitching and Revd G.R. Blackledge's earlier dictionary published in 1925, to update its orthography according to the Standard Orthography suggested by the all-Baganda Conference in 1947.⁵⁰ In replacing the earlier dictionary, the revised edition was 'accepted officially by the Government of Buganda and the Protectorate Government'.⁵¹ As a standardising revision, though, there is minimal substantive difference between the two editions (see Chapter Five). However, what is illuminating is the parallel grammar published two years later, what Mulira and his colleague, E.G.M. Ndwula, considered 'an invaluable adjunct'.⁵²

Dictionaries and grammars are not necessarily abstract pedagogical devices designed to impart a universally recognised syntax.⁵³ Grammars in colonial Africa were often political tools used to contest and form authority and inculcate purposefully chosen illustrations, and this to evoke emotion and proverbial wisdom during particular political epochs. A Luganda grammar written during the tumultuous 1940s is no exception. *A Luganda Grammar* was written by E.O. Ashton, E.M.K. Mulira, E.G.M. Ndwula and

⁴⁶ CCAS MP Director of Education, Education Department, Kampala, to E.M.K. Mulira, 12 January 1948.

⁴⁷ For further insight see: CCAS MP A.N. Tucker to E.M.K. Mulira, 23 May 1949; and CCAS MP H. Moyse-Bartlett, Secretary, SOAS, to E.M.K. Mulira, 30 May 1949.

⁴⁸ E.M.K. Mulira and E.G.M. Ndwula, *A Luganda-English and English-Luganda Dictionary*, 2nd edn (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1952).

⁴⁹ E.O. Ashton, E.M.K. Mulira and others, *A Luganda Grammar* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1954).

⁵⁰ Mulira and Ndwula, *A Luganda-English and English-Luganda Dictionary*, p. v.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Derek R. Peterson, *Creative Writing: Translation, Bookkeeping, and the Work of Imagination in Colonial Kenya* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 2004).

A.N. Tucker. The defined purpose of the book was ‘to provide the beginner with a graded course in sentence construction, and to enable the more advanced student to appreciate some of the finer points of Luganda idiom’.⁵⁴ Mulira and Ndawula provided the ‘great majority of the sentences illustrating the grammar, the exercises and the text of the Linguaphone Gramophone records’.⁵⁵ According to E.O. Ashton, the grammar reflected Mulira and Ndawula’s ‘intimate knowledge of the language and of the *social life* of their country’,⁵⁶ knowledge considered ‘essential to the book’.⁵⁷ The gramphonic exercises recorded by Mulira and Ndawula were ‘arranged in the form of drills, easy to learn by heart’.⁵⁸

The ‘social life’ from which *A Grammar* drew, reflected Mulira’s political sensibilities in two areas, supplementing *Teefe* and Mulira’s later constitutional project during the 1950s. First, through reinforcing the theme of cultivation, Mulira pedagogically referenced the moral themes of the novel on which he was simultaneously working, *Teefe*. To imagine political space for commoners to labour, Mulira grammatically situated kings and chiefs within the same conceptual category as commoners. Second, Mulira’s aim to grammatically recast Buganda’s monarchy paralleled his effort to situate Buganda within the same discursive framework as Uganda, envisioning the nation as a place for strangers. I shall address the first theme here, and return to the second theme in the following section.

In *A Grammar*, Mulira explored the social and economic status of labourers in Buganda, reminding his readers of a kingdom where no one is unemployed, ‘*Tewalibaawo atalifuna mulimu*’.⁵⁹ Like his use of II Thessalonians 3¹⁰ in *Teefe*, Mulira used the language of compensation to imagine laboured space where industrious commoners are rewarded for their labour—those who do not cultivate are not paid.⁶⁰ Throughout *A Grammar*,

⁵⁴ Ashton, Mulira and others, *A Luganda Grammar*, p. vii.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid. Italics added.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 471.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 238.

⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 140–41. ‘*Abapakasi abatalimye tobawa mpeera*’, ‘The labourers who have not cultivated, don’t give them wages’.

constant reference is made to the verbal form, ‘to cultivate’, *-kulima*.⁶¹ And when *A Grammar* demonstrated simple and compound tenses with and without relative phrasing, it offered a three-page diagram of forty-five conjugations of *-kulima*,⁶² one of the only lexemes in the grammar that provided full-page treatment in a 500-page text. Mulira further used the imagery of hoes and ploughs to illustrate causative forms of derivative verbs.⁶³ Cultivating labourers were cast to contrast the cultural and political powerbrokers of Buganda’s kingdom. Grammar exercises that referenced Kampala tended to emphasise sentiment expressed in *Teeffe*, casting Buganda’s capital as a place of game,⁶⁴ European dress⁶⁵ and eroded work ethic.⁶⁶ Kiganda custom was associated with ‘people from the country’, ‘*abantu ab’omu kyalo*’,⁶⁷ not Buganda’s capital, a theme explicated through exercises on adjectives.

Situating Ganda custom alongside Buganda’s rural landscape was part of a broader imaginative process of levelling Buganda’s monarchy for Mulira, using grammar to re-envision kingship within the same conceptual category as commoners. In Luganda, nouns that typically involve personages of social importance have no prefix or initial vowel in the singular; no initial vowel in the plural.⁶⁸ And while such nouns often use the concord of the personal class (*-mu/-ba*), they can be grammatically categorised as nouns without class prefix, evident in *A Grammar*.⁶⁹ ‘*Kabaka*’ and ‘*Katikikiro*’ typify this class of locution as they do not technically belong to the personal noun class, although they are generally included because the *-mu/-ba* class contains nouns without an initial vowel, including *Katonda* (God) and proper names.⁷⁰ In *A Grammar*, this exception in syntax was accentuated by situating the grammar of monarchy, *kabaka*, alongside the social

⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 78, 141, 222, 230, 243, 295, 344–46, 448 & 468.

⁶² Ibid., pp. 293–94 & 303.

⁶³ Ibid., pp. 344–45.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 228. ‘*Mwagenda kukola ki e Kampala? Twagenda ne tugula ebintu ne tulaba n’omupiira*’, ‘What did you (pl.) go to do at Kampala? We went and bought several articles and we saw a football match’.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 286.

⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 230 & 419.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 386.

⁶⁸ J.D. Chesswas, *The Essentials of Luganda*, 4th edn (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 33.

⁶⁹ Ashton, Mulira and others, *A Luganda Grammar*, pp. 217–18.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 89.

classification of commoners, such as *muganda* (brother) and *muliraanwa* (neighbour).⁷¹ In other words, in *A Grammar* the entries, *kabaka*, *muganda* and *muliraanwa* were grammatically explained alongside one another, thereby emphasising the conceptual (grammatical) semblance of Buganda's hierarchical positioning. Moreover, Mulira critiqued Buganda's past kings, noting: '*Bajjajaffe baatyanga Kabaka nga bwe batyanga ensolo, kubanga ejja kubaluma*', or 'Our forefathers feared the King as they used to fear a wild animal lest it should bite them'.⁷² Mulira offered similar critique against Buganda's chiefs, drawing attention to a time when chiefs were commoners,⁷³ workers worthy of esteem.⁷⁴ *A Grammar* questioned chiefs that receive unearned honour, referencing a chief whose 'position of authority should be taken from him' alongside *ssaŋa* chiefs lavished with food for merely making public appearance.⁷⁵

To summarise, by emphasising the *personal* classification of Buganda's kings, Mulira created conceptual space for rural cultivators, an idyll rural unhindered by kings that bite like untamed animals and where labour and custom is generated by commoners. If Mulira was going to constitutionally re-envision Buganda's monarchy, it was necessary to find a way to morally equate kings with commoners. Grammar provided one such means. *A Grammar* reminded students of a time when chiefs were common labourers who toiled for their positions. And to rethink Buganda's kings, chiefs and commoners as equals, Mulira used grammar to emphasise the universality of law in more than one instance, arguing that '[o]nce a law has been made, it should be obeyed by *everybody*'.⁷⁶ By using grammar to conceptually reinforce a growing constitutionalism, Mulira accentuated political equivalency and moral space for rural commoners.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid., p. 318.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 231. '*Nga tonnalya bwami, wakolanga ki?*', 'Before you became chief (lit., ate the chieftainship) what were you doing?'

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 332. '*Yokolerera okufuna obwami?*', 'He strove hard to obtain a chieftainship'.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 339.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 337. Italics added. An earlier usage reads: 'Once a law has been passed it is proper that everyone should obey it' (Ibid., p. 314).

Global Activism

Following Muteesa's deportation, the *Lukiiko* convened an emergency session that drew approximately 10,000 spectators.⁷⁷ During the assembly, Kyaddondo representative Thomas Makumbi shouted that Buganda's regents 'were useless',⁷⁸ before arguing that the *Lukiiko* should be disbanded.⁷⁹ For Mulira, Muteesa's deportation provided an opportunity to argue that Buganda's monarchy was an institution of a people, interpreting an attack on Buganda's monarchy as an attack on Buganda's citizenry, not her king. Mulira recalled:

If we allowed foreigners to depose and make Kings for us then that institution would come to mean nothing to us, and if our forebearers had not allowed that institution to be humiliated by any foreigner, how could we live to be proud of our manhood, if during our time we let foreigners to tamper with that institution.⁸⁰

Mulira's comments illuminate the extent to which he had begun to think about Buganda's monarchy as an institution of the people by 1953. For example, note the plural and possessive grammatical usages: 'If *we* allowed', 'make Kings for *us*', nothing to *us*', 'if *our* forebearers', 'how could *we*', '*our* manhood', '*our* time', '*we* let', and '*we* allowed', 'could *we* stand up' and 'respect any of *us*.' In refusing to sign Cohen's document, Mulira believed Muteesa was 'only expressing the wishes of his people; he was acting in his capacity as the sole representative of his Kingdom'.⁸¹

The *Lukiiko* chose a delegation to lobby for the return of Muteesa in London, a motion likely made by Mulira.⁸² Catholic *Omulamuzi* Matayo Mugwanya, Apolo Kironde,

⁷⁷ *Gambuzze*, 4 December 1953. Commenting on the assembly's size Mulira wrote:

December 2nd came, and literally the whole of Buganda came to Mengo! People, young and old men and women, from near and far came, and there were masses and masses of people on Mengo hill. The *Lukiko* Hall was packed to full capacity, most people sitting on the floor and leaving no space for anyone to be able to pass. The windows were full of people and inside the chamber there was near suffocation. The whole hill was simply full of people ('Autobiography', p. 27).

⁷⁸ Kavuma, *Crisis in Buganda*, p. 42.

⁷⁹ *Uganda Post*, 4 December 1953.

⁸⁰ 'Autobiography', p. 226.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 229.

Thomas Makumbi and E.M.K. Mulira were selected to serve.⁸³ Amos Sempa, secretary to the *Lukiiko*, was appointed delegation secretary.⁸⁴ The delegation arrived in London in early December and implemented a comprehensive and purposefully amicable strategy to advocate for Muteesa's return.⁸⁵ The delegation received immediate attention in the British Press,⁸⁶ which appointees used to shape British public opinion.⁸⁷ Mulira used the British press and his personal relationships to disseminate his constitutionalism to a global audience. Activists were not only pressed to allay emotional anxiety on the streets of Kampala, they were challenged to think about Buganda's monarchy in ways that would be found meaningful to Britons. The networks and friendships Mulira forged in Britain in the 1940s proved useful for Buganda's committee.

⁸³ Mulira's appointment was not without controversy. By 1949, Mulira's sister-in-law, Kate Mulira (the wife of later DP politician Enoch Mulira), was pregnant with Muteesa II's child (Ward, 'The Church of Uganda and the Exile of Kabaka Muteesa II', p. 423). Enoch filed a case with the high court on ground of seduction in early 1951 (Kavuma, *Crisis in Buganda*, p. 14). Due to family pressure, however, Enoch withdrew his case, a decision that Eridadi did not support (Interview, James Mulira, 25 June 2010, Kampala). E.M.K. argued to Audrey Richards that litigation 'may be for the good of Buganda' as it would prove that kings (including Muteesa) are not above legal accountability (ARP 7/5/65 Audrey Richards, Field Notes, 28 March 1951. Cf., ARP 7/6/8 Audrey Richards, Field Notes, October 1950). Several members of the *Lukiiko* expressed concern toward Mulira's appointment, arguing that his family's personal history with Buganda's monarchy would translate into an absence of representation 'with real conviction' (Kavuma, *Crisis in Buganda*, p. 43). Offering to step down in a private meeting with Buganda's *katikkiro*, Mulira was persuaded to remain and 'demonstrate that he had the true interests of his country at heart' (Ibid.).

⁸⁴ Kavuma, *Crisis in Buganda*, p. 43. Cf., 'Autobiography', p. 230.

⁸⁵ The delegates' diplomacy and public composure was noted as early as January 1954. One correspondent for the *Observer* stated: 'Their dignity, moderation and intelligence are said to have made a strong impression on M.P.s whom they have been lobbying in recent weeks' ('"The Mystery Deepens" Says Baganda', *Observer*, 31 January 1954, p. 7). In the House of Commons on 16 November 1954, Welsh parliamentarian and later Secretary of State James Griffiths stated: 'May I join in paying a sincere tribute to [...] the representatives of the Lukiko, for the spirit in which they entered in these discussions and the co-operation they have shown in seeking to arrive at an agreement' (James Griffiths, Parliamentary Debates (Hansard), House of Commons, 16 November 1954, Series 5 Vol. 533, cc 220)?

⁸⁶ 'Delegation from Buganda', *The Times*, 9 December 1953; 'Buganda Chief Justice in London', *The Times*, 10 December 1953; 'Meeting Fixed for Buganda Talks', *Guardian*, 11 December 1953, p. 1; 'Uganda and Buganda', *Guardian*, 14 December 1953, p. 6; and 'Great Lukiko of Buganda', *The Times*, 15 December 1953.

⁸⁷ Mulira had written in the British press by 1950. In the Leicester Mercury, Mulira wrote about the use of mud in constructing homes in rural Britain (CCAS MP J.W. Johnson to E.M.K. Mulira, 19 March 1950). In March of the same year, he published an editorial concerning East African Federation ('East African Federation', *Guardian*, 14 April 1950, p. 6), for which he was paid £2:2s (CCAS MP Manchester Guardian to E.M.K. Mulira, April 1950).

At SOAS, Mulira had been involved in various religious activities and political societies. In July 1948, he attended a Keswickian convention where he observed ‘real men and women of God’.⁸⁸ During the following month, he participated in the first assembly of the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam, where he interacted with Confessing Lutheran pastor F.G.E. Martin Niemöller.⁸⁹ Politically, Mulira took an active role in the South East and Central African Student Union (SECASU), where he served as president.⁹⁰ SECASU afforded Mulira and other Africans in Great Britain an opportunity to network and become politically active.⁹¹ Students such as Mulira, Kenya’s Peter Koinange⁹² and Tanzania’s H. Godfrey Kayamba,⁹³ collaborated to draft ‘memoranda after memoranda to Governments’.⁹⁴ The organisation took an active role in campaigning for the return of Botswana deportee Seretse Khama,⁹⁵ an experience that shaped the tactics of the *Lukiiko*’s delegation in England.⁹⁶ Through SECASU, Mulira

⁸⁸ CCAS MP ‘Extract of Report of E.M.K. Mulira of His Travels in Great Britain’, Mss., August 1948. While critical of the lack of religious conviction in Britain, Mulira noted that ‘if a country like Uganda was half as concerned as the people I have seen, we would soon be a different country’ (Ibid.). Following a separate Christian youth conference Mulira noted: ‘[...] I stayed with men and women in the two conferences and we shared a kind of fellowship which is very rare to find anywhere. If religion could be lived in the busy world, as we lived it in these two places, this earth would be a fitter place for everyone to live on (Ibid.).’

⁸⁹ ‘Autobiography’, section b, n.pp.

⁹⁰ CCAS MP E.M.K. Mulira, President, South East and Central African Student Union, to A. Chamier, for the Director of Colonial Scholars, 22 December 1949.

⁹¹ ‘Autobiography’, section b, n.p.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ CCAS MP H. Godfrey Kayamba to E.M.K. Mulira, et. al, ‘Union Now’, Memorandum, 23 October 1947. Cf., Martin Kayamba, ‘The Story of Martin Kayamba Mdumi, M.B.E., of the Bondei Tribe’, in *Ten Africans*, ed. by Margery Perham (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1963), pp. 173–272; and John Iliffe, ‘The Spokesman: Martin Kayamba’, in *Modern Tanzanians: A Volume of Biographies*, ed. by John Iliffe (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1973), pp. 66–94. I wish to thank Ethan Sanders for drawing my attention to these two biographies.

⁹⁴ ‘Autobiography’, section b, n.p. One memorandum, ‘The Human Factor in East and Central African Development’, stated: ‘On behalf of the Executive Committee of SECASU, I am writing to bring to your notice our great concern as regards the development of the human element in the British Dependencies which come under the term “East Africa and Central Africa”’ (CCAS MP E.M.K. Mulira to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 24 January 1950).

⁹⁵ CCAS MP Ndawula, Secretary, SECASU, to E.M.K. Mulira, 16 March 1950.

⁹⁶ Mulira recalled:

I had been in London when the Seretse Khama affair took place. I had seen how everybody had exploited this affair [to] his or her advantage. Members of Parliament of all parties exploited it according to whether their party was in Government or not; organisations exploited it; we student’s exploited by demonstrating and wearing placards

was introduced to the Fabian Colonial Bureau, who published his *Troubled Uganda* in 1950.⁹⁷ As early as March 1948, Mulira attended Fabian seminars on topics such as ‘The Socialist Approach to Politics’⁹⁸ and additional group discussions on colonial policy.⁹⁹ His participation with the Fabians introduced Mulira to the internal workings of Westminster,¹⁰⁰ and Michael Scott,¹⁰¹ with whom the delegation worked closely during Muteesa’s deportation.¹⁰² Following SOAS, Mulira took a position at the East African Institute of Social Research (EAISR) until September 1952,¹⁰³ when he resigned due to political ambition and work-related frustration.¹⁰⁴

and so on; newspapers exploited it and so on. In the end everybody got what he or she wanted except poor Seretse Khama and his bride (CCAS MP E.M.K. Mulira, ‘A Christian in Public Life’, 13 February 1966).

For further insight into how the delegation’s strategy was shaped by Khama’s deportation see: ‘Autobiography’, p. 231.

⁹⁷ CCAS MP E.M.K. Mulira to Mr. Gayer, 20 December 1949.

⁹⁸ CCAS MP Rita Hinden, Fabian Colonial Bureau, to E.M.K. Mulira, 12 March 1948.

⁹⁹ CCAS MP Marjorie Nicholson, Fabian Colonial Bureau, to E.M.K. Mulira, 15 November 1949.

¹⁰⁰ CCAS MP Fabian Colonial Bureau to E.M.K. Mulira, ‘Hansard, 14 April 1948, Column 968’, n.d.

¹⁰¹ Mulira heard Scott speak as early as April 1950 at a conference organised by Christian Action on the theme of ‘Christ and the Colour Problem’ (CCAS MP ‘Christ and the Colour Problem’, Conference Program, 17 April 1950). Mulira’s personal papers contain a pamphlet entitled ‘Who is Michael Scott?’, published by the Social and Industrial Council of the Diocese of Johannesburg, printed possibly around 1948.

¹⁰² ‘Autobiography’, pp. 231–32. Cf., Legum, *Must We Lost Africa?*, pp. 110–11.

¹⁰³ ‘Autobiography’, pp. 199–202 & 211. By early May 1950, the institute’s new director, Audrey Richards, was in communication with Mulira regarding a staff position. In a letter to Mulira she wrote: ‘I hope very much that you will accept the appointment as I would like to have you here’ (CCAS MP Audrey I. Richards to E.M.K. Mulira, 3 May 1950). Later in the same month, Richards appealed to Mulira: ‘We are getting on slowly with Luganda and one of the students [...] is teaching us quite well by way of conversation. But I shall be glad when you come out here to take this over’ (CCAS MP Audrey I. Richards to E.M.K. Mulira, 22 May 1950). On the same day, Makerere College’s registrar, Mr. A. Cragg, presented Mulira with an offer of employment. The contract provisioned five years of work from 1 June 1950, ‘with the possibility of renewal at the end of that period, subject to 3 months’ notice on either side’ (CCAS MP A. Cragg to E.M.K. Mulira, 22 May 1950). The position provided an annual salary of £372 for the first two years and increased to £420 per annum should Mulira renew the contract (Ibid.). The position provided family allowance, paid leave and superannuation (Ibid.). Mulira accepted the appointment in early June (MP CCAS E.M.K. Mulira to A. Cragg, Registrar, Makerere College, 1 June 1950).

¹⁰⁴ Prior to his return to Uganda, Mulira expressed interest in joining formal politics (‘Autobiography’, p. 189; and CCAS MP E.M.K. Mulira, ‘A Christian in Public Life: Being a talk given to the Makerere University Christian Union’, 13 February 1966). Mulira recalled being discontent at EAISR:

In December 1953, the delegation and Uganda's former bishop, C.E. Stuart,¹⁰⁵ pressed their claims to the Archbishop of Canterbury.¹⁰⁶ Shortly after, the delegation met with the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Oliver Lyttelton, where they anchored their appeal in democratic consensus: 'It is our sincere desire that our beloved Kabaka shall be restored to his people and that the present negotiations between the Colonial Secretary and ourselves will lead to acceptance of this most ardent wish of the Kabaka's subjects.'¹⁰⁷ Following, Lyttelton announced that Muteesa's deportation was irreversible.¹⁰⁸ In response, Mulira and the delegates argued that Buganda's general population demanded the return of their king, using Protestant sensibility to buttress their claim: 'The delegation and the people of Buganda still regard Mutesa II as their king. He was crowned in accordance with the rights of the Protestant Church.'¹⁰⁹ Publically supporting their claim, Bishop Stuart, 'the bishop who crowned Kabaka Mutesa II of Buganda', argued that Muteesa 'was merely voicing the opinions of all his people and also of most of the rest of the Protectorate'.¹¹⁰

I was a square peg in a round hole. First of all research never appealed to me—my interest was in thinking in [...] ideas of change of reform, of self-government, and of development generally; the analysis of things bored me. Furthermore, ever since I made up my mind to enter politics in a big and practical way, scholarship was no longer the thing that enthralled my mind. I wanted to launch out into the world ('Autobiography', p. 202).

Mulira's frustration was compounded by his increasingly strained relationship with Richards ('Autobiography', pp. 206 & 210–11. Cf., ARP 7/5/39 Audrey Richards, Field Notes, 30 January 1951).

¹⁰⁵ Kevin Ward observes that Bishop Stuart strongly opposed Muteesa's deportation. In an article partially reproduced in the *Observer* on 27 December 1953—fully in *Ebifa mu Uganda*—Stuart asserted: 'Unless I am wrong there will be bloodshed in the whole of Africa and Mr Lyttelton will be responsible. If Mr Lyttelton were employed by the Russians he could not have served them better' (Ward, *The Exile of Kabaka Muteesa II*, p. 429).

¹⁰⁶ Mulira recalled: 'Our first appointment was with the [Archbishop] of Canterbury, Dr. Fisher, because our first contact with the British people was with the Church' ('Autobiography', p. 233).

¹⁰⁷ 'Deposition of the Kabaka: Delegates' Version of Events', *The Times*, 22 December 1953.

¹⁰⁸ 'Autobiography', p. 238; and 'The Kabaka Not to Return: Final Decision by Cabinet', *The Times*, 23 December 1953.

¹⁰⁹ 'The Kabaka Not to Return'. Cf., Kavuma, *Crisis in Buganda*, p. 44.

¹¹⁰ C.E. Stuart, 'The Kabaka', *Observer*, 27 December 1953, p. 3. Stuart's comment caused controversy. For example, Conservative MP for Colchester, Cuthbert Alport, responded: '[I]t seems a pity that a distinguished representative of the Church, who must be aware of the background of the Kabaka's position in Uganda and of the dangers springing from Buganda

In course, the delegation commenced a popular campaign throughout the United Kingdom to secure government reconsideration. In a press release, delegates stated that their campaign would vindicate the honour of the Kabaka, 'and seek his restoration as the lawful occupant of the Buganda throne'.¹¹¹ Meeting with trade unions, churches, university students and municipal councils,¹¹² Mulira and Makumbi addressed audiences in Edinburgh, St. Andrews, Glasgow, Leeds, Manchester, Sheffield and Birmingham.¹¹³ Amos Sempa travelled to Bristol and Bath before accompanying Mulira and Makumbi to Manchester and Sheffield.¹¹⁴ Buganda's delegates met with parliamentarians, Protestant and Catholic Church leaders, organisations such as the Fabian Colonial Bureau and newspaper correspondents.¹¹⁵ In particular, Mulira's constitutional ideals influenced debate in the House of Commons¹¹⁶ and the writings of Colin Legum, on whose work I shall now discuss.

Observer columnist Colin Legum took an active role in reporting the movement and discourse of the delegation to the British public.¹¹⁷ Indeed, in their March report to

separatism, should employ the weapon of personal abuse' (C.J.M. Alport, 'The Kabaka', *Observer*, 3 January 1954, p. 9).

¹¹¹ 'Buganda Delegation in London', *The Times*, 11 January 1954.

¹¹² 'Autobiography', p. 242.

¹¹³ 'Report of the Buganda Kingdom Lukiiko Delegation to England'.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ For further insight into the delegation's itinerary see: 'Report of the Buganda Kingdom Lukiiko Delegation to England'.

¹¹⁶ John Dugdale, Parliamentary Debates (Hansard), House of Commons, 4 June 1954, Series 5 Vol. 528, cc 1667. Dugdale (Labour) drew attention to the following press statement released by Mulira concerning Buganda's resident:

The work of the British Resident Commissioner in Buganda is to advise the Kabaka of Buganda and his ministers on behalf of Her Majesty's Government. The present Resident, Mr. Birch, however, instead of advising appears to be intent on undermining our native custom and the authority of the Great Lukiko. After the Lukiko passed a resolution refusing to elect a new Kabaka, the Resident has tried to go direct to members of the Lukiko and persuade them to go back on their resolution. He has also backed elements in the country who are endeavouring to go against the wishes and decisions of the Lukiko in this matter. We protest very strongly against such a policy which aims at dividing our people into two rival factions.

After drawing attention to Mulira's comment, Dugdale enquired: 'I should like to know whether it is the Minister's view that it is right for the Resident deliberately to try and persuade the people of Buganda to go back on a decision and to alter what their Lukiko has already decided to do.'

¹¹⁷ For Legum's reporting in the *Observer* see: 'Clearer Picture of the Buganda Crisis', 21 February 1954, p. 7; 'At Grips with the African Crisis', 7 November 1954, p. 8; 'New Effort to End Crisis in Uganda', 5 June 1955, p. 2; 'Kabaka's Return: Talks to Continue', 19 June 1955, p.

the *Lukiiko* the delegation stated: ‘You will remember that the “Observer” was one of the most helpful papers during all the time of our mission.’¹¹⁸ As early as January 1954, Legum publically questioned British policy and supported the delegates’ mission.¹¹⁹ Later in January, an *Observer* correspondent—arguably Legum—drew attention to Mulira’s argument that Muteesa had been deported for wanting to consult a democratically elected parliament:

Why did the Governor insist on keeping his protracted negotiations with the Kabaka secret, even forbidding him to consult his Parliament? Why, at a crucial state in the talks, did he refuse in these matters? Only recently a new Lukiko, with a majority of elected Members, had come into being as a result of reforms initiated by the Governor. Did Sir Andrew Cohen have no confidence that our Parliament might be helpful in the crisis that had been reached?¹²⁰

From February to June, Legum published no fewer than three additional articles on the deportation.¹²¹ In one article, Legum presented Muteesa as the people’s king.¹²² In an additional article, he drew exclusively from an interview with Mulira in London, citing: ‘[T]he Government has no authority, direct or indirect, in making or unmaking Buganda’s kings, the prerogative belongs to the Baganda, operating through the Lukiko.’¹²³ And when he published *Must We Lose Africa?*, Legum incorporated Mulira’s constitutional argument:¹²⁴ ‘The Kabaka had been the victim of an unworkable constitutional set-up. He was condemned for voicing the opinion of his people, his parliament and his Ministers.’¹²⁵ Drawing from Mulira, again, Legum stated:

The truth of the matter was that the Kabaka was confronted with a cruel dilemma. [...] There is good reason to suggest that had he obeyed the Governor, he might have discredited himself in the eyes of his people and so invited intense opposition and, possibly, deposition. In this situation he chose to stand by his

4; ‘Restoration of Kabaka Agreed On’, 17 July 1955; and ‘The Kabaka is Triumph’, 16 October 1955, p. 1.

¹¹⁸ ‘Report of the Buganda Kingdom Lukiiko Delegation to England’.

¹¹⁹ Colin Legum, ‘Uganda Rulers Back Kabaka’, *Observer*, 24 January 1954, p. 7.

¹²⁰ E.M.K. Mulira, in “‘The Mystery Deepens’”, p. 7.

¹²¹ Legum, *Observer*: ‘London Call to Governor of Uganda’, 7 February 1954, p. 1; ‘Clearer Picture of the Buganda Crisis’, 21 February 1954, p. 7; and “‘Interference’ in Buganda Palace: Protest Against Resident’s Letter to Regents, “Blows” over Actions of Pretender’, 6 June 1954, p. 1.

¹²² Legum, ‘Clearer Picture of the Buganda Crisis’, p. 7.

¹²³ E.M.K. Mulira in Legum, “‘Interference’ in Buganda Palace”, p. 1.

¹²⁴ ‘Autobiography’, p. 238.

¹²⁵ Legum, *Must We Lose Africa?*, p. 101.

own conscience and by his people. He preferred banishment by the British Government to risking deposition by the Ganda.¹²⁶

And Legum concluded his approximately one hundred-page treatment of the deportation by citing an article Mulira had published in *Uganda Empya* on 22 April 1954.¹²⁷ In the article, Mulira questioned what anyone had gained from the deportation and further stated that Buganda's citizenry would not 'be happy' in Uganda as long as Muteesa was in exile.¹²⁸

Mulira's democratic ideals and international activism proved successful.¹²⁹ On 28 February 1954, Lyttelton asserted that the 'long-term aim of Her Majesty's Government is to build the Protectorate into a self-governing State',¹³⁰ suggesting that Africans 'play a constantly increasing part in the political institutions of the country'.¹³¹ In particular, Lyttelton used Mulira's language to envision constitutionalisation in Buganda and the Protectorate—placing the future of Buganda's monarchy in the hands of democratically appointed representatives:

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 100.

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 125.

¹²⁸ Ibid. Legum quoted:

Who is the loser? The (Ba)Ganda have lost their king. What have the British gained? Instead of spontaneous loyalty, not resentment? Instead of good faith in the British sense of justice and integrity, not loss of confidence, irreparably? Instead of acceptance by Africans of the British way of life, not a nationalistic upheaval as has never been possible in the past? Instead of the Church as presented by Great Britain, not a loss of attendance as has never been experienced before? Instead of normal trade, not heavy losses on the part of traders? Instead of friendship, not bitter hatred? Instead of Sir Andrew Cohen achieving his aim here and perhaps retiring as the greatest governor we have ever had as his earlier promise indicated, not facing a doubtful future? And for the rest of the people of Uganda, instead of enjoying those happy human relations, not a sense of insecurity? . . . It now appears that the future good of Uganda hinges on this one man, Mutesa II. If he continues in exile, no one will be happy in Uganda, White or Black, Asian or American, missionary or merchant, administrator or administered.

¹²⁹ Local activism accompanied international lobbying. For example, while delegates engaged in campaign throughout Britain, delegate Apolo Kironde filed a case with the High Court in Kampala toward the end of January 1954 to test the legality of the deportation, which was won (*Ebifa mu Uganda*, 1 February 1951). For further discussion see: 'Autobiography', pp. 244–45; Muteesa, *Desecration of My Kingdom*, pp. 130–36; Kavuma, *Crisis in Buganda*, pp. 84–99; and Low and Pratt, *Buganda and British Overrule*, pp. 340–42.

¹³⁰ Oliver Lyttelton, Parliamentary Debates (Hansard), House of Commons, 23 February 1954, Series 5 Vol. 524, cc 212.

¹³¹ Ibid.

The Baganda themselves should clearly take a leading part in working out these problems. To help in this, the Governor and I have agreed that an independent expert should be invited to go out to Uganda. He will consult with representatives of the Baganda and with the Protectorate Government to help reach agreed recommendations for her Majesty's Government to consider.¹³²

Following, the *Lukiiko* debated Lyttelton's call for an 'independent expert', by then identified as the Institute of Commonwealth Studies' Professor Keith Hancock.¹³³ The Namirembe Conference followed. In summary, by using the local press and international networking, activists such as Mulira effectively disseminated a constitutional ideal that resonated with Britain's powerbrokers and citizenry. In so doing, Mulira changed colonial policy and framed Uganda's constitutional future.

*The **People's** Monarchy versus the People's **Monarchy***

The Namirembe negotiations began in the summer of 1954 and constituted fifty meetings held between 24 June and 17 September.¹³⁴ Here, disparate activists contested Buganda's monarchy, pressing competing political agendas (cf., Chapters Four and Five).¹³⁵ Mulira advocated the democratisation of Buganda's monarchy, recognised by the fourteen Ganda representatives as a break from Buganda's political past,¹³⁶ evoking historical and legal debate.¹³⁷ In a report given on the fifth meeting of the Constitutional Committee, Mulira argued that in 'the old days full authority had been vested in the Kabaka, though the scope of his power had in practice varied in accordance with temporary personal factors'.¹³⁸ He asserted that 'now it was expected to *derive from the people* acting through their spokesmen'.¹³⁹ Mulira stated:

Recently, with the growth of democratic ideas, the people had come to demand that they should share in this power. Now the Lukiko had an elected majority,

¹³² Ibid., cc 213.

¹³³ For further discussion on Hancock see: 'Sir Keith Hancock Arrives To-day: A New Chapter for Buganda', *Uganda Mail*, 22 June 1954, p. 1; 'Sir K. Hancock on His Task', *The Times*, 24 June 1954; and 'Constitution in Buganda: Reformed Agreed', *The Times*, 17 September 1954.

¹³⁴ ICS 29/1/12 & 29/1/17.

¹³⁵ Cf., ICS 29/1/12/2b 'Constitutional Committee & Steering Committee Minutes', Second Meeting, 25 June 1954, p. 1.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 2.

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 1.

¹³⁸ ICS 29/1/12/5 'Constitutional Committee & Steering Committee Minutes', Fifth Meeting, 1 July 1954, p. 2.

¹³⁹ Ibid. Italics added.

but the Kabaka had retained his former constitutional position. In the result a crisis had broken out. Modernisation at Mengo implied that the Kabaka could be left with his traditional functions but that he should no longer engage in direct personal intervention in the political affairs of the Government and should delegate his political functions to his Minister who would exercise them on his behalf.¹⁴⁰

Mulira's proposal entailed constitutionally levelling Buganda's hierarchy, positioning codified in the Conference's new Agreement. Mulira's recommendations recast Buganda's monarchy 'outside the sphere of politics [...]'.¹⁴¹ Following the constitutional recommendations of Namirembe, Muteesa returned from exile on 18 October 1955, where in the presence of 900 official guests, Buganda's new constitution was ratified.¹⁴² Constitutionally, E.M.K. Mulira had successfully reconstituted Buganda's monarchy, ensuring that '[e]very Kabaka shall henceforward on becoming Kabaka enter a Solemn Engagement with the Great Lukiko and the people of Buganda [...]'.¹⁴³

Mulira's constitutional project fuelled debate throughout the kingdom. One columnist in *Ebifa mu Uganda* praised Mulira for being 'a good Christian', but proceeded to state that he was misleading the *Lukiiko*: 'Mr. Mulira is well educated and a good Christian, but when he is in error the whole *Lukiiko* is in error. Who can tell whether Mr. Mulira has not some secret aim at the Kabakaship which is beyond the comprehension of the public?'¹⁴⁴ Like many, three populists—self-identified 'true patriots of this country'—protested Mulira's agenda, stating that 'it is undesirable that the Kabaka should be taken out of politics'.¹⁴⁵ Buganda's *Ssaabaganzi*, Muteesa's eldest maternal uncle, commented: 'The Kabaka of Buganda is the ruler of the country and its people, no muganda would like to transfer the political powers of the Kabaka to the Ministers, this would be unthinkable, just as it is unthinkable that God's power of creation would be transferred to His Angels.'¹⁴⁶ And an elected member to the *Lukiiko* asserted:

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁴¹ UNAL 'Agreed Recommendations of the Namirembe Conference', Article 22, p. 5.

¹⁴² *Uganda Argus*, 19 October 1955.

¹⁴³ UNAL 'Agreed Recommendations of the Namirembe Conference', Article 28, p. 7.

¹⁴⁴ *Ebifa mu Uganda*, 4 May 1954.

¹⁴⁵ ICS 29/1/13/21 Erukana Kiwanuka, et. al., to Members of the Constitutional Committee, 22 June 1954.

¹⁴⁶ ICS 29/1/13/18 K.S. Katongole to Hancock Committee, 24 June 1954.

People oppose the idea of taking the Kabaka out of politics, although it is supported by the delegates (to England), it is similar to the Governor's act of withdrawing recognition from the Kabaka, and it will imply deposition of the Kabaka by his Government. [...] Some people think that by making the Kabaka a Constitutional Monarch, he would become as great as the Queen of England, this is not so, the Kabaka would lose both power and dignity.¹⁴⁷

And when Mulira advocated for direct representation from among commoners to be appointed in Buganda's *Lukiiko*, the motion was barred 57/27.¹⁴⁸

In short, while Muteesa's deportation allowed Mulira to capitalise on populist sentiment and conceptualise a people's monarchy, it also galvanised intense conservatism with which Mulira was forced to contend, especially in the early 1960s. As a result of Muteesa's deportation, there developed two discursive currents in Buganda's public politics. First, activists such as Mulira envisioned Buganda's monarchy as a social institution legitimised by the people of Buganda, argument propagated throughout England through Colin Legum. For Mulira, the social legitimacy of Buganda's monarchy derived from democratic consensus. By pressing the constitutionalisation of Buganda's monarchy, Mulira imagined political space for commoners, social levelling that he had advocated for no later than the 1940s through novel and grammar. Second, conservative populists by contrast generated political legitimacy by anchoring their projects in the purposes of Buganda's absolute monarchy, undermining Mulira's democratic emphasis. If for Mulira Buganda's monarchy was cast as an institution of the people—a *people's* monarchy—conservatives reasoned a people's *monarchy*, reasserting political authority along fierce monarchical lines.

Federalism: The National Integration of Buganda

The constitutionalisation of Buganda's monarchy constituted one layer in a broader debate over the future constitutional relationship between Buganda and Uganda, a central issue surrounding Muteesa's deportation.¹⁴⁹ Mulira used Muteesa's deportation to

¹⁴⁷ ICS 29/1/13/26 S. Busulwa Kapere to Members of Constitutional Committee, 26 June 1954.

¹⁴⁸ *Uganda Argus*, 29 June 1956.

¹⁴⁹ For context see: Low, *Buganda in Modern History*, pp. 114–17; and Ernest Z. Kibuuka, *Omulembe gwa Muteesa II* (Kampala: Crane Books, 2004), pp. 76–87. Cf., 'Governor Rejects Lukiiko Resolution', *Uganda Herald*, 6 April 1954, p. 1; 'More Troubles in Uganda: Lukiko

assert national unity: ‘This is a grand opportunity to our generation to prepare a place for Buganda and the whole of Uganda, which will make it not a Country lagging behind but a progressive country in her natural greatness, not to be belittled by anyone.’¹⁵⁰ Once the Namirembe Conference commenced, Mulira pressed constitutional integration by proffering a six-part reform that framed Buganda’s 1955 Constitution and ‘the provisional terms on which Buganda could [...] be advised to join the central legislature’.¹⁵¹ In the 1950s, Mulira argued that federalism was the best possible option for Buganda’s political future. Mulira used grammar, party politics and novel to cultivate his project, drawing from various intellectual sources—from the natural world to the federalist ideals of K.C. Wheare. In so doing, Mulira sought to reconstitute Buganda, *Uganda Empya*, alongside broader transnational African politics, including the projects of Tom Mboya and Kwame Nkrumah. Until 1959, Mulira’s liberalism evoked intense opposition from among Ganda conservatives. Guided by theological imagination, Mulira altered political strategy, using global history to practice subversive politics.

Buganda: For the Good of Uganda

Mulira argued that federalism was the best possible option for the political future of Buganda and Uganda. Federalism was ‘*ffena ku lwa Uganda*’, ‘all for the good of Uganda’.¹⁵² Mulira suggested that ‘each tribe has its own culture and history which it is not prepared to abandon’.¹⁵³ Federalism was ‘the only way of forming a nation out of an artificial Uganda created by a foreign power’.¹⁵⁴ Abstractly, federalism mirrored Mulira’s earlier reflection on the aesthetics of nature. In 1945, Mulira opened his *Thoughts of a*

Committee Resignations’, *The Times*, 23 April 1954; ‘Sir K. Hancock’s Letter’, *The Times*, 6 May 1954; ‘Buganda Delegate to Aid Kabaka’, *The Times*, 10 May 1954; ‘Compromise in Buganda’, *The Times*, 28 May 1954; W. Keith Hancock, ‘Lukiko Committee’, *The Times*, 29 May 1954; “‘A Miscalculation of Public Feeling’”, *The Times*, 3 June 1954; and ‘Prof. Hancock’s Mission’, *The Times*, 17 June 1954. For related correspondence see: ICS 29/1/1/15b ‘Resignation of Mulira, Makumbi and A. Kironde’, 21 April 1954; RHOP 515/4 E.M.K. Mulira to Leslie Brown, 23 April 1954; and varied correspondence, ICS 29/1/1 & ICS 29 1/34.

¹⁵⁰ ‘Report of the Buganda Kingdom Lukiiko Delegation to England’.

¹⁵¹ ICS 29/1/17/3 ‘Namirembe Conference Minutes’, Third Meeting, 4 August 1954, p. 1.

¹⁵² ICS PP.UG.PP/1 E.M.K. Mulira, ‘Self-Government for Uganda, An African State: Manifesto by the Progressive Party’, Mss., n.d.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

Young African by elaborating on ‘Beautiful Things’,¹⁵⁵ where he argued that natural complexity and human beauty reflected God’s character and provided a blueprint for political organisation.¹⁵⁶ The complexity of the earth’s beauty allowed one to ‘understand and believe in God the Creator’.¹⁵⁷ Admiring the diversity of nature, Mulira noted: ‘One of the greatest characteristics of nature is that it has a wide province for variety [...] monotony is avoided.’¹⁵⁸ To contrast natural beauty, Mulira talked about highly centralised, unitary political states and unbending political power. Mulira identified Nazi Germany as a political antithesis to God’s complex creation: ‘What does the swastika mean? It is an imitation of the cross, with a vague meaning, for one dictionary describes it as the cross formed of equal arms all bent at right angles in the same direction—in the same direction!’¹⁵⁹ In short, Mulira reflected on the complexity of the natural world to envision representative diversity, nations that do not coerce its citizens ‘in the same direction’. Federalism best accommodated political complexity and variance.

By the late 1940s, Mulira’s federalism was illustrated in *A Grammar*, not unlike his constitutional monarchialism. Mulira used grammar to imagine an expansive citizenry that ‘works for the good of his country’.¹⁶⁰ Mulira’s discussion on noun formation is particularly insightful. To clarify singular, non-class prefixes, *A Grammar* referenced geopolitical identities. A person from Kampala was defined, ‘(O)*munnakampala*’ (a person

¹⁵⁵ E.M.K. Mulira, *Thoughts of a Young African* (London and Redhill: Lutterworth, 1945), p. 5.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 6.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 14. Mulira’s thought on federalism was shaped further by his time at Achimota (Interview, Eve Mulira, 10 November 2009, Kampala). According to E.M.K. Mulira, Achimota existed ‘to help the races to learn to live together in harmony’ (Mulira, *Thoughts of a Young African*, p. 22). Mulira additionally observed:

The staff is chosen from Africa, Europe, America, Australia, India and Ceylon. They are of different colours and nationalities and here they are taught to respect one another, and they extend this to the students too. They admit them into their houses freely, they invite them to meals, they play with them and talk to them, and altogether make an ideal community (Ibid., pp. 22–23).

Building upon the imagery of white and black piano keys, Achimota’s motto, ‘*Ut Omnes Unum Sint*’ (*That all May Be One*), symbolised social and political harmony between distinct ethnic groups (Edwin W. Smith, *Aggrey of Africa: A Study in Black and White*, 2nd edn (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1929).

¹⁶⁰ Ashton, Mulira and others, *A Luganda Grammar* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1954), p. 332.

who belongs to Kampala); from Buddu, ‘(O)*mun nabuddu*’; or from Kyaggwe, ‘(O)*mun nakyaggwe*’.¹⁶¹ To illuminate ‘a stranger’, his grammar used ‘*mun naggwanga*’,¹⁶² etymologically derived from ‘*eggwanga*’, a word used to convey ‘nation’ or ‘tribe’.¹⁶³ By using ‘stranger’ and ‘nation’ within the same conceptual cluster, Mulira advocated for political space where national identification was not intrinsically tied to ethnic derivation. To be *mun naggwanga*, or ‘one who belongs to the nation’, it was not necessary to be a Muganda. For Mulira, the nation was cast as a place of ethnic inclusivity, a home for strangers—inclusive citizenship that undergirded his federalism. Again, federalism best accommodated political variance, a kingdom or state of ‘strangers’.

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, Mulira familiarised himself with the federalist traditions of Europe, global intellectual capital from which he shaped his emerging constitutional project. In particular, Mulira positioned his federalism alongside a group of transnational scholars whose research focused on federalism in the mid-twentieth century. Once Buganda’s parliament agreed to participate in the Namirembe Conference, E.M.K. Mulira began regular correspondence with Professor Hancock, a precedence that continued into 1956.¹⁶⁴ Early into their professional relationship, Mulira directionalised the Conference, suggesting to Hancock that he familiarise himself with fourteen particular books.¹⁶⁵ Of these, a number reflected the scholarship of Oxford scholar Sir Kenneth Wheare, whose research focused on the history and practice of federalism.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p. 372.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ ICS 29/1/10/38 E.M.K. Mulira to Hancock, 18 July 1954; ICS 29/1/29/21 E.M.K. Mulira to Hancock, 24 October 1954; ICS 29/1/29/32 E.M.K. Mulira to Hancock, 6 November 1954; ICS 29/1/29/41 Hancock to E.M.K. Mulira, 19 November 1954; ICS 29/1/29/67 E.M.K. Mulira to Hancock, 24 April 1955; ICS 29/1/29/68 Hancock to E.M.K. Mulira, 4 May 1955; ICS 29/1/29/81 E.M.K. Mulira to Hancock, 13 August 1955; and ICS 29/1/29/96 E.M.K. Mulira to Hancock, 24 April 1956.

¹⁶⁵ ICS 29/1/3/80, n.d.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid. K.C. Wheare, *Federal Government* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953). Additional works included: Lord Hailey, *Native Administration in the British African Territories (Part I)* (1950); Martin Wight, *Colonial Constitutions, 1947* (1950); Nickolas Mansergh, *The Government of North Ireland* (1936); Sir Ivor Jennings, *Constitution of Ceylon* (1951); H.S. Nicholas, *The Australian Constitution* (1952); *Problems of Parliamentary Government in Colonies* (1952); Martin Wight, *The Development of the Legislative Council, 1606–1945* (1946); Martin Wight, *Constitution of India* (1946); D.N. Chester, *Central and Local Government* (1951); Ursula Hicks, *British Public Finances, 1880–1952* (1954); and *Laws of Uganda* (1951).

Mulira also recommended Geoffrey Sawer's edited volume on federalism, which included an article by Wheare,¹⁶⁷ and Christopher Hughes' translation of Switzerland's federal constitution,¹⁶⁸ a translation project inspired and reviewed by Wheare.¹⁶⁹ Wheare's book on federalism is comprehensive, spanning a host of federalist-related topics: 'What Federal Government Is', 'When Federal Government is Appropriate' and 'How Federal Government should be Organised'. Varying federalist constitutions—from the Constitution of the United States (1787) to the Austro-Hungarian *Ausgleich* (1867)—resulted from 'federal principle', argued Wheare, or 'the method of dividing powers so that the general and regional governments are each, within a sphere, co-ordinate and independent'.¹⁷⁰ For Wheare, federal governments are designed to mediate state control when,

the powers of government for a community are divided substantially according to the principle that there is a single independent authority for the whole area in respect of some matters and that there are independent regional authorities for other matters, each set of authorities being co-ordinate with and not sub-ordinate to the others within its own prescribed sphere.¹⁷¹

For Mulira, Wheare's federalist principle provided a conceptual means to broker power between Buganda's monarchy and Uganda's legislature, and this for the purpose of integrating Buganda's kingdom into the practice of national government. Mulira emphasised the importance of common national purpose, what Wheare considered 'essential' for the practice of federalism.¹⁷²

Uganda Empya & Transnational African Politics

Mulira's federalist project translated into the formation of a political party, the Progressive Party (PP), which Mulira used to position a self-ruling state within Africa's larger pan-Africanist projects. Mulira founded the PP toward the end of January 1955, with the assistance of Thomas Makumbi, Leonard Bassude and Revd Spartas Mukasa.

¹⁶⁷ ICS 29/1/3/80, n.d. K.C. Wheare, 'When Federal Government is Justifiable', in *Federalism: An Australian Jubilee Study*, ed. by Geoffrey Sawer (Melbourne: F.W. Cheshire, 1952), pp. 110–34.

¹⁶⁸ ICS 29/1/3/80, n.d.

¹⁶⁹ Christopher Hughes, *The Federal Constitution of Switzerland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), acknowledgements.

¹⁷⁰ Wheare, *Federal Government*, p. 11.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

The party's self-identified aim was to advocate for 'progressive African opinion',¹⁷³ which entailed 'progress "towards the building of a new self-governing Uganda" by providing leadership, encouraging education and supporting the economic development of the African'.¹⁷⁴ According to David Apter, by 1956 PP membership was approximately 1400,¹⁷⁵ a relatively small number in comparison to I.K. Musazi's Uganda National Congress (UNC).¹⁷⁶ In the *Lukiiko*, Apter further suggested that PP activists constituted twelve members and an additional twenty sympathisers.¹⁷⁷ The party's governing body consisted of two full-time party leaders; twenty-one landlords and businessmen; two farmers; nine teachers; two women; and one newspaper proprietor, lawyer and doctor, respectively.¹⁷⁸ A survey of thirty-two membership forms indicate differing vocations among the party's membership: cobbling, construction and painting, clerical/administrative, driving, estate managing, farming, fishery, mechanical, printing, trade and sales, religious instruction (Islam), sewing and laundering, teaching and no description/illegible.¹⁷⁹

Through party activism, Mulira sought to reconstitute a nationalised kingdom, a new Uganda (*Uganda Empya*),¹⁸⁰ a political vision he expounded upon and advocated for through his short story, *Aligaweesa*. Produced in May 1955,¹⁸¹ *Aligaweesa: Omuvubuka wa Uganda Empya* (*Aligaweesa: A Youth of a New Uganda*) was written intentionally short that

¹⁷³ *Uganda Argus*, 31 January 1955.

¹⁷⁴ *Uganda Argus*, 7 February 1955.

¹⁷⁵ Apter, *The Political Kingdom*, p. 338.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 332. Apter stated that by the mid-1950s, the UNC had approximately 10,000 due-paying members and upward to 50,000 sympathisers.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 338.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ CCAS MP 'Progressive Party: *Olupapula Okuyingirirwa*', 1956.

¹⁸⁰ *Uganda Empya* was the title of a newspaper Mulira launched in late 1952 (ARP 6/20/T2 E.M.K. Mulira, 'My Life Since 1930', Mss., n.d., pp. 5–6). Comparable to pro-Bataka paper *Gambuza*, and the Catholic press *Munno*, colonial records indicate that 8000 copies of *Uganda Empya* were in circulation by 1954 (RHOP 529/2 'Uganda Department of Information', [c. 1954]). Among privately-owned papers, *Uganda Empya* was out circulated only by *Uganda Eyogera* (owned by A.D. Lubowa and the son of James Miti, P.M.K. Lwanga) and the *Uganda Post* (owned by UNC activist 'Jolly' Joe Kiwanuka) (*Ibid.*). *Uganda Empya's* circulation increased to 8500 by 1958, though distribution ratios remained fairly consistent (Apter, *The Political Kingdom in Uganda*, p. 274). The paper later merged with Aga Khan's *Taija Uganda* to form *Taija Empya* (CCAS MP E.M.K. Mulira, 'Curriculum Vitae', Mss., n.d.).

¹⁸¹ E.M.K. Mulira, *Aligaweesa: Omuvubuka wa Uganda Empya* (Kampala: Uganda Bookshop Press, [1955]), *ebisookerwako* [preface].

its content might easily be memorised.¹⁸² In keeping his story short, Mulira hoped to communicate ‘only those things which provide the reader with a foundational message’.¹⁸³ *Aligaweesa* is similar to *Teefe* in that both books’ protagonists, Aligaweesa and Teefe, are of Kooki heritage. Aligaweesa was born in Kooki in 1890 and grew up in the court of *Omulangira* Ndawula.¹⁸⁴ However, whereas *Teefe* chronicled the story of spiritual pilgrimage toward Buganda’s periphery, *Aligaweesa* does just the opposite, telling the story of a stranger’s rise through Buganda’s hierarchal politics. In this respect, Mulira employed political fiction to accomplish what he explored earlier in the 1940s with *A Grammar*, situating a stranger’s (*munnaggwanga*) political promotion in Buganda’s ethnic polity.

Mulira’s story is presented in an easy to follow, sequential narrative: Chapter 1, *Obuto bwe* (Early Years); Chapter 2, Aligaweesa *Omunveereza* (the Servant; or ‘one who serves’¹⁸⁵); Chapter 3, Aligaweesa *mu Ssomero* (in School); Chapter 4, Aligaweesa *Akola Ewa* D.C. (works for the District Commissioner); and Chapter 5, Aligaweesa *Ahya Obwami* (becomes a chief). In Chapter 1, Aligaweesa is presented as a hardworking labourer, who through commendable behaviour is appointed chief brewer before next being appointed palace treasurer.¹⁸⁶ On account of his ‘good conduct’ (Chapter 2), Aligaweesa is appointed head of Kooki’s palace youths and entrusted to distribute work assignment and mediate dispute.¹⁸⁷ During the course of his appointment, however, Aligaweesa, on account of his young age, is subject to ‘jealousy and envy’.¹⁸⁸ In time, an unidentified missionary visits Kooki’s palace and notices Aligaweesa’s diligent work ethic. After negotiating with *Omulangira* Ndawula, the missionary secures an educational opportunity for Aligaweesa away from the palace.¹⁸⁹ Now in his young twenties (Chapter 3), Aligaweesa undergoes formal education, and this during a time when the children of Buganda’s chiefs were enrolling in university. Due to natural intelligence, though,

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Ibid. ‘[...] *mpa ebyo byokka, asoma alyoke afune ebisengeje byokka*’.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁸⁵ John D. Murphy, *Luganda-English Dictionary* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1972), p. 391.

¹⁸⁶ Mulira, *Aligaweesa*, pp. 11–13.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 14.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 15.

Aligaweesa's educational training is expedited and he is appointed head prefect of a school of eighty students.¹⁹⁰ As prefect, Aligaweesa initiates a series of reforms to instil work ethic, discipline and manners among the student body.¹⁹¹

In Mulira's final two chapters, Aligaweesa's political advancement is delineated. In 1916, Aligaweesa takes a position in the district commissioner's office as translator.¹⁹² During this time, Aligaweesa reads African American literature to improve his English skills, especially the work of Booker T. Washington, cast as one who had forsaken all to follow Jesus.¹⁹³ In Washington's footsteps, Aligaweesa 'decided to abandon' his colleagues in order to follow Jesus Christ, 'who would give him peace'.¹⁹⁴ Now converted and politically active, Aligaweesa decides to marry and have children, but not without first contemplating conjugal vices: 'adultery' (*omuntu ow'okusatu*), 'an unforgiving spirit' (*obutasonyiwagana*) and 'constant criticism' (*okuba Waluggyo*).¹⁹⁵ Similar to Mulira's converted Mr and Mrs Kaye, Aligaweesa's successful marriage is attributed to its religious character.¹⁹⁶ After eight years of working with the district commissioner, Aligaweesa is appointed *ggombolola* chief, first in Ssinga and then in Kyaggwe, where he is recognised for his work ethic and commitment to education. In course, Aligaweesa—one who has made "truth" his guiding principle—is appointed *ssaza* chief, during which he

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 16.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 16–17.

¹⁹² Ibid., p. 18.

¹⁹³ Ibid., pp. 18–19. Mulira specifically referenced Washington's autobiography, *Up from Slavery*. Washington emphasised Christianity's importance in fostering social progress in post-bellum black America:

If no other consideration had convinced me of the value of the Christian life, the Christlike work which the Church of all denominations in America has done during the last thirty-five years for the elevation of the black man would have made me a Christian. In a large degree it has been the pennies, the nickels, and the dimes which have come from Sunday-schools, the Christian Endeavour societies, and the missionary societies, as well as from the church proper, that have helped to elevate the Negro at so rapid a rate (Booker T. Washington, *Up from Slavery: An Autobiography* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1902), p. 136).

¹⁹⁴ Mulira, *Aligaweesa*, p. 19.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 20.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 21.

establishes cooperatives and farmers' societies.¹⁹⁷ As the story concludes, Aligaweesa is preparing to contest the *katikikiro*ship.¹⁹⁸

In *Aligaweesa*, Mulira re-imagined Buganda, recasting political participation and accessibility by advocating for political advancement through laboured virtue. In so doing, Mulira used *Aligaweesa* to reconstitute a kingdom whose political accessibility in the past rested on arbitrary monarchical appointment and patriotism. In *Aligaweesa*, Mulira contested Buganda's conservative landscape in the mid-1950s by aligning hierarchical promotion alongside the development of the nation, thereby accentuating the importance of federalist integration. To make 'truth' a guiding political principle was to follow in the footsteps of Jesus and Booker T. Washington, to forsake separatist ideology. Indeed, one month following the publication of *Aligaweesa*, the PP organised a rally entitled 'Uganda's Place in the World'.¹⁹⁹ The rally's proceedings were published under the heading, 'God Chose Uganda to Develop the Whole of Africa', a theme attributed to Bishop John V. Taylor.²⁰⁰ During the rally, Mulira argued that Taylor and an unnamed English general believed that the 'salvation of the entire world would come from Uganda'.²⁰¹ For 'world-leadership' to occur, though, it was necessary to develop a national government whose authority resided with its people, not its monarchy or kingdoms.²⁰² In other words, salvation history rested on Uganda's federalist integration.

Building on the ideology of *Aligaweesa*, Mulira advocated for federalist integration by contesting absolute monarchy and Buganda's conservative distancing from national politics. In early 1956, Mulira drafted the PP's manifesto, where he verbally assailed Buganda's government by arguing that a 'spirit of separation is on the increase', which was embodied in the leadership of Buganda's new *katikikiro*, Mikaeri Kintu.²⁰³ Mulira asserted: '[T]o build a new Uganda we need new methods. A party system throughout the country is one of the answers. [...] We will see Uganda run by "a government of the

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., pp. 23–24.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 24.

¹⁹⁹ *Uganda Eyogera*, 17 June 1955.

²⁰⁰ *Uganda Emphyu*, 20 June 1955.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ 'Progressive Party Issues Programme for Self-Government', *Uganda Argus*, 27 February 1956. Cf., 'Progressive Party *Okulemwa*', *Uganda Eyogera*, 6 March 1956, p. 6; and ARP 6/20/T2 Mulira, 'My Life Since 1930', p. 7.

people for the people” (*Gavumenti y’abantu erwana okuyamba abantu baayo*).²⁰⁴ In June 1956, Mulira accused Kintu’s government of ‘corruption and nepotism’,²⁰⁵ a campaign that evoked opposition from Mmengo (see below).²⁰⁶ For his increasing public opposition against Buganda’s secessionist government,²⁰⁷ Mulira spent frequent time battling court cases levelled against him by conservative politicians.²⁰⁸

Mulira used his federalist project in the 1950s to position B/Uganda alongside variant pan-Africanisms in late colonial Africa. In this respect, Mulira’s project was global, casting Buganda’s monarchy nationally to reposition Uganda’s federalist state

²⁰⁴ ICS PP.UG.PP/1 Mulira, ‘Self-Government for Uganda’.

²⁰⁵ *African Pilot*, 11 June 1956; and ‘Progressive Party Condemns “Corruption” among Buganda Officials’, *Uganda Argus*, 12 June 1956, p. 3. See also: ‘Lukiko under Criticism’, *Guardian*, 3 July 1956, p. 7.

²⁰⁶ ‘*Katikkiro Agamba Nti Mulira Anonya Kumanya Gavt.*’, *Emambya Esaze*, 12 June 1956, p. 1.

²⁰⁷ For further discussion see: *Uganda Eyogera*, 10 July 1956, p. 1; *Uganda Empya*, 10 July 1956, p. 6; *Obugagga*, 11 July 1956, p. 4; ‘*Govt. ya Kabaka ne PP, Dobozihya Buganda*’, 16 July 1956, p. 3; *Uganda Eyogera*, 17 July 1956, p. 1; RHOP 514/4 E.M.K. Mulira to Margery Perham, 25 July 1956; *Uganda Eyogera*, 17 July 1956, p. 1; and Kavuma, *Crisis in Buganda*, p. 103.

²⁰⁸ *Uganda Argus*, 18 July 1956; *Uganda Empya*, 23 July 1956, p. 1; ‘Speaker’s Action in Lukiko Condemned’, *Uganda Argus*, 23 July 1956; *Gambuzi*, 24 July 1956, p. 1; ‘Speaker *Bamuwandikira azze Mulira*’, *Munno*, 25 July 1956, p. 7; *African Pilot*, 30 July 1956; ‘*Ogwa Mulira ne Speaker Gufunye Ennamba*’, *Munno*, 1 August 1956, p. 1; ‘Mulira Remanded in Custody by Kyadondo Court’, *Uganda Argus*, 1956, p. 3; ‘Mr. Mulira released by order of Omulamuzi’, *Uganda Argus*, 6 September 1956; ‘Magistrate replaced in Mulira Case’, *Uganda Argus*, 8 September 1956; ‘Mulira quoted as saying Kabaka’s Power had Ended’, *Uganda Argus*, 10 September 1958; ‘Mulira Sentenced to 4 Days Jail’, *Uganda Argus*, 12 September 1956; ‘New Appeal by Mulira’, *Uganda Argus*, 14 September 1956; ‘Mulira is Given Day to Pay 100 /= Fine’, *Uganda Argus*, 18 September 1956; *Uganda Eyogera*, 9 October 1956, p. 1; *Uganda Empya*, 25 October 1956, p. 1; *Uganda Express*, 31 October 1956; ‘Progressives’ Leader Applies to Appeal’, *Uganda Argus*, 2 November 1956, p. 3; ‘Mulira Appeal: Judgement Today’, *Uganda Argus*, 3 November 1956, p. 5; ‘Judicial Adviser Rejects Appeal by Mulira’, *Uganda Argus*, 5 November 1956; ‘Mulira Appealing to Uganda High Court’, *Uganda Argus*, 9 November 1956, p. 3; *Uganda Post*, 13 February 1957; ‘Buganda Gazette Hits at Newspaper’, *Uganda Argus*, 4 March 1957; ‘Progressives Praise Sir Andrew’s “Great Work”’, *Uganda Argus*, 7 March 1957; ‘Progressive State Policy’, *Uganda Argus*, 6 August 1957; BNA CO 822/1354/1 ‘Summary Record of Points Raised in Discussion Between the Delegation of the Central Executive Committee of the Progressive Party and His Excellency the Governor’, 13 September 1957; *African Pilot*, 27 October 1957; *Uganda Eyogera*, 29 October 1957; and *Uganda Empya*, 5 December 1957; ‘Mr. Mulira Opens Action Against Speaker’, *Uganda Argus*, 11 April 1958; ‘“Speaker Exceeded Powers”: Court Submission by Mr. Mulira’, *Uganda Argus*, 14 May 1958; ‘The Day 4 Lukiko Members Left’, *Uganda Argus*, 28 June 1958; ‘Mulira “Expelled by Kabaka’s Order”’, *Uganda Argus*, 7 July 1958; ‘Dismissal of Mulira Suit Refused’, *Uganda Argus*, 8 July 1958; ‘Lukiko Speaker Expelled Me’, *Uganda Argus*, 9 July 1958; ‘Mr. Mulira’s Expulsion Upheld’, *Uganda Argus*, 16 July 1958; ‘Speaker of Lukiko Appeals Against Judgement for Mr. Mulira’, *Uganda Argus*, 17 February 1959; and ‘Court Rules in Favour of Mr. Mulira’, *Uganda Argus*, 26 February 1959.

within the larger context of transnational African politics. In 1957, Mulira co-hosted a coffee party with pan-Africanist Tom Mboya,²⁰⁹ Kenyan trade unionist and party activist,²¹⁰ where Mboya reflected on Kenya's proposed constitution and discussed political disunity within Uganda.²¹¹ Mboya advocated party consolidation, an admonition that roused Uganda's three leading parties—the UNC, PP and Democratic Party (DP)—to organise a cooperative rally to force the resignation of Kintu's conservative government, or ministers 'leading Buganda to destruction'.²¹² Mulira built upon Mboya's counsel to pursue party unification with Benedicto Kiwanuka's DP, which did not materialise.²¹³ Working alongside Tom Mboya and Julius Nyerere in the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa (PAFMECA), Mulira considered local political strategy. PP activists requested that PAFMECA's first conference in Mwanza in late 1958 explore how to harness 'the forces of Traditionalism for political Emancipation',²¹⁴ considered 'one very important item which looms large in our present political programme'.²¹⁵ In consequence, PAFMECA positioned itself to contest 'black chauvinism'.²¹⁶ And to contest Buganda's conservative 'black chauvinists', Mulira organised PAFMECA's following conference in Uganda, which did not actualise due to colonial policy restricting the movement of non-Ugandan political leaders into the country.²¹⁷

²⁰⁹ *Uganda Empya*, 21 November 1957.

²¹⁰ Carl G. Rosberg and John C. Nottingham, *The Myth of 'Mau Mau': Nationalism in Kenya* (New York: F. Praeger, 1966); *Mau Mau & Nationhood: Arms, Authority & Narration*, ed. by E. S. Atieno Odhiambo and John Lonsdale (Oxford: James Currey Press, 2003).

²¹¹ *Uganda Empya*, 21 November 1957.

²¹² 'Resignation Call to Buganda Ministers', *Uganda Argus*, 22 May 1958.

²¹³ 'Party Merger Plan "Dead"', *Uganda Argus*, 23 January 1959.

²¹⁴ CCAS MP L. Kalulu Settala, Secretary, PP, to I.H. Bucke-Munka, National Treasurer, TANU, 27 July 1958.

²¹⁵ Ibid. For introductory discussion on PAFMECA see: Richard Cox, *Pan-Africanism in Practice, An East African Study: PAFMECSA 1958–1964* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964).

²¹⁶ CCAS MP 'The Freedom Charter of the Peoples of East and Central Africa', 18 September 1958. For further discussion see: "'Freedom Movement" Formed at Mwanza: Mr. Mulira Reports on Meetings of Politicians from 5 Territories', *Uganda Argus*, 20 September 1958.

²¹⁷ Cox, *Pan-Africanism in Practice*, p. 27.

Mulira attended Ghana's independence celebrations in 1957,²¹⁸ while the PP organised celebrations in Uganda.²¹⁹ The following year, Mulira participated in Kwame Nkrumah's All African People's Conference (AAPC). By contextualising the PP's short history to parallel the purposes of the AAPC, Mulira distanced himself from the 'traditionalism' of Mmengo politics:

The Party was founded in 1955 by E.M.K. Mulira together with a few friends. It came into being mainly to fight for democratic Self-government and to resist traditionalism and tribalism that had been revived in Buganda to a fantastic degree. [...] [W]e have persistently worked for the unity of Uganda based on mutual respect of each tribe towards another.²²⁰

In Uganda, Mulira used the pan-African ideology of the AAPC to directionalise party activism. On 9 August 1958, the National Executive Committee of the PP addressed the question of Buganda's national integration, incorporating the AAPC's language of 'self-government', 'all Africans' and 'cooperation' to shape political vision:

Some people, some of them our members, others non-members but they are friends of the Party, have approached me saying that the P.P. is working alongside people they do not approve. I wish to remind you, humbly and with all sincerity that this party is willing to co-operate with all the peoples of Uganda. The main objective of the P.P. is to lead this country to responsible self-government and well being in other spheres, and to help do away with untruths which are sowing distrust and hatred among the tribes of Uganda. The P.P. believes moreover, that co-operation for the good of our country can enable each one of us to play his part according to his ability. Therefore since our Party is open to all Africans of Uganda we cannot refuse to co-operate with others if this ensures the well being of all of us.²²¹

Building on the momentum of Ghanaian independence, Mulira pressed for national unity and imminent independence in Uganda, warning Buganda's *katikkiro* that Mmengo 'should not make a "blunder" in retarding the country's path to self-rule'.²²² Mulira

²¹⁸ 'Uganda Politicians Invited to Ghana', *Uganda Argus*, 8 February 1957; *Uganda Empya*, 28 February 1957; 'Progressives Accuse Congress of "Yes" over Need for Self-rule Plan', *Uganda Argus*, 8 April 1957; and Paulo Muwanga, 'Reply to Mr. Mulira', *Uganda Argus*, 12 April 1957.

²¹⁹ *Uganda Empya*, 28 February 1957.

²²⁰ CCAS MP L. Kalule Settala, Secretary, PP, to General Secretary, Preparatory Committee, AAPC, 1 August 1958.

²²¹ CCAS MP E.M.K. Mulira to Progressive Party Branches, August 1958.

²²² *African Pilot*, 2 January 1958. Cf., 'Progressive Party Oppose Resignation from Legislature', *Uganda Argus*, 3 January 1958.

argued: 'Uganda must achieve self-government as one country, of which the Legco is the centre.'²²³

Theological Imagination and the Co-optation of Conservative Politics

Like his constitutional monarchialism, Mulira's federalism resulted in significant protest throughout Buganda, resulting in numerous conservative political parties, such as the Labour Party, Uganda Landowners, All People's Party, Uganda Nationalist Party and the Bataka Party.²²⁴ The Uganda Nationalist Party organised a public burning of the Hancock Report, after which activists threw the ashes into Lake Victoria.²²⁵ According to the party, the report was burned for advocating federalism, the integration of Buganda into Legco politics.²²⁶ Mulira was accused of 'betraying the country by urging acceptance of the Hancock Report'.²²⁷ One columnist proposed that 'Mr. Mulira should go to his mother country Kooki, or should ask Sir Keith Hancock to make him Katikiro'.²²⁸ On 29 August 1955, Buganda held its first public elections to nominate representatives to Uganda's Legco.²²⁹ Mulira was unsuccessful among his Kyaddondo constituency, unconvinced of his patriotism.²³⁰

Following Mikaeri Kintu's election to the premiership,²³¹ Buganda's government followed secessionist policy, reluctant to participate in the electoral trajectories set by the 1955 Agreement.²³² In 1958, Mmengo boycotted the General Election.²³³ And in 1960,

²²³ 'Progressive Party Oppose Resignation from Legislature'.

²²⁴ *Gambuzi*, 26 November 1954.

²²⁵ *Uganda Eyogera*, 30 November 1954.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*

²²⁷ *Uganda Empya*, 27 June 1955.

²²⁸ *Uganda Post*, 26 July 1955.

²²⁹ 'Elections in Buganda: Preparations for Reforms', *The Times*, 30 August 1955.

²³⁰ *Uganda Eyogera*, 30 August 1955.

²³¹ 'Mr. Kintu Elected Katikiro', *The Times*, 25 August 1955. Cf., *Uganda Empya*, 29 August 1955 and *Dobozi hya Buganda*, 29 August 1955.

²³² UNAL Constitutional Documents, 'Elections to Legislative Council', Sessional Paper 4, Paragraph 2, 1957/58.

²³³ The PP also expressed initial concern over the 1958 General Election. While the party supported the elections, it called for a 'reorganisation of the Legco' in order to 'give it a majority of Representative Members' ('Two Parties Criticise New Election Plans', *Uganda Argus*, 5 July 1957).

Buganda's parliament declared formal secession from Uganda.²³⁴ Conservatives argued that Buganda's 'special status' could only be maintained through its monarchy,²³⁵ the 'source and strength of political, economic and social well-being'.²³⁶ Buganda, reasoned Mmengo, would not 'sell her inheritance [heritage] in order to purchase the independence of Uganda',²³⁷ nor 'sacrifice everything on the altar of Uganda's unity'.²³⁸ Conservatives asserted political authority along monarchical lines, distancing themselves from national politics. In 1959, this translated into the formation of the Uganda National Movement (UNM), whose meetings entailed activists facing Mmengo and singing Buganda's national anthem.²³⁹ Through the UNM, conservative Baganda boycotted Asian shops and protested political participation in the Legco.²⁴⁰

Surprisingly, E.M.K. Mulira actively supported UNM politics. Why? Up until 1959, Mulira considered his effort to advocate for constitutional monarchy and federalism unsuccessful. In 'Why I am in the Uganda National Movement', Mulira explained that prior to the UNM his political project was ineffective:

I think no one who has followed my public life during recent years can accuse me of not having stood for what is right as I know it; of trying to uphold the Christian view point and democracy. I have been a moderate all along, but with what result? —frustration and disappointment at every turn.²⁴¹

Mulira compared himself to his former friend at Achimota, Kofi Busia, who would 'die in opposition not because Dr. Nkrumah is opposed to him but because the majority of the nation do not accept him as one of them'.²⁴² Mulira concluded that in order to 'counteract traditionalism and at the same time mobilize the country against imperialism',

²³⁴ The Kabaka's Government, *Okwefuga kwa Buganda* (Kampala: Uganda Printing & Publishing Co. Ltd., October 1960).

²³⁵ Ibid., p. 28.

²³⁶ Ibid. 'Kabaka gwe mwoyo era n'amaanyi agatambuzza eby'obufuzi, eby'obugagga, awamu n'embeera ennungi.'

²³⁷ Ibid., p. 37. 'Buganda teyinza kutunda busika bwazo lwa kugula kwefuga kwa Uganda.'

²³⁸ Ibid. 'Era Buganda teyeteese kuwaayo nga saddaaka, buli kyonna, ku Kyoto ky'okwegatta kwa Uganda'.

²³⁹ 'U.N.M. is "A Buganda National Movement"', *Uganda Argus*, 18 March 1959.

²⁴⁰ 'Boycott Aimed at "Privileges"', *Uganda Argus*, 12 March 1959; and Interview, Samuel Mugwisa, Former UNM Branch Coordinator, 16 December 2009, Kampala. Cf., Low, *Buganda in Modern History*, p. 157.

²⁴¹ HMG E.M.K. Mulira, 'Why I am in the Uganda National Movement', April 1959.

²⁴² Ibid.

it was necessary to launch a ‘unity campaign that included the traditionalists’.²⁴³ Mulira furthered: ‘After joining we would see to it that we put their traditionalism to sleep, i.e., we would not allow it to arise above Nationalism[.]’²⁴⁴ In short, Mulira’s decision to participate in conservative politics was co-optation, an effort to shepherd royalists and secessionists into the pasture of national and global politics, to ‘unite the people of Uganda and to liberate the country from foreign rule’.²⁴⁵

Global political imagination and theological ideation provide particular insight into the complexity of Mulira’s subversive politics on the eve of independence. During a UNM rally in March 1959, conservatives organised ‘the largest political meeting ever staged in Kampala’,²⁴⁶ where politicians, school mistresses, farmers and traders spoke for several hours amid ‘applause and cheering’.²⁴⁷ During the assembly, Mulira was apportioned time to advocate conservative propaganda. By contrast, he used his time to discuss the dissenting nationalism of Archbishop Makarios III. Mulira announced that Makarios ‘set an example of determination in the fight for freedom’,²⁴⁸ and called for a two-minute period of silence to reflect on Makarios’ life and activism. Following silence, Mulira concluded his speech by leading an impromptu antiphon between himself and the audience centred on the name, ‘Makarios’.²⁴⁹

Mulira used global history to co-opt conservatism in Buganda, but subversive politics presupposed theological imagination. In particular, Mulira politically adapted two biblical metaphors to shape his shifting public activism. First, Mulira used Matthew 5¹³, where Jesus informed his disciples that they were ‘[...] the salt of the earth. . . .’,²⁵⁰ from which Mulira argued:

Salt is only useful if it mixes with food; salt apart from food is no use (except perhaps as medicine). Therefore, at this juncture we saw that without trying to change our principles why not take a plunge and mix with the masses and try to

²⁴³ CCAS MP E.M.K. Mulira to H.M. Grace, ‘Explanation of My Political Creed in the Green Note Book’, 4 October 1959.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ ‘Party Leaders Speak on Single Platform: Vast Crowd Urged to Join National Movement’, *Uganda Argus*, 16 February 1959.

²⁴⁶ ‘Inter-Party Group Announces Boycott Plan’, *Uganda Argus*, 2 March 1959.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ HMG Mulira, ‘Why I am in the Uganda National Movement’.

... speak to them from within and speak to Government from a point of mass support which means strength instead of one of isolated moderation which it regards as weakness. Therefore, it was change of tactics and not of principles and it worked. The moment we did this we were accepted, and the masses can now listen to our counsels where before they frowned at and reject us wholesale.²⁵¹

Second, Mulira considered Moses' political biography, observing:

God's ways are not our ways. In history we often find that His purpose was not fulfilled the way people were expecting it and the Bible is full of instances of this kind. To take one ordinary instance: When Moses was called of God to deliver the children of Israel from Bondage he thought he would step out of the Palace of Pharaoh straight to the job and talk to people in the language of the palace.

That's why he failed. God sent him first to the wilderness, and, to my mind, he sent him there for one reason alone—to learn the language of the people and come back and speak to the Pharaoh in that language. In a way I am like Moses: I have been speaking to my people "your language" (by which I mean that I have been selling to them what I have learnt from you), and they have not listened to me. I now speak to "you" in their language and they listen to me. May be that is God's purpose. It wasn't all plain sailing with Moses nor was it unharmed to the Egyptians. I believe God is with me in this as He has been in other things—I have not turned against him.²⁵²

On 23 May, the UNM was proscribed by the Protectorate government.²⁵³ For his leadership in the Movement, E.M.K. Mulira—along with I.K. Musazi and four additional activists—were arrested and detained under the Deportation Ordinance.²⁵⁴ On the morning of his arrest, Mulira gathered outside his home with supporters to sing Christian hymns.²⁵⁵ Mulira spent the following year in political exile in Gulu.

Conclusion: Exile, 'The Way' & *Kabaka Yekka*

In exile, Mulira spent considerable time in political and spiritual reflection. Writing on their family's relocation to Gulu, Rebecca Mulira expressed:

We have settled down here nicely. We are happy with very clear minds, and have left everything in HIS HANDS. [...] A prison where Jesus is discussed becomes a temple! We have more time than we have ever had before to talk, to praise HIS LOVE, to us and to be NEARER TO HIM!²⁵⁶

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ Low, *Buganda in Modern History*, p. 193.

²⁵⁴ 'Leaders of Banned Uganda Movement Arrested', *The Times*, 1 June 1959.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ UCU BA 1/136.5 Rebecca Mulira to Leslie Brown, 20 July 1959.

Eridadi Mulira spent considerable time composing religious works.²⁵⁷ One extensive manuscript is worth addressing briefly, ‘The Way of Life: Dear Travellers this is the Way’, later titled, ‘Jesus Christ: “The Way of Life”’. Mulira’s interest in the ‘Way of Life’ resulted in no less than twelve exercise books filled with extensive sentence diagramming of the gospels and hundreds of pages of typed manuscript. In handwritten notation, Mulira introduced his work with the following statement:

Because he [Adam] ate the tree of knowledge which was forbidden him man was punished with death and with [...] inevitable expulsion from the garden. But it remained God’s constant wish to restore man by bringing life to him Love, Righteousness (Righteousness is love to man), and Faith, but man would not listen. So God chose Himself a family, then a tribe and finally a nation through which to manifest his purposes to man.²⁵⁸

Mulira’s cosmology offered him a hierarchical sequencing—family, tribe and nation. These themes frequented his political and religious corpus from the 1940s into the early 1960s. From his exilic corpus, one sees that Mulira’s political project rested on his understanding of salvation history, a theme Mulira referenced directly in 1955. Through family, tribe and nation, Mulira believed that God was restoring humanity to prelapsarian perfection, a place of love, righteousness and faith. In 1959, gospel narrative and salvation history inspired Mulira to engage in subversive politics, to imagine a nation to fulfil the salvation of the earth. Spiritual reflection in exile confirmed to Mulira the relevancy of co-opting politics, of God’s desire to transform disparate tribes into unified nations. Following exile, Mulira built upon his co-opting cosmology further by helping organise the patriotic politics of *Kabaka Yekka*, a movement whose complexity will now be explored in greater detail.

²⁵⁷ Surviving memoirs include (all housed in CCAS MP): ‘The Coming of Jesus Christ’, Mss., 19 November 1959; ‘About St. Paul’, Mss., 22 November 1959; ‘Personal Religion’, Mss., 24 November 1959; and ‘About the Churches’, Mss., n.d.

²⁵⁸ CCAS MP E.M.K. Mulira, ‘The Way of Life: Dear Travellers this is the Way’, Mss., [November 1959].

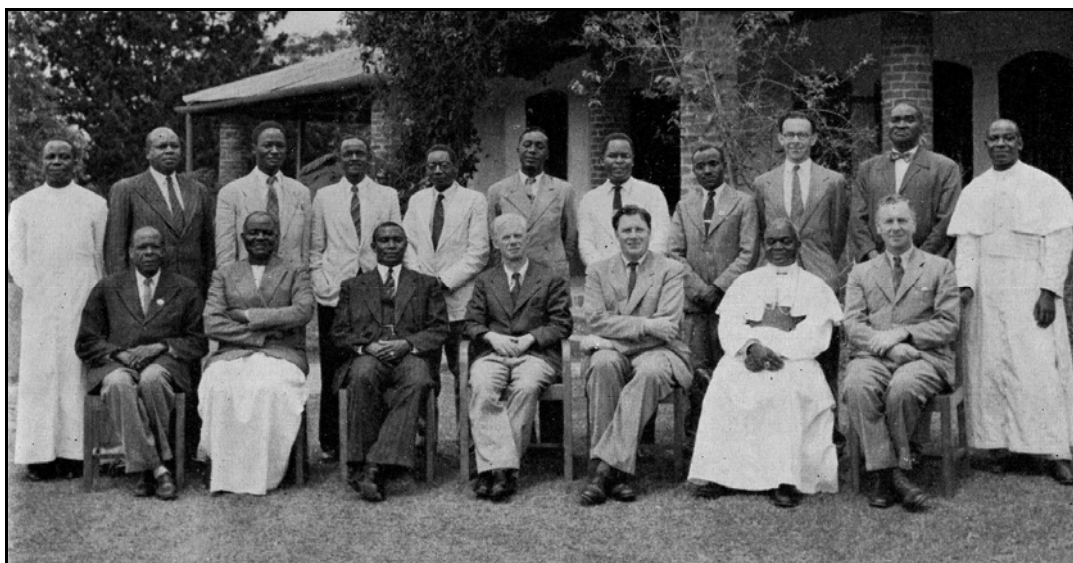


Figure 3.1 The Namirembe Conference, 1954

Row 1, left to right: Y. Kyaze; S.W. Kulubya; *Omulamuzi* M. Mugwanya; Professor K. Hancock; Governor A. Cohen; Bishop J. Kiwanuka; Resident of Buganda J.P. Birch.

Row 2, left to right: Father J.K. Masagazi; J.P. Musoke; A.K. Kironde; E.M.K. Mulira; E.Z. Kibuka; Y.K. Lule; J.G. Sengendo Zake; Thomas A.K. Makumbi; S.A. de Smith (secretary); Dr E.B. Kalibala; and Father J. Kasule

Adapted: D.A. Low, *Buganda in Modern History*

Chapter Four Muslim, Minority-Marginal Politics

Abubakar K. Mayanja: The Plural Kingdom

[I]t is our express desire that you prevail upon him [A.K. Mayanja] appropriately as to how very much my Society is interested in his [career] at the College and for that reason the necessity of hi[m] becoming vigilant in his studies and habits ultimately proving useful to his co-brothers in Islam.

~Hon. Secretary, East African Muslim Welfare Society¹

Seriously—it is my sacred intention, nay, duty to be of use to my people. Although as yet I have only a dim glimpse of what it is I shall do, I have never had any doubt about my duty.

~Abubakar K. Mayanja²

Well-connected to Buganda's conservative farming communities, Ignatius K. Musazi, Abubakar K. Mayanja and other Uganda National Congress (UNC) activists constituted *the* salient voice of opposition against Mulira's constitutional reforms. As dissimilar as Musazi's and Mulira's projects were, however, their sociality, theology and sense of history was distinctly shaped by Protestant forces. Conjugally, Musazi's wife was the daughter of the heir of Apolo Kaggwa;³ Mulira's wife, the daughter of Hamu Mukasa. Musazi was the son of an important Protestant chief in Bulemeezi; Mulira, a royal of Kooki heritage whose family had routed Muslim exiles within their kingdom during the religious wars.⁴ Shaped by the mentorship of Canon Harold M. Grace, both Musazi and Mulira were model disciples of the Native Anglican Church (NAC), at least in adolescence. And while both Musazi and Mulira sought to reinvent Buganda's monarchy, they tended to not question Protestant legitimacy—it was taken for granted. In this, both Musazi and Mulira built upon their Protestant past; it was not dismissed. Not royal, wealthy or Christian, Abubakar Kakyama Mayanja was the organising secretary-treasurer

¹ KCBA Hon. Secretary, East African Muslim Welfare Society, to Timothy Cobb, 26 November 1948.

² KCBA A.K. Mayanja to Timothy Cobb, 18 March 1950.

³ Interviews, Rita Naniskombi, 11 & 16 November 2009, Luteete, Wakiso District.

⁴ James Kibuka Miti Kabazzi, *Buganda, 1875–1900: A Centenary Contribution*, trans. by G. K. Rock, 2 vols (London: United Society for Christian Literature, n.d.), I, p. 202.

of the UNC.⁵ Keenly historical and acutely practical in his approach to politics, Mayanja, according to one activist, was the ‘best political brain and potentially the hardest drive in Congress’.⁶ Indeed, Mayanja’s forthright politics discomforted both Christian Baganda and Britons. Protestant activist Kawalya Kaggwa disclosed to Audrey Richards that he suspected Mayanja would, upon completing his studies in Cambridge, ‘come back and make trouble’.⁷ And upon hearing Mayanja speak at a World University Service conference in March 1954, Oxford’s Margery Perham ‘felt almost physically sick listening to him, because of the mingled ability, vanity and malice of his speech’.⁸ Perham surmised: ‘[Mayanja] gave a really horrifying speech, in which he dropped carefully distilled poison, drop by drop. I should say he is, or will be, an orator of great effect.’⁹

This Chapter explores the journey of Buganda’s Muslim community from political prominence in the mid-nineteenth century to the political periphery in the late nineteenth century; and then, her shift away from the periphery toward discursive centrality in the early 1960s. In the mid-nineteenth century, Zanzibari missionary-traders arrived in Buganda’s court. Islamic practice and the Qur’an provided *Kabaka* Muteesa I with meaningful political capital to centralise his state building project. While Muslim activists maintained power in Buganda’s political landscape up until the 1880s, superior weaponry allowed Christian chiefs and colonisers to secure political power in the 1890s, resulting in the political marginalisation of Ganda Muslims. In the mid-twentieth century, Muslim leaders contested B/Uganda’s colonial state from the margins. In particular, Muslims theorised education as a tool to contest Buganda’s public sphere. First, through the educational politics of Badru Kakungulu Wasajja and the Young Men’s Muslim Association, Ganda Muslims sought to equip a future generation of younger Muslims to engage in public discourse. Second, Muslim activists used historical revision to critique the political projects of Buganda’s powerbrokers, critiquing the historicism of Apolo

⁵ NAP, Field Notes, p. 65, A.K. Mayanja to Neal Ascherson, June 1956. Cf., ‘Uganda National Congress Forming: “Should Prepare Plans for Self-Government”’, *East Africa and Rhodesia*, 20 March 1952.

⁶ LFP 29/13/nf Neal Ascherson, ‘The History of the Uganda National Congress’, n.d., p. 37.

⁷ Interview, Audrey Richards with Kawalya Kaggwa, 8 February 1954, in ARP 7/6/69 Audrey Richards, Field Notes.

⁸ ICS 29/1/3/26 Margery Perham to Keith Hancock, 15 March 1954.

⁹ Ibid.

Kaggwa. In so doing, Muslim intellectuals pluralised a past from whence political participation was made meaningful in the colonial state. The social background of Abubakar Kakyama Mayanja (1929–2005) positioned him to adapt earlier Islamic political tradition in Buganda. For Mayanja and Buganda’s Muslim community, Muteesa’s deportation in 1953 was used to critique colonial power and contest seats in Buganda’s Christian parliament. Mayanja used his training in history to pluralise political space from which marginal actors could claim political and historical centrality in the postcolony, a tradition that Muslim activists had used in the past.

From Power to Periphery: Islam in Nineteenth-Century Buganda

While Buganda’s Muslim community maintained central power in Buganda’s political landscape up until the 1880s, superior weaponry allowed Christian chiefs and colonisers to secure political power in the 1890s, resulting in the political marginalisation of Ganda Muslims. As religious war dissipated, Muslim leaders were challenged to navigate the waters of Christian ascendancy. Militarily disadvantaged, Buganda’s new leader, *Omulangira* Nuhu K. Mbogo, was not in a position to reassert his community’s claim to Buganda’s monarchy. For the foreseeable future, Ganda Muslims would have to think and advocate creatively from the political periphery.

Muslim Activism and the Practice of State Building in Nineteenth-Century Buganda

Half a century before Protestant historian Apolo Kaggwa published *Bassekabaka be Buganda*, Buganda received her first Muslim guest(s), Zanzibari missionary-traders.¹⁰ Emin Pasha (Eduard Carl Oscar Theodor Schnitzer) recorded that Zanzibari Ahmed bin Ibrahim reached the court of Kabaka Ssuuna in 1260 AH/CE 1844.¹¹ Early sources suggest that Medi Ibulaimu, the Luganda form of Ahmed bin Ibrahim,¹² reproved Ssuuna for indiscriminately killing his subjects, suggesting that earthly rulers were

¹⁰ For further discussion on the expansion of Zanzibar’s trading communities see: John M. Gray, ‘Ahmed Bin Ibrahim—The First Arab to Reach Buganda’, *Uganda Journal*, 10 (1947), 80–97; and James de Vere Allen, *Swahili Origins: Swahili Culture & the Shungwaya Phenomenon* (London: James Currey, 1993), pp. 55–98.

¹¹ Emin Pasha, ‘The Diaries of Emin Pasha—Extracts I’, ed. by John M. Gray, *Uganda Journal*, 25 (1961), 1–15 (pp. 9–10 & 14–15).

¹² T.W. Gee, ‘A Century of Mohammedan Influence in Buganda, 1852–1951’, *Uganda Journal*, 22 (1958), 139–50 (p. 139).

accountable to God.¹³ When Pasha arrived at Buganda's court in the mid-1870s, he found Ssuuna's son, Muteesa I, covered in Persian carpet and Arab costume, including a gold-trimmed turban.¹⁴ According to Pasha, Muteesa had learned some Arabic, while his ministers spoke the language fluently.¹⁵ Muteesa I was instructed in Islam under the tutelage of Muley bin Salim and soon maintained Ramadan and implemented the *Hijri*, the Muslim calendar.¹⁶ Following the construction of Muteesa's palace mosque (*muzigiti*) in Nakawa, chiefs followed in erecting structures, freely and under conscription. Muteesa's brother, Nuhu Kyabasinga Mbogo, was appointed to ensure that each mosque was built in accordance with Islamic precept.

Muteesa I used Islam to further intensify his centralising project in mid-nineteenth century Buganda.¹⁷ In particular, Muteesa used prayer and fasting and the Qur'an to assert monarchical power. First, keeping with Islamic tradition Muteesa required Baganda to pray five times per day (*okuyimiriza esswala etano buli lunaku*).¹⁸ To ensure obedience to royal edict and Islamic teaching, Muslim chiefs named their wives according to prayer times. One early convert recalled: 'One wife could be called Subuyi—morning. She would go to her master in the morning to remind him that it was time for

¹³ Apolo Kaggwa, *Ekitabo Kye Bika Bya Baganda* (Kampala: Uganda Bookshop and Uganda Society, 1949), pp. 115–16. Cf., Badru Kakungulu and A.B.K. Kasozi, *Abaasimba Obuyisiraamu mu Uganda* (Kampala: Equator Books, 1977), pp. 2–3. For further discussion on Ibrahim see: Gray, 'Ahmed Bin Ibrahim', pp. 80–97.

¹⁴ Pasha, 'Diaries—Extracts I', p. 6.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁶ John M. Gray, 'The Year of the Three Kings of Buganda', *Uganda Journal*, 14 (1949), 15–52; Gee, 'A Century of Mohammedan Influence in Buganda'; and A.B.K. Kasozi, *The Spread of Islam in Uganda* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1986); and Jonathon L. Earle, 'Nuhu Kyabasinga Mbogo', in *Dictionary of African Biography*, ed. by Henry Louis Gates, Jr. and Emmanuel Akyeampong (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

¹⁷ To situate Muteesa's centralising project alongside long-distance trade in nineteenth-century eastern Africa see: John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 40–87; Richard J. Reid, *Political Power in Pre-Colonial Buganda: Economy, Society & Welfare in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: James Currey, 2002), pp. 149–74; Jeremy Prestholdt, *Domesticating the World: African Consumerism and the Genealogies of Globalization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008); and Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, *Africa and the Africans in the Nineteenth Century: A Turbulent History* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2009), pp. 70–134.

¹⁸ Ali Kulumba, *Empagi Z'obusiramu mu Luganda* (Kampala: Sapoba Book Press, 1953), p. 1.

the morning prayer. Another wife was called Zukuli—i.e. 12:30 noon.¹⁹ Early Muslim convert turned Christian, Hamu Mukasa,²⁰ recalled Muteesa's Muslim chiefs suggesting that the practice of prayer and qur'anic study replace leisurely hunting; a request received amicably by Muteesa.²¹ Muteesa's subjects were required to maintain the fast of Ramadan (*okusiiba omwezi gwa Ramažane*),²² to which Muteesa created a chieftainship 'to teach Buganda to fast'.²³

For Muteesa, the Qur'an provided moral capital and materiality to assert authority and legitimacy vis-à-vis colonisers and Baganda. In 1882, in a letter forwarded to British officer Sir John Kirk, Muteesa's Arabic-written correspondence incorporated the *basmala*, the qur'anic preface,²⁴ 'In the name of God, the Lord of Mercy, the Giver of Mercy'.²⁵ In the same letter, Muteesa cited Al-Baqara—a supplication often cited by Muslims during duress or loss—when writing about the death of Buganda's queen mother (*nnamasole*): 'We belong to God and to Him we shall return.'²⁶ The *nnamasole*'s passing was believed to be a direct result of *maqadīr*, divine decree,²⁷ an ideal that resonated with earlier Ganda associations of death and causality.²⁸ Muteesa beseeched

¹⁹ Interview, Arye Oded with Shaikh al-Islām Ahmad Nsambo, 16 December 1967, Natete, in Arye Oded, *Islam in Uganda: Islamization through a Centralized State in Pre-Colonial Africa* (Jerusalem: Israel Universities Press, 1974), pp. 337–41 (p. 337).

²⁰ Ham Mukasa, 'The Life of Ham Mukasa', in *The Wonderful Story of Uganda*, trans. by Ven Archdeacon Walker (London: Church Missionary Society, 1904), pp. 173–208.

²¹ Hamu Mukasa, *Simuda Nyuma: Ebiro Bya Mutesa (Do Not Turn Back: The Reign of Mutesa)* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1938).

²² Kulumba, *Empagi Z'obusiramu mu Luganda*, p. 1.

²³ LFP 54/7/172 Ali Kulumba, *Ebyafayo By'obusiramu mu Uganda*, trans. by John Rowe (Kampala: Sapoba Bookshop Press, 1953). Cf., MUA M.M. Katungulu, *Islam in Buganda*, Mss., trans. by J. Busulwa (n.d.), pp. 4–5.

²⁴ I am indebted to Sheikh Isaac Ssettuba for analysing Muteesa I's Arabic; my discussion here draws mostly from his insight (Varied correspondence, May 2011).

²⁵ Muteesa to Sir John Kirk, 19 May 1882, in Arye Oded, *Islam in Uganda: Islamization through a Centralized State in Pre-Colonial Africa* (Jerusalem: Israel Universities Press, 1974), p. 321. The *basmala* introduces each chapter of the Qur'an, with the exception of sūrah Al-Tawba.

²⁶ Muteesa to Sir John Kirk, 19 May 1882. See: *The Qur'an*, trans. by M.A.S. Abdel Haleem (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 2¹⁵⁶.

²⁷ Muteesa to Sir John Kirk, 19 May 1882.

²⁸ John Roscoe observed that Baganda in the late nineteenth century generally interpreted death within the broader context of personal or divine causality: 'Death from natural causes rarely presented itself to the native mind as a feasible explanation for the end of life; illness was much more likely to be the result of malice finding in magical art' (John Roscoe, *The Baganda: An*

God to demonstrate safety, mercy, favour and blessing toward Kirk, boons steeped in the tradition of Ganda extravagance and the language of divine generosity.²⁹ In short, Qur'anic teaching provided rhetorical capital from which Muteesa could invoke and mediate legitimacy in Buganda's broader, translocal politics.

The physicality of the Qur'an provided Muteesa with a concrete tool to assert authority in Buganda's shifting political landscape. Prior to Islam, the death of Buganda's kings elicited a complex set of burial rituals performed by leading chiefs and clan heads.³⁰ Politically powerful, burial chiefs required compensation from their king(s) for future services rendered, a custom that Muteesa called into question.³¹ In his early work on Ganda custom, Apolo Kaggwa recalled: 'When Mukabya became king he inquired of his chiefs as to the reason why these chiefs demanded to be paid in advance for these services. [...] Then the king became very angry and ordered all the participants in the funeral ceremonies arrested and held for execution.'³² According to Muslim oral sources, Muteesa ordered his *katikero*, Mukasa, to prevent his body from being passed into the stewardship of Buganda's *bataka*. His body was not to be disembowelled or deified according to tradition. On the contrary, burial custodians, clan heads and conservative subjects were to be given Qur'ans,³³ something that would cause one to be 'overcome [...] and show [...] those who have lied'.³⁴ In short, Muteesa used Qur'anic materiality to further distance clan heads from the practice of power in Buganda's kingdom.

Debates surrounding circumcision in the royal court demonstrate the tension that existed between the practical teachings of Islam and social adaption during Muteesa's centralising campaign.³⁵ In the mid-nineteenth century, Ganda custom prohibited the

Account of Their Native Customs and Beliefs, 2nd edn (London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1965), p. 98).

²⁹ Muteesa to Sir John Kirk, 19 May 1882. Cf., Holly E. Hanson, *Landed Obligation: The Practice of Power in Buganda* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 2003).

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 98–127. Cf., Benjamin C. Ray, *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship in Buganda* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

³¹ Apolo Kaggwa, *Ekitabo Kye Mpisa Za Baganda*, ed. by May M. Edel, trans. by Ernest B. Kalibala (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), pp. 13–14.

³² Ibid., p. 14.

³³ Interview, Arye Oded with Shaikh al-Islām Ahmad Nsambo, 11 November 1967, Natete, in Arye Oded, *Islam in Uganda*, pp. 332–37.

³⁴ LFP 54/7/173 Kulumba, *Ebyafayo By'obusiramu mu Uganda*.

³⁵ Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, pp. 59–126.

shedding of royal blood, a custom Muteesa was unwilling to alter.³⁶ According to early Muslim convert, Sheikh al-Islām Ahmad Nsambo, Muteesa refused to undergo circumcision amid fears that he would simply die for violating custom.³⁷ An additional early convert suggested that Muteesa's Muslim royals had been ordered to vicariously circumcise a man on the king's behalf; Muteesa would be vicariously circumcised. However, during the process the subject's penis was cleaved: 'You see, the princes those days were cheeky and at times behaved childishly. Muteesa then exclaimed that those operations were really tantamount to murder.'³⁸ Muteesa's decision to refuse to be circumcised reflected preoccupation with his own political legitimacy—illustrated in discourse surrounding prescribed custom and reproduction. For Muteesa, castration was the same as murder, thereby undermining the practice of monarchical power. To further exert authority, from 1874 to 1875 Muteesa had no fewer than sixteen of his Muslim subjects killed for refusing to eat meat prepared by his non-circumcised butcher, food considered *haraam*, forbidden by Islamic law.³⁹ Into the 1880s, Muslim activists maintained central power in Buganda's political landscape.

Toward the Political Margin

Through superior weaponry, Christian chiefs and colonisers secured political power from Muslims in the 1890s, resulting in the political marginalisation of Ganda Muslims. Following the first dethronement of Muteesa I's abstruse son, Mwanga, by Ganda powerbrokers in 1888, the throne was given to Muteesa's eldest son, Kiwewa. Kiwewa proved ambivalent toward Islam and like his father refused to be circumcised. After six weeks of rule, he was subverted by politically powerful Muslims.⁴⁰ Kiwewa's younger brother Kalema was subsequently invested and unlike his father and brother, was circumcised and subsequently given the name Nuhu.⁴¹ After being displaced from

³⁶ Interview, Arye Oded with Shaikh al-Islām Ahmad Nsambo, 11 November 1967, Natete, in Oded, *Islam in Uganda*, (332–37), pp. 333–34.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Interview, Arye Oded with Yusufu Kiwanuka, 12 November 1967, Lwanjaza, Ssinga County, in Oded, *Islam in Uganda*.

³⁹ Oded, *Islam in Uganda*, pp. 317–18. Cf., Ahmed Katumba and Fred B. Welbourn, 'Muslim Martyrs of Buganda', *Uganda Journal*, 28 (1964), 151–63.

⁴⁰ Gray, 'The Year of the Three Kings of Buganda', p. 27.

⁴¹ Katungulu, *Islam in Buganda*, p. 10. Ali Kulumba recalled:

Buganda to Ankole by Muslims, Buganda's Christian revolutionaries returned to Buganda's capital (Lungujja) in October 1889 to claim political control of Buganda's monarchy.⁴² While Ganda Muslims made concerted effort to maintain power, they were ultimately unsuccessful due to inferior weaponry. Colonial-backed Christians re-invested Mwanga, and *Kabaka* Kalema died of small-pox near Kijungute, where the majority of Buganda's Muslims fled. Following Kalema's death, *Omulangira* Nuhu Kyabasinga Mbogo (c. 1835–10 March 1921) was appointed titular head of Buganda's Muslim community.⁴³

As religious war dissipated, Mbogo was pressed to discreetly navigate the waters of Christian ascendancy. Whereas the past provided political space for Islamic governance, Christian and colonial contrivance placed Muslim power-brokers in unknown political territory—the social periphery. According to Ganda historian Jemusi Miti, Mbogo led Ganda Muslims back into Buganda's capital following negotiation with Captain Fredrick D. Lugard.⁴⁴ However, amid fear of Nubian and Ganda Muslim

They said that Kabaka Kalema's name was "Nuhu", the same as "Nuhu Mbogo", and that they gave them that name so as to commemorate "Nabbi Nuhu" (Noah's Ark) who was saved in the ark when God destroyed all people with the Flood. Moreover, that when Kalema turned Muslim while Kabaka, and his elder relations were still outside the covenant of God to be circumcised, still in the state of sin of not being circumcised, Kabaka embarked in the Ark from being uncircumcised and ordered circumcision so he came to be called the name "Nuhu" (LFP 54/7/167 Kulumba, *Ebyafayo By'obusiramu mu Uganda*).

For further discussion see: Ali Kulumba and Mustafa Mutyaba, *Nuhu Kalema N'Obusiraamu mu Buganda* (Kampala: Crane Publishers Ltd., 1994).

⁴² Michael Twaddle, 'The Muslim Revolution in Buganda', *African Affairs*, 71 (1972), 54–72, pp. 66–72. Cf., C.C. Wrigley, 'The Christian Revolution in Buganda', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 2 (1959), 33–48.

⁴³ Interview, Amin Mutyaba, A.K. Kasozi, Noel King, and William M. Watt with Osmani Wamala, May & September 1967, Buyanga, Butambala County, in Noel Quinton King, A.B.K. Kasozi and Arye Oded, *Islam and the Confluence of Religions in Uganda, 1840–1966* (Tallahassee, F.L.: American Academy of Religion, 1973) pp. 11–12 (p. 12).

⁴⁴ Miti Kabazzi, *Buganda, 1875–1900: A Centenary Contribution*, trans. by G. K Rock, 2 vols (London: United Society for Christian Literature, n.d.), II, pp. 22–23. Cf., Apolo Kagga, *The Reign of Mwanga II (A Later Addition to Ekitabo Kya Basekabaka Be Buganda)*, trans. by Simon Musoke (Kampala: Typescript, University of Cambridge Library, 1953), pp. 164–82; and B. Musoke Zimbe, *Buganda and the King*, trans. by F. Kamoga (Mengo, 1978), pp. 164–416. For Lugard's account see: Frederick D. Lugard, *The Rise of Our East African Empire: Early Efforts in Nyasaland and Uganda*, 2 vols (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1968), II, pp. 473–503. For secondary discussion see: John A. Rowe, 'Lugard at Kampala' (Kampala: Makerere University, History Paper, No. 3, 1969); and Michael Twaddle, *Kakungulu & the Creation of Uganda, 1868–1928* (London: James Currey, 1993), pp. 88–134.

dissidents reclaiming the throne,⁴⁵ Mbogo was exiled to Zanzibar from 1893⁴⁶ to June 1895.⁴⁷

Militarily disadvantaged, Mbogo was not in a position to reassert his community's claim to Buganda's monarchy. In 1897, Nubian soldiers in central Uganda offered Mbogo military support should he incite revolt and make a bid for Buganda's throne.⁴⁸ Nubian officers implored: 'You, Mbogo, are the King, look after your work in Kampala.'⁴⁹ Realising his precarious position, Mbogo refused to revolt:

I received your letter and understood the contents. You have done a wrong thing because you are gone out of obedience [sic.], and I am not with you in this affair. The best thing for you is to leave this disturbance and agitation. You will repent when you find the result of your action.

If you do not listen to my advice I am not on your side. When the fight commences I will be on the Government side and fight against you. I am not powerful to fight the English. [...] I have not the power to fight them. You also have not the power to fight the British Government. If I had not been to the coast perhaps I might have taken your part. I have seen with my own eyes their power, how they in about half an hour bombarded even Zanzibar.⁵⁰

Following the signing of B/Uganda's 1900 Agreement, which stated that upon the death of Buganda's king potential monarchs were restricted 'to the descendants of King

⁴⁵ For concise, Luganda-written summary of Mbogo's exile see: Hafiswa Nakabiri and Mustafa Mutyaba, *Omulangira Nuhu Kyabasinda Mbogo* (Kampala: Crane Books, 2009), pp. 51–55. Co-authored with Mbogo's daughter, *Nnaalinnya* Hafiswa Nakabiri, Mutyaba's biography provides the best available discussion into the life and activism of Mbogo. See also Amin Mutyaba's useful, yet currently unpublished manuscript: Amin Mutyaba, 'The Development of Islam in Uganda', Mss., n.d.). I wish to thank *Omulangira* Khassim Nakibinge Kakungulu for providing me with access to Amin Mutyaba's study.

⁴⁶ RCMS 150/5/1/1 G. Wilson to Marquess [sic.] of Salisbury, 5 October 1897.

⁴⁷ Mbogo's return from Zanzibar is annually commemorated by Buganda's Kibuli Muslim community, which I attended in 2010.

⁴⁸ RCMS 150/5/1/1 G. Wilson to Marquess [sic.] of Salisbury, 9 November 1897. For fuller treatment see: J.V. Wild, *The Uganda Mutiny, 1897* (Kampala: Uganda Bookshop, 1954). To situate Nubian revolt alongside its translocal, Mahdist context see: P.M. Holt, *The Mahdist State in the Sudan: 1881–1898: A Study of its Origins, Development and Overthrow*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979); and Ira M. Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 761–68.

⁴⁹ RCMS 150/5/1/1 Mabruk Effendi, Bilal Effendi Amin and Suliman Effendi to N. Mbogo, n.d.

⁵⁰ RCMS 150/5/1/1 N. Mbogo to Officers of Soudanese Mutineers, 19 October 1897.

Mutesa', Mbogo's enthronement was no longer a viable option.⁵¹ For the foreseeable future, Ganda Muslims would have to think and advocate creatively from the margins.

Sacred Space, Law and the Making of Moral Community in the Margins

Without military and constitutional power, Ganda Muslims were pressed to creatively advocate their social project from the margins. Unlike dissenting Christians, Muslim intellectuals lacked a shared text and tradition from which they were able to leverage authority. For example, Orthodox dissident Revd Spartas Mukasa used a liturgical tradition that predated the Act of Supremacy to critique Protestant powerbrokers. The Qur'an, by contrast, did not provide a common ground on which Muslim activists could persuade Christian elites. In consequence, Muslim activists throughout the first half of the twentieth century creatively used Buganda's broader dissenting landscape to press their position. To fellow Baganda, Muslim actors used debate surrounding land in the 1920s to critique Apolo Kaggwa's Protestant project, in general, and to advocate for sacred space in particular. To colonisers, Muslim leaders used the language of 'protection' to envision moral community.

The Bataka Land Commission (1924) involved testimony and cross-examination between Bataka, the *Lukiiko* and Buganda's Christian regents.⁵² The Commission contained extensive discussion surrounding the history of land tenure in Buganda and called into question the distribution of *mailo* land by religiously-motivated chiefs.⁵³ Muslim clan heads used this opportunity to chide Buganda's regents, situating Muslim critique alongside a broader attempt to undermine the moral legitimacy of Kaggwa's discriminating project. During cross-examination, Muslim *mutaka*, Mohamed Kironde, scolded Apolo Kaggwa for his inability to answer simple, straight-forward questions:

[M. Kironde] Do you know that the Kabaka is the father of the Bataka?

⁵¹ 'The Uganda Agreement of 1900' (Article 6), in *Buganda and British Overrule, 1900–1955: Two Studies*, ed. by D.A. Low and R.C. Pratt (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 350–64 (p. 352). I wish to thank Sheikhs Anas A. Kalisa, Isaac Ssettuba and Burhan Ssebayingga for bringing this point to my attention.

⁵² Full testimony of the Commission is located in: BNA CO 537/4667.

⁵³ For example: BNA CO 537/4667, 'Commission', Malaki Musajakawa, pp. 341–350; 'Commission', Zedi Zirimenya, pp. 357–60; et. al. For secondary analysis of the Commission see: Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, pp. 203–32.

- [A. Kaggwa] The Kabaka is the father of all the Chiefs as well as the Bataka and all the people.
- [M. Kironde] If you know that the Kabaka is the father of the Bataka did he give you any butaka land?
- [A. Kaggwa] He gave me some butaka land because he gave me miles[;] not only the present Kabaka, but since the time of Kimera every Kabaka of Buganda had the right to give butaka land or to deprive anyone of his butaka land.
- [M. Kironde] Where is your butaka land? I am not asking whether the Kabaka gives butaka land or deprives anyone of his butaka land. What I am asking is whether the Kabaka gave you your butaka land where you were born, if so, where is it? What I want to know is whether the Kabaka gave you the butaka land of your ancestors on which you were born?
- [...] [...]
- [A. Kaggwa] As I have already stated the Kabaka has the right to give out butaka land as well as to deprive anyone of his butaka land.
- [M. Kironde] You are trying to answer what I am not asking. I did not ask what took place in the old days, but I asked about the time of the miles in 1900. What I want to know is whether your father is on this butaka land at Bujubi.⁵⁴

Apollo Kaggwa sought to lead his Muslim examiner into historical debate, political capital Kaggwa had used effectively in the past. In response, Kironde challenged his witness' refusal to answer direct, contemporaneously-oriented questions. Kironde was not interested in Kaggwa's historicism. And having pressed Kaggwa on seven occasions, Kironde publically concluded: 'Since he has avoided my questions I will leave him; others will ask him [additional] questions.'⁵⁵

As indicated, dissenting Christians in the 1920s used their Bibles to draw their landed antagonists into common disputation. Without a common field of abstraction, *Omulangira* Mbogo focused his advocacy on maintaining sacred space—disputing inheritance laws to maintain land used for the construction of mosques. In February 1922, James Miti with no fewer than 320 co-signatories reminded *Kabaka* Daudi Chwa that the 1900 Agreement contradicted the teaching of sacred writ: '[W]hen we read

⁵⁴ BNA CO 537/4667, 'Commission', Mohamed Kironde, pp. 507–08.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 509.

through the Holy Bible, in [Ezekiel 46¹⁸⁻¹⁹, ⁵⁶ Leviticus 25²³⁻²⁵, ⁵⁷ I Kings 21²⁻⁴, ⁵⁸] and in [Deuteronomy 27¹⁷]⁵⁹ [w]e find out that God as well is defending hereditary lands from being alienated permanantly [sic.] from the legal owners of the same.⁶⁰ Not to be outwitted, Buganda's regents responded by forwarding Chwa an eighteen-page commentary where they called into question Miti's exegesis:

As regards the reference to the quotation in the Bible that "no man should take his neighbour's butaka land," this does not in the least affect the matters now before you, more especially as we have already explained that it was the usual custom for the Kabaka to change about people's butaka land and give it to other people; following this custom the Regents in the name of the Kabaka distributed all estates among the chiefs and people either butaka or not.⁶¹

By contrast, Mbogo did not publically use sacred text to advocate for the redistribution of *mailo*. This was a discursive luxury he did not have. He focused his concern on inheritance laws, aligning his activism alongside dissenting Bataka to subtly critique restrictive practices that undermined the construction of mosques. The 1900 Agreement

⁵⁶ Moreover the prince shall not take of the people's inheritance by oppression, to thrust them out of their possession; but he shall give his sons inheritance out of his own possession: that my people be not scattered every man from his possession. After he brought me through the entry, which was at the side of the gate, into the holy chambers of the priests, which looked toward the north: and, behold, there was a place on the two sides westward (Authorised translation).

⁵⁷ The land shall not be sold for ever: for the land is mine, for ye are strangers and sojourners with me. And in all the land of your possession ye shall grant a redemption for the land. If thy brother be waxen poor, and hath sold away some of his possession, and if any of his kin come to redeem it, then shall he redeem that which his brother sold' (Authorised translation).

⁵⁸ And Ahab spake unto Naboth, saying, Give me thy vineyard, that I may have it for a garden of herbs, because it is near unto my house: and I will give thee for it a better vineyard than it; or, if it seem good to thee, I will give thee the worth of it in money. And Naboth said to Ahab, The LORD forbid it me, that I should give the inheritance of my fathers unto thee. And Ahab came into his house heavy and displeased because of the word which Naboth the Jezreelite had spoken to him: for he had said, I will not give thee the inheritance of my fathers. And he laid him down upon his bed, and turned away his face, and would eat no bread (Authorised translation).

⁵⁹ 'Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's landmark. And all the people shall say, Amen' (Authorised translation).

⁶⁰ BNA CO 537/4667, 'Bataka Land Commission', p. 550, James Miti, et. al., to Daudi Chwa, February 1922.

⁶¹ BNA CO 537/4667, 'Commission', p. 576, Apolo Kagawa, Stanislas Mugwanya, Andereya Kiwanuka and Yakobo L. Musajalumbwa to Daudi Chwa, 18 March 1922.

had allocated Mbogo only twenty-four square miles for ‘himself and his adherents’.⁶² Available *Lukiiko* records from 1894 to 1918 indicate the extent to which Mbogo and Muslim devotees were required to negotiate the construction of mosques within predominantly Christian counties.⁶³ Unlike Ganda church planters, Muslim leaders were required to inform the *Lukiiko* of the exact locations where mosques were going to be constructed.⁶⁴ In consequence, Muslim leaders were constantly engaged in debate over the acquisition of land for the construction of mosques.⁶⁵ In April 1915, Mbogo presented himself with four *bataka* before the *Lukiiko*, ‘demanding assurance that their BUTAKA could never be sold by their heirs nor finish all the land in accordance to succession of new heirs as they may follow another in the future’.⁶⁶ By aligning his activism alongside growing Christian dissent, Mbogo demonstrated *realpolitik*, a keen ability to creatively advocate for the advancement of his community from a position of political marginality.

To colonisers, Muslim leaders used the language of ‘protection’ to envision moral community, using Muslim law to accentuate the inability of the Protestant state to effectively legislate marriage and morality in the public sphere. In the precolonial past, promiscuity (*obwezi*, or *-kuyenda*) was often punished by death.⁶⁷ In early colonial Buganda, philanderers could be put to death by communities or formally fined in court by the state.⁶⁸ To legislate sexual behaviour, the colonial government administered adultery cases through the Rape Law of 1904 and later through the Adultery and Fornication Law (1917), providing recourse through the Native and Protectorate courts.⁶⁹ Mbogo adapted *Shari‘ah*,⁷⁰ civil and customary law to imagine a more effective

⁶² ‘The Uganda Agreement of 1900’ (Article 15), p. 359.

⁶³ I wish to thank Rhiannon Stephens for providing me with a copy of the *Lukiiko* records from this period. For discussion on the collection see: Michael W. Tuck and John A. Rowe, ‘Phoenix from the Ashes: Rediscovery of the Lost Lukiiko Archives’, *History in Africa*, 32 (2005), 403–14.

⁶⁴ BLA 8 August 1915, p. 180.

⁶⁵ BLA 19 February 1916, p. 195; and 24 February 1917, p. 243. Cf., BLA 26 June 1905, pp. 21–23; and 27 May 1907, p. 80.

⁶⁶ BLA 20 April 1915, pp. 165–66.

⁶⁷ Edwin S. Haydon, *Law and Justice in Buganda* (London: Butterworth, 1960), pp. 274–76.

⁶⁸ Roscoe, *The Baganda*, pp. 261–64.

⁶⁹ Haydon, *Law and Justice in Buganda*, pp. 274–76 & 307–08; and J.N.D. Anderson, *Islamic Law in Africa* (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1954), p. 157.

response to public morality for Ganda Muslims.⁷¹ In 1915, Mbogo petitioned Governor Frederick Jackson to implement six laws ‘for the protection of our religion’.⁷² Written on behalf of ‘the Mohomedan Sect’,⁷³ Mbogo offered a simple and direct approach to preclude illicit practice. Using Al-Nur,⁷⁴ Mbogo requested that proven adulterers be administered one-hundred strokes and imprisoned for three years.⁷⁵ In so doing, Mbogo questioned the inefficacy of fining to directionalise morality in Buganda, arguing that practices of state fining were unacceptable to Buganda’s Muslims.⁷⁶ In short, Mbogo used Islam to re-envision Buganda’s moral landscape, calling into question the failure of the Protestant state to legislate moral concern in the public sphere. From their position of political marginality, Muslims such as Mbogo critiqued the inefficacy of policies that deviated from the past, a time before Buganda’s burgeoning Muslim state was thwarted by Christian chiefs supported by the European metropole.

⁷⁰ Regional adaptation of Islamic law is not unique to Buganda. For example, David Gilmartin shows that the contextualisation of *shari‘at* and customary law in twentieth-century Punjab reflected broader debate between ‘Islamic’ and ‘tribal’ identities (David Gilmartin, ‘Customary Law and *Shari‘at* in British Punjab’ in *Shari‘at and Ambiguity in South Asian Islam*, ed. by Katherine P. Ewing (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 43–62 (p. 45). Gilmartin further suggests that ‘conflict between *shari‘at* and customary law was shaped and sharpened in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by the development of the law within the colonial order’ (Ibid.). Cf., Muzaffar Alam, *The Languages of Political Islam: India, 1200–1800* (London: Hurst & Co, 2004); Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, ‘Envisioning Power: The Political Thought of a Late Eighteenth-century Mughal Prince’, *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 43 (2006), 131–61; Naşir ‘al-Dīn Tūsī, *The Nasirean Ethics*, trans. by G. M. Wickens (London: Allen & Unwin, 1964); and Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996). Islamic law, *Shari‘ah*, is derived from the Qur‘an and the Islamic traditions (*sunnah*) of Mohammad in *hadith* (Mohammad H. Kamali, *Shari‘ah Law: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2008), pp. 14–38. Cf., Mohammad H. Kamali, *A Textbook of Hadith Studies: Authenticity, Compilation, Classification and Criticism of Hadith* (Markfield: Islamic Foundation, 2005). Broadly, Islamic law is divided into two categories—*Shari‘ah*, which embodies divine revelation concerning criminal law (*hudud*); and *fiqh*, human reason and interpretation associated with both individual discretion (*ta‘zīr*) and cultural interpretation (*urf*). Again, I am indebted to Sheikhs Anas A. Kalisa, Isaac Ssettuba and Burhan Ssebayingga for insight into *Shari‘ah*. For further discussion see: Kamali, *Shari‘ah Law*, pp. 141–98.

⁷¹ Islamic law in Buganda was administered through the provision of the Uganda Order in Council (1902) (Anderson, *Islamic Law in Africa*, p. 148). Islamic jurisprudence was mostly restricted to marriage and divorce regulation as stipulated by the Marriage and Divorce of Muhammadans Ordinance (1906) (Ibid., pp. 148–50).

⁷² UNA SMP A46/1363/1 Nuhu Mbogo to Governor, July 1915.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ *The Qur‘an*, Al-Nur 24².

⁷⁵ UNA SMP A46/1363/1 Nuhu Mbogo to Governor, July 1915.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

Reclaiming the Public Sphere in Colonial Buganda

From the late 1930s to early 1950s, Muslim leaders contested B/Uganda's colonial state from the margins. Education policy favoured Christian powerbrokers in early twentieth-century Buganda, where the development of schools was tied to the development of Christian mission. In the 1940s, Muslim leaders theorised education as a tool to contest Buganda's public sphere. Through the educational politics of Badru Kakungulu Wasajja, Ganda Muslims sought to equip an up-and-coming generation of younger Muslims to engage in public discourse. In the mid-twentieth century, also, Muslim activists used history to assess the political projects of Buganda's powerbrokers, critiquing the historicism of Apolo Kagawa. Muslim intellectuals imagined a pluralised past from whence political participation was made meaningful in the colonial state. Pluralisation resulted in the publication of competing histories written by Muslims in the mid-twentieth century.

The Politics of Education and the Formation of the Young Men's Muslim Association (YMMA)

Education policy favoured Christian powerbrokers in early twentieth-century Buganda, where the development of schools was tied to the development of Christian mission.⁷⁷ Without their own institutions, Muslim parents were often encouraged to send their children to Protestant and Catholic schools, something they often refused to do 'for fear that their children would be converted to Christianity'.⁷⁸ In 1935, there were only eighteen registered Muslim schools throughout the Protectorate.⁷⁹ Toward the end of the following decade, there existed a total of forty-six primary, secondary and post-secondary Muslim schools aided by colonial or local government funds, still significantly less than

⁷⁷ 'Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year Ended 31st December, 1930' (Entebbe: Government Printer, 1931), p. 3. For further discussion see: A. Hughes, 'The Early Days of Education in the Protectorate: White Fathers' Mission', *Uganda Teachers' Journal*, 1 (1939), 18–23; Felice Carter, 'The Education of African Muslims in Uganda', *Uganda Journal*, 29 (1965), 193–99 (p. 194); and J. Sykes, 'A Further Note on the Education of African Muslims', *Uganda Journal*, 30 (1966), 227–28.

⁷⁸ Musa Musoke, 'Muslim Education in the Uganda Protectorate', *Uganda Teachers' Journal*, 1 (1939), 242–43 (p. 242).

⁷⁹ 'Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year Ended 31st December, 1935' (Entebbe: Government Printer, 1936), p. 30.

Christian schools, where 614 Protestant schools and 769 Catholic schools were aided by colonial or local government monies during the same period.⁸⁰

In the 1940s, Muslim leaders theorised education as a tool to contest Buganda's public sphere. Through the educational politics of *Omulangira* Badru Kakungulu Wasajja (1907–1991) and the Young Men's Muslim Association (YMMA), Ganda Muslims aimed to equip a future generation of younger Muslims to engage in public discourse. The YMMA was registered by Kakungulu no later than 1940,⁸¹ established 'to bring up young Muslims in the culture of Islam while, at the same time, promoting an appreciation of modern secular western knowledge and organization'.⁸² The inclusive aim of incorporating Islamic and secular education is well reflected in the organisation's by-laws. Article 2 of the 1959 Certificate of Registration stated that the founding objective of the YMMA was 'to acquire and/or erect a building or buildings to be used by members as a Mosque, School, and/or for social charitable or instructional purposes'.⁸³ YMMA organisers encouraged Ganda Muslims to engage in broader Ganda politics, 'to subscribe to any charity or other good cause for the relief and assistance of mankind in general, and adherents of Islam in particular'.⁸⁴ Muslims were instructed to 'help, whether in money or otherwise, [...] members and visitors in time of need, sickness or death'.⁸⁵ And organisers admonished the faithful to 'observe and procure the due observance of all feasts and fasts celebrated by Muslims'.⁸⁶

⁸⁰ 'Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year Ended 31st December, 1949' (Entebbe: Government Printer, 1951), p. 87.

⁸¹ Sulaiman Kiggundu to Commissioner of Land Registration, 17 October 1996. I wish to thank, again, *Omulangira* K. Nakibinge for providing me with a copy of this letter in addition to other sources concerning the formation and early by-laws of YMMA. In their short biography of Badru Kakungulu, YMMA historians suggest that the organisation was established as early as 1932 (Young Men's Muslim Association, *Prince Badru Kakungulu* (Kampala: Wood Printers & Stationers Ltd., 1990), pp. 9–10).

⁸² A.B.K. Kasozi, *The Life of Prince Badru Kakungulu Wasajja: And the Development of a Forward Looking Muslim Community in Uganda, 1907–1991* (Kampala: Progressive Publishing House, 1996), p. 69.

⁸³ '[YMMA] Certificate of Registration as a Corporate Body under the Trustees (Incorporation) Ordinance, 1959', ¶2.b.

⁸⁴ '[YMMA] Certificate of Registration as a Corporate Body under the Trustees', ¶2.a.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, ¶2.d.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, ¶2.e.

Early into their organisation, Muslim activists used the YMMA to contest Buganda's discriminating state. On 7 August 1941, organisers forwarded a two-page letter to Buganda's three regents. Ramadan K.K. Gava (YMMA secretary) and J.H. Semakula (YMMA chairman) expressed 'grievances which are of sore anxiety' among Buganda's Muslim community.⁸⁷ The two critiqued religious inequality in Buganda's chieftaincies, especially at the upper levels of Ganda governance: '[W]e have no voice when the three Ministers take their seats to discuss affairs which affect the nation.'⁸⁸ Further, the two argued that Muslim schools were underfunded and 'youths who have had education are not recommended for employment in the senior offices of this Government'.⁸⁹ It was noted that Buganda's Muslims were pressured to forfeit land, while simultaneously being asked by Buganda's *katikikiro* to subject Buganda's imams to numerical 'drastic reduction'.⁹⁰ Muslim intellectuals considered Buganda a 'great, peaceful and loyal kingdom, which lends an attentive ear to whosoever has a reasonable complaint'.⁹¹ In turn, it was expected that Christian politicians would not 'fail to listen' to their grievance.⁹²

Effort to contest Buganda's colonial kingdom paralleled an attempt to resituate the kingdom's Muslim community translocally, especially through the Uganda Muslim Education Association (UMEA) and the East African Muslim Welfare Society (EAMWS). Badru Kakungulu convened leaders from Buganda's disparate Muslim sects in 1944 to establish UMEA,⁹³ including representatives from Old *Juma* (Bukoto-Nateete), New *Juma* (Kibuli) and *Juma ne Zukuli* (Kawempe-Kyaddondo).⁹⁴ By unifying Muslim activists within Buganda, Kakungulu aimed to assert Muslim positioning within Buganda and develop a partnership between B/Uganda's Muslim community and Aga Khan and

⁸⁷ MUA Unmarked Buganda Government File/2 Ramadan K.K. Gava and J.H. Semakula to Honorable Three Ministers, Mengo Lukiiko, 7 August 1941.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ *60 Years of Uganda Muslim Education Association (UMEA)* (Kampala: New Limited, n.d.), pp. 11–12.

⁹⁴ For additional discussion see: Gee, 'A Century of Muhammedan Influence in Buganda', pp. 144–48; and Kasozi, *The Spread of Islam in Uganda*, pp. 95–96.

the EAMWS, an organisation that aimed to cultivate solidarity throughout eastern Africa.⁹⁵ Associated with YMMA, UMEA advocated for the importance of Muslim education to the Ministry of Education, supervising Muslim schools, appointing head teachers, developing syllabi and marking examinations.⁹⁶ In so doing, UMEA purposed the preservation and advance of Muslim participation ‘in the developmental process of their country WITHOUT APOLOGY OR UNNECESSARY PATRONAGE’.⁹⁷ And by providing Muslim children with an ‘overall appreciation of the world’,⁹⁸ UMEA and EAMWS sought to ‘equip children with the tools to defend their religion from an intellectual stand point’ and to ensure ‘Islamic Culture is respected and expanded’.⁹⁹ In short, local and regional solidarity provided an energising and practical capital from which Kakungulu and YMMA activists imagined and contested discursive space in Uganda’s colonial state.

Pluralising the Past

In the mid-twentieth century, dissenting activists used history to critique the political projects of Buganda’s powerbrokers, questioning the historicism of Apolo Kaggwa—historicism that shaped official history writing. When Bataka in the 1920s questioned Buganda’s *mailo* distribution, they used Kaggwa’s own histories to complicate the past. James Miti used Kaggwa’s writing to contest space for clan communities to *Kabaka* Daudi Chwa:

In his book called “Ebika bya Baganda” [...] the Katikiro shows all the Clan Butaka estates of each Clan Community as they used to be in Buganda together

⁹⁵ For historical discussion on Aga Khan see: Farhad Daftary, *Mediaeval Isma’ili History and Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); and Farhad Daftary, *The Isma’ilis: Their History and Doctrines*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). For insight into the development of Aga Khan within eastern Africa see: H.S. Morris, ‘The Divine Kingship of the Aga Khan: A Study of Theocracy in East Africa’, *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 14 (1958), 454–72; and A.K. Adatia and N.Q. King, ‘Some East African *Firmans* of H.H. Aga Khan III’, *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 2 (1969), 179–91. For discussion on the educational policies of Aga Khan in Uganda during the early twentieth century note see: CCAS 676.1/370 H.H. The Aga Khan’s Shia Imami Ismailia Education Department for Uganda, ‘A Review of Islamilia Education in the Uganda Protectorate’ (n.d.).

⁹⁶ Kasozi, *The Spread of Islam in Uganda*, p. 107.

⁹⁷ *60 Years of Uganda Muslim Education Association*, p. 12.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

with their importance, and what we are requesting Your Highness is the restoration of all the said Clan Community in their former positions.¹⁰⁰

And in 1935, fifteen Bataka activists used standardised history to legitimise the political claims of clan heads before England's secretary of state, Buganda's king and Uganda's governor:

We, chiefs that were numbering approximately 1000, were removed [driven, -*gobera*] by three ministers from our *butaka* [*Butaka bwafe nebabunyaga*]; ministers who knew that all of the customs of the Kingdom of Buganda are kept by us, the *Abataka*[.] You see in *kitabo keye mpisa za Baganda* [Kaggwa's, *The Customs of the Baganda* (1905)], chapter two, page two, that it is, without question, us the *Abataka* who surround our king; something you will also see in Rev. Robert P. Ashe's book, *Two Kings of Uganda*, on page 94; [whom], also, found the *Abataka* as [lit.] owners of the house [*bannannyini*] [owners, or keepers of Buganda] during the time of Muteesa and since the time of all the kings of Buganda.¹⁰¹

In short, activists in the 1930s used Kaggwa's history—an accepted source—to contest centralising politics and inform a particular dissenting vision.

Like Bataka activists—some of whom were Muslim—Muslim intellectuals contested historical space, pluralising a past from whence political participation was made meaningful and legitimised alongside the colonial state. Building on Kaggwa's and missionary-produced histories, Uganda's colonial government considered themselves guardians of peace and mediators of Buganda's religious landscape and national development. For example, Uganda's government reminded its subjects that when 'the Mohammedan and Arab influences became predominant, the missionaries and their converts suffered persecution, and the Buganda Kingdom was shaken to its foundations with civil wars and political intrigues'.¹⁰² Indeed, subjects were reminded that 'Missionary Societies must be given the sole credit for educational development in the country'.¹⁰³

By contrast, to Uganda's colonial rulers and their fellow Baganda, Muslim intellectuals talked about a plural past, a time when Muslims worked alongside non-

¹⁰⁰ BNA CO 537/4667, 'Bataka Land Commission', p. 550, James Miti, et. al., to Daudi Chwa, February 1922.

¹⁰¹ BNA CO 536/185/18 Mukaro, Kinkumu, et. al., to Secretary of State, Kabaka of Buganda and Governor of Uganda, 23 January 1935.

¹⁰² 'Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year Ended 31st December, 1930' (Entebbe: Government Printer, 1931), p. 3.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

Muslims to administer the kingdom. On 27 August 1943, a cadre of Ganda Muslims—speaking ‘for and on behalf of the Buganda Muslims under Prince Badru Kakungulu’s leadership’—forwarded a three-page missive to Uganda’s governor to critique ‘the Buganda Government on account of its unhelpful attitude towards our religious practice and its indifference to our requests for consideration’.¹⁰⁴ With no fewer than eighteen detailed historical references, Ganda Muslims chronicled an unconventional past, a time when Ganda Muslims helped lead Buganda. ‘It is not out of place,’ suggested Kibuli activists, ‘to mention that the Muslim, and Roman Catholic and Protestant have always stood side by side in discharging their respective duties to the King, the Kabaka and country.’¹⁰⁵ In contrast to colonial histories, Muslims situated their contribution to Buganda’s political stability on centre stage, where it was argued that unlike self-interested Christian powerbrokers, Muslims demonstrated the ability to set aside religious allegiance for the welfare of the state:

After revolting, the Nubians on October 8th, 1897, sent a message to Prince Nuhu Mbogo inviting him and the whole of the Mohammedan community in this country to their side, holding out to him the promise that, after a successful issue of the war, they would install him on the throne of Buganda.¹⁰⁶

Muslims argued that under the ‘leadership and inspiration’ of *Omulangira* Mbogo, ‘unanimous motion was declared against the Nubians’ suggestions and offers’.¹⁰⁷ Muslim writers recalled that at precisely ‘3 a.m. on the 18th October, 1897, a message was despatched to the Protectorate Government disclosing the Nubians’ plot and revolt’.¹⁰⁸ Moreover, Ganda Muslims reminded Uganda’s governor that in 1914, ‘we rose to the occasion, cast all religious prejudice aside and took up arms against a common enemy’.¹⁰⁹ Activists argued further: ‘[t]oday, we are also serving in H.M. Forces in many parts of the world fighting against the ruthless barbaric invader, regardless of religious considerations.’¹¹⁰ In summary, Muslim historical commentary was politically damning,

¹⁰⁴ MUA Unmarked Buganda Government File/2 Buganda Muslims to Governor of Uganda, 27 August 1943.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

calling into question the inability of colonial rulers to distance religious affiliation for the welfare of the state.

Pluralisation resulted in the publication of competing histories written by Muslims in the mid-twentieth century. As John Rowe and Michael Twaddle have respectively shown, the closing years of the first half of the twentieth century gave rise to a concerted effort by Muslim intellectuals to imagine alternative pasts, to call into question the Protestant-produced histories of Apolo Kaggwa, Hamu Mukasa and Bartolomayo Zimbe.¹¹¹ In 1937, Bakale Mukasa bin Mayanja published the first edition of *Akatabo k'Ebyafayo Ebyantalo za Kabaka Mwanga, Kiwewa ne Kalema* (An Introduction to the History of the Wars of Kings Mwanga, Kiwewa and Kalema).¹¹² In the 1940s, Sheikh Abdallah Ssekimwanyi published a second edition of *Ebyafayo Ebitonotono Kudini ye Kisiramu Mu Buganda* (A Short History of the Introduction of Islam in Buganda). And in 1953, Sheikh Ali Kulumba published his important *Ebyafayo By'Obusiramu mu Uganda* (A History of Islam in Uganda), concerned that the history of Islam in B/Uganda would increasingly 'sink out of sight' should appropriate measures not be taken.¹¹³

Kulumba's 1953 history is instructive, and illustrates how Muslim intellectuals revised the past to complicate Protestant history writing, on the one hand, while placing Buganda's Islamic past alongside dissenting social grievance in the 1950s on the other. Remember, B/Uganda's rulers throughout the early twentieth century reminded their subjects that Buganda's kingdom 'was shaken to its foundations with civil wars and political intrigues' under Muslim sovereignty. However, Sheikh Ali Kulumba contested official history by showing that Islamic teaching often resulted in political calm, an effective counterbalance to Muteesa's centralising project. Kulumba argued that while fasting during Ramadan, Mukaabya (Muteesa) experienced a moral conversion. Mukaabya, argued Kulumba, 'saw that it is not a good thing for a reader to remain with

¹¹¹ John A. Rowe, 'Myth, Memoir, and Moral Admonition: Luganda Historical Writing, 1893–1969', *Uganda Journal*, 33 (1969), 17–40, 217–19 (pp. 25–27); and Michael Twaddle, 'On Ganda Historiography', *History in Africa*, 1 (1974), 85–100 (p. 88). Cf., Mutyaba, 'The Development of Islam in Uganda', pp. 28–34. This paragraph draws from the respective studies of Rowe and Twaddle.

¹¹² Amin Mutyaba reasons the 1937 publication a second edition, published first in 1932. (Mutyaba, 'The Development of Islam in Uganda', p. 30).

¹¹³ LFP 54/7/171 Kulumba, *Ebyafayo By'obusiramu mu Uganda*.

savage customs and be a Kabaka who does not know God'.¹¹⁴ In consequence, Mukaabya, one who causes tears, became Muteesa, one who discusses or confers with others.¹¹⁵ Indeed, after Kulumba's history was distributed, one neophyte recalled that Muslim traders 'taught Mutesa religion so that the country might improve, so that there would not be any more murder, any more selling of each other and generally so that there might be stability'.¹¹⁶ Kulumba further explained that Muteesa had become calm through Muslim fasting and was subsequently sympathetic toward Buganda's clan heads. As shown, monarchical circumcision precipitated considerable debate in Muteesa I's court, especially as nineteenth-century Ganda custom prohibited the shedding of royal blood. Early Muslim converts had suggested that while Muteesa was initially willing to undergo circumcision, he was persuaded to do otherwise because he feared that he would die for violating custom. In the early 1950s, though, Kulumba pushed this argument even further, arguing that Muteesa refused to be circumcised in order to allay political tension between Buganda's throne and *bataka*: 'He [Muteesa] himself wished to be circumcised but people frightened him much saying "if you are circumcised, the Bataka are going to remove you from the throne[?]"'; for the Kabaka must not shed blood in Buganda.'¹¹⁷ By situating Muteesa's Islamic practice alongside earlier Bataka dissent, Kulumba showed that Muslim powerbrokers had a proven track record of positively responding to populist sentiment, sensibilities that allowed Muslims to exercise religious and political discretion for the welfare of Buganda's kingdom.

¹¹⁴ LFP 54/7/172–73 Kulumba, *Ebyafayo By'obusiramu mu Uganda*.

¹¹⁵ Ibid. Cf., John D. Murphy, *Luganda-English Dictionary* (Washington: Consortium Press for Catholic University of America Press, 1972), pp. 358, 385 & 538. Cf., John A. Rowe, 'Revolution in Buganda, 1856–1900. Part One: The Reign of Kabaka Mukabya Mutesa, 1856–1884' (unpublished PhD, The University of Wisconsin, 1966).

¹¹⁶ Interview, Arye Oded with Yusufu Kiwanuka, 12 November 1967, Lwanjaza, Ssinga County, in Oded, *Islam in Uganda*, pp. 327–32 (p. 327).

¹¹⁷ LFP 54/7/173 Kulumba, *Ebyafayo By'obusiramu mu Uganda*. For further insight into the life and influence of Kulumba see: 'Okujjukira Sheik Islaam-Ali Saad Kulumba', Mss., 2004. I wish to thank Ali Kulumba's heir, Sheikh A. Kibuka Kulumba, for providing me with a copy of this useful biographical obituary.

From Periphery to Power: Renegotiating Islam in Buganda and the Activism of Abubakar K. Mayanja

Abubakar Kakyama Mayanja's social context positioned him to build upon earlier Islamic political tradition in late colonial Buganda. Due to intellectual aptitude and strong examination performance, Mayanja secured placement at King's College, Budo, in 1945, where he was identified as a future leader for Buganda's Muslim community by the YMMA and EAMWS. For Mayanja and Buganda's Muslim community, Muteesa's deportation in 1953 was used to critique colonial power and contest seats in Buganda's Christian parliament. Mayanja argued what Muslims had talked about for two previous generations, that Buganda was subject to a state possessed with preserving its own power. Through Muslim participation in the internal affairs of the state, Buganda's kingdom was considered politically balanced, fluid space that contrasted the rigidity of colonial power. During the 1950s, Mayanja used his training in history to pluralise political space from which marginal actors could claim political and historical centrality in the postcolony. In 1960, working with Badru Kakungulu and Muslim historian Sheik Ali Kulumba, Mayanja used *Kabaka Yekka* (KY) to renegotiate Buganda's Muslim community away from the discursive periphery and toward a focal point in kingdom politics.

Biography: Muslim Influences & Early Education

Born in 1929 in Zziba (Ngoggwe), Kyaggwe,¹¹⁸ Mayanja learned to read and write Latin-script Luganda from his Muvuma mother,¹¹⁹ Maimuna Kayaga, to whom he was particularly close.¹²⁰ Mayanja's father, Abdallah Waswa Kambuga Kakyama, was an early convert to Islam. An *omukijungute*, Abubakar Mayanja's father fought for Buganda's Muslim party during the religious wars, where he was shot in the leg. Mayanja's father,

¹¹⁸ My biographical discussion on Mayanja's early life is mostly taken from the field notes of political columnist Ssemujju Ibrahim Nganda. Ssemujju was appointed by Mayanja to assist in compiling a biography (Interview, Ssemujju I. Nganda, 22 & 27 July 2010, Kampala). Ssemujju's notes comprise seventy-two pages of interview transcript between himself and Mayanja.

¹¹⁹ The family of Mayanja's mother converted early to Catholicism; where she learned to read Luganda in Latin script.

¹²⁰ Mayanja's sister recalled Abubakar Mayanja's closeness with his mother: 'Oh, there is something I cannot put into words. We always said if two hearts were beating as one, Abu and my mother's hearts were beating as one. They were very, *very* close; they were intensely close' (Interview, Asiya Kakyama, 9 December 2009, Kampala)!

like other early Muslim converts, learned to read and write Arabic and to use Arabic-script to write Luganda. Abdallah Kakyama began teaching the Qur'an to Mayanja at the age of five. During school holidays, Mayanja and at least one additional brother were frequently sent to a *mwalimu* (religious instructor) to learn how to cite the Qur'an.¹²¹ From his father, Mayanja and his siblings learned the pattern of daily Muslim prayer. Mayanja's sister, Asiya Kakyama, recalled: '[W]hen I was growing up, everybody, each of us in turn, used to imitate dad, so each one of us, in turn, knew how to pray like [him]'.¹²² When Abdallah Kakyama was away during prayer, Abubakar Mayanja and a small number of his extended family were responsible to call the family and their servants to prayer.¹²³

As small-scale coffee and cotton farmers, Mayanja's family was poor. To increase economic productivity, his parents employed migrant Rwandese and Bagisu labourers.¹²⁴ With little money and without easy access to Muslim schools, Mayanja attended Baskerville Primary, where he learned to hold his Muslim faith in tension with Christian-provided education.¹²⁵ Mayanja secured placement at King's College, Budo, in 1945, where he studied until matriculating at Makerere College in March 1950.¹²⁶ At Budo, the YMMA and EAMWS took an active interest in Mayanja's performance, identifying him as a future leader in Buganda's Muslim community. Indeed, Mayanja was the sort of student that YMMA and EAMWS had in mind when they imagined themselves producing a future generation of Muslim leaders to contest Buganda's public sphere. As early as October 1948, Budo headmaster, Timothy Cobb,¹²⁷ entered into discussion with EAMWS activists concerning Mayanja's educational performance and future beyond

¹²¹ Interview, Asiya Makyama, 9 December 2009, Kampala.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid. By 1950, migrant workers constituted 45 percent of Kyaggwe's population. For further discussion see: *Economic Development and Tribal Change: A Study of Immigrant Labour in Buganda*, ed. by Audrey I. Richards, 2nd edn (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1973).

¹²⁵ SINP, p. 10.

¹²⁶ Ibid., pp. 11 & 19.

¹²⁷ Cobb replaced Dennis George Herbert, who had served as headmaster from 1939 to 1947 (Gordon P. McGregor, *King's College Budo: A Centenary History, 1906–2006* (Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 2006), pp. 99–123).

King's College.¹²⁸ Muslim activists were keenly interested in Mayanja's 'moral standard',¹²⁹ with aspiration that 'his studies and habits ultimately [prove] useful to his co-brothers in Islam'.¹³⁰ In their effort to pastor Mayanja, EAMWS subsidised considerable portions of Mayanja's education at Budo.¹³¹ And through frequent discussion, Cobb and EAMWS administrators discussed Mayanja's future,¹³² both anxious to secure further opportunity for Mayanja, whom Cobb considered Budo's 'cleverest boy'.¹³³

It was the early hope of Mayanja and the EAMWS to secure post-secondary education for Mayanja in a Muslim university. For instance, on 24 March 1949 Mayanja—a self-identified 'Moslem [of] nearly eighteen years of age'—pursued the possibility of education in Pakistan.¹³⁴ However, it was decided that Mayanja ought to concentrate on admission to Makerere College, eventually applying through the Muslim Society of Mombasa to study abroad.¹³⁵ Through his studies at Makerere, it was hoped that Mayanja would become 'the best educated and most intelligent African Muslim of his age'.¹³⁶ Apropos, EAMWS leadership admonished Mayanja: 'I beg you earnestly to do this well so that your fellow men may not call you lazy in taking opportunity for Moslems'.¹³⁷ In short, by early 1950 Mayanja's future was situated alongside Muslim political ambition within Buganda.¹³⁸ Reflecting on his obligation to B/Uganda's

¹²⁸ KCBA Timothy Cobb to Hon. Secretary, EAMWS, 1 October 1948.

¹²⁹ KCBA Hon. Secretary, EAMWS, to Timothy Cobb, 5 November 1948.

¹³⁰ KCBA Hon. Secretary, EAMWS, to Timothy Cobb, 26 November 1948.

¹³¹ EAMWS allotted the considerable sum of Shs. 400/– for 1948 and 1949 (Ibid.), in addition to Shs. 64.55/– (KCBA Hon. Secretary, EAMWS, to Timothy Cobb, 16 November 1950).

¹³² Available records indicate that letters between the two parties were exchanged on no fewer than eleven occasions between 1948 and 1950.

¹³³ KCBA Timothy Cobb to Hon. Secretary, EAMWS, 1 October 1948.

¹³⁴ KCBA A.K. Mayanja to Prime Minister, Pakistan, 24 March 1949. To Pakistan's prime minister, Mayanja expressed jubilation that 'one of our leading Moslem countries has become an independent state'. Correspondence between Timothy Cobb and EAMWS, however, suggest that Mayanja's letter was not sent (KCBA Timothy Cobb to Hon. Secretary, EAMWS, 1 April 1949).

¹³⁵ KCBA EAMWS to A.K. Mayanja, n.d.

¹³⁶ KCBA Timothy Cobb to Hon. Secretary, EAMWS, 20 October 1949.

¹³⁷ KCBA EAMWS to A.K. Mayanja, n.d.

¹³⁸ For further insight into Muslim education activism during this period see: J.D. Chesswas, 'Notes from the Province: Buganda', *Uganda Teachers' Journal*, 5 (1950), 17–18; R.K.K. Gava, 'Report on Muslim Schools', *Uganda Teachers' Journal*, 6 (1951), 9–10; J.T. Gleave, 'Some Thoughts on Vernacular Teacher Training', *Uganda Teachers' Journal*, 6 (1951), 39–41; R.K.K. Gava, 'Report

marginalised Muslim community, Mayanja confided to Cobb: ‘Seriously—it is my sacred intention, nay, duty to be of use to my people. Although as yet I have only a dim glimpse of what it is I shall do, I have never had any doubt about my duty.’¹³⁹

Kabaka Muteesa II’s Deportation, Muslim Negotiation and the Critique of Absolute Power

As I have discussed, in the mid-twentieth century Muslim activists used history to pluralise Buganda’s past. Muslim intellectuals used history to demonstrate Islam’s flexible and sympathetic past, calling into question the rigidity of B/Uganda’s Christian state. For Abubakar Mayanja, Muslim politics sat comfortably alongside the anti-colonial nationalism of Ignatius Musazi. Indeed, according to Mayanja, Ganda Muslims were Buganda’s proto-nationalists, the ‘only community which really had stood for independence from the British and the French right from the very beginning’.¹⁴⁰ In the early 1950s, Mayanja built upon Musazi’s anti-colonialism and Islamic political tradition to argue that Muteesa II’s deportation was a result of uncompromising power. For Mayanja and Buganda’s Muslim community, Muteesa’s deportation was used to critique colonial power and contest seats in Buganda’s Christian parliament.

During his studies at Makerere, Mayanja became active in Ignatius K. Musazi’s anti-colonial project—first with Musazi’s Farmers’ Union,¹⁴¹ then with the Uganda National Congress (UNC) as organising secretary in 1952,¹⁴² where Mayanja worked with Musazi to draft the party’s constitution.¹⁴³ Like Musazi, Mayanja mined his books to

on Muslim Schools’, *Uganda Teachers’ Journal*, 7 (1952), 12–14; and R.K.K. Gava, ‘Report on Muslim Schools’, *Uganda Teachers’ Journal*, 8 (1953), 10–12.

¹³⁹ KCBA A.K. Mayanja to Timothy Cobb, 18 March 1950.

¹⁴⁰ Interview, Neal Ascherson, 17 August 2010, London.

¹⁴¹ KCBA A.K. Mayanja to Timothy Cobb, 14 February 1952.

¹⁴² ‘Uganda National Congress Forming’. Musazi’s inspiration for establishing the UNC dates to 1949 (Interview, Neal Ascherson with I.K. Musazi, 9 June 1956, Uganda Club, Kampala, in NAP). According to Mayanja, the intellectual genesis of the party developed in conversation between Musazi and British socialists Fenner Brockway and George Padmore (Abu Mayanja to Neal Ascherson, June 1956, in NAP Field Notes, pp. 62–63). For further insight see: Ascherson, ‘The History of the Uganda National Congress’, pp. 1–11; and Sallie S. Kayunga, ‘Uganda National Congress and the Struggle for Democracy: 1952–1962’ (Kampala: Centre for Basic Research, Working Paper, No. 14, 1995), pp. 21–30.

¹⁴³ Interview, Neal Ascherson with I.K. Musazi, 9 June 1956, Uganda Club, Kampala, in NAP.

imagine a dissenter's ethos.¹⁴⁴ In his autobiographical account of Musazi's Farmers' Union, American activist George Shepherd recalled Mayanja's use of English literature to critique colonial power: 'When he [Mayanja] accompanied me on safaris, he would quote poetry by the hour. Shelley and Byron were his favourites.'¹⁴⁵ According to Shepherd, Mayanja likely drew political inspiration from Lord Byron's 'The Destruction of Sennacherib',¹⁴⁶ a poem that vividly offered theological interpretation of the demise of Assyria's oppressive King Sennacherib and his army at the hand of God's messenger.¹⁴⁷ Shortly after the formation of the UNC, Mayanja was expelled from Makerere College for organising a food strike.¹⁴⁸ In the hope of redirecting Mayanja's anti-colonial sentiment, Andrew Cohen and Peter Kitcatt—Oliver Lyttelton's assistant private secretary—secured Mayanja placement at King's College, Cambridge.¹⁴⁹ At Cambridge, Mayanja read history from 1953 to 1955¹⁵⁰ and law from 1955 to 1957, after which he was called to the bar in 1959 (Lincoln's Inn).¹⁵¹ Mayanja's time at Cambridge, as I will

¹⁴⁴ George Shepherd worked closely with Musazi and Mayanja, and recalled the latter 'reading widely in literature and politics' (George W. Shepherd, *The Early Struggle for Freedom and Unity in Uganda: I K Musazi and the Farmer's Cooperative Movement* (New York: The John Day Company, 1955), p. 213).

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ George W. Shepherd to Jonathon L. Earle, 27 January 2010.

¹⁴⁷ II Kings 18¹³–19³⁷. As Sennacherib's army marched toward 'deep Galilee', Hebrew writers recorded that 'the angel of the LORD' put to death 185,000 soldiers on the eve of Jerusalem's siege (II Kings 19¹–³⁵). Byron rendered starkly:

And the widows of Ashur are loud in their wail,
And the idols are broken in the temple of Baal;
And the might of the Gentile, unsmeared by the sword,
Hath melted like snow in the glance of the Lord (Lord George G. Byron, 'The Destruction of Sennacherib', in Lord G. G. Byron, *Selected Poems*, ed. by Susan J. Wolfson and Peter J. Manning (London: Penguin Classics, 2006), p. 355)!

Little imagination is necessary to draw parallel between Sennacherib's army and Uganda's colonial rulers. Shepherd further recalled Makerere students being exposed to the economic ideals of Adam Smith, David Ricardo, Alfred Marshall and Karl Marx (Shepherd, *The Early Struggle for Freedom and Unity in Uganda*, p. 213). To supplement Mayanja's Makerere education, Shepherd encouraged him to read John A. Hobson's critique of imperialism (*Imperialism: A Study* (London: James Nisbet, 1902)) (Shepherd, *The Early Struggle for Freedom and Unity in Uganda*, p. 216).

¹⁴⁸ SINP, p. 34–35.

¹⁴⁹ Tam Dalyell [Thomas D. Loch], 'Sir Peter Kitcatt', *Independent*, 2 April 2007.

¹⁵⁰ Topics included: English economic history, English constitutional history, modern European history, American history and the history of political thought (SINP, p. 43).

¹⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 43 & 50. Cf., 'Abubakar (Abu) Kakyama Bakijukire Mayanja', in KKCA 'Annual Report: King's College', Cambridge (2009), p. 180.

explore more fully in the following section, galvanised Mayanja's dissenting project.

Following Muteesa's deposition, Mayanja spent his evenings at King's in the company of politically-minded Erisa Kironde and Neal Ascheron,¹⁵² 'drawing up constitutions for the future of Uganda that [were] then sent in to Hancock'.¹⁵³

For Mayanja, Muteesa's deposition reflected the infeasibility of British colonial policy throughout its empire.¹⁵⁴ As early as January 1954, Mayanja used Aneurin Bevan's *Tribune* to publically critique the social consequences of colonial policy.¹⁵⁵ Colonialism created African doctors who were not allowed to 'use certain drugs without permission'.¹⁵⁶ Through government policy, Uganda's system of education entrenched discrimination and religious division—non-Catholics were not allowed to attend parochial schools, and Protestant institutions permitted admittance on the condition that students commit themselves to 'scripture lessons'.¹⁵⁷ Colonialism entailed ruthless

¹⁵² Erisa C. N. Kironde (1926–1986) attended King's College, Cambridge, from 1950 to 1954, where he read English and eventually archaeology and anthropology ('Erisa Christopher Ndawula Kironde', in KKCA 'Annual Report: King's College, Cambridge' (1987), pp. 56–58). Kironde was interested in the interplay between media and politics. While attending Cambridge, Kironde became close friends with the family of Sir George Reginald Barnes, broadcaster and educationalist. Shortly after his return to Uganda, Kironde wrote to 'Lady Barnes':

Are you doing anything in the election apart from casting your vote? We are closely following it and hoping the Tories are returned . . . in the struggle for self govt. it is easier with their unsentimental attitudes . . . some of us were so annoyed at the soppy Socialist reaction on the Kabakas "deposition" and particularly for their attacks on his private life which was outside their scope of politics [sic.] (KKCA GRB 2/1/7 E.C.N. Kironde to Lady Barnes, Kent, 15 May 1955).

¹⁵³ Interview, Neal Ascheron, 17 August 2010, London.

¹⁵⁴ Cf., A.K. Mayanja, 'We Call this Plan a Fraud!', *Transition*, 24 December 1954, p. 2.

¹⁵⁵ From 1953 to 1956, Mayanja published in *Transition* on no fewer than ten occasions: 'M.R.A.: I was there!', 23 October 1953, p. 3; 'The African who Fell off his Bicycle', 22 January 1954, p. 5; 'Well, at Least They Built us a Reformatory', 5 February 1954, p. 2; 'Is this the Government's Policy? Uganda for the British!', 5 March 1954, p. 2; 'An African Speaks Up: We Stand by the Kabaka', 21 May 1954, p. 2; 'An African in Britain . . . 1: "How we discovered the English"', 16 July 1954, p. 4; 'Sir Andrew Cohen Challenged', 12 November 1954, p. 9; 'We Call this Plan a Fraud!', 24 December 1954, p. 2; 'A Story to Make you Angry: Will it be Kenya All over Again?', 1 July 1955, p. 3; and 'Background to Events in Uganda: Sir Andrew Get Tough', 13 July 1956, p. 10.

¹⁵⁶ Mayanja, 'The African who Fell off his Bicycle', p. 5.

¹⁵⁷ Mayanja, 'Well, at Least They Built us a Reformatory', p. 2.

exploitation and resulted inevitably in pitting Africans and non-Africans against one another, what Mayanja defined as ‘the tragedy of Uganda’.¹⁵⁸

Like Sheikh Ali Kulumba and Nuhu Mbogo before him, Mayanja argued that Uganda’s colonial project was ineffective because it employed absolute power and violence, a failure to comprise and suspend political and religious interest for the welfare of the state. The use of political violence, suggested Mayanja, proved self-defeating if for no other reason than its impracticality. During a speech given at Oxford in March 1954, Margery Perham noted that Mayanja disapproved of the methods of Mau Mau because it ultimately failed, ‘and for the same reason [...] would disapprove of violence in Uganda because superior force would be used to combat it and defeat it’.¹⁵⁹ And in a letter to Perham, Mayanja argued further that his opposition to political violence directionalised his public politics: ‘[I] must emphasise that I am absolutely opposed to violent agitation, simply because it does not pay. It is precisely for this reason that I am in politics, and it was for this reason that I consented to take on a major say in the affairs of the Uganda National Congress.’¹⁶⁰

Unlike Eridadi Mulira, Mayanja did not believe that Muteesa’s deportation was the result of a constitutional crisis. Mayanja criticised E.M.K. Mulira and Colin Legum’s suggestion that Muteesa and Cohen ‘were both the victims of an outmoded, unworkable constitution’.¹⁶¹ For Mayanja, this was an ‘inadequate’ explanation.¹⁶² Mayanja suggested that throughout the first half of the twentieth century, B/Uganda had undergone ‘far-reaching’ constitutional and economic reform—reforms that Uganda’s governor was now ‘disregarding’.¹⁶³ Uganda’s governor refused to work with Buganda’s *Lukiiko*, and in so doing demonstrated contempt ‘of Ganda institutions and Ganda feeling by standing on the [...] sacred and mystical Royal Carpet’.¹⁶⁴ Mayanja argued that Uganda’s governor publically scolded ‘the ancient Ganda Parliament as though it were a kindergarten’ and

¹⁵⁸ A.K. Mayanja, ‘The Struggle for Democracy in Uganda’, *United Asia* [Bombay], 7 (1955), 97–101 (p. 97).

¹⁵⁹ RHOP 514/6/1 Margery Perham, Field Notes, March 1954.

¹⁶⁰ RHOP 514/6 A.K. Mayanja to Margery Perham, 20 March 1954.

¹⁶¹ Mayanja, ‘Sir Andrew Cohen Challenged’, p. 9.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

further castigated Britain's government for attempting to coronate a new king and for petitioning the removal of Buganda's queen and officials from the royal palace.¹⁶⁵ In short, the problem was not constitutional in nature, but rather 'a proconsul intoxicated by the possession of unlimited power'.¹⁶⁶

Muslims in Buganda used Muteesa's deportation to negotiate power and resituate Buganda's monarchy along lines more closely attuned to the early 1880s than the early 1950s. Through patriotic sentiment, Kibuli Muslims pressed their position in the state, contesting 'intoxicated proconsuls'. Predominantly Kampala-based Muslims identified with the social aims of the Uganda Peoples' Party (UPP), which had organised earlier at Mmengo on 1 February 1953.¹⁶⁷ The primary objective of the party was to 'improve all African educational facilities in Uganda',¹⁶⁸ the parallel aim of the YMMA. During Muteesa's deportation, patriotic Muslims used the organisation to advocate for the immediate and nonnegotiable return of Buganda's monarch.¹⁶⁹ Alongside the UPP, Badru Kakungulu worked with a small cadre of royalists to examine the Namirembe recommendations,¹⁷⁰ where he hoped to improve Muslim status within Buganda by rallying Muslim support behind Michael Kintu's bid for the premiership in 1955. By supporting Kintu, Kakungulu mediated power between his own community and Christian communities that were equally trying to use Muteesa's deportation to their own political advantage. Commenting on the significance of Muslim negotiation during Muteesa's deportation, Fred Welbourn noted:

[...] Kintu promised the post of *Omulamuzi* to a Muslim, if Muslim members of the *Lukiiko* would vote for him. Prince Badru [...] objected that such a move would lose Catholic support for the Kabaka and asked instead that a Muslim should be given the post of *Omwunika*, traditionally held by a Protestant. Kintu himself objected to this proposal. The final solution was to appoint as *Omulamuzi* A. Gitta, a Catholic who could be trusted not to support Mugwanya. Kassim

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ BNA CO 822/854/5 'The Uganda Peoples' Party', Colonial Report, 22 July 1955, p. 1.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 2. Cf., ICS 29/1/13/95 N.R. Kayondo, Secretary, UPP, to Constitutional Committee, 23 July & 13 & 17 August 1954; *Uganda Eyogera*, 17 November 1954; and *Uganda Mail*, 17 June 1955.

¹⁷⁰ Paulo Kavuma, *Crisis in Buganda, 1953–55: The Story of the Exile and Return of the Kabaka, Mutesa II* (London: Rex Collings, 1979), p. 95.

Male, a Muslim, was given one of the new ministries created under the new Agreement.¹⁷¹

Religious negotiation within Mmengo intensified political tension in Buganda, especially in Catholic-majority Buddu, where Muslims were subject to accusations of monarchical disloyalty.¹⁷²

Following Muteesa's return, Muslim devotees demonstrated monarchical allegiance by presenting elaborate gifts to Muteesa II. For instance, under the leadership of Badru Kakungulu, Uganda's African and Asian Muslims obtained 9336/- worth of uncirculated silver coins.¹⁷³ During an extravagant ceremony performed within the first week of his return from deportation, Muteesa sat in a life-size equal-arm beam balance, poised by 146 pounds of coinage—the equivalency of Muteesa's physical weight. The gift was accompanied with a silver replica of Buganda's Kibuli Mosque. The imagery could not be more striking. Through elaborate gifts and able negotiation, Ganda Muslims proved themselves indispensable mediators in Buganda's uncompromising political landscape. Through Muslim counterbalance, Buganda's monarchy was shown politically square, countering the imbalance of power in colonial Uganda. From the mid-1950s onward, Kibuli royalists contributed to Buganda's intensifying patriotic landscape (see below).

The Political Use of Historical Argument & Practice

During the 1950s, Mayanja used his Cambridge education to imagine a dissenting historicism. During Muteesa II's deportation and following his return, Buganda's parliament committed itself to increasingly secessionist policies that sought to centralise the power of Buganda's monarch, distancing Buganda from Uganda's nationalist landscape. For Mayanja, Mmengo secessionism reflected an obsession with power,

¹⁷¹ Fred B. Welbourn, *Religion and Politics in Uganda: 1952–1962* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1965), p. 17. Cf., Kasozi, *The Life of Prince Badru Kakungulu Wasajja*, pp. 125–28; and Anonymous, *A Short History of the Democratic Party*, ed. by Richard Muscat (Rome: Foundation for African Development, 1984), pp. 25–32.

¹⁷² One such example was Musa Magezi, a Muslim sentenced to one year's imprisonment and ordered to pay 1000 /– by the Buganda Magistrate's Court in Masaka on charge of disloyalty ('Year's Gaol for Man "Disloyal to Kabaka"', *Uganda Argus*, 30 January 1956).

¹⁷³ *Uganda Argus*, 5 November 1955; and 'Uganda Muslims present 9336/– to the Kabaka, 146lbs', *Uganda Argus*, 15 November 1955. The contents of this paragraph are shaped by these two articles.

political preoccupation practiced by Christian chiefs and colonial powerbrokers in the past. To critique the practice of Christian and colonial power, Mayanja used abstract historical metaphor to revise Buganda's official histories. Cambridge provided Mayanja with analytic capital to radicalise an earlier precedence of historical pluralism that Muslim intellectuals had previously practiced.

When Mayanja talked in the 1950s about Buganda's past, he avoided common Protestant and Catholic points of reference. When Mayanja discussed publically Buganda's early encounters with England, he used uncommon case studies. In July 1954, Mayanja wrote an historical piece for *Tribune*, 'How we Discovered the English'. In this, Mayanja recounted the story of the first Baganda to visit Britain:

It is extraordinary that the impression which a Ganda of today gets of Britain, when he comes over, is essentially the same as that which was recorded by Kamukadde, Katuluba and Magijo, seventy-five years ago. Namukadde, Katuluba and Magijo—what romantic names!—were the first Ganda to discover Europe and Britain, in the year A.D. 1879.¹⁷⁴

Mayanja nostalgically accentuated the 'romantic' intonation of Namukadde, Katuluba and Magijo, but sources do not readily speak of this early encounter. Certainly more familiar to a predominantly Protestant and Catholic readership were the journeys of Apolo Kaggwa and Hamu Mukasa, on the one hand,¹⁷⁵ and Stanislaus Mugwanya on the other.¹⁷⁶ Void of reference to either of these well-known Ganda visits to Europe, Mayanja's historical reference is an attempt to recast Ganda historical orthodoxy, to use history as a means of pluralising political space from which marginal actors could claim political and historical centrality.

Following Muteesa's return, Mayanja used his analytic tools to critique Buganda's secessionist powerbrokers.¹⁷⁷ In March 1958, Mayanja used metaphor taken from

¹⁷⁴ Mayanja, 'An African in Britain . . . 1', p. 4.

¹⁷⁵ Kaggwa's and Mukasa's early journey was reproduced in: Ham Mukasa, *Uganda's Katakero in England: Being the Official Account of His Visit to the Coronation of His Majesty King Edward VII*, trans. by Ernest Millar (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1904).

¹⁷⁶ Mugwanya's later trip was chronicled in: Stanislaus Mugwanya, *Ekitabo eky'Olugendo Olulungi nga Zawabu* (1914).

¹⁷⁷ For further instance of Mayanja's political use of history during Muteesa's deportation see: Mayanja, 'Sir Andrew Challenged', p. 9; and Mayanja, 'The Struggle for Democracy', pp. 97–101. See also: A.K. Mayanja, 'Tribal Politics in Kenya', *Guardian*, 9 January 1956, p. 6; A.K. Mayanja, 'Bases', *Uganda Argus*, 5 July 1956; A.K. Mayanja, 'Background to Events in Uganda: Sir Andrew

European history to question the refusal of Buganda's government to participate in national elections. In his article 'Elections and Traditions', Mayanja scathed Buganda's conservative government:

The threat by the Kabaka's Government to sabotage direct elections for Legislative Council in Buganda is so full of ugly possibilities for the future that it is high time somebody did some very straight talking to the reactionary elements in Buganda who seems to imagine that somehow Buganda can contract out of the 20th century, and revert to a system of administration when the efficiency of guns used to be tested on human beings.¹⁷⁸

Mayanja continued:

If they want Buganda to go back to the 18th century, with the Kabaka ruling through hand-picked men and clan heads, let them say so—they owe it to the country to speak the truth. I also think that the notion that the Kabaka's Government—which is but part of the Government of Uganda—can defy the latter is a matter so grave that it must be clarified and the correct position authoritatively stated.¹⁷⁹

And to conclude his denunciation, Mayanja used the proverbial context of first-century Rome:

Speaking for myself, I have crossed the Rubicon. I have set my face firmly against any autocracy whether it be foreign and imperialist or native and feudal. I stake my future and dedicate my life to the realisation of democratic principles in my country no matter from which side the obstacles may emanate. This is a declaration of political faith, and I call on other intellectuals to do likewise.¹⁸⁰

Following Mayanja's commentary, H. Bukomeko, a member of Buganda's Electoral College, questioned Mayanja's historical interpretation of Buganda's past by arguing that Mayanja demonstrated an 'unquestionable foolishness and ignorance of the history of [...] Buganda'.¹⁸¹ Mayanja responded by using economic and labour policies from early twentieth-century Buganda to demonstrate that while Buganda's *Lukiiko* had 'brought about many things beneficial to Buganda, and indeed to the whole of Uganda', Buganda's

Gets Tough', *Tribune*, 13 July 1956, p. 10; A.K. Mayanja, Mwai Kibaki, et. al., 'Rhodesian Electoral Bill: Changing the Constitution', *Guardian*, 18 February 1958, p. 8; A.K. Mayanja, 'Kenya's Constitution', *The Times*, 20 March 1958; 'Reserved Seats', *Uganda Argus*, 23 May 1958; and A.K. Mayanja, 'Evictions in Kariba: Natives not Consulted', *Guardian*, 15 September 1958, p. 6.

¹⁷⁸ A.K. Mayanja, 'Elections and Traditions', *Uganda Argus*, 6 March 1958.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ H. Bukomeko, 'Lukiko Defended', *Uganda Argus*, 4 April 1958, p. 2.

parliament was fallible and capable of acting unwisely and selfishly.¹⁸² Mayanja reasoned: 'I do know some history of our country, and it is because of this knowledge that even the Lukiko is capable of making mistakes that I am so anxious that they should be pointed out before it is too late.'¹⁸³ Bukomeko was advised to 're-read' Buganda's past.¹⁸⁴

Protestant and Catholic political tension in the 1940s and 1950s resulted in debate over the perceived threat of communism (see Chapter Five). Toward the end of the 1950s, Mmengo politicians used this threat to call into question the variant nationalist agendas held by Buganda's party politicians, including Ignatius K. Musazi. Catholic leaders such as Bishop Joseph Kiwanuka and Benedicto Kiwanuka critiqued communist ideology, accentuating the atheistic character of modern communism to galvanise populist support for the Democratic Party (DP). However, Mmengo parliamentarians denounced communism and its fraternisers to undermine Catholic support for the DP and undercut the support base of Congress' socialist leaning politicians.¹⁸⁵ By publically emphasising the potential threat of communist infiltration, Buganda's government could more openly assert itself as the legitimate gatekeepers of Buganda's religiously faithful. For Mayanja, Mmengo's public response to communism reflected its more intrusive, centralising political aim. And to question Mmengo's sincerity, Mayanja used the public press to ask whether or not Buganda's politicians had worked with primary sources to come to their conclusion:

Many democrats will be glad to learn that the Kabaka's Government "denounces Communism and anyone who fraternises with it." Or they should if there were any evidence for supposing that the Kabaka's Government knows what it is denouncing. But is there any such evidence? Is there anyone in the Kabaka's Government who has ever heard of dialectical materialism, the polarisation of society, surplus value, or any of the theoretical tenets and bases of Communism? Has anyone at Mengo ever read Marx, Engels, Lenin, or even Mao-Tse-tung? Have they ever been to any Communist country to see for themselves what Communism in practice is? Have they ever had discussions with any Communist? If, as I believe, the answer to all these questions is no, how can we have faith that these men know what they are denouncing, and that they do so from principle and conviction?¹⁸⁶

¹⁸² A.K. Mayanja, 'Buganda Lukiko', *Uganda Argus*, 16 April 1958, p. 4.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ A.K. Mayanja, 'Passports', *Uganda Argus*, 22 August 1958.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

For Mayanja, Baganda could not take ‘any comfort in the Kabaka’s Government’s denunciation of Communism’.¹⁸⁷ By using historical argument and practice, he questioned the sincerity of Mmengo’s centralising project, using the historian’s tools to imagine political diversification, again, a tradition that Muslim activists had used in the past.

Liberal Patriotism: ‘Kabaka Yekka’ and the Renegotiation of Religious Space

The 1955 *katikikiro* election had resulted in Buganda’s Muslims being apportioned posts within the new government, particularly the ministry of education. Following the death of Buganda’s first Muslim minister of education, Mayanja was approached by Badru Kakungulu to fill the vacancy,¹⁸⁸ an invitation he accepted.¹⁸⁹ From 1960 onward, Mayanja’s public identification with Islam in Buganda increased.¹⁹⁰ Until then, Mayanja used his pluralising project to directionalise Congress’ anti-colonial nationalism, using history to critique Buganda’s isolating project.¹⁹¹ But Mayanja’s political pluralism in late colonial Buganda was not simply about imagining dissenting space for Ganda nationalists. It was about creating political space for Muslims in Buganda’s Protestant hierarchy, in much the same way that DP politicians contested Buganda’s parliament in 1955 (see Chapter Five). Mayanja’s religious patriotism was not conservative, it was emphatically liberal, an attempt to place marginal actors in Buganda’s government. By accepting Kakungulu’s invitation, Mayanja committed to fulfil what he had defined earlier as a ‘sacred intention’ to serve Buganda’s Muslim community.

Kabaka Yekka (KY), The ‘King Alone’ party was founded in the early 1960s to advocate Mmengo’s conservative agenda in the broader context of Uganda’s electoral

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ SINP, p. 54.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 55. Cf., Interview, Ssemujju I. Nganda, 27 July 2010, Kampala.

¹⁹⁰ Interviews: Al-Hajj Isa Lukwago, 11 February 2010, Kampala; and Al-Hajj Mustafa Mutiaba, 3 March 2010, Kampala.

¹⁹¹ Cf., ‘One Suspension after Another: Uganda’s Chief Party’, *Guardian*, 5 December 1958, p. 13; ‘*Musazi Afugisa Kyuma*’, *Emambya Esaze*, 11 December 1958, p. 1; BNA CO 822/1419/2 Chief Secretary’s Office to F.D. Webber, Colonial Office, 27 December 1958; U.N.C. Conference Expels Musazi: “Obstructed Party”, *Uganda Argus*, 13 January 1959; BNA CO 822/1419/14 ‘Abubakar Kakyama Mayanja’, Special Branch Report, 15 October 1959; Kenneth Ingham, *Obote: A Political Biography* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 51–52; and Milton Obote, ‘The Role of the UPC in Uganda’s Independence’, ¶45–47 (n.d.) <<http://www.upcparty.net/press/therole.htm>>.

politics. Its intellectual progenitors constituted a small, close knit group of Muteesa's friends that spent time in sport and leisure.¹⁹² The founders of the party were considered 'palace men',¹⁹³ prominent Protestants whose lineage rendered them landed aristocracy. On the eve of independence, Muteesa's palace men had increasing influence over Buganda's internal affairs. Preeminent Protestants—including *Katikero* Kintu, S.K. Masembe-Kabali and Amos Sempa—used their influence to galvanise Protestant, conservative sympathy throughout Buganda. In so doing, conservative Protestants aimed to further distance Buganda's monarchy from the kingdom's Muslim and Catholic communities. A.B.K. Kasozi's interviews with *Omulangira* Badru Kakungulu show that Buganda's Muslim leaders were increasingly marginalised on the eve of independence:

Prince Badru began to perceive the increasing influence the 'palace men' were having on Sir Edward as evidenced by his inability to influence his king on key issues and his being kept uninformed of crucial matters of the state that he would have been privy to in the former days.¹⁹⁴

Though organised by conservative Protestants, disparate activists used KY to contest Buganda's monarchy. In this respect, KY was not only a party comprised of conservative Protestants. KY constituted a platform of contestation, where, for example, activists such as E.M.K. Mulira advocated an earlier constitutional agenda that undermined secessionist policy. Accordingly, Muslims used KY to further reposition themselves in Buganda's monarchy. In particular, Milton Obote and KY leadership had created a coalition government to prevent Catholic ascendancy and secure regional interest (cf., Chapter Five),¹⁹⁵ where Muslim activists secured their political position in postcolonial Buganda. Kakungulu advocated for the political merger between KY and UPC among B/Uganda's Muslim communities, admonishing Muslims in Ankole, Bugisu

¹⁹² I.R. Hancock, 'The Kakamega Club of Buganda', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 12 (1974), 131–35. Hancock suggests that Muteesa's associates were sons and grandsons of Buganda's landed, Protestant chiefs (p. 133). Cf., I.R. Hancock, 'Patriotism and Neo-Traditionalism in Buganda: The Kabaka Yekka ('The King Alone') Movement, 1961–1962', *The Journal of African History*, 11 (1970), 419–34.

¹⁹³ Whereas I.R. Hancock uses the term 'Kakamega Club', A.B.K. Kasozi uses the phrase 'palace men' (Kasozi, *The Life of Prince Badru Kakungulu Wasajja*, pp. 130–31 & 133–35).

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

¹⁹⁵ One memorandum stated: 'K.Y. was formed in June 1961 as [a] loyalist Organisation intended to provide an effective political force which could defeat the Democratic Party in Buganda' (MUA KY/1 '[KY Press Statement]', 22 December 1964).

and Busoga to vote for Milton Obote's Uganda People's Congress (UPC) during the upcoming national elections and Muslims in Buganda to vote KY.¹⁹⁶ Through well-calculated politics, 40 percent of KY's central executive and seven out of fifteen of the members of the elected policy-making body was Muslim by 1963, though Muslims constituted only 15 percent of Buganda's population.¹⁹⁷ Kakungulu's strategy proved effective.

Kakungulu's effort to renegotiate political space in the early 1960s was further directionalised by two Muslim historians, Abubakar Mayanja and Sheikh Ali Kulumba. Early into coalition negotiation, Mayanja helped facilitate discussion between Muteesa II and Milton Obote.¹⁹⁸ By 1961, Mayanja had become the public intellectual of KY, drafting the majority of the party's numerous treatises.¹⁹⁹ Mayanja participated in the private negotiations between KY and UPC in 1963,²⁰⁰ where he and Sheikh Kulumba were appointed to represent Buganda's Muslim community. Mayanja simultaneously served as a translator for Sheikh Kulumba, who only spoke Luganda and Arabic.²⁰¹ Available minutes provide insight into the eventual dissolution of the KY/UPC coalition government, which concerned electoral strategies. Minutes show that Mayanja dominated discussion, defending Buganda's government vis-à-vis Milton Obote's UPC activists. Often in the height of debate, Kulumba proffered his critique alongside Mayanja's, critiquing nationalist politicians who tended to go 'round and round and round',²⁰² those

¹⁹⁶ Kasozi, *The Life of Prince Badru Kakungulu Wasajja*, pp. 143–44.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 144.

¹⁹⁸ SINP, pp. 55–59. Cf., Edward Muteesa II, *Desecration of My Kingdom* (London: Constable, 1967), pp. 159–60; and Milton Obote, 'Notes on Concealment of Genocide in Uganda', ¶55 (1990) < <http://www.upcparty.net/obote/genocide.htm> >.

¹⁹⁹ Mayanja's treatises include: ICS PP.UG.KY/4 '*Kabaka Yekka Amulisa Obulimba bwa D.P.*' [*Kabaka Yekka* Exposes the Lies of DP] (Kampala: Kabaka Yekka Publication, n.d.); and ICS PP.UG.KY/12 'You and Your Vote: A Guide to the Lukiiko Election' (Kampala: Kabaka Yekka Publication, 18 May 1962).

²⁰⁰ Available minutes indicate that Mayanja played an important role in negotiating post-independence tension between the two parties (MUA KY/2 'Record [...] between Leaders of UPC and KY', 12 July 1963; MUA KY/1 'Record [...] between Leaders of UPC and KY', 19 July 1963; MUA KY/2 'Record [...] between Leaders of UPC and KY', 8 August 1963; and MUA KY/1 'Record [...] between Leaders of UPC and KY', 4 September 1963).

²⁰¹ MUA KY/2 'Record [...] between Leaders of UPC and KY', 12 July 1963, pp. 13–14.

²⁰² MUA KY/2 Sheikh Ali Kulumba, 'Record [...] between Leaders of UPC and KY', 19 July 1963, p. 18.

who leaned toward ‘wishful-thinking’.²⁰³ To the point, in 1963 Abubakar Mayanja and Sheikh Kulumba were not only representatives of Buganda’s Muslim community—they now constituted the formal voice of Buganda’s kingdom. For two to three generations, Buganda’s Muslim activists had been marginalised from the heart of Ganda politics, challenged to creatively press their position through education policy and historical revision from the discursive periphery. Through KY, Badru Kakungulu and Muslim historians renegotiated their community’s position in the postcolony, reclaiming political space lost in the 1890s. By claiming their position in the postcolony, Ganda Muslims would shape the internal affairs of Buganda’s kingdom in the 1960s in ways not possible during colonialism.²⁰⁴

Conclusion

By independence, Buganda’s Muslim activists had effectively pluralised Buganda’s kingdom, distancing themselves from the discursive periphery toward a position of becoming spokesmen for Buganda’s kingdom in the postcolony. As a minority population in Buganda’s colonial state, activists used history to pluralise a past from which political space could be imagined. Rising conservative sentiment throughout Buganda in the late 1950s provided a platform on which Muslims asserted their position, where royalism paradoxically provided space for Muslims to imagine a liberalising patriotism. For Ganda Muslims, generally (and there were exceptions), reclaiming space in Buganda’s kingdom was more important than creating space in postcolonial Uganda—theirs was an attempt to pluralise political space that had been monopolised from the 1890s onward. But Buganda’s Muslims were not the only politically marginalised community in Buganda. Catholic devotees constituted the majority of Buganda’s population in the twentieth century, but were distanced from political power by colonialists and Protestant chiefs. In contrast to Buganda’s Muslim community, Ganda

²⁰³ Ibid., p. 17.

²⁰⁴ Throughout the 1960s, Kulumba and Mayanja were two of Buganda’s public intellectuals and spokesmen. Following May 1966, Mayanja and Kulumba worked under the auspice of Kakungulu’s Uganda Muslim Community (UMC) to dispute the formation of the pro-Obote National Association for the Advancement of Muslims. See: RDA D/128.5 A.K. Mayanja to Archbishop of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi, and the Archbishop of Kampala, 29 November 1967; and RDA D/128.5 A.K. Mayanja, Ali Kulumba, and Yusufu Sirimani Matovu, ‘Press Statement’, Uganda Muslim Community, 1967.

Catholics became *the* focal point of ridicule and opposition by conservative politicians on the eve of independence. A demographic majority politically ostracised, Catholic activists throughout the twentieth century developed innovative ways of reasoning and advocating a dissenting ethos, an ethos that found its strongest expression in the slogan of the Democratic Party, Truth and Justice (*Amazima ne Obwekanya*). To Catholic politics I now turn.



Figure 4.1 Abubakar Mayanja with *Kabaka* Muteesa II, c. 1963
Kabaka Muteesa II (centre); Abubakar Mayanja (right)
'Abubakar Kakyama Mayanja' (Kampala: Crane Books, 2005)²⁰⁵

²⁰⁵ I wish to thank Nasser Lumweno for providing me with a copy of this biographical work, written to commemorate the life of Mayanja.



Figure 4.2 Buganda's Muslim leaders, n.d.
Abubakar Mayanja (centre); *Omulangira* Badru Kakungulu (4th left); *Omulangira* K. Nakibinge
'Abubakar Kakyama Mayanja' (Kampala: Crane Books, 2005)



Figure 4.3 Sheikh Ali Kulumba, n.d.
'Okujjukira Sheik Islaam-Ali Saad Kulumba', Mss., (2004)

Chapter Five

Catholic, Majority-Marginal Politics

Benedicto K.M. Kiwanuka: The Liberal Kingdom

Therefore anything or anybody that tries to alienate the Baganda's loyalty to his Highness the Kabaka is like the Nnabe (Termite-eater) which invades an ant-hill and drives out or kills not only the Queen but also the termites; the ant-hill becomes empty and desolate. The Baganda curse such an event in relation to the Kabaka, anybody who tries to play the Nnabe as far as this Kingdom is concerned will be condemned both by God and by history. [...] If the party supported by the Roman Catholic Church comes into power that will be the end of this Kingdom. We have been warned.

~Abubakar K. Mayanja¹

I turned to the Holy Bible for guidance. What had we done? Why should everyone be working against us? At Chapter 11 of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans I came across Verse 33: "Oh the depth of the riches of the wisdom and the knowledge of God! How incomprehensible are his judgements, and how unsearchable his ways!" How unsearchable indeed! We were defeated, but was it genuine? Then I remembered another saying: "...for the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light." Indeed they are! But there was another saying against these children: "You serpents, generation of vipers, how will you flee from the judgement of hell?" and again, "Woe to you, ... because you are like to whited sepulchres, which outwardly appear to men beautiful but within are full of dead men's bones and of all filthiness." (Matt. 23). How meaningful were the words in this Holy Book!

~Benedicto K.M. Kiwanuka²

During a late evening in February 1954, two members of Buganda's deportation delegation (see Chapter Three), Eridadi M.K. Mulira and Thomas Makumbi, entered the Strand Hotel guest room of *Omulamuzi* Matayo Mugwanya, the *Lukiiko*-appointed delegation leader.³ Buganda's preeminent Catholic politician disclosed to his two Protestant colleagues that he had just informed *Kabaka* Muteesa II of his soon, unexpected return to Uganda. Following approximately ninety minutes of heated debate between the three, Robert Henry Ntambi, Muteesa's personal servant (see Chapter Two),

¹ ICS PP.UG.KY 'Kabaka Yekka: A Thought on His Grace the Archbishop of Rubaga and Metropolitan Letter', [c.] Late 1961. This anonymously KY-published communiqué reflects the rhetorical and grammatical style of A.K. Mayanja, the designated author of thematically similar pamphlets.

² RDA 904.4 B.M. Kiwanuka, '1962 Uganda Elections', Mss., n.d., p. 26.

³ CCAS MP E.M.K. Mulira, ['Autobiography'], Mss., n.d., p. 245.

arrived with a message for Mugwanya, delivered while kneeling and given in the form of a command: ‘*Antumye okukulaba. Akugambye nti Togenda.*’ Muteesa’s message, ‘[The Kabaka] greets you, and he says, you are not going’, was received with hilarity by a partially inebriated Mugwanya.⁴ Emphatically, Mugwanya responded: ‘*Genda omugambe nti Nze ngenda. Bwaddanga alekangayo okumpa obwami bwe.*’⁵ Mugwanya’s retort, ‘Go and tell him that I’m going! If he comes back he may not make me one of his chiefs’, evoked immediate reproach from Thomas Makumbi, who pleaded with Mugwanya to withdraw his words. Mugwanya refused and on 21 February he returned to Uganda under the public pretence of illness.⁶ For Buganda’s Catholic chief minister of justice, impartial dealings were not to be expected from Buganda’s Protestant king.

This Chapter explores the history of Catholic political thought in colonial Buganda. From the sixteenth century onward, Buganda’s monarchs used military campaign and long-distance trade to centralise power. Buganda’s Protestant powerbrokers maintained this autocratic tradition, reasoning Buganda’s monarchy alongside the language of political justice to legitimise power. As Protestants asserted themselves as Buganda’s new executors of autocratic justice, the majority of Buganda’s Catholic population was politically distanced from the centre of kingdom politics. In late colonial Buganda, dissenting Catholics in the Democratic Party (DP) advocated for participation in their kingdom’s hierarchical government. Benedicto Kiwanuka (1922–1972) assumed DP party leadership in August 1958, after which DP constituency transitioned from being a predominantly Catholic, Ganda-based party, to a religiously inclusive national movement. Though national in focus, Kiwanuka used Buganda’s Catholic past to historically orient his project. But to conceptualise the reconstitution of Buganda’s Protestant monarchy and the national integration of Buganda, it was necessary for Kiwanuka to re-imagine this inherited historical tradition. To do this, he used theology, Locke and Rousseau to reason Buganda’s monarchy a state without politically obstructive sovereigns in the postcolony. Through electoral and constitutional

⁴ Ibid., p. 246. Mulira noted that Mugwanya was found with a bottle of whiskey and ‘quite elated’ (Ibid., p. 245).

⁵ Ibid., p. 246.

⁶ *Ndimugezi*, 26 February 1954. Cf., *Uganda Empya*, 25 February 1954.

Buganda's precolonial landscape, especially local priests and clan heads.⁸ In the nineteenth century, kings used the pretence of justice to legitimise their political expansion and authoritarian practice. Richard Reid shows that Muteesa I's 'plundering in the name of political justice increasingly took the place of the peaceful and legitimate collection of tribute'.⁹ Buganda's powerbrokers on the eve of colonialism were obsessed with their perceived ability to legislate justice on behalf of their subjects, at times frantically concerned to morally legitimise power. In the mid-1870s, for instance, Muteesa I had captured a leading *-vuma* chief during his campaign to subjugate Buvuma archipelago. In hope of striking fear into his opponents, Muteesa ordered the public burning of the internee. While preparations unfolded, however, Henry M. Stanley publically questioned the moral legitimacy of Muteesa's decision. After intently questioning Muteesa on the grounds of what *Bassekabaka* Kintu, Kamanya and Ssuuna would think of his unscrupulous decree, Muteesa collapsed in tears, saying: 'Did not Stamlee talk about the spirit-land, and say that Suna was angry with me? Oh, he speaks too true, too true! O father, forgive me, forgive me.'¹⁰

Political centralisation resulted in monarchs realigning the practice of justice along self-aggrandising lines, pushing the practice of power away from Buganda's clan heads and increasingly peripheral powerbrokers.¹¹ Buganda's hierarchical rulers used the practice of justice to reassert their power in Buganda's shifting landscape, reasoning

⁸ Neil Kodesh, *Beyond the Royal Gaze: Clanship and Public Healing in Buganda* (Charlottesville, V.A.: University of Virginia Press, 2010).

⁹ Richard J. Reid, *Political Power in Pre-Colonial Buganda: Economy, Society & Welfare in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: James Currey, 2002), p. 111.

¹⁰ Henry M. Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent (The Sources of the Nile Around the Great Lakes of Equatorial Africa and Down the Livingstone River to the Atlantic Ocean)*, 2 vols (New York: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1878), I, p. 337.

¹¹ Henri Médard, *Le Royaume du Buganda Au XIXe Siècle: Mutations Politiques et Religieuses D'un Ancien Etat d'Afrique de l'Est* (Paris: Karthala, 2007), pp. 309–10. Cf., John Beattie, *Bunyoro: An African Kingdom* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960); David L. Schoenbrun, *A Green Place, a Good Place: Agrarian Change, Gender, and Social Identity in the Great Lakes Region to the 15th Century* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1998), pp. 113–16; and Shane Doyle, *Crisis and Decline in Bunyoro: Population and Environment in Western Uganda, 1860–1955* (Oxford: James Currey, 2006), pp. 177–78. For insight into the practice of justice in sub-Saharan Africa see: Étienne Le Roy, 'L'évolution de la Justice Traditionnelle dans l'Afrique Francophone', *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 9 (1975), 75–87; and T.C. McCaskie, *State and Society in Pre-colonial Asante* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 41, 107 & 195.

themselves the kingdom's final mediators of equity.¹² In time, local communities lauded appointed chiefs—Buganda's appointed, functional judges—for their capacity to discern the proper order of things and to administer justice accordingly. In cases conducted in the compound of the *katikero*, early CMS missionary Robert P. Ashe noted that plaintiffs and defendants would often energetically express thanksgiving following an announced verdict: 'Kneeling before him and clasping their hands, they moved them up and down, crying out, "Neyanze, Neyanze, Neyanzege," or, speaking in the plural, "Tweyanze, Tweyanzege," or "We thank you."¹³ Ganda litigant culture was characterized by high-ended sophistry,¹⁴ subtleties that reputable chiefs (judges) were known to 'cut through' (*sala 'musango*), an ability that impressed nineteenth-century bystanders. Having witnessed the practice of *sala 'musango*, one early Catholic commentator observed: "The Baganda are great litigants, and it is interesting to see the skills with which each advocates his case, and the ability of judges to discern truth despite elegant artifice."¹⁵

¹² Early Catholic missionary-ethnographer P. Julien Gorju noted:

Un mwami lésé par un de ses égaux en appelait au chef immédiat de celui-ci, et de là, le cas échéant, au tribunal supérieur qui confirmait ou réformait la sentence. De là on pouvait tous jours interjeter appel et aller de cour en cour jusqu'à celle de province et de là encore au tribunal du roi (P. Julien Gorju, *Entre le Victoria l'Albert et l'Edouard: Ethnographie de la Partie Anglaise du Vicariat de l'Uganda* (Rennes: Imprimeries Oberthur, 1920), p. 142).

Cf., John H. Speke, *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1863), pp. 347–48 & 373–78; James A. Grant, *A Walk Across Africa (Domestic Scenes from My Nile Journal)* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1864), pp. 220–27; Alexina M. Harrison, *A.M. Mackay: Pioneer Missionary of the Church Missionary Society in Uganda* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1890), pp. 187–88; J.F. Cunningham, *Uganda and Its Peoples: Notes on the Protectorate of Uganda Especially the Anthropology and Ethnology of Its Indigenous Races* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1905), p. 208; and John Roscoe, *The Baganda: An Account of Their Native Customs and Beliefs*, 2nd edn (London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1965), pp. 260–70.

¹³ Robert P. Ashe, *Two Kings of Uganda (Life by the Shores of Victoria Nyanza: Being an Account of a Residence of Six Years in Eastern Equatorial Africa)* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, and Company, 1890), p. 56.

¹⁴ In her ethnography, Lucy Mair whimsically observed: 'Litigation is extremely popular with the Baganda; they like to argue out every petty quarrel before some third party, and are sometimes in such a hurry to bring an adversary before the chief that they do so before they have made up their mind what the quarrel is' (Lucy P. Mair, *An African People in the Twentieth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1965), p. 184).

¹⁵ 'Les Baganda sont d'ailleurs grands plaideurs, et il est intéressant de voir l'habileté avec laquelle chacun se fait son propre avocat, et l'adresse des juges à découvrir la vérité malgré les artifices de l'éloquence' (Abbé Nicq, *Le Père Siméon Lourdel de la Société des Pères Blancs et les Premières Années de la Mission de l'Ouganda*, 3rd edn (Maison-Carrée, Alger: Imprimerie des Pères Blancs, 1932), p. 128).

Buganda's Protestant powerbrokers maintained this autocratic tradition, which helps explain why Ignatius Musazi sought to infuse Buganda's monarchy with moral authority to critique chiefs who had replaced monarchical power with their own. The culmination of autocratic power shifted in the final two decades of the nineteenth century—first adapted by Buganda's Muslim powerbrokers, then secured by Protestant converts militarily reinforced by Britain's empire. Both Muslims and Catholics were ultimately distanced politically by their newfound Protestant, autocratic rulers. In consequence, Protestant historians tended to use the language of executive justice to reason Buganda's previous monarchs. By reasoning Buganda's monarchy with the language of political justice, Protestant activists legitimised their monopolisation of power by identifying themselves with a long past of juridical practitioners and administrators. Jemusi Miti suggested that Buganda's political hierarchy entailed a complex series of courts, all designed to facilitate an optimal 'administration of justice to all classes [...]'.¹⁶ As has been shown, in Batolomayo M. Zimbe's comprehensive history *Buganda ne Kabaka*, he suggested that Kintu, '*Kintu kya Mukama*', or 'Kintu of God', had been divinely endowed to administer justice:

Kintu was called "Muntu wa Mukama" and when a per[s]on stabbed his enemy while fighting in the battle [he] would refer the blame to the Kabaka; saying, "Kulwa Kabaka" meaning I have killed you but on behalf of the Kabaka because I have [one has] no power to kill the man of God. They knew that God gave only Kabaka the power of killing another person and also to give judgement to the people.¹⁷

And Hamu Mukasa suggested that the kings of Buganda were proverbially addressed, '*Segulu ligamba enjuba tegana munyazŕ*', 'Heaven's word is not final, sunlight cannot prevent thieves'.¹⁸ Mukasa implied that while the sun may manifest its light favourably and unconditionally upon all, the *kabaka* could not, and pernicious subjects would be judged inevitably—a task that now fell to Buganda's new, Protestant rulers.

¹⁶ James Kibuka Miti Kabazzi, *Buganda, 1875–1900: A Centenary Contribution*, trans. by G. K. Rock, 2 vols (London: United Society for Christian Literature, n.d.), I, p. 22.

¹⁷ B. Musoke Zimbe, *Buganda and the King*, trans. by F. Kamoga (Mengo, Uganda, 1978), p. 8.

¹⁸ Ham Mukasa, 'The Rule of the Kings of Buganda', *Uganda Journal*, 10 (1946), 136–43 (pp. 136–37).

Buddu: The Catholic Kingdom

As Protestants asserted themselves as Buganda's new executors of autocratic justice (*sala 'musango*), the majority of Buganda's Catholic population was geographically and politically distanced from the centre of kingdom politics. Following January 1892—the conclusive battle of Mmengo—and the subsequent imposition of Lugard's resettlement treaty,¹⁹ Buganda's Catholic community decried Protestant practices of justice (injustice). Closely involved in Buganda's post-war negotiation, Anglican bishop Alfred R. Tucker reflected:

Strained relations existed between the camp and the Mission—the result very largely of misunderstanding. The Bafransa, or Roman Catholic party, were clamouring for a readjustment of the settlement of April 5, 1892. They contended that they had been *unjustly treated* and that more territorial chieftainships had been promised to them than had actually been assigned to them; that their isolation in Budu prevented them from taking any part in the government of their country; that they had no road to the capital, and so forth.²⁰

Catholic writers argued that innocent Ganda Catholics, and on occasion White Fathers, were prejudicially targeted and killed by the Imperial British East Africa Company. One account rendered:

It is therefore appropriate to remark that Catholic missionaries and their neophytes were being intensely tracked by hostile agents of [the Imperial British East Africa Company] and their proponents, identified in the local language as those people belonging to the French.²¹

The wars of Mmengo and Protestant ascendancy resulted in a significant exodus of predominantly Mmengo-based Catholics into Buddu. John Mary Waliggo's research indicated that approximately 15,000 to 20,000 Catholics migrated in 1892 alone, leaving only one-third of Buganda's Catholic population outside the borders of Buddu.²² While in transit, White Fathers suggested that little was done to protect wary Catholics, noting

¹⁹ John A. Rowe, 'Lugard at Kampala', Makerere History Paper 3, 1969.

²⁰ Alfred R. Tucker, *Eighteen Years in Uganda & East Africa*, 2 vols (London: Edward Arnold, 1908), I, p. 243. Italics added.

²¹ 'Aussi convient-il de remarquer que les missionnaires catholiques et leurs néophytes étaient poursuivis par l'hostilité passionnée des agents de l'East-Africa et de leurs partisans, sous la désignation, en langue indigène, de Bafrancas' (Ernest Layer, *Les Pères Blancs et la Civilisation dans l'Ouganda* (Rouen: Imprimerie Cagniard, 1909), p. 25).

²² John M. Waliggo, 'The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879-1925' (unpublished PhD, Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1976), pp. 81–84.

that English colonialists were unable to protect Baganda men from being robbed and severely beaten and women and children from being taken into slavery.²³ From Buddu, Ganda Catholics set out to establish an essentially separate, theocratic kingdom.²⁴ Catholic actors intensely guarded the integrity of their political project and newfound land, leading colonial officials to observe that it was ‘the very universal belief that Buddu-ese obstruct the introduction of any outside element into their province’.²⁵ Buddu ‘became for [Catholics] “a place to feel at home”, a “wilderness” to which God called them for spiritual renewal before expanding to other areas, a worthy substitute for the wider political and religious kingdom they had hoped and prayed for but lost’.²⁶ To establish their kingdom, Catholic chiefs enforced catechism, employed catechists as civil chaplains and marched devotees to church on Sunday.²⁷ By July 1892, Buddu’s *ppookino* (*ssaza* chief), Alikisi Ssebowa, established four administrative departments near the Villa Maria mission, Buddu’s foremost mission, each named after a monarchical function: *ekitongole ekirowooza* (office of planning); *ekitongole ekitabaazi* (warriors’ department); *ekitongole ekigo* (construction department); and *ekitongole ekijjomanyi*, a fining department whose chief aim was to teach Baganda—through motivation of fine—that one should work, not by coercion, but in response to the love of God.²⁸

²³ Le fort anglais, il faut lui rendre cette justice, essaie d’interposer sa protection et de juger les délits; mais à chaque nouvel effort tenté il se voit obligé d’avouer son impuissance. Il a entrepris depuis deux mois de faire escorter par ses soldats, de Mengo au Buddu, les bandes des catholiques que émigrent de tous les coins du pays pour se rendre au lieu d’exil; mais combien de ces malheureux ne peuvent bénéficier de cette protection et sont arêtés en route: les hommes, dévalisés, dépouillés, cruellement battus, puis abandonnés ; les femmes et les enfants toujours enlevés et faits esclaves (J.J. Hirth to A.S.L.J. Livinhac, 15 June 1892, in *L’ouganda et les Agissements de la Compagnie Anglaise “East-Africa”* (Paris: Missions D’Afrique, 1892), pp. 114–25 (p. 115).

Auguste Simon Léon Jules Livinhac was a missionary to Buganda before being appointed superior general in 1890. Jean Joseph Hirth was appointed Livinhac’s replacement (Alward Shorter, *Cross and Flag in Africa: The “White Fathers” During the Colonial Scramble (1892–1914)* (Maryknoll, M.D.: Orbis Books, 2006), pp. 4–14).

²⁴ Waliggo, ‘The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda’, pp. 77 & 99–100.

²⁵ UNA SMP A43/43/25 Deputy Commissioner to Sub-Commissioner, Kampala, 2 December 1907.

²⁶ Waliggo, ‘The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda’, p. 5.

²⁷ John Iliffe, *Honour in African History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 178.

²⁸ Waliggo, ‘The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda’, pp. 105–06.

Architecturally, Villa Maria reflected Mmengo. The central cathedral was built in keeping with royal protocol and subsequently titled, *Twekobe*, the official residence of the king, though in this instance, ‘the King of Kings’.²⁹ The Catholic God was given monarchical titles: *Kabaka* (king), *Ssalongo* (literally, father of twins), *Mukama* (master, title of the hereditary ruler of Bunyoro), *Ssebintu* (an extravagantly wealthy person), *Ssemanda* (all-powerful) and *Kamalabyonna* (one with final say).³⁰ Like an earlier generation of *lubaale* priests, too, the White Fathers’ residence was situated near *Twekobe*, decorated and then surrounded by appropriately standardised and beautified fencing.³¹ The residence of Buddu’s queen mother (*nnamasole*), the Virgin Mary, also reflected precolonial blueprint. Like Buganda’s actual *nnamasole*, the Virgin was provided a separate residence on an adjacent hill, where converts thanked her for baptism and prayed for children.³² Further, Mary was given the variant titles of Buganda’s *nnamasole*, *nnaluggi* (head-door) and *nnabijjano* (one who is full of surprises).³³

Political tension between Catholic and Protestant converts continued well into the twentieth century. Ganda Catholics were intensely loyal to their religious chiefs, giving rise to the early Protestant-produced proverb, ‘*Ssi muganda mukatoliki?*’, ‘I’m not a Muganda; I’m a Catholic’.³⁴ In Buddu, villages were restructured according to religious devotion. As one elderly interlocutor in Buddu recalled:

Since there were wars where people who were formally brothers had killed one other, these relationships became hostile. [...] *There was bloodshed between us*. Even settlements, like this village of ours, when people settled; this side of the hill—this hill is a ridge, this village of ours is a ridge—the other side is all Catholic, this side is Protestant and Muslim. That’s how people were divided. Religion became a very, *very* big divisive factor and determined many things[.] [...] Indoctrination permeated our ideas. [...] The indoctrination was really clearer, [then], and impacted on our society so badly that it permeated our politics.³⁵

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 106–07.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 126. Cf., John D. Murphy, *Luganda-English Dictionary* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1972).

³¹ Waliggo, ‘The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda’, p. 107.

³² Ibid., p. 122.

³³ Ibid., p. 121.

³⁴ Fred B. Welbourn, *Religion and Politics in Uganda: 1952–1962* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1965), p. 6.

³⁵ Interview, Kintu Musoke, 26 February 2010, Masaka.

Colonial reports indicate that religion had to be particularly taken into account when distributing chieftaincies in Buddu and neighbouring Kooki, whose political affinities were decisively Protestant.³⁶ Situated on Lake Victoria, Kooki's Nang'oma region drew considerable concern from government officials in 1907, reflecting evident religious tension throughout the region:

At Nangoma there is only about one and a half sq. miles that are cultivatable. Jumba, whose father was formerly Chief here, I instated as Chief over these Gardens, on probation for one year, and I gave him half a sq. mile. He is a Catholic, I considered it inadvisable to give him a whole sq. mile, as this would practically mean that Nangoma would be a Catholic colony. To prevent strife between The Catholics and The Protestants, I instated Reubeni Muwereza as Chief under Jumba, on probation for one year, I also gave him half a sq. mile. He is a Protestant, and he has been most strongly recommended to me, both by Pokino and The Rev. Mr. Brewer. I think that this arrangement, all jealousy, etc. will be avoided between these two religious sects.³⁷

Toward Buddu's northern border, the Katonga River proved a natural boundary between Buganda's Catholic-majority community and Protestant-governed Ggomba, but it could hardly contain what was at times intense hostility. On the river's northern bank, Protestants sang toward Buddu: 'I don't want to sit where a papist sits. I don't want to sit where a papist eats. I don't want to dip my fingers in the same place with a papist.'³⁸ In response, Catholics cantillated: 'The person who crosses Lweera, Will open the gun muzzles.'³⁹

From Sala 'musango to Obwenkanya: Contesting Autocratic Politics

Early in the twentieth century, Catholic neophytes critiqued Protestant autocracy. In Buganda's colonial state the office of *katikikiro* had been bifurcated, effectively creating two *katikikiros*—Apolo Kaggwa, Protestant *katikikiro*; and Stanislaus Mugwanya, Catholic *katikikiro* (*omulamuzi*, chief minister of justice).⁴⁰ Catholics rendered Kaggwa an

³⁶ Colonial reports indicate that the burning of Catholic churches continued to be a problem in Kooki for an extended period of time (UNA SMP A46/668 'Acting Commissioner of Masaka's Report on Koki Tour', 17 December 1912).

³⁷ UNA SMP A43/43/24 'District Report, Buddu', October 1907.

³⁸ Waliggo, 'The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda', p. 84.

³⁹ Joseph S. Kasirye, *Obulamu bwa Stanislaus Mugwanya* (Dublin: Typescript found in Seeley Library, University of Cambridge, 1963), p. 39.

⁴⁰ Stanislaus Mugwanya was the political successor of Honorat Nyonyintono, a Catholic leader killed during usurpation. For secondary discussion see: C.C. Wrigley, 'The Christian Revolution

ineffectual leader and purveyor of political confusion, aptly captured in early twentieth-century song:

My friends, people confuse me,
They have that man
They call him 'kaggwa' (thorn)
What type of (thorn) kaggwa?
The one used to remove jiggers!⁴¹

By the early twentieth century, Kaggwa had become known colloquially as *Gulemye*, a phrase Kaggwa often used in court to depict a difficult case not easily settled.⁴² One proverb read: '*Gulemye: eyalemera e Mmengo*', 'A trial unable to be settled: so says the one who can't settle it at Mmengo'.⁴³ By contrast, Mugwanya was praised by Catholics for his ability to administer justice,⁴⁴ compared to a proverbial rope that could be used to tie the one who could not administer justice at Buganda's capital, i.e., Kaggwa (*Gulemye*):

We have a man here
I don't announce his name
I call him a strong 'mugwa' (rope)
The woven mugwa (rope)
Which will tie Gulemye.⁴⁵

Early Catholic critique of Protestant autocracy was energised by discrepancy between Buganda's religious demography and a disproportionate allocation of land, on the one hand, and kingdom and colonial appointments on the other. While Catholics

in Buganda', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 2 (1959), 33–48; John A. Rowe, 'The Purge of Christians at Mwanga's Court: A Reassessment of This Episode in Buganda History', *Journal of African History*, 5 (1963), 55–72; and Michael Twaddle, 'The Emergence of Politico-Religious Groupings in Late Nineteenth-Century Buganda', *The Journal of African History*, 29 (1988), 81–92.

⁴¹ Kasirye, *Obulamu bwa Stanislaus Mugwanya*, p. 45.

⁴² Ferdinand Walser, *Luganda Proverbs*, (Berlin: Reimer, 1982), no. 1927.

⁴³ Henry W. Duta, *Engero za Baganda* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1902), ¶1152.

⁴⁴ 'Stanislaus Mugwanya G.C.S.S.', *Munno*, 23/2 1912, pp. 164–65; 'Ebaluwa ya S. Mugwanya (Ng'eyita eri His Highness Kabaka ne Buganda)', *Munno*, April 1921, pp. 85–86; and Kasirye, *Obulamu bwa Stanislaus Mugwanya*, p. 46.

⁴⁵ Kasirye, *Obulamu bwa Stanislaus Mugwanya*, p. 45. Tension between Kaggwa and Mugwanya often manifested in halls of the Lukiiko. For example, in early 1908 Apolo Kaggwa removed Stanislaus Mugwanya's notes from the lectern during a speech, before prematurely calling for recess (Michael W. Tuck and John A. Rowe, 'Phoenix from the Ashes: Rediscovery of the Lost Lukiiko Archives', *History in Africa*, 32 (2005), 403–14 (pp. 412–13). In response, Mugwanya grabbed Kaggwa forcefully by his lapels while a number of Catholic chiefs slapped the Protestant *Lukiiko* clerk before ripping his clothes (Ibid.).

constituted the majority of Buganda's early twentieth-century population, they were apportioned only 40.4 percent of general land in Buganda, whereas 58.2 percent was allotted to Protestant counties (see Introduction: Table 1.1).⁴⁶ Catholic chiefs, moreover, had only received approximately 35.5 percent of *mailo* distribution from 1900 to 1905, while approximately 60.6 percent was distributed to Protestant chiefs (see Introduction: Table 1.2). Administrative appointments and salaries were also considerably less for Catholic chiefs,⁴⁷ and by 1934 one report suggested that whereas Catholics constituted 14 percent more of Buganda's general population, they occupied 22 percent fewer chieftaincies, resulting in 35 percent less in salary payout.⁴⁸

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, etymological and proverb-use development indicated a gradual, yet fundamental shift in the conceptual classification of justice among dissenting Catholics. Like Buganda's marginalised Muslim community, Catholics were challenged to contest central political space in the colonial state. Similar to Buganda's centralising monarchs in the nineteenth century, Protestant activists and historians positioned themselves as gatekeepers and administrators. To imagine space for majority-based political participation, Catholics redefined older ideals of autocratic justice—using the language of participation and mutual discussion, *-kaanya* (*-kaanyizza*), to reconceptualise monarchical power, thereby pressing away from earlier definitions that emphasised hierarchical decisiveness and authority.

Prior to the religious wars of Mmengo, Protestant missionary-linguist, Rev C.T. Wilson, 'began collecting vocabularies of words from the natives with whom [he] came

⁴⁶ Subsequent surveying suggested that Protestant counties were apportioned 61.7 percent of land; Catholic 37.4 percent; and Muslim 0.9 percent (Henry W. West, *The Mailo System in Buganda: A Preliminary Case Study in African Land Tenure* (Entebbe: Government Printer, 1965), p. 173).

⁴⁷ In his comprehensive history of religions in Uganda, Revd Fr J.L. Ddiba suggested that early Protestants argued that while Catholics were away from the capital, they were pressed to distribute land:

Olwo obuganda bwonna aba Protestanti nga babwekomya. N'okugamba nga bagamba nti "abakatoliki bwe balidda tujja kubagamba nti tvalaba temuliivo obwami bwammwe netubugabana kati tewaliivo bwami butalina nnyinibwo: Tunakola tutya" (Rev Fr J.L. Ddiba, *Eddini mu Uganda*, 2 vols (Masaka, Uganda: St. Liberatum Printing Press, 1967), II, pp. 174–75)?

⁴⁸ RDA 31.6 'Synopsis of Comparative List of Catholic and Protestant Chiefs in Buganda', 1934.

in contact’,⁴⁹ and suggested that *–mazima* expressed ‘justice’,⁵⁰ while observing that the infinitive verb, ‘to judge’, or its cognate, ‘judgement’, centred on *msala* or *msangu*, respectively.⁵¹ By 1899, Bible translator George L. Pilkington clarified Wilson’s earlier entry, noting that *–mazima* best captured the meaning of ‘truth’ and was only in certain instances used to reflect an adverbial usage of ‘justice’.⁵² *Butukirivu*, the same word Pilkington used to qualify ‘perfection’ or ‘holiness’, was used as his primary entrance for ‘justice’,⁵³ while *sala* ‘*musango*’ meant to give a verdict during a case, derived from *sala*, defined: ‘cut (as with saw or knife).’⁵⁴ From the early to mid-twentieth century, Protestant dictionaries and grammars consistently categorised ‘justice’ and its derivatives as *sala (o)musango*, distinct from ‘truth’, *–mazima*.⁵⁵ ‘Justice’ as a conceptual category accentuated the legal qualities of juridical execution, decisiveness and an authoritarian process of deciding, cutting and dividing off.⁵⁶ Justice, in other words, was something to be *decided* and *given* by a party in authority,⁵⁷ not negotiated. Furthering this discursive tradition, E.M.K. Mulira and E.G.M. Ndwula in 1952, while revising Kitching and Blackledge’s earlier dictionary (1925), defined ‘justice’ as *èby’énsonga*, *èby-obutuukirivu*,⁵⁸ the former deriving its meaning from an earlier usage of the transitive verb *–kusonga*,

⁴⁹ C.T. Wilson, *An Outline Grammar of the Luganda Language* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1882), pp. vii.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 68.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² George L. Pilkington, *Luganda-English and English-Luganda Vocabulary* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1899), pp. 67–68.

⁵³ Ibid., pp. 10 & 152.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 97.

⁵⁵ *Elements of Luganda Grammar Together with Exercises and Vocabulary* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1902), pp. 224 & 235; G.R. Blackledge, *Luganda-English and English-Luganda Vocabulary* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1904), pp. 154 & 202; Charles W. Hattersley and Henry W. Duta, *Luganda Phrases and Idioms: For New Arrivals and Travellers in Uganda* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1904), p. 49; W.A. Crabtree, *A Manual of Lu-Ganda* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921), pp. 172 & 220; and A.L. Kitching and G.R. Blackledge, *A Luganda-English and English-Luganda Dictionary* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1925), p. 91.

⁵⁶ Kitching and Blackledge, *A Luganda-English and English-Luganda Dictionary*, p. 91.

⁵⁷ Crabtree, *A Manual of Lu-Ganda*, p. 172.

⁵⁸ E.M.K. Mulira and E.G.M. Ndwula, *A Luganda-English and English-Luganda Dictionary*, 2nd edn (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1952), p. 174.

meaning to ‘prod, poke, pierce’,⁵⁹ or *òkugoba ensonga*, to ‘stick to the point’.⁶⁰ In short, Protestant definitions of ‘justice’ accentuated earlier ideals of monarchical authority increasingly throughout the first half of the twentieth century.

In contrast, a close examination of the Luganda-Catholic press and Luganda-French dictionaries and grammars indicate that Catholics tended to understand themselves as an indiscriminate society, conceptualising their community and the practice of justice with the language of *participation* (accessibility) and *deference*—language that differed from Protestant one-side-oriented exposition. As early as 1912, Catholic writers rendered the Catholic Church a desegregate community,⁶¹ devotees of a ‘God who does not provide less to his followers’.⁶² Whereas youth in Catholic communities included and respected their elders in social and political affairs, Protestants were considered followers of a ‘stubborn’ rebel, Martin Luther. Responding to an earlier-written letter by Protestant Norah Wamala, who had suggested in Protestant print that Martin Luther was a hero, Catholic Alfonsi Aliwali argued:

Do you think Martin Luther is a hero? Do you call somebody who defied his father a hero, as Martin Luther defied his Father the Pope, and even abused him greatly, together with other earthly kings? And you know that it is certainly the case that: “A boat that has sailed you cannot be a bad boat”! [...] Look, you think Luther’s stupidity and stubbornness can make him a hero.⁶³

Catholic writers concluded that Protestants were unique in their effort to unilaterally impose religious practice on non-believers (non-Protestants). In Ibanda, neighbouring Buddu’s south-western border, one Catholic writer noted: ‘The Protestants have resorted to the wrong approach of forcing people to worship in their religion’.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Blackledge, *Luganda-English and English-Luganda Vocabulary*, p. 88; and Kitching and Blackledge, *A Luganda-English and English-Luganda Dictionary*, p. 97.

⁶⁰ Mulira and Ndawula, *A Luganda-English and English-Luganda Dictionary*, p. 89.

⁶¹ ‘Ekleziya tayawula mu bana be okulondamu ab’erangi ennungi n’embi, ng’alobozamu aberu n’abaddugavu. Nedda, Ekleziya si bw’akola’ (*Balwya Y’Omwepiskopi Wafe Eyanjula*, *Munno*, 24/2 1912, p. 183).

⁶² ‘Katonda tasera bawereza be’ (Ibid.).

⁶³ *Martin Luther omutenda buzira? Era newawo, mpodzi ajemera kitawe gwe batenda obuzira; anti Luther yajemera Papa kitawe, ng’assako n’okumuvuma ebitavumika, ng’ali wala, ate ne bakabaka b’ensi nga bamukwatiddeko. So nawe omanyi nti: “eryato erikuvungudde toliyita gwato!” [...] Laba, gwe obutwawu n’obumagalavu bwa Luther obuyise buzira* (*Ya Mukyala Norah Wamala*, *Munno*, October 1922, pp. 166–67).

⁶⁴ ‘Abaprotestanti balesemu amagezi amabi, ge g’okukwata ohwempaka abantu okubasomesa edini yabwe’ (*Emyungu Eminvagikirize Gyasa Entamu*, *Munno*, April 1923, p. 60).

What's more, suggested this same author, Protestants discriminated against the poor in their communities:

After three days, a Protestant man brought a child born out of marriage to be baptised, but the priest refused. But after that, a rich and respectable man brought his child, also born out of wedlock, to be baptised and the priest went ahead and baptised him, but he had refused to baptise that of the layman. Gentlemen, does a poor man have different laws from the rich in Protestantism? When I see all this, I am amazed. Can any sensible person clarify this for me? To baptise only the children of the rich and ignore the poor; where does this come from?⁶⁵

Amid complaints brought by Protestants against Catholics in the *Lukiiko* for encouraging Protestants to convert to Catholicism, Ganda Catholics and missionaries began explicitly questioning discrimination against Catholics. In April 1924, White Father, M. Raux, Dean of Rubaga Cathedral, questioned the practice of religious discrimination in Buganda to *Kabaka* Daudi Chwa and the *Lukiiko*:

Sir, I am writing to you to inform you about what is worrying us, the leaders of the Catholic religion, of why a person should be prevented from worshipping a religion of choice, and charged for believing in a religion of their preference. We were thinking that religions can be freely practiced in Buganda, but this is not the case. What is being done is the suppression of those who identify with religions of choice. We also observe that other religious sects are given freedom to teach many children without being charged. And others even practice traditional religions but no one has ever accused them in the *Lukiiko*. They worship in freedom, but worshipping the Catholic religion is a crime [lit. 'not just', *kwe kudza omusango*]? So amazing!⁶⁶

⁶⁵ *Ate wayitawo ennaku 3 omusajja omuprotestanti n'aleka akana ke ke yazala mu bukaba, omukulu n'ekifo ekyo omurwa abasizi abakwata abantu olw'empaka, akabatize, n'akagana. Ate nail ndi awo, ng'omusajja byankwa semaka alese owuwe, era yazalibwa mu bukaba, oyo n'amubatiza; so ng ow'omukopi yamugana. Basebo, omukopi alina amateka agage mu dini y'abaprotestanti, n'ommami agage? Bwe ndaba ebyo binnewunyisa. Beppo nga wabaddewo omukalabakalaba n'abimbulira. So okubatiza abana aba byankwa, ne mu Buganda bwe kiri, ab'abakopi nga baganibwa okubatizibwa. Ekyo kirwa wa (Ibid., p. 61)?*

⁶⁶ *Sebo, Nkuvandikidde ebaluwa eno okukutegeza ekigambo ekitunakwaza fe abakulu ab'edini ey'abakatoliki, anti kwe kulaba ng'omuntu eyesimidde edini gy'ayagala n'awabirwa ku lw'okumuziyiza okusoma gy'ayagala. Tvali tulowozza nti mu Buganda edini ya ddembe, buli muntu asoma nga bw'ayagala tugenda okulaba en'ekyo tikirirwo. Ekirabika kye ky'okubonyabonya abantu abereta bokka mu dini gye bagala. Tulaba era mu Buganda nga mulimu ab'ebibina ebirala nga basomesa abana abato bangi nga tibawabirwa. Era ne tulaba abangi bwe basamira ne batwalayo buli jjo abana ba bene mu busamira, so mpawo abawabira mu lukiko. Lero nno basamira mu ddembe, naye okusoma mu Eklezia ya Bakatoliki kwe kudza omusango: si kitalo (M. Raux to Sabasajja Kabaka n'Olukiko e Mengo, 12 January 1924, in 'Ebifa E Mengo', Munno, April 1924, p. 1)?*

Throughout the late 1920s, Catholics continued to address Protestant autocracy and the practice of political discrimination in Buganda.⁶⁷

Exertions made by Buganda's major-marginal population in the first half of the twentieth century to shape a minority-ruled kingdom resulted in two conceptual shifts in how Catholics talked about 'justice'. First, alluded to in M. Raux's letter to Buganda's *kabaka*, Catholics increasingly paired the practice of justice with Buganda's capital and her king. By qualifying justice with monarchical language, Buddu Catholics once again faced east, toward Buganda's capital. Second, by 1940 Catholic writers had begun talking about 'justice' in the language of *obwenkanya*, whose noun stem derived from *-kkaanya*, a word Catholic grammarians used to imply inclusivity, a practice of two disparate communities coming together to be heard equally. Indeed, by the 1950s no longer were Catholics talking about 'justice' in its older autocratic sense, something executed and given (*sala omusango*, *èby'ènsonga*, *èby-obutuukirivu*). I will explore these two points briefly.

As shown, early Ganda and Protestant definitions of justice were described *sala 'musango*, literally 'to cut a case'. For Catholics, *sala 'musango* was soon nuanced within the broader conceptual context of both interdependent and participatory justice: '*Omusango ogudziibwa omuganzzi omukyawe y'(e)agumala*', 'Les fautes de la favourite sont souvent expiées par sa compagne moins chérie'.⁶⁸ In other words, Catholics increasingly pushed away from the language of autocratic adjudication, incrementally using the language of political inclusivity. Like Muslims, Catholics remembered a time when they participated in the life of Buganda's hierarchy, a time when dissenting actors could expect to be heard by their rulers. Therefore, when Catholics talked about justice, they used the language of Buganda's capital and her king in ways not evident in Protestant definitions. Shaped by Catholic informants, Henri LeVeux's *Vocabulaire Luganda-Français*, published in 1917, elucidated *omusango* by talking about trial before the *kabaka*, and more peculiarly as a

⁶⁷ 'Obulamuzi bwe Buganda N'Edin', *Munno*, April 1928, pp. 74–75; 'Okukunganya wa "Munno"', *Munno*, April 1928, p. 66; 'Obulamuzi bwe Buganda N'Edin', *Munno*, June 1928, pp. 92–93; and 'Ebaluwa eri Omukunganya w'Ebifa', *Munno*, January 1930, pp. 4–5.

⁶⁸ Les Pères Blancs, *Manuel de langue Luganda Comprenant la Grammaire et un Recueil de Contes et de Légendes*, 3rd edn (Alger: Maison-Carrée, 1914), p. 258. When asked what Ganda proverbs were used to reason 'truth and justice' in Catholic political discourse in the 1950s, Democratic Party activist Simon Mwebe specifically cited this adage (Interview, L. Mathias Tyaba and Simon Mwebe, 30 July 2010, Kampala).

journey of return to Mmengo: ‘*Yadza omusango ku Kabaka*’, ‘S/He has returned to court before the *kabaka*’.⁶⁹ Buganda’s capital was cast as a place that people distinctly *returned*—‘faire remmener’—in order to win trials: ‘*Yabidza ku Kibuga*’, ‘Il les remporta à la capitale’.⁷⁰ By situating justice and monarchy (capital), on the one hand, with the political practice of returning (contesting) on the other, Catholics questioned Buganda’s discriminating landscape, recalling a time when Buganda’s citizenry sought and received justice in Buganda’s central courts.

The relational qualification of *sala* ‘*musango*’ resulted in the etymological creation of *–bwenkanya*, the term now used in Luganda to denote ‘justice’.⁷¹ In course, dissenting Catholics used *–bwenkanya* to shape activism in the 1950s and early 1960s. Before 1940, there does not seem to be any recognisable categorisation of ‘justice’ as *–bwenkanya* (*–kkaanya*).⁷² Its first usage, arguably, is observed in an article entitled ‘*Omukristu Omutegevu Ky’alowoza ku by’Olutalo*’, ‘What a True Christian Thinks about War’.⁷³ In the article, the writer claims that while Christians are closely associated to ‘truth and justice’—‘*amazima n’obwenkanya*’—they cannot overlook the sufferings of weaker persons or nations, the

⁶⁹ R.P. LeVeux, *Premier Essai de Vocabulaire Luganda-Français d’Après l’Ordre Étymologique* (Alger: Maison-Carrée, 1917), p. 669. Italics added.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 107.

⁷¹ Murphy, *Luganda-English Dictionary*, p. 57.

⁷² This assertion is based upon an analysis of both the following works and *Munno* from 1912 onward: Catholic sources—*Manuel de Langue Luganda, Comprenant La Grammaire et un Recueil de Contes et de Légendes*, Par Les P.P. L.L. et C.D. des Pères Blancs, Missionnaires dans le Buganda, 2nd edn (Einsiedeln, Suisse: Benziger & Co., 1894); Les Pères Blancs, *Manuel de langue Luganda Comprenant la Grammaire et Un Recueil de Contes et de Légendes*; LeVeux, *Premier Essai de Vocabulaire Luganda-Français d’Après l’Ordre Étymologique*; L. Livinhac and C. Denoit, *Grammaire Luganda*, ed. by P.A. Wolters (Alger: Maison-Carrée, 1921); *Grammar Ey’oluganda* (Bukalasa, Uganda: White Fathers’ Printing Press, 1930); and *Grammar Ey’oluganda*, 2nd edn (Bukalasa, Uganda: White Fathers’ Printing Press, 1932). Protestant sources—Wilson, *An Outline Grammar of the Luganda Language*; Pilkington, *Luganda-English and English-Luganda Vocabulary*; *Elements of Luganda Grammar Together with Exercises and Vocabulary*; Blackledge, *Luganda-English and English-Luganda Vocabulary*; Hattersley and Duta, *Luganda Phrases and Idioms*; F. Rowling, *A Guide to Luganda Prose Composition* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1921); Crabtree, *A Manual of Lu-Ganda*; Kitching and Blackledge, *A Luganda-English and English-Luganda Dictionary*; *Grammar Enganda* (Kampala: Uganda News Press, 1927); *Grammar eyo Lungereza*. Eyalongosebwa H.T.C. Weatherhead nga Aberwa S.M. Bazongere Esomero Budo (Kampala: Uganda Bookshop, 1936); B.E.R. Kirwan and P.A. Gore, *Elementary Luganda* (Kampala: Uganda Bookshop, 1951); and Mulira and Ndawula, *A Luganda-English and English-Luganda Dictionary*.

⁷³ ‘*Omukristu omutegevu ky’alowoza ku by’olutalo*’, *Munno*, April 1940.

cited example being the Dutch in relation to the aggressive, 'insane Hitler'.⁷⁴ Consistent with the then definition of *-kkaanya*, the writer used *-bwenkanya* to emphasis a two-side-oriented, innovative definition of the term, thereby critiquing Nazi Germany for its refusal to engage in egalitarian politics. Like Buganda's Protestant chiefs, Hitler's problematic *politik* derived from its autocratic tendency.

Obwenkanya was created by conjoining the conditional prefix *bwe*, often used as the relative object of the 'quality' of the plural within the aka-/obu- noun class in Luganda.⁷⁵ In this instance, it simply means to be in 'the state in which' *-kkaanya* exists or is observable.⁷⁶ *-Kukkaanya* (to agree, be agreed)⁷⁷ implies togetherness ('concerter'),⁷⁸ and in its reflective use to observe or to pay attention.⁷⁹ Earlier definitions interpreted *-kkaanya* as 'discuss matters',⁸⁰ to 'recognise by careful scrutiny',⁸¹ or more generally to 'discuss matters or words'.⁸² In short, *-bwenkanya* best captured the ideal of 'justice' as two parties on equal footing coming together to discuss a particular issue. In a society governed by *-bwenkanya*, all parties are necessarily provided equal political positioning, something quite distinct from the meaning of Mulira and Ndawula's '*èby'ensonga, èby-obutuukirivu*', and a practice politically withheld from Buganda's Catholic community.

Catholic conceptual innovations of justice throughout the first half of the twentieth century were strengthened through Catholic establishment and teaching. Carol Summers shows how institutions such as the Old Boys' Association of St. Mary's College, Kisubi, the Catholic Teachers' Association and Catholic Action provided

⁷⁴ 'Efe abakristu newandibadde tulina ensonga ennyingi ez'okukkiriza nti tulwanirira amazima n'obwenkanya era tituyinza kugaya eggwanga ery'Abadaki erikwatibwa obubi wakati wa bino bibiri anti okweyongerera okugoberera Hitler omulalufu oba oknewayo abalala' (Ibid., p. 37).

⁷⁵ J.D. Chesswas, *The Essentials of Luganda*, 4th edn (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 109.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ LeVeux, *Premier Essai de Vocabulaire Luganda-Français d'Après l'Ordre Étymologique*, p. 398. Cf., Collins Robert French-English, *English-French Dictionary*, ed. by Beryl Atkins and others, 3rd edn (Glasgow: Harper Collins Publishers, 1993), p. 8.

⁷⁸ LeVeux, *Premier Essai de Vocabulaire Luganda-Français d'après l'ordre Étymologique*, p. 398.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ *Elements of Luganda Grammar Together with Exercises and Vocabulary*, p. 188.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Blackledge, *Luganda-English and English-Luganda Vocabulary*, p. 30.

networks that fostered the development of broader Catholic politics in the 1930s and 1940s.⁸³ In the 1940s, ‘Catholics and lapsed Catholics drew on what they had learned in the Catholic Church as they imagined and organized a radical politics in opposition to the power of oligarchs and the British’.⁸⁴ Activists such as Brother Francis (Semakulu Mulumba) built upon Catholic Action’s three-fold method, ‘see, *judge*, act [...] to assert community values and social policy as central to political action’.⁸⁵ Summers notes:

Following the pattern set up from the first with Catholic mobilization, Bataka activists’ public face, whether turned toward British and international audiences or toward local activists and critics, followed the catechism enunciated by Catholic Action: see, judge, act. Activists consistently produced elaborate documentation of what was. Then they judged explicitly, providing references for their standards of judgment in codes ranging from British common law and the Uganda Agreement to Ganda past practice.⁸⁶

In short, building on the momentum of Catholic-engineered moral critique directed against Buganda’s capital, and this predicated upon an innovative and evolving relational understanding of justice, the closing years of the 1940s were characterised by a growing discursive momentum that paralleled broader Bataka critique. The Catholic press and Summers’ identified organisations provided social networks through which a participatory, justice-oriented project was imagined and disseminated. Also, Ganda Catholics continued to gain demographic ground. By 1949, Catholics constituted roughly 37.3 percent of Buganda, 8.7 percent more than Ganda Protestants.⁸⁷ By the time of Muteesa II’s deportation, Catholic activists were prepared to contest Buganda’s Protestant hierarchy in new ways.

***Amazima n’Obwenkanya* and the Birth of the Democratic Party**

Like Buganda’s Muslims, Catholics used Muteesa’s deportation to potentially bring themselves into a political process from which they had been distanced for fifty years. While Catholic activists sought to use the Namirembe Conference to argue for

⁸³ Carol Summers, ‘Catholic Action and Ugandan Radicalism: Political Activism in Buganda, 1930-1950’, *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 39 (2009), 60–90 (p. 61).

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 64. Italics added.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 84.

⁸⁷ ‘Annual Reports on the Kingdom of Buganda[,] Eastern Province[,] Western Province[,] [and] Northern Province for the Year ended 31st December, 1949’ (Entebbe: Government Printer, 1950), p. 20.

demographic equality, conservative powerbrokers further distanced Buganda's most powerful Catholic politician. Further political distancing precipitated the rise of Catholic nationalism, sentiment given its most robust expression in the rise of DP politics. To contest Buganda's late colonial state, Catholic activists talked about *amazima n'obwenkanya* (truth and justice), a theological assertion that dissidents used to advocate for participation in their kingdom's hierarchical government.

Muteesa II's Deportation & Catholic Activism

Like Buganda's Muslims, Catholics used Muteesa's deportation to potentially bring themselves into a political process from which they had been distanced for fifty years. By demonstrating loyalty to their *kabaka*, Catholics sought to distance themselves from a political bureaucracy monopolised by Protestants. Catholics imagined an indiscriminately just and participatory monarchy, free from obstruction and curtailed due process, sentiment well reflected in the words of Catholic activist Armansi Kalubi:

When God created the world, he appointed leaders, and he commanded the people to obey their leaders. And therefore, we the Baganda he gave us *the Kabaka* as the supreme leader we have in the country, we love and respect him; and *through him* we pass all our wishes. We feel enthusiastic *with him* in politics, *his place* then should remain intacked [sic.] as from the beginning, That is Independence.⁸⁸

For Kalubi, it was 'only the Kabaka (*supreme judge*) who punishes any one whether chief or tenant'.⁸⁹

The future of Buganda's monarchy was on the table at Namirembe (see Chapter Three). E.M.K. Mulira used Namirembe to advocate for the constitutional rights of Buganda's rural peasantry; Badru Kakungulu to reposition Buganda's marginalised Muslim community. Catholic repositioning was advocated for by three Catholic priests—Father J.K. Masagazi, Father J. Kasule and Bishop Joseph Kiwanuka—and Buganda's Catholic *omulamuzi*, Matayo Mugwanya, the grandson of Stanislaus Mugwanya. Catholics were among the most outspoken critics of B/Uganda's autocratic government, critique

⁸⁸ ICS 29/1/13/113 Armansi Kalubi, 'The King Should be Outside Politics or Remain as He is', to Hancock Committee, [c.] July/August 1954. Italics added.

⁸⁹ Ibid. Italics added.

that focused on Buganda's colonial resident.⁹⁰ For Mugwanya, the office of resident preserved political autocracy by obstructing political accessibility. 'Historically', argued Mugwanya, 'the Baganda had the right of direct access to the Governor but in Luganda the office of the Resident is called "Kagangu", which means an ante-chamber.'⁹¹ And in a tone of indictment, Father Masagazi argued that there was no difference between a provincial commissioner and Buganda's resident,⁹² while Bishop Kiwanuka argued that assistant residents 'were often immature young men who adopted a supercilious attitude, and were incapable of co-operating with the Baganda'.⁹³

Archbishop Kiwanuka contested E.M.K. Mulira's effort to constitutionalise Buganda through the centralisation of executive power and attempted to push political authority away from Protestant-governed Mmengo. Minutes from the seventeenth meeting of the Conference summarise Mulira's attempt to mediate the representation of commoners through the executive:

The Conference should aim at finding out how best the Buganda Government could receive the advice and help of Assistant Residents and not simply press for their removal. He [Mulira] suggested that the words "working through the Katikiro" might be added in the second line of H.E.'s re-draft of Article 40.⁹⁴

Article 40 concerned the development of county government bodies in relation to Mmengo.⁹⁵ Consistent with his Protestant affinities, Mulira advocated for democratic access through the institution of Buganda's premiership. In other words, while Mulira controversially argued for the constitutionalisation of Buganda's monarchy, he did so by reinforcing autocratic institutionalisation—Protestant apparatus. For Kiwanuka, this was not viable and on this point he openly contradicted Mulira by pressing for the

⁹⁰ For further discussion see: R.C. Pratt, 'The Politics of Indirect Rule: Uganda, 1900–1955', in *Buganda and British Overrule*, ed. by D.A. Low and R.C. Pratt (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 163–316 (pp. 277–79).

⁹¹ ICS 29/1/17/5 Namirembe Conference Minutes, Fifth Meeting, 6 August 1954, p. 5.

⁹² ICS 29/1/17/16 Namirembe Conference Minutes, Sixteenth Meeting, 6 September 1954, p. 8.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁹⁴ ICS 29/1/17/17 Namirembe Conference Minutes, Seventeenth Meeting, 7 September 1954, p. 4.

⁹⁵ *Uganda Protectorate: Buganda* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1954), p. 13.

development of decentralised *ssaza* councils,⁹⁶ after which Mugwanya quickly diverted attention by raising the question of elephant licences.⁹⁷

Catholic activists used the Conference to argue for demographic equality in Buganda's government. In the sixteenth meeting Mugwanya and Father Masagazi concurrently questioned Article 31 of the recommendations alongside Article 5 of the 1900 Agreement. Article 5 had stipulated an 'equally applicable' clause to the administration of laws within Buganda, emphasising the moral responsibility of 'Her Majesty's Government' to faithfully administer law and justice without discrimination.⁹⁸ In Article 31 of the new recommendations, emphasis shifted: 'The *Buganda Government* shall administer the services for which it is responsible in accordance with the general policy of the Protectorate Government and in conformity with the laws governing those services.'⁹⁹ Drawing attention to this administrative shift, Mugwanya and Father Masagazi called into question the government of Buganda's inability to administer power proportionally, a point that Mugwanya raised earlier in a constitutional meeting on 23 July, where he had argued that 'long before the British came to the country, the Baganda had developed a system of settling their disputes that resembled the British'.¹⁰⁰ The practice of justice 'worked excellently,' furthered Mugwanya, 'and the Baganda dreamt of nothing better'.¹⁰¹ To conclude his argument, Mugwanya used history to argue that British rule brought with it a new and complicated format of trial, noting that Buganda's courts were often obstructed by people who by 'virtue of their social status attended the court [and] took part in judgement'.¹⁰² Simply, Mugwanya used an idyllic past to accentuate the contemporary obstruction of due process in Buganda's Protestant hierarchy. Mugwanya's argument was polemic, an attempt to imagine space where the practice of justice was not obscured by religious affiliation.

⁹⁶ ICS 29/1/17/17 Namirembe Conference Minutes, Seventeenth Meeting, 7 September 1954, p. 4.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 10.

⁹⁸ 'The Uganda Agreement of 1900' (Article 5), in *Buganda and British Overrule, 1900–1955: Two Studies*, ed. by D.A. Low and R.C. Pratt (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 350–64 (p. 351).

⁹⁹ *Uganda Protectorate: Buganda*, p. 12. Italics added.

¹⁰⁰ ICS 29/1/12/18 Constitutional Committee Minutes, Eighteenth Meeting, 23 July 1954, p. 2.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

Amazima n'Obwenkanya: Birth & Early Ideology of the Democratic Party

The recommendations of the Namirembe Conference provided stipulation for an elected *Lukiiko*. The more controversial of these elections surrounded the *katikikiro* election of August 1955, which was contested by Protestant conservative Mikaeri Kintu—then *mukwenda*, *ssaŋa* chief of Ssinga—¹⁰³ and Matayo Mugwanya. According to one historian, Mugwanya initially won the election but not before Muteesa positioned nominees against him, resulting in narrow defeat.¹⁰⁴ Eventual *omulamzi*, A.D. Lubowa, who voted in the election, recalled the use of unethical voting practices to prevent Mugwanya's bid, and this because of his Catholic heritage:

[J]ust before the *kabaka* came back, there was a need to form a government and there was a need to elect a *katikikiro*. Then, I'm sorry to say, religion became very much at play. And the reason why Matayo Mugwanya lost was not because he was inferior [...], no, he was much, much better than Kintu. [...] But what spoiled him was religion.¹⁰⁵

In the context of Kintu's victory, non-Catholic writers in the Luganda press gave thanks to God for Mugwanya's defeat while identifying Mugwanya's supporters as the *kabaka*'s enemies,¹⁰⁶ a precedence that continued into independence. Following the election, Mugwanya then contested a vacant seat in the *Lukiiko* for Mawokota, an election won by landslide.¹⁰⁷ But in 1957, Mugwanya's appointment was revoked by Buganda's *kabaka* and *katikikiro* under pretence that Mugwanya could not maintain appointment due to his membership in the East African Traffic Advisory Board.¹⁰⁸ In less than two years following Muteesa's return, Buganda's most powerful Catholic politician had been effectively removed from either participating in or accessing Buganda's political hierarchy. Mugwanya's earlier foreboding at Strand Hotel proved true; Muteesa would not appoint a Catholic minister into Buganda's traditionally Protestant seats of power. A process of political marginalisation begun by Apolo Kaggwa vis-à-vis Stanislaus Mugwanya, ended two generations later with the latter's grandson being distanced by

¹⁰³ Anonymous, *A Short History of the Democratic Party*, ed. by Richard Muscat (Rome: Foundation for African Development, 1984), p. 25.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 26.

¹⁰⁵ Interview, A.D. Lubowa, 23 November 2009, Maya, Mpigi District.

¹⁰⁶ *Uganda Post*, August 26 1955. Cf., *Doboŋi lya Buganda*, 29 August 1955.

¹⁰⁷ Anonymous, *A Short History of the Democratic Party*, p. 27.

¹⁰⁸ *Sekanyolya*, 16 November 1956. Cf., Welbourn, *Religion and Politics in Uganda*, p. 18.

Buganda's autocratic state. Mugwanya's effort to contest the premiership precipitated the rise of Catholic nationalism, sentiments given their most robust expression in the rise of Democratic Party (DP) politics.

The DP was organised by eight Catholic Baganda on 6 October 1954, with Joseph Kasolo—an engineer who had worked in northern Uganda—as the party's first president.¹⁰⁹ Interviews with the last surviving founding member of the party, L. Mathias Tyaba, indicate that the party was initially established for two reasons: to combat Protestant-organised communism¹¹⁰ and to redress religious discrimination against Catholics.¹¹¹ Indeed, distress over the threat of communism in Uganda reflected broader tension between Buganda's respective Catholic and Protestant politicians. Tyaba specifically remembered thinking in 1954 that Ignatius K. Musazi and Thomas Makumbi were communists, and had therefore to be opposed before Catholic liberties were further restricted.¹¹² Simon Mwebe, DP Youth Wing activist in the late 1950s, was first attracted to DP while studying at Aggrey Memorial, where he observed social discrimination against Catholics and Muslims. Mwebe attended a speech given by Benedicto Kiwanuka in Kampala with a Muslim friend who convinced him to join the party.¹¹³ For Mwebe, DP existed to dispute religious discrimination, such as the then recent *katikekiro* election. Reflecting on the party's early practice, Mwebe recalled: 'Because for us, we don't believe in segregation at all, because that is the declared philosophy of the Democratic Party. That's why the Democratic Party came into being, for opposing discrimination [...] because of [the faith] he believes in. [...] This is fundamental for the Democratic Party!'¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ Simon Mwebe and Anthony Sserubiri, *Ebyafaayo bya D.P., 1954–1984* (Kampala: Foundation for African Development, [c.]1984), pp. 12–14. Cf., Anonymous, *A Short History of the Democratic Party*, p. 15; and Interview, Simon Mwebe, 17 March 2010, Kampala.

¹¹⁰ The threat of communism shaped Catholic political discourse in the 1940s and 1950s. Ganda Catholics critiqued communism in print as early as 1940, raising concern over its potential adverse impact on 35 million Catholics living in central Europe ('*Ensonga Ennungi Ey'abangereza N'abafransa mu Lutalo Luno*', *Munno*, 1 March 1940, p. 30). In 1947, tension further heightened when Semakula Mulumba petitioned the United Nations through Soviet delegate Andrei Gromyko (James Mulira, 'Nationalism and Communist Phobia in Colonial Uganda, 1945–1960', *Mawaŋo*, 5 (1983), 3–16 (pp. 3–4). Cf., Interview, L. Mathias Tyaba and Simon Mwebe, 30 July 2010, Kampala).

¹¹¹ Interview, L. Mathias Tyaba and Simon Mwebe, 30 July 2010, Kampala.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Interview, Simon Mwebe, 17 March 2010, Kampala.

¹¹⁴ Interview, Simon Mwebe, 11 February 2010, Kampala.

To contest communism and religious discrimination, activists talked about *amazima n'obwenkanya*, a term that possibly first derived phraseology from Pope Pius XI's 1937 encyclical on communism, *Divini Redemptoris*: 'This Apostolic See has spoken out, because she knows full well that it is her proper function to defend truth and justice, and to vindicate precisely those imperishable values which communism derides and attacks.'¹¹⁵ Tyaba emphasised that *amazima n'obwenkanya* was conceptualised as a single metaphor, inaccurately parsed as two separate linguistic derivatives.¹¹⁶ In this, when DP advocates talked about *amazima n'obwenkanya*—whether singularly or in terms of *truth* or *justice* respectively—they sought to contest Buganda's autocratic government, to provide indiscriminate access to Buganda's hierarchy.

Amazima n'obwenkanya was reasoned theologically by early activists. In the aftermath of the *katikikiro* election, Mugwanya used the language of *amazima n'obwenkanya* to respond to claims that he was an enemy of Buganda's throne. Mugwanya advised his opponents to turn toward God, 'to walk in the path of Truth'.¹¹⁷ Mugwanya observed: 'God notes everyone's action and Satan cannot erase it.'¹¹⁸ Moreover, after Mugwanya assumed party presidency in August 1956,¹¹⁹ he continued to press the language of *amazima n'obwenkanya*. In contrast to the political philosophy of Mmengo's autocratic politicians, *amazima n'obwenkanya* was not based upon 'loose talk that aims at gaining favour and praise from the masses',¹²⁰ an argument reinforced by Bishop Kiwanuka:

Politics is one clear move to help a nation to achieve peace and progress in matters of the earth. Many times, though, politicians resort to deceiving the masses, to achieve their own ends but not in the interest of a nation; those are the people who cause politics to be known as a game for deceit and cunning.¹²¹

¹¹⁵ Pope Pius XI, 'On Atheistic Communism', in *Encyclical Letter* (London: Catholic Truth Society, 1937), p. 10.

¹¹⁶ Interview, L. Mathias Tyaba and Simon Mwebi, 30 July 2010, Kampala.

¹¹⁷ *Uganda Eyogera*, 11 October 1955.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ For further discussion see: 'New Political Party Formed in Uganda: To Prepare Blue-Print for Self-Government', *Uganda Argus*, 21 August 1956, p. 1; and 'Democratic Party', *Munno*, 22 August 1956, p. 5.

¹²⁰ 'Enkola ya Democratic Party enyweredde ku mazima na bwenkanya, naye si ku bigambo byerere eby'okuwubisa wubisa abantu oli bamwagale' ('Democratic Party', p. 5).

¹²¹ *Eby'obufuzi ge magezi amalungi agasalibwa okuyamba eggwanga okuteerera mu ddembe n'okweyongerayo mu byensi. Mirundi mingi nga abawalirira eby'obufuzi (politicians) amagezi ge basala ga kulimbalimba bantu, nga bagendereza byabwe si ggwanga; abo be baleetera eby'obufuzi*

Mugwanya claimed to be guided by *amazima n'obwenkanya*, which meant that he could not 'be intimidated by anybody, of any prominence, when such a person so goes off the track of truth and justice.¹²² *Amazima n'obwenkanya* was unconquerable,¹²³ a sharpness that does not dull.¹²⁴

Not unlike Mugwanya, Simon Mwebe used theology to talk about *amazima n'obwenkanya*, employing Christological language:

- J.L. Earle: So you believed that what was for everyone [was] "Truth and Justice"?
- S. Mwebe: Yes. Yes. In fact, Jesus said, "I am the *truth*". That's enough. Jesus says, "I am the Word of God, to *everyone*." The Word of God talks, who else will talk [to everyone]? Who else?¹²⁵

Mwebe expanded further:

The problem was during those days, in the fifties, there was very much discrimination in government circles, when giving jobs and all that, between the Protestants and the Catholics. So, when these people wanted to fight, *Catholics* wanted *to fight* that imbalance, they used the slogan of "Truth and Justice". We wanted "Truth and Justice" *to be done*, meaning that you don't say that when we form our own party we shall also discriminate those who have been discriminating us, no! We want "Truth and Justice" *done* for all of us, you see, regardless of our differences, you see. [...] Religious was the most important drive, *religious difference* was the most important drive, yes. [...] It's a *very big* problem.¹²⁶

In summary, activists used theology to reason an expansive, participatory political vision that undermined Protestant claim. By situating DP's liberalising project alongside theological assertion—that God sees *everyone* and Jesus' truth is *universal*—dissenting Catholics undermined the preferential practice of Protestant power. Catholics situated their project alongside a non-discriminating God and compared Protestants to Satan, one

okubikaako eby'amagezi ag'obujagujagu mu kulimba ('Ebbaluwa ya Mgr. J. Kivanuka', Munno, 10 April 1957, pp. 3 & 5).

¹²² 'Nze ndi ku mazima na bwenkanya kwenywereza enkola yange yonna ddi na ddi. Sijegemera lwa kitiibwa kya muntu ne bwaba ani kasita ayavukana ku mazima n'obwenkanya' ('Ebigambo bya Mugwanya By'agamba', Munno, 4 June 1957, p. 5).

¹²³ 'Era mumanye nti amazima n'obwenkanya ddi na ddi tebiriwanguhwa. Mulinde kufuuma za mugula' (Ibid.).

¹²⁴ 'Obwogi bw'amazima tebufuuma' (Ibid.).

¹²⁵ Interview, Simon Mwebe, 11 February 2010, Kampala.

¹²⁶ Interview, Simon Mwebe, 17 March 2010, Kampala.

who conceals or erases the truth: that while Buganda's Catholics constituted the majority of Buganda's citizenry, they were distanced from power by an unyielding minority.

Benedicto K. M. Kiwanuka and the Radicalisation of *Amazima N'obwenkanya*

Born in Buddu, Kiwanuka's early formation and sensibility were distinctly shaped by Catholicity, forces reinforced through interethnic conjugality and friendship with Sotho colleagues in southern Africa. By the mid-1950s, Kiwanuka was keenly interested in the history of political thought, interest he cultivated while studying law at the University of London from 1952 to 1956. At a time when Buganda's monarchy was fundamentally shaken, Kiwanuka was actively studying constitutional history and political theory. Whereas in the constitutional thought of John Locke Kiwanuka observed the language of the division of monarchical and state power, in Rousseau he scrutinised the themes of social equality and communality. Kiwanuka also read Cardinal John H. Newman's *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, which he used to critique Buganda's Protestant hierarchy. By the time Muteesa II returned from deportation in 1955, Kiwanuka's political sensibility was distinctly shaped by Enlightenment constitutionalism and theological ideation. After two years of practicing law in Kampala, Benedicto Kiwanuka assumed DP party leadership in August 1958. Under his leadership, DP constituency transitioned from being a predominantly Catholic, Ganda-based party, to a religiously inclusive national movement. Though national in focus, Kiwanuka's project presupposed the historical legitimacy of Buganda's Catholic past. However, to conceptualise the reconstitution of Buganda's Protestant monarchy and the national integration of Buganda, it was necessary for Kiwanuka to re-imagine this inherited historical tradition. To do this, he used theology, Locke and Rousseau to re-imagine a state without politically obstructive sovereigns, a liberal kingdom where 'people can live in harmony without fear, want or discrimination based on tribe, religion or race'. Through electoral politicking, Kiwanuka and DP activists throughout Uganda secured tentative positioning in the postcolony—Kiwanuka was appointed Minister without Portfolio on 14 April 1961 and Prime Minister on 1 March 1962.

Biography: Catholic Tradition & Text, 1922 to c. 1958

Benedicto Kagimu Mugumba Kiwanuka was born in Musale (Bukomansimbi), Buddu, on 8 May 1922.¹²⁷ Consistent with what we know about early twentieth-century society in Buddu, Kiwanuka's early formation and sensibility were distinctly shaped by Catholicity.¹²⁸ Kiwanuka's father was an alcoholic, which adversely impacted the stability of their home.¹²⁹ From an early age, the Catholic Church provided a context of constancy for Kiwanuka and by the age of twelve he completed catechism.¹³⁰ Near this time, Kiwanuka enrolled in the Catholic school of Villa Maria, which as shown earlier lay at the centre of Catholic practice in Buganda.¹³¹ Kiwanuka was mentored by the school's superior, Father Benedicto Nsubuga, under whose discipleship he developed an assiduous if not austere approach to religious practice. Kiwanuka attributed his success in school to prayer and counselled his brother to integrate his studies with devotion to the Virgin and practice of the rosary.¹³² Throughout his political career, Kiwanuka routinely attended mass and his closest confidants included Catholic priests such as Archbishop Joseph Kiwanuka (see Figure 5.1).¹³³

Following his studies at Villa Maria, Kiwanuka transferred to St. Peter's Secondary School, Nsambya, in 1940.¹³⁴ From 1942 to 1946, Kiwanuka enlisted in the

¹²⁷ BKMKP Government House Copies of Minutes, Etc. 'My Early Life', Mss., n.d., p. 1. Biographical discussion is shaped by this manuscript in addition to pages sporadically placed throughout Kiwanuka's private papers. Formal and informal interviews with family members have provided me with a general 'feel' of Kiwanuka's personality. Beyond this, I am grateful to Ambassador M.P.K. Kiwanuka for providing me with access to the Kiwanuka papers and an unedited, unabridged copy of: Albert Bade, *Benedicto Kiwanuka: The Man and His Politics* (Kampala: Foundation Publishers, 1996). For the convenience of the reader, citation will draw from the published edition.

¹²⁸ Catholicity is used to broadly convey the diverse means through which Kiwanuka experienced and interpreted his Catholic faith and heritage.

¹²⁹ Bade, *Benedicto Kiwanuka*, p. 2. Cf., BKMKP Government House Copies of Minutes, Etc. 'My Early Life', p. 1.

¹³⁰ Bade, *Benedicto Kiwanuka*, p. 3.

¹³¹ Ibid. Cf., BKMKP Confidential Information Department (MP/29) 'Biographical Details', n.d.

¹³² Bade, *Benedicto Kiwanuka*, pp. 3–4.

¹³³ Interviews: Ambassador Maurice P.K. Kiwanuka, 29 May 2010, Kampala; and Josephine Kiwanuka, 7 July 2011, London.

¹³⁴ Bade, *Benedicto Kiwanuka*, p. 4.

King's African Rifles, where he served as a clerk in Palestine and Egypt.¹³⁵ While abroad, Kiwanuka devoted his spare time to the study of French, Swahili and economics.¹³⁶ And like Africa's first generation of post-war nationalists,¹³⁷ Kiwanuka reflected upon his international military experience to reason questions of politics and religion. Early into his commission, Kiwanuka—eventually honourably decommissioned as sergeant major—¹³⁸ produced a thirty-five point Luganda-written manifesto entitled, 'If you want to be Free (or have freedom) on the Earth', where he argued that harmony on earth was intrinsically tied to peace with God.¹³⁹

Kiwanuka's Catholicity mediated to him ideals concerning the practice of family. In his manifesto he argued that to prevent tension with God and neighbour, one ought to avoid falling in love with a married woman.¹⁴⁰ After returning from service, Kiwanuka met his eventual wife, Maxencia Zalwango, during mass.¹⁴¹ Maxencia was devout and like Kiwanuka had attended school in Villa Maria. However, Maxencia was from Bunyoro, Buganda's precolonial rival (see Chapter One). This caused considerable tension within the Kiwanuka family.¹⁴² In a culture that valued filial negotiation and arrangement, Kiwanuka's persistence was peculiar, informed by a sense of Catholic universality. Indeed, Catholic priests seem to have played a more decisive role than either family in negotiating matrimony, which occurred in early 1947.¹⁴³ Maxencia and Benedicto believed that their relationship was the result of committed prayer and spiritual

¹³⁵ BKMKP Confidential Information Department (MP/29) 'Biographical Details'. Cf., Bade, *Benedicto Kiwanuka*, pp. 5–6.

¹³⁶ BKMKP Confidential Information Department (MP/29) 'Biographical Details'.

¹³⁷ Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore, *Africa Since 1800*, 5th edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 211–368.

¹³⁸ BKMKP Confidential Information Department (MP/29) 'Biographical Details'.

¹³⁹ 'Tyanga okunyiza mikwongyo namu ne Katonda' (BKMKP In Memoriam [...]) 'Oba Oyagala Okuba n'Eddembe mu Nsɔ', c. early 1940s).

¹⁴⁰ 'Toyagaliranga dala Bakabasaja: Kyonona obulamu bw'omuntu n'emikwano eri Katonda n'abantu' (Ibid.)

¹⁴¹ Bade, *Benedicto Kiwanuka*, p. 7.

¹⁴² Interview, Josephine Kiwanuka, 7 July 2011, London. Josephine, the Kiwanukas' eldest daughter, recalled tension between Benedicto's family and Maxencia. Cf., Bade, *Benedicto Kiwanuka*, pp. 7–16.

¹⁴³ Bade, *Benedicto Kiwanuka*, pp. 8–10.

principle.¹⁴⁴ For Benedicto, interethnic conjugality reflected broader ideals of Catholic universality, thought that shaped additional interactions during the same period.¹⁴⁵

Shortly after their wedding, Benedicto applied to read law at Pius XII Catholic University College in Basutoland (National University of Lesotho), where he studied from 1950 to 1952.¹⁴⁶ By forging intimate friendships with Sotho colleagues, Kiwanuka's sense of Catholic universality was furthered. In a Christmas letter one priestly friend evoked God's blessing on Kiwanuka, before affectionately sharing: 'I shall have a special remembrance of you in my midnight Communion on Dec. 25th. Please pray for me also.'¹⁴⁷ Near the end of his time in Basutoland, Pius XII's registrar amiably stated: 'You may rest assured that I will keep praying for you. May our Blessed Mother be your guide and your strength. And if you find time, a letter from you will always be welcome.'¹⁴⁸ During his time in Basutoland, Kiwanuka's interest in the relationship between politics and theology was galvanised. Again, Pius XII's registrar wrote to Kiwanuka:

As for your plans for the future, I cannot but endorse them fully. I do hope that you will find the financial assistance you need to pursue your law studies, and I pray Our Lord to make things easy for you in these difficult matters. Yes, go ahead. The way in front of you is still long; you will probably on certain days find the journey simply exhausting. But keep on! Africa needs men who shall give her a social and political organisation thoroughly inspired by the message of Our Lord as interpreted by His Vicar on earth, Our Holy Father the Pope.¹⁴⁹

Upon receiving the registrar's letter, Kiwanuka underlined the final sentence.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ In August 1950, an unidentifiable southern African acquaintance offered Kiwanuka accommodation during holiday, while in Basutoland. This offer was extended to express gratitude for 'spiritual guidance' that Kiwanuka had provided during an early trip to southern Africa. To Kiwanuka the writer confided:

I do not think that you are aware that the little story you told me about your success in getting rid of the one woman who was a problem restored the faith I had lost. I have all hopes that I shall be rewarded for my prayers in connexion with the Bunyoro girl I told you about. I have not yet been able to get word from her, but I think in the very near future she will drop me a line (BKMKP [Undesignated A] [?] to B.M. Kiwanuka, 5 August 1950).

¹⁴⁶ BKMKP Confidential Information Department (MP/29) 'Biographical Details'.

¹⁴⁷ BKMKP [Undesignated A] Brother Ignatius M.S. Phakwe, St. Augustine's Seminary, Basutoland, to B.M. Kiwanuka, 19 December 1951.

¹⁴⁸ BKMKP The Hon. Chief Justice—Ranch Scheme Registrar, Pius XII Catholic University College, to B.M. Kiwanuka, 16 May 1952.

¹⁴⁹ BKMKP The Hon. Chief Justice—Ranch Scheme Registrar, Pius XII Catholic University College, to B.M. Kiwanuka, 5 April 1952.

Kiwanuka's Catholicity permeated his early and mature political thought, but it was certainly not the only intellectual tradition to which he was part. Far more than Musazi, Mulira or Mayanja, Kiwanuka was a political theorist, in the classical sense of the term. And he is likely one of the very few politicians in late colonial Africa—if not the world—who after winning a presidential party election committed himself to private, critical study of natural law and Enlightenment constitutional theory, focusing on the likes of John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Like I.K. Musazi, Benedicto Kiwanuka was an avid reader. By late 1947, he was the assistant librarian in the High Court Library, Kampala,¹⁵⁰ and in early 1951 while still in Basutoland, he tried to join the Catholic Literary Foundation.¹⁵¹ Kiwanuka's reading reflected a general interest in literature, and A. Bade's research indicated that by the mid-1950s his reading included a wide genre—ranging from Rudyard Kipling to H.G. Wells.¹⁵² Bade's observation is confirmed by my own research with Kiwanuka's private library.¹⁵³ But beyond general literature, by the mid-1950s Kiwanuka was keenly interested in political philosophy and the history of political thought, an interest he cultivated while studying law at the University of London from 1952 to 1956.

At a time when Buganda's monarchy was fundamentally shaken, Kiwanuka was actively, critically studying constitutional history and political theory. Remaining lecture

¹⁵⁰ BKMKP [Undesignated A] Registrar, [High Court Library], to Director of Education, Makerere, 1 December 1947. Cf., Bade, *Benedicto Kiwanuka*, pp. 12–14.

¹⁵¹ BKMKP [Undesignated A] Catholic Literary Foundation, Milwaukee, to B.M. Kiwanuka, 30 January 1951.

¹⁵² Bade suggested that Kiwanuka's reading included: Charles Dickens; Gustav Doré's illustrations of *Don Quixote* (1863); Sir Arthur C. Doyle (*Sherlock Holmes*, 1890s–1920s); Anthony Hope (*The Prisoner of Zenda*, 1894); Henrik Ibsen; Jerome K. Jerome (*Three Men in a Boat*, 1889); Fridtjof Nansen (*Farthest North*, 1897); Sir Walter Scott; William M. Thackeray; George L.P. Busson du Maurier (*Trilby*, 1895); and Mark Twain (late nineteenth century) (Bade, *Benedicto Kiwanuka*, pp. 13–14).

¹⁵³ Among other works, Kiwanuka's library included: Autographed—M. Forster (*A Passage to India*, 1924 [annotated 28 February 1951]); Fulton J. Sheen (*Peace of Soul*, 1949 [annotated 16 June 1953]); Viscount John Simon (*Retrospect* (1952) [autographed 8 July 1955]); W.N. Weech, editor (*History of the World*, 1905 [autographed 20 December 1945]). Non-autographed—Homer (*The Iliad*, 8th century BCE); Frederick W. Faber (*The Creator and the Creature*, 1857); T. Tyfield and K.R. Nicol, editors (*The Living Tradition: An Anthology of English Verse from 1340 to 1940*, c. 1946); Mortimer J. Adler (*Development of Political Theory and Government*, 1959); K.M. Panikkar (*Asia and Western Dominance*, 1961); and L.W. White and H.D. Hussey (*Introduction to Government in Great Britain and the Commonwealth*, 1965).

and study notebooks from 1952 to 1953 indicate something of the theoretical content from which Kiwanuka used to reflect on Buganda's monarchy. From late 1952 to mid-1953, Kiwanuka studied contractual law, Roman law and constitutional law.¹⁵⁴ Capacious notes taken from his course on constitutional law toward May 1953 show that Kiwanuka was actively thinking through 'the nature of federalism',¹⁵⁵ 'supremacy of the Constitution',¹⁵⁶ 'right of personal freedom',¹⁵⁷ and the 'Relation Between Parliamentary Sovereignty and the Rule of Law'.¹⁵⁸ In his course text-books, Kiwanuka's annotations focus particularly on the history of European monarchy and the rise of nation-states. Kiwanuka was observably interested in Frederic Swann's 1923 discussion on 'Limited Monarchy',¹⁵⁹ analysis that reflected essentially verbatim Kiwanuka's eventual party discourse in the late 1950s:

The King knows no party. The King is nowadays raised quite above party strife. He is neither Whig nor Tory, Liberal nor Conservative. It was not always thus. But during and since Queen Victoria's long reign, our Sovereigns have, with great wisdom, shown no bias to the one side or the other in politics, and it is now an accepted rule that the Crown must not be drawn into the arena of political warfare. This impartial attitude of the Ruling Monarch enables all of us, whatever our particular shade of political opinion, to bury our differences, and unite in loyal adherence to the Throne.¹⁶⁰

Kiwanuka's underscored passages are instructive—'Whig nor Tory' and 'no bias'—indicative of Kiwanuka's interest in the relationship between equality and monarchy, concern that lay at the heart of Catholic critique in colonial Buganda.

Kiwanuka's public interaction with Baganda during this same period indicates that while studying the political history of Europe, he was simultaneously thinking through the political and religious history of Buganda's monarchy, adapting his textual studies to inform an emerging political consciousness. In a speech delivered before London-based Baganda in May 1953—on occasion of the graduation from law school of

¹⁵⁴ BKMKP [Course Notes]: 'Law of Contract', 9 October 1952–12 May 1953; 'Roman Law', 27 February 1953–c. 3 May 1953; and 'Constitutional Law', 14 October–12 May 1953.

¹⁵⁵ BKMKP [Course Notes] 'Constitutional Law', np.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., np.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., np.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., np.

¹⁵⁹ BKMKP Library Frederic Swann, *English Citizenship* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1923).

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 3.

Protestant Joseph Luyambazi-Zake (member of the Namirembe Conference)—

Kiwanuka opened his address by speaking at length about the divisive impact of religion on Ganda society, which warrants extended citation:

I do not think you are expecting a speech from me, and I do not intend to make one. But out of all politeness I believe it is necessary that I make some explanation of why we are having this gathering this afternoon. The reason is, to be brief, to congratulate our friend here Mr. Zake on his successful completion of his studies in London. But you may perhaps question [...] of what concern this is to me. [...] I quite agree [...] were it not for this one point. It is the spirit of brotherhood which has been developing in me for some time. Heretofore it has been the custom of us Baganda to see that we dissociate [...] from those other people who do not belong to our religion, [...] In a way I suspect that the missionaries who brought religion to us do deserve a good measure of the blame for such state of affairs. As far as religious matters go the custom has to be strictly followed, for one man knows that he has a maker and that he has to serve that maker, that he must serve Him, and only that way which he believes on conviction that it is the right way. Waivers will find no way to Heaven, but only those, in whatsoever religion, who will serve Him steadfastly, as the ordained Laws demand.

But in the Politics and other matters of the world that cannot be the basis of our functioning. It is high time that we who are called grandsons of that mythical man known as Kintu joined our ranks and worked together as real brothers. If we work apart we shall be doomed to failure as a nation; but together we shall surmount all obstacles.¹⁶¹

Kiwanuka's speech reveals a number of the critical, Ganda-related issues he was thinking about at the time: the making of inclusive community characterised by a spirit of being 'together', society rooted in an imagined past unspoiled by religious division—a line of reasoning adapted from Rousseau (see below). Kiwanuka argued that political communities situated along religion allegiances had been problematic for Buganda, especially for non-Protestants. With these concerns in mind, Kiwanuka studied the history of political thought in Europe.

Two months following his speech, Kiwanuka began critically studying R.H.S. Crossman's *Government and the Governed: A History of Political Ideas and Political Practice*—his most annotated book remaining from this period. Kiwanuka took notice of Catholic-Protestant havoc upon Europe's political history. He was drawn to commentary made on

¹⁶¹ BKMKP [Course Notes] 'Roman Law', np, [c. May 1953]. Kiwanuka's speech was written in his course notebook, situated between two lectures given in May.

the Glorious Revolution, marking passages with underscore and large asterisks: 'It is to be found once more in the Glorious Revolution of 1688 which threw out the last of the Stuarts and established once and for all both the rights of Parliament against the king and the refusal of England to permit political Catholicism.'¹⁶² But Kiwanuka was not simply interested in the abuses of Protestantism. In his reflection on the French Revolution, Kiwanuka noted the 'existence of privileged classes immune from taxation, in particular the [Catholic] Church and the nobility'.¹⁶³ Kiwanuka studied the regnum of France's Sun King, Louis XIV (1661–1715), taking note of the strict censorship of the press and expulsion of the Huguenots.¹⁶⁴ Uganda's future prime minister took interest in theological argumentation that undergirded the philosophy of the divine right of kings (autocratic sovereignty), particularly Romans 3¹: 'Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained by God.'¹⁶⁵ In short, Kiwanuka was concerned with political abuse instigated along religious lines. And it is little wonder, therefore, why the ideals of the Enlightenment resonated so deeply with him.

In his reading of Crossman's history, the political philosophies of Locke and Rousseau received considerable attention. Kiwanuka reflected on Locke's *Two Treatises of Government*. Reading the second treatise he noted:

The end of the government is the good of mankind; and which is best for mankind, that the people should be always exposed to the boundless will of tyranny, *or that the rulers should be sometimes liable to be opposed when they grow exorbitant in the use of their power, and employ it for the destruction, and not the preservation, of the properties of their people?*¹⁶⁶

Drawing from Crossman, Kiwanuka noted further:

Thus Locke abolishes sovereignty and replaces it with a division of powers between the legislature and the executive (i.e., the new constitutional monarch). By splitting the Leviathan into two and making each a check on the other, he

¹⁶² BKMKP Library H.S. Crossman, *Government and the Governed: A History of Political Ideas and Political Practice* (London: Christophers, 1952 [annotated, 2 July 1953]), p. 52, annotation.

¹⁶³ Ibid., p. 106, annotation.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 104–06, annotations.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 39, annotation.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 71, annotation. Italics added.

ensures that each fulfils its proper function and neither is strong enough to encroach on the people's natural rights.¹⁶⁷

In contrast to Hobbes' political project, which aimed to identify 'some power strong enough to restrain wilful man', observed Kiwanuka, 'Locke is trying to find a safeguard for rational man against the wilfulness of princes.'¹⁶⁸

Whereas in Locke Kiwanuka observed the language of the division of monarchical and state power and protection of rights and liberty, in Rousseau he scrutinised the themes of social equality, community, 'General Will' and 'Social Contract'. That Rousseau 'reacted [...] violently as he did to the tyranny of absolute monarchy' was considered 'VIP' for Kiwanuka.¹⁶⁹ Kiwanuka observed Rousseau's argument 'that bourgeois civilization would destroy the social organism and atomize society into a collection of propertied individuals.'¹⁷⁰ And likely thinking of Buganda's post-1900 kingdom, Kiwanuka annotated: 'He was right!'¹⁷¹ Crossman suggested that Rousseau imagined 'the restoration of a primitive natural community which is bound together by its moral sentiments, and whose law is the expression of those moral sentiments and of a new common will.'¹⁷² Again, for Kiwanuka this was considered 'VIP',¹⁷³ as was Rousseau's theory of social contract and 'Will of the Community'.¹⁷⁴ 'It is the Will of the Community as a whole', highlighted Kiwanuka, 'in which *every individual takes part* [...] and which is yet something other than the will of individuals'.¹⁷⁵ For Rousseau, noted Kiwanuka, the creation of moral community was predicated upon a universal reason and emotional purism, 'beautiful primitive qualities contorted and defiled by the imposition of civilization'.¹⁷⁶

Kiwanuka's reading of Locke and Rousseau was complimented and complicated by Cardinal John H. Newman's *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, which he studied during the same

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 74, annotation.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 71, annotation.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 111, annotation.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 115, annotation.

¹⁷¹ Ibid, annotation.

¹⁷² Ibid., p. 113, annotation

¹⁷³ Ibid., p. 113, annotation.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 114, annotations.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., annotation. Italics added.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 112, annotation.

period.¹⁷⁷ Interest in Tractarianism not only shows the importance that theological reflection played in Kiwanuka's early social reflection,¹⁷⁸ it indicates the extent to which Catholicity extended a moral credibility toward eventual activism in much the same way as Orthodoxy played out in Reuben Spartas Mukasa's earlier political project (see Chapters One and Six). Kiwanuka reflected on Newman's discourses on liberty and authority:

Liberalism then is the mistake of subjecting to human judgment those revealed doctrines which are in their nature beyond and independent of it, and of claiming to determine on intrinsic grounds the truth and value of propositions which rest for their reception simply on the external authority of the Divine Word.¹⁷⁹

Kiwanuka observed Newman's comments on Tractarian John Keble:

Keble was a man who guided himself and formed his judgements, not by processes of reason, by inquiry or by argument, but, to use the word in a broad sense, by authority. Conscience is an authority; the Bible is an authority; such is the Church; such is Antiquity; such are the words of the wise; such are hereditary lessons; such are ethical truths; such are historical memories; such are legal saws and state maxims; such are proverbs; such are sentiments, presages, and prepossessions.¹⁸⁰

Kiwanuka was moved by Newman's critique of Protestant dogma and hierarchy, annotating on one occasion: 'Listen to the soundness of argument here—.'¹⁸¹

Throughout Newman's work, Kiwanuka's annotations consistently reflected emotionally-charged language: 'On a matter of Principle never draw back—',¹⁸² 'The reason for the existence of the Catholic Church',¹⁸³ 'we shall say this',¹⁸⁴ and 'I agree'.¹⁸⁵ Consistent with

¹⁷⁷ BKMKP Library John H. Cardinal Newman, *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1948 [annotated, 9 June 1953]).

¹⁷⁸ Owen Chadwick, *The Spirit of the Oxford Movement: Tractarian Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

¹⁷⁹ BKMKP Library Newman, *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, p. 193, annotation.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 194, annotation. Beside this citation, Kiwanuka rhetorically asked, 'What is Authority?'

¹⁸¹ Ibid., p. 227, annotation.

¹⁸² Ibid., p. 87, annotation.

¹⁸³ Ibid., p. 168, annotation. Passage:

[...] It [Catholic Church] claims to impose silence at will on any matters, or controversies, of doctrine, which on its own *ipse dixit*, it pronounces to be dangerous, or inexpedient, or inopportune. It claims that, whatever may be the judgement of Catholics upon such acts, these acts should be received by them with those outward marks of reverence, submission, and loyalty, which Englishmen, for instance, pay to the presence of their

his reading in 1953, Kiwanuka used Newman's words as a rallying cry to scathingly critique apathetic Baganda:

About a hundred years ago an Englishman was writing in England: 'We Englishman like manliness, openness, consistency, truth.' Card. Newman ('Apologia' p. 85). But now where is this openness? Where is consistency in policy? Where is truth in ordinary dealings? Where is manliness? Expedience has replaced principle and this has been the cause of all our troubles here. If we are to have democracy, let us have it in full.¹⁸⁶

Kiwanuka quickly integrated the rhetorical and conceptual themes of textual underscore and annotation into his early, nascent political ethos, amalgamating Ganda metaphor, Catholic thought and Enlightenment theory. In August 1953—only one to two months following his reading of Crossman's political history—Kiwanuka wrote to the rector of St. Thomas' Seminary, Katigondo. The rector had intercepted a letter Kiwanuka mailed to a childhood friend from Villia Maria, concerned that Kiwanuka had been bedevilled by communist ideology.¹⁸⁷ Infused with theological reflection, Kiwanuka employed the language of individual rights, equality or universality of 'reason' and 'extraordinary [excessive] liberties', i.e., the language of Locke and Rousseau, to critique the rector's behaviour:

I am sure you would be delighted to be called a representative of Our Lord Jesus Christ; but are you sure Our Lord would have condemned me for what I wrote in that letter? Are there, really, any vestiges in that letter to show that henceforward I shall be a fighter against my religion? Are you a missionary come to Africa to preach the Gospel of Our Lord—the Brotherhood of Man? Or a political agent to suppress nationalism? Is there no difference between nationalism and communism? If I say I do not like Europeans, am I not as an *individual entitled* to hold this opinion just because I am a Catholic? And does that in itself make me a Communist? Was it so ordained by Our Lord that we, the

sovereign, without expressing any criticism on them on the ground that in their matter they are inexpedient, or in their manner violent or harsh. [...]

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 177, annotation. Passage: 'Fear ye not, stand still; the Lord shall fight for you, and ye shall hold your peace.'

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 225, annotation. Passage: 'Another ground, taken in defending certain untruths, *ex justa causa*, as if not likes, is, that veracity is for the sake of society, and that, if in no case whatever we might lawfully mislead others, we should actually be doing society great harm.'

¹⁸⁶ RDA 904.4 Kiwanuka '1962 Uganda Elections', p. 42.

¹⁸⁷ For additional insight see: BKMKP Villa Maria O.B. Association B.M. Kiwanuka to Archbishop, 4 October 1953. Cf., '*Communism N'akabi K'esomba*', *Munno*, 7 April 1954, p. 5; 14 April 1954, pp. 3 & 8; 21 April 1954, p. 5; 28 April 1954, p. 5; and 5 May 1954, p. 5.

Africans, shall be under foreign domination for ever? Do you really love the African, or are you merely spending your time there? What has the Europeans done to the African in South Africa? What has he done to him in Southern Rhodesia? What in Kenya? What is awaiting him under the new Central African Federation?

Oh, no, Father, that's not the way. You have got to concede that we have a soul, and if so, we have *reason*, and if so, we think like you, and if so, we perceive what is good and what is bad. And I might as well tell you, much to my deep regret though, that these precipitate actions, indeed, these underhand actions, if you, a minister of religion, will not help to advance your cause for which you labour in my country, but will, contrary to our expectations, make you the loser in the end.

[...] [Y]ou should remember that you took an *extraordinary liberty* with an affair of which you knew nothing, and that Our Lord who sees both your soul and mine watches over this matter.¹⁸⁸

In summary, by the end of his studies in London, Kiwanuka's early political sensibilities had been distinctly shaped by theology and Enlightenment ideals.

Adapting Buganda's Catholic Past: Theological Imagination & Constitutional Liberalism

After two years of practicing law in Kampala, Benedicto Kiwanuka assumed DP party leadership in August 1958. Under his leadership, DP constituency transitioned from being a predominantly Catholic, Ganda-based party, to a religiously inclusive national movement.¹⁸⁹ Though national in focus, Kiwanuka's project presupposed the historical

¹⁸⁸ BKMKP Government House Copies of Minutes, Etc. B.M. Kiwanuka to The Very Rev. Father Rector, St. Thomas' Seminary, Katigondo, 17 August 1953. Italics added.

¹⁸⁹ Michael Twaddle, 'Was the Democratic Party of Uganda a Purely Confessional Party?', in *Christianity in Independent Africa*, ed. by Edward Fasholé-Luke (Bloomington, I.N.: Indiana University Press, 1978), pp. 255–66. Professor William Senteza Kajubi and Eridadi M.K. Mulira's brother, Enoch Mulira, were two of DP's prominent Protestant members. During a series of interviews with Kajubi, he suggested that he was compelled to join the party while teaching at King's College, Budo, where he had invited Kiwanuka to speak to his class. Afterward, a student asked Kiwanuka why the party's base was mostly Catholic. Kiwanuka responded: 'My party can't have people of other religions if they won't join it' (Interview, William S. Kajubi, 2 December 2009, Kampala). For Kajubi, this was persuasive, further remembering:

And I also realised that there was a lot of injustice in the country, as far as the Catholics were concerned. The Mmengo Group, indeed, as the British people at the time, the British had come here at a time when England and France were at loggerheads. So, the French people brought in Catholicism, and the British people brought in Protestantism. Now, those who joined Protestantism were known as *Abangereza*; those who became Catholics were known as *Abafaraanza*. So, the country divided along the lines that were in Europe at the time. [...] The country was polarised along those lines. [...] I began to see

legitimacy of Buganda's Catholic past. From his library there is indication that he read early publications of *Munno*,¹⁹⁰ while his personal papers show that he received an order form for Joseph S. Kasirye's *Obulamu bwa Stanislaus Mugwanya* in 1963.¹⁹¹ Calling to mind Buganda's religious past, Kiwanuka stated: 'The Party's motto was "Truth and Justice", and religious intolerance was incompatible with our principles.'¹⁹² Kiwanuka's impressive sixty-one page political commentary on B/Uganda's pre-independence landscape began with a detailed analysis of the history of religions in Uganda and their subsequent shape on local politics. Kiwanuka wrote to his audience: 'To understand the background [...] I must take you a little into the history of Buganda.'¹⁹³ For Kiwanuka, the contestation between the DP and *Kabaka Yekka* (KY) and the Uganda Peoples' Congress (UPC) was historical recapitulation, Mmengo's late nineteenth-century wars rehashed on the eve of independence:

Of course, this is what Mengo wanted: to get the Democratic Party out of office this time and then see to it that it did not come back again. And this is what they are doing now. Haven't Kabaka Yekka Leaders declared openly that their aim is to destroy the Democratic Party not only in Buganda but throughout Uganda? And why "to destroy"? There is no other reason, in my way of thinking, than the one I have given which is based on our history rather than on anything else. You have got to know our history in order to understand Mengo behaviour.¹⁹⁴

But to conceptualise the reconstitution of Buganda's Protestant monarchy and the national integration of Buganda it was necessary for Kiwanuka to re-imagine this inherited historical tradition. For Kiwanuka—like his earlier case studies taken from sixteenth- to eighteenth-century monarchical Europe—it was necessary to imagine a kingdom and nation along some other criterion than religious fidelity. To do this, he

the unfairness, the inequity of the country as far as the Catholics were concerned. [...] The lion's share of the resources of the country went to the Protestants. [...] That *injustice* there was need to fight it (Ibid., Cf., Interview, William S. Kajubi, 17 February 2010, Kampala)!

¹⁹⁰ From personal observation, Kiwanuka's library contained the complete set of publications for 1923.

¹⁹¹ BKMKP Minister Without Portfolio: Miscellaneous 'Educational Secretary General for Catholic Missions', order form, n.d.

¹⁹² RDA 904.4 Kiwanuka, '1962 Uganda Election', p. 4.

¹⁹³ Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 21.

employed theological creativity and returned, again, to the political traditions of the Enlightenment.

Kiwanuka considered the Protestant Church one of the greatest forces working against his equalising project,¹⁹⁵ and it is little wonder why he ‘turned to the Holy Bible for guidance’.¹⁹⁶ In public, it was necessary for Kiwanuka to debate scriptural and political exegesis. One commentator, simply identified as Mr Ssebuko, used biblical reference to denounce Kiwanuka and the DP for their inability to defend the *bakopi*.¹⁹⁷ In response, Kiwanuka asserted: ‘Mr. Ssebuko seems to love the Bible. But remember that in that Bible the Lord warns us that “Kingdoms with Internal disputes will never last”. If we Baganda continue to fight ourselves, I am sure we shall not yield anything but more and more disputes.’¹⁹⁸ Kiwanuka continued: ‘Mr. Ssebuko, you referred to words in the Bible, which you said are in Samuel I Chapter 8. I want to put you right that according to the Catholic Bible, we state, “I Samuel, Chapter 8”. But I am surprised that you quoted this chapter yet you claim to love the Kabaka more than all of us.’¹⁹⁹

Kiwanuka adapted theological metaphor and materiality to conceptualise his nationalist vision. On 8 July 1959, he received a letter from Gulu-based Verona missionary Father Tarcisio Agostoni, with whom he worked to produce a symbol to capture his party’s ethos (see Figure 5.4). The designed emblem drew distinctly from theological abstraction, the cruciform monstrance and depictions found in the Catholic missal—including Kiwanuka’s, where Jesus is cast as ‘The Sun of Justice’ (see Figure 5.5). Agostoni explained:

For this [emblem] I thought to send you also the symbol of the Sun with the rays all over Uganda with the initial of Truth & Justice as well in it.

The Sun also has a very big meaning attached and quite fit for your motto:
TRUTH: truth is the light of the intellect to give one truth, is to enlighten one’s mind. You also said that in comparison with the U.N.C. you want to be the light and to present them to people as darkness. What is best than the sun’s symbol.
JUSTICE: the sun is equal for all: it rises for all and sets down for all. Jesus himself when pointing out that the Father in heaven loves all men indistinctly, he

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 1.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 26.

¹⁹⁷ ‘Democratic Party N’entegeka Y’obufuzi bwa Uganda’, *Munno* 23 October 1958, p. 3.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

said that God let the sun to rise over the good and over the sinner in the same time without distinction. [...]

Moreover, if there is no sun there is no life, not heat, no crops, no rain no light on earth: the sun awakes people in the morning. So the D.P. will be the life for the country, the heat (the love); will provide for economics and for industry; is the one to awaken people from the sleep and to open their eyes as the sun in the morning.²⁰⁰

Agostoni's reasoning was persuasive, and during the party's Annual General Meeting the following month, Kiwanuka used Agostoni's reflection on the front page of the conference programme:

Democratic Party is for Justice and Truth for the African People. D.P. is the Sun of the Country. D.P. is the Light of Uganda. D.P. is the Mother of Civilization. D.P. is the Backbone of Government of the Future of Uganda.
[...]
D.P. is Just for All.
D.P. is Good for All.
D.P. is Fair to All.²⁰¹

Kiwanuka's theological reasoning is further observed in a series of exchanges during the Lancaster Constitutional Conference between himself and then Archbishop of Canterbury, Geoffrey F. Fisher, who followed Uganda's constitutional development through the *Daily Telegraph*.²⁰² Fisher critiqued what he believed to be Kiwanuka's unwillingness to compromise with *Lukiiko* and UPC delegates on the question of national elections: 'Unity cannot be achieved by non co-operation.'²⁰³ In response, Kiwanuka defended his position by politically adapting the hypostatic language of the Nicene and Chalcedonian Creeds, language he acquired through catechism in youth and subsequent homilies:

One of the principal beliefs in the Christian Faith is that every Christian must believe that Christ was God. Your Grace knows very well that this is the basis of our Faith. Anybody who does not believe it has no right to be called a Christian. Now as I said, can you, as Archbishop, a servant of Christ, and a teacher of His followers, agree, for the sake of pleasing a powerful friend of yours to preach publically, or to suffer anyone under you and in your charge to teach others that

²⁰⁰ BKMKP CM/32 Tarcisio Agostoni to Benedicto Kiwanuka, 8 July 1959.

²⁰¹ BKMKP Sundry Corresp. + Lukiiko Matters 'Democratic Party Annual General Meeting: Programme', 7–9 August 1959.

²⁰² BKMKP CIP #31–71 Geoffrey F. Fisher to B.M. Kiwanuka, 2 October 1961.

²⁰³ Ibid.

Jesus was merely the Son of Joseph and Mary according to the flesh (God forbid) and had no divinity in Him as Moslems say? [...] If then, I am right in my argument here, as I am sure I am, will you not now agree that when I refuse to compromise on this issue of direct elections, a matter which is considered by me, and I am sure Your Grace also, to be a cardinal principle in a democracy, I do no more than Your Grace would have done if you found yourself in a position which called for a compromise on one of the most fundamental or, to use the same expression again, cardinal principles in our Christian faith [...] ?²⁰⁴

Expressed in subsequent commentary on Fisher's letters, Kiwanuka reflected that by following his constitutional positioning he was in fact 'acting as a good Christian'.²⁰⁵

Catholic theology constituted one particular imaginative layer of Kiwanuka's mature politics, constitutional liberalism another. Kiwanuka's library and personal diaries indicate that he intently returned to the constitutional and legal philosophies of the European tradition that he had become familiar with in the early 1950s. In his library, he housed volumes of Robert Maynard Hutchins' edited series, *Great Books of the Western World* (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1952), which he worked through during his private studies.²⁰⁶ Underscored and annotated volumes include: *Plato* (volume 7), *Descartes/Spinoza* (volume 31), *Locke/Berkeley/Hume* (volume 35), *Kant* (volume 42) and James Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson* (volume 44). Further, shortly after being appointed party president, Kiwanuka took to study from October to December 1958, working critically and systematically through a select assortment of books, including Locke and Rousseau.²⁰⁷ Perhaps, now knowing the conceptual task before him, Kiwanuka was reminded of how Europe's intellectuals had reconstituted their sovereignties. In his annotations on Locke's *Two Treatises* dated 28 October 1958,²⁰⁸ Kiwanuka reflected on the 'origin of slavery',²⁰⁹ reading:

This freedom from absolute, arbitrary power is so necessary to, and closely joined with, a man's preservation, that he cannot part with it but by what forfeits his preservation and life together. For a man, not having the power of his own life, cannot by compact or his own consent enslave himself to any one, nor put

²⁰⁴ BKMKP CIP #31–71 B.M. Kiwanuka to Geoffrey F. Fisher, 5 October 1961.

²⁰⁵ RDA 904.4 Kiwanuka, '1962 Uganda Elections', p. 14.

²⁰⁶ Ambassador Maurice P.K. Kiwanuka to Jonathon L. Earle, 18 July 2011.

²⁰⁷ BKMKP [Personal Notes], 28 October 1958–3 December 1958.

²⁰⁸ BKMKP [Personal Notes], 'John Locke', 28 October 1958.

²⁰⁹ BKMKP Library John Locke, 'Concerning Civil Government', in *Great Books of the Western World*, ed. by Robert Maynard Hutchins, p. 30, annotation.

himself under the absolute, arbitrary power of another to take away his life when he pleases. [...] For, whenever he finds the hardship of his slavery outweigh the value of his life, it is in his power, by resisting the will of his master, to draw on himself the death he desires.²¹⁰

In his personal notes on Rousseau's *The Social Contract*—constructed to contest absolute monarchy—²¹¹ Kiwanuka noted that Europe's leaders 'had taken too much power and enslaved people' and that in consequence '[s]uch people need not obey the Government'.²¹² Rousseau's solution was simple: 'liberty, equality, and universal suffrage'.²¹³ Rousseau's political philosophy cost him, something Kiwanuka explicitly noted: 'The Social Contract: caused a stir—expelled from France.'²¹⁴ Using Locke and Rousseau, Kiwanuka re-imagined the status of monarchy in the postcolony, a state without politically obstructive sovereigns. Indeed, two of Kiwanuka's five 'cardinal principles to observe' well reflect the spirit of Enlightenment thought and revolution. First: 'Kings should never and should be prevented, by force if necessary, to meddle in politics.'²¹⁵ Second: 'It is better to get rid of Kings than have them who interfere with the smooth running of democracy.'²¹⁶

Kiwanuka contextualised his reading of Enlightenment theory to imagine kingdoms whose subjects were free to create their own government, free from hierarchical oppression and colonial rule. Critiquing Buganda's Protestant *katikkiro*, Mikaeri Kintu, Kiwanuka incorporated the revolutionary language of nobility, over taxation and property violation:

So that the Katikkiro may understand better: The common people are those the Katikkiro's lot mistreats day and night, making them kneel in puddles of mud to greet the nobility; they are the people they overtax or imprison for failure to pay; the ones they retrench from their jobs in favour of their relatives. Because of unfounded hatred they were those whose cases were not heard for years while

²¹⁰ Ibid., p. 30, underscore.

²¹¹ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *"The Social Contract" and Other Later Political Writings*, ed. by Victor Gourevitch, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), II, p. xxiv.

²¹² BKMKP [Personal Notes], 'Jean Jacques Rousseau', 28 October 1958–3 December 1958, n.d.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Ibid., 'Rousseau', 11 November 1958.

²¹⁵ BKMKP [Undesignated D] Loose paper, n.d. While not dated, Kiwanuka's writing style matches his dated corpus from the late 1950s and early 1960s, noticeably different from the style he used in 1953.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

they languished in prison, detained without trial; the ones who complained about your chiefs but could not be listened to; the old women whose houses you break under pretext of law; they are the heirs whose property you confiscate under the name of authority; they are the people of all denominations, like the Muslims, whom you regard as worthless and whose tax you use in sending your own people for studies overseas. They are the Kabaka's subjects who serve faithfully for long terms yet you grant them no promotion because you fear their shrewdness. You imprison them falsely, you chase them out of public meetings, which they are elected to represent, for no reason. They are those you deny the right to vote even when no voting rules are violated, the ones whose tax you use to buy cars. They are the peasants you meet in cotton and coffee farms from which the government derives its revenues, the casual labourers in towns working for the welfare of this county. They are the ones who pay homage to the Kabaka on many public occasion.²¹⁷

Kiwanuka used this language further in early 1960, responding to a joint declaration made by the kings of Buganda, Ankole and Toro, arguing that Uganda's citizenry should be free to create democratic government:

The people of Buganda, Ankole and Toro will now know that it is the wish of their Rulers that they should have Governments of their own free choice. They will know also that their rulers are aware that at the present moment their people are not free in their respective kingdom to choose their Governments without fear or prejudice.²¹⁸

Embodied in the DP's political manifesto *Forward to Freedom*, Kiwanuka aimed to 'transform Uganda into a state in which people can live in harmony without fear, want or discrimination based on tribe, religion or race'.²¹⁹ Indeed, in the same manifesto Kiwanuka integrated the language of theology and the language of self-governance: 'Blessed are they who struggle and toil for the sake of self-government for they will have everlasting self satisfaction in a self-governing Buganda.'²²⁰

Challenge and Controversy: Electoral & Constitutional Politicking, 1960 to 1962

Through electoral and constitutional politicking, Kiwanuka and DP activists throughout Uganda contested their future independence. In March 1961, DP members disregarded

²¹⁷ BKMKP [Undesignated] B.K. Kiwanuka to *Ow'Ekitibwa Katikiro*, 14 October 1958. Translation is Bade's (pp. 40–41).

²¹⁸ BKMKP [19] [Designated] B.K. Kiwanuka, 'Press Release', 21 February 1960.

²¹⁹ MUA AF PSF 329.96671 B.M. Kiwanuka, 'Forward to Freedom, Being the Manifesto of the Democratic Party', 11 April 1960, p. 3.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

Mmengo's plea for an electoral boycott to the National Assembly. What with Kiwanuka's liberal ideals and recalcitrance being far too radical for most Baganda, including Catholics, only 3.5 percent of Buganda's potential electorate registered to vote;²²¹ in Buddu, only 2.6 percent of the county's population.²²² While without significant participation in Buganda, approximately 75 percent of Uganda's potential electorate registered to vote.²²³ The DP secured forty-three seats (nineteen from Buganda, twenty-four elsewhere), while Milton Obote's recently formed UPC secured thirty-five seats.²²⁴ In consequence, Kiwanuka was appointed Minister without Portfolio on 14 April 1961 and Prime Minister on 1 March 1962.²²⁵ Following Kiwanuka's appointment, Ganda patriots and nationalists—unwilling to partner with a Catholic-majority movement—aligned with Milton Obote.²²⁶ For Protestants, the possibility of being governed by a Catholic was anathema. *Owekitibwa* A.D. Lubowa recalled:

So the DP, being considered as a purely Catholic Party, had some problems with the party itself. Because when the influential Protestants in Buganda viewed it as a Catholic Party, then they had to stand against it, you know. And this [...] was manifested when Kiwanuka himself became Prime Minister. I used to hear talk in Mmengo, people talking *openly without any fear*, when Kiwanuka had become the Prime Minister—the first Prime Minister of Uganda—they would say, “We can't have a Catholic to rule us.” They were *saying that openly, in Mmengo*. During the pre-Independence period they were saying that, “We can't! For goodness sake, we can't have this Catholic to rule us.” I'm not saying the Kabaka was saying it, but I'm saying the people in Mmengo used to say it openly, “We can't! Now we are reaching Independence, self-government; [...] and a Catholic takes over. *For goodness sake, we can't have this*”. That sort of feeling used to come out.²²⁷

²²¹ Welbourn, *Religion and Politics in Uganda*, p. 22.

²²² Ibid., p. 66.

²²³ The Right Honourable The Earl of Munster, 'Report of the Uganda Relationships Commission' (Entebbe: Government Printer, 1961), p. 26.

²²⁴ Ibid. Cf., D.A. Low, *Buganda in Modern History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), p. 209.

²²⁵ Bade, *Benedicto Kiwanuka*, pp. 73–96.

²²⁶ In November 1958, there were discussions between E.M.K. Mulira and Kiwanuka concerning a merger between their respective parties. Kiwanuka noted: 'On the question of merger of Parties, my Party and the Progressive Party have now formally agreed to merge in principle but we have yet to work out the conditions' (BKMKP [Undesignated C] B.M. Kiwanuka, 'Statement', 21 November 1958). The merger did not materialise (cf., Chapter Three).

²²⁷ Interview, A.D. Lubowa, 23 November 2009, Maya, Mpigi District.

To undermine Catholic ascendancy, Mmengo conservatives under the guise of *Kabaka Yekka* (KY) strategised with UPC activists to prevail in the upcoming, re-scheduled elections in April 1962.²²⁸

Throughout Buganda, KY loyalists intimidated and at times attacked DP supporters, acts that did not go without retaliation.²²⁹ After being attacked and having his home destroyed, one DP activist in Kyaggwe wrote to the Colonial Secretary:

You must know well, sir, that the assaults inflicted upon us of the D.P. by the Kabaka Yeka people, are first arranged by the said two governments that of Kabaka Yeka and of Kintu at Mengo. It is quite obvious that Kabaka Yeka was created in order to do evil actions as they are outside the government of Kintu at Mengo who conceal themselves in Kabaka Yekka. This is proved by the fact that a sub-county chief on 25/2/62 came with a mob of people during day time to destroy and wipe up my home and people. He came with a native government police constable wearing a bade of spears and shield on his fez cap and had big kneves with him. These two people were the most dangerous ones to my life saying that it was now time for the Kabaka to kill the red ant [...] [sic.] [...] ²³⁰

From 1961 up until independence, KY and DP activists engaged in a flurry of activism and pamphlet-production. *Kabaka Yekka* activists such as Abubakar Mayanja warned: 'If the party supported by the Roman Catholic Church comes into power that will be the end of this Kingdom.'²³¹ Conversely, Archbishop Joseph Kiwanuka argued in his controversial 'Pastoral Letter' that KY activists would be ultimately responsible for the ruin of Buganda's monarchy:

When political parties are established in a country, if the king still mixes up in politics the kingship is on the way to digging its own grave. [...] That is why I do not like these slogans "Kabaka yekka" (the Kabaka alone-) nor the party nor the activities, which they say is "to be behind the throne" or "to fight for the throne" or "to support the Lukiiko." Among the parties already established there

²²⁸ The formal objectives of KY were to demonstrate 'unshaken loyalty to the throne', 'unite all loyalists together' and 'hit back at D.P.'s which has held several demonstrations [sic.] (MUA KY/71(D) 'Kabaka Yekka, Aims and Objectives', 12 June 1961). Additional goals included: 'ensure that political changes do not destroy all our national heritage—The throne, clans and good customs and traditions'; and 'ensure that [impenitent] hungry for power politicians do not get into power'.

²²⁹ Simon Mwebe indicated that one of the primary goals of the party's Youth Wing was to retaliate physical attacks, a means of practising, 'An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth' (Interview, Simon Mwebe, 17 March 2010, Kampala).

²³⁰ BNA CO 822/2125/6 Gilbert Mulindwa, Mukono, to Colonial Secretary, 6 April 1962.

²³¹ ICS PP.UG.KY 'Kabaka Yekka'. Cf., ICS PP.UG.KY A.K. Mayanja, '*Kabaka Yekka Amulisa Obulimba bwa D.P.*', n.d.; and ICS PP.UG.KY '*Kabaka Atta Nabbe*', n.d.

is not a single one that has done anything on which could be based the accusation “Now it is evident, that such party wants to destroy the Throne! Even more, if the Government could prove such a thing, it would be deeply guilty not to take that party to the Court of justice and file a suit against it. Those “Kabaka Yekka” and the others who flatter themselves that they are the defenders of the Throne and of the King, are the one who will spoil our royalty by dragging the king in the backwash of politics [sic].”²³²

Opposition against Benedicto Kiwanuka and the DP, however, was not confined to Protestant and Muslim conservatives. On 29 March 1960, dissenting Catholic Semakula Mulumba forwarded a fifty-six page critique against Kiwanuka to ‘All Black People in Uganda’.²³³ In his flamboyant and extensive chastisement, Mulumba critiqued Kiwanuka’s character by suggesting that the greatest enemy of the DP’s president lay within his own heart, not Buganda.²³⁴ Mulumba accused Kiwanuka of neglecting his wife, arguing that if he, Mulumba, had not intervened she would have died.²³⁵ Mulumba wrote poignantly, albeit sarcastically: ‘I, whom the priests have separated from other Catholics by being decried in public as a “bad Catholic”, this is what I did for Benedicto Kiwanuka, “a good Catholic”’.²³⁶ Mulumba lambasted Kiwanuka for being obsequious toward Uganda’s Catholic priests: ‘Benedicto Kiwanuka still desires embrace from the Catholic priests. That is still the Catholics’ biggest problem. The time has come for Catholics to fight the chains of slavery!’²³⁷

In 1962, two crucial elections were held in B/Uganda between Uganda’s two Constitutional Conferences—Lancaster (September–October 1961) and Marlborough (June 1962). First, in February Buganda conducted *Lukiiko* elections, resulting in the

²³² RDA 81.4 Archbishop Joseph Kiwanuka, ‘Pastoral Letter: Church and State, Guiding Principles’, November 1961, p. 14.

²³³ UML Semakula Mulumba to All Black People in Uganda, 29 March 1960. A copy of this letter was fortuitously discovered between a stack of books while I was conducting research in the Uganda Museum, Kampala. I have maintained a copy.

²³⁴ ‘*Abalabe ba Benedicto Kiwanuka abasinga obukambwe gy’ali bali mu ye yennyini mu mutima gwe?*’ (Ibid., p. 8).

²³⁵ Ibid., ¶ 52–68.

²³⁶ ‘*Nze, Abepiskopi n’Abasoloti gwe banukanyizze a’Abakatoliki, be banvumilira ng’Omukatoliki “omubi,” eyava mu by’abatoliki, bibino bye nnyanjula, bye nakolera “Omukatoliki Omulungi [...]*’ (Ibid., ¶ 52).

²³⁷ ‘*Benedicto Kiwanuka akayagala nnyo okulerebwa n’okunywegera Abepiskopi n’Abasoloti. Ogwo gwe gukyali omuze ogw’omutawana ennyo mu Bakatoliki abasingira ddala obungi. Abakatoliki obudde butunse okukutula empingu ez’obuddu ng’abasajja*’ (Ibid., ¶ 97)! For further insight see: Munno, 9 May 1958 & 22 March 1960.

appointment of sixty-five KY representatives to DP's mere three.²³⁸ From this new assemblage, the *Lukiiko* appointed twenty-one members to the National Assembly.²³⁹ Second, in April elections were held throughout the country's remaining constituencies, resulting in thirty-seven seats for the UPC and twenty-four for the DP.²⁴⁰ With fifty-eight seats to DP's twenty-four, Uganda's UPC/KY coalition secured parliamentary majority. On 28 April, only one year after his appointment (minister without portfolio), Benedicto Kiwanuka vacated the premier's residence.²⁴¹ To date, after nearly fifty years he is the only elected prime minister or president to have democratically vacated office in Uganda.

Conclusion: Marginal Politics in Comparison

Buganda's marginal communities positioned themselves differently in the postcolony. As was shown in Chapter Four, Buganda's Muslim minority used history to pluralise a past from which political space could be imagined. Contrasting Buganda's Catholic majority, Ganda Muslims sought to create political space that had been monopolised by Christian powerbrokers from the 1890s onward. Rising conservative sentiment throughout the late 1950s provided ample ground for Muslims—led by a Ganda prince—to reclaim space in Buganda's kingdom, patriotic repositioning considered more important than creating political legroom in Uganda. Ganda Muslims used patriotic sentiment to assert themselves as polemicists, gatekeepers of Buganda's monarchy in the postcolonial state. In consequence, Ganda Muslims shaped the internal affairs of Buganda's kingdom in the 1960s in ways not previously possible.

By contrast, Benedicto Kiwanuka was not royal, nor was Buganda's Catholic community a minority. This altered the dynamics significantly. Protestant powerbrokers in Buganda and Uganda were willing to partner with B/Uganda's Muslim minority to contest Catholic majority political claim. For Kiwanuka, it stood to reason that if political communities ought to align themselves alongside democratic consensus or universality, Buganda's kingdom ought to be subject to the political process of national liberalisation.

²³⁸ Low, *Buganda in Modern History*, p. 219.

²³⁹ 'Report of the Uganda Independence Conference, 1962' (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, July 1962), p. 3

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ RDA 904.4 Kiwanuka, '1962 Uganda Election', p. 1.

In short, to contest Buganda's autocratic monarchy, Muslim activists such as Abubakar Mayanja considered themselves necessary negotiators and gatekeepers of Buganda's hierarchy; Kiwanuka used theology and constitutional ideation to push Buganda's monarchy away from hierarchical autocracy driven by royal patronage, ethnicity or religious devotion. His liberalising project was sweeping, and he maintained power for less than one year.



Figure 5.1 Benedicto Kiwanuka with Archbishop Kiwanuka, n.d.
Archbishop Joseph Kiwanuka (centre); Benedicto Kiwanuka (far right)
BKMKP



Figure 5.2 Benedicto Kiwanuka hoists DP flag, late 1950s
Activists display enthusiasm through the party's fisted gesture
BKMKP



Figure 5.3 Benedicto Kiwanuka with *Saint Andrew Daily Missal*, n.d.
BKMKP

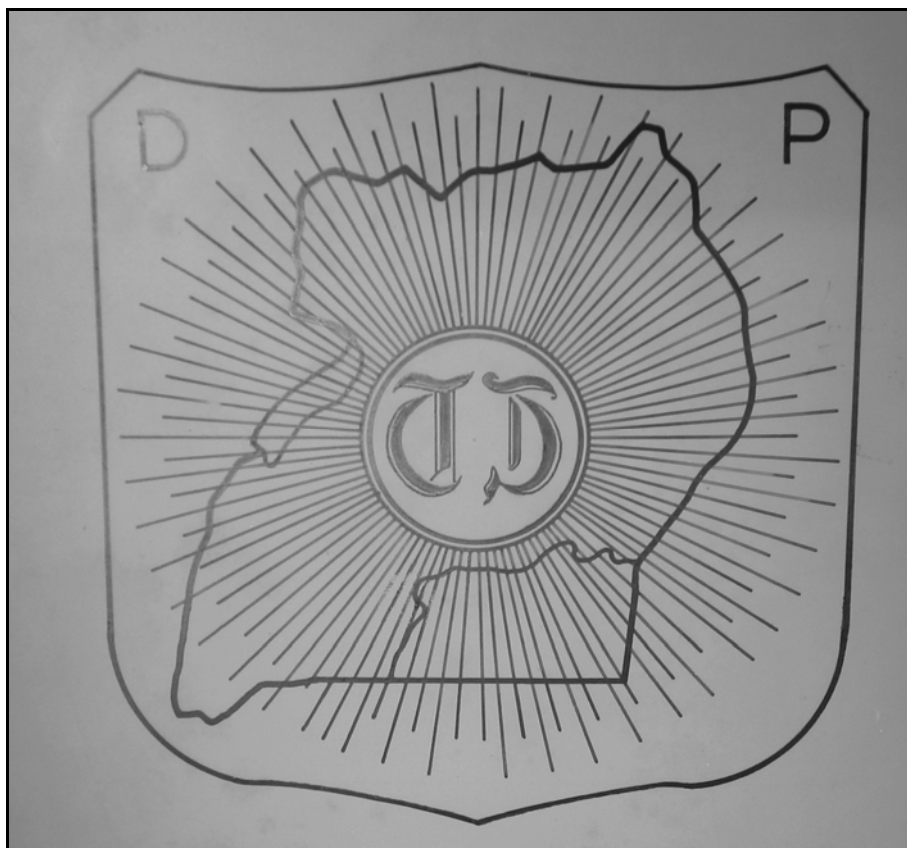


Figure 5.4 DP Emblem, 1959
BKMKP Sundry Corresp. + Lukiiko Matters



Figure 5.5 *Saint Andrew Daily Missal* (Bruges: Liturgical Apostolate Abbey of St-André, 1957), p x.
BKMKP Library



Figure 5.6 Uganda's Inaugural Ceremony, Prime Minister Benedicto Kiwanuka, 1 March 1962
BKMKP

Postscript

Authenticating Political Power

The Revelatory Kingdom, Past & Present

“Siroota kibula”: addusa ekyalo.

(He who maintains) “I do not dream what does not happen”: drives the whole village away.

~Luganda Proverb¹

Scholars have recognised the importance of dream and revelation in the societies of Africa.² Most notably, Bengt Sundkler, argued ‘that dreams play a more dominant role in the experience of Africans than in that of other peoples, at the least more so than for Westerners’.³ In his seminal work on independent churches in Zululand, Sundkler demonstrated that dreams played a rudimentary part in the development of Zionist communities by facilitating group integration.⁴ In subsequent study, Sundkler showed that luminary visions within Zulu dream culture provided a framework for converts to resolve their deepest moral conflicts through processes of interpretation, ritual used to build moral communities.⁵ Sundkler noted: ‘The luminary visions in Zulu dream life formed a new and obvious point of reference: the Zionist group in white.’⁶ Finally, in his study on Christianity in Bukoba, Sundkler studied the extensive dream life of Pastor

¹ Ferdinand Walser, *Luganda Proverbs*, (Berlin: Reimer, 1982), no. 4819.

² See: John Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony: Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement, 1684–1706*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Sandra E. Greene, *Sacred Sites and the Colonial Encounter: A History of Meaning and Memory in Ghana* (Bloomington, I.N.: Indiana University Press, 2002); and Derek R. Peterson, *Pilgrims & Patriots: Conversion, Dissent, & the Making of Civil Societies in East Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). Cf., *Dreaming, Religion and Society in Africa*, ed. by M.C. Jędrej and Rosalind Shaw (Leiden: Brill, 1992); *Dreams: A Reader on Religious, Cultural and Psychological Dimensions of Dreaming*, ed. by Kelly Bulkeley (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001); and Kelly Bulkeley, *Dreaming in the World’s Religions: A Comparative History* (New York: New York University Press, 2008).

³ Bengt Sundkler, *Bara Bukoba: Church and Community in Tanzania* (London: C. Hurst & Company, 1980), p. 99.

⁴ Bengt Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1948), p. 273.

⁵ Bengt Sundkler, *Zulu Zion and Some Swazi Zionists* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 266.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 311.

Loje, whose diaries recorded over 850 dreams since 1934.⁷ For Sundkler, Loje's dreams were 'spiritual',⁸ used by Tanzania's first generation Christians to mediate cultural encounter: 'In the contact and conflict of cultures in which he and his generation were involved, the images of dreams and visions helped make the new knowledge personal and urgent.'⁹

Sundkler's study is innovative and important, but tended to place dream phenomenology too neatly within the context of the Church, distancing dream capital from political contestation—like other studies on the subject.¹⁰ Dreams in early colonial Africa were not confined within the Church, a distinctly separate, religious sphere. As explored in my Introduction, the dichotomisation of religion and politics is invented and is not useful for understanding Africa's past, including Africa's disparate dream cultures. Competing political actors used dreams differently to imagine broader moral critique and to question the practice of power in the colonial state. Through the public processes of interpreting dreams, communities sought to create authority and to imagine epistemological and rhetorical capital from which societies could be reconfigured.

The processes of imagining politics in colonial Buganda was not confined to textual practices. Dreams, like books, constituted authority, specialist knowledge that activists were challenged to translate into political capital and to authenticate political activism. The first half of this Postscript explores the different ways that variant actors and communities used their dreams to contest power in colonial Buganda. The use and meaning of dreams varied, often reflecting broader political discourse. Ignatius Musazi, Erienza Bwete and Spartas Mukasa used their dreams and revelations to legitimise political movement and to reform Buganda's chieftaincy. In contrast, E.M.K. Mulira used his dreams to imagine a commoners' kingdom where non-Baganda and *bakopi* participated directly in political hierarchy. Dreams, though, did not always translate into political

⁷ Sundkler, *Bara Bukoba*, p. 99.

⁸ Ibid., p. 98.

⁹ Ibid., p. 112.

¹⁰ See: Gerrie ter Haar, *Spirit of Africa: Healing Ministry of Archbishop Milingo of Zambia* (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1992); Birgit Meyer, *Translating the Devil: Religion and Modernity Among the Ewe in Ghana* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press for the International African Institute, 1999), pp. 64 & 94; and Nelson O. Hayashida, *Dreams in the African Literature: The Significance of Dreams and Visions Among Zambian Baptists* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999).

authority or dissent. In Buganda's court, marginalised Muslims struggled to translate their dreams into dissenting movements, well-demonstrated by Hoda Bira, a dissenting dreamer from Butambala, whose potential project was effectively dissipated by Buganda's Christian powerbrokers.

In the second half of this Postscript, I explore the political practice of spirit possession in modern Buganda. Following Muteesa II's deportation, one particular *lubaale* prophet, Kigaanira Ssewanyana, used possession to overtly contest colonial power. Through possession and public displays of supranatural authority, Kigaanira advocated for a participatory politics from which society could be positioned beyond the restrictive politicking of Buganda's constitutional intellectuals. The respective activisms of Kigaanira and Buganda's textual intellectuals, though, did not exist in separate political spheres. Buganda's kingdom was discursively horizontal, and to legitimise political authority during Muteesa's deportation, intellectuals such as Harvard-educated Ernest Balintuma Kalibala positioned themselves alongside Kigaanira's heterodoxy. In contemporary Buganda, possession practices provide important political space for citizens to renegotiate power and authority.

Dreams of Dissent in Early Colonial Buganda

Prior to colonialism, Baganda used dreams to shape public discourse.¹¹ CMS missionary, Walter E. Owen, observed in the early twentieth century that public ideals of life after death among elderly Baganda were shaped by dream phenomenology. One of Owen's interlocutors believed that the conscience or 'soul' continued after physical death if for no other reason than the dead appeared to the living in dreams, fully lifelike and able to engage in meaningful conversation.¹² Owen recorded:

¹¹ Recent scholars of Uganda have ignored the importance of dreams in Buganda's precolonial landscape. For example, see: Christopher Wrigley, *Kingship and State: The Buganda Dynasty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Richard J. Reid, *Political Power in Pre-Colonial Buganda: Economy, Society & Welfare in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: James Currey, 2002); Holly E. Hanson, *Landed Obligation: The Practice of Power in Buganda* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 2003); Henri Médard, *Le Royaume du Buganda Au XIXe Siècle: Mutations Politiques et Religieuses D'un Ancien Etat d'Afrique de l'Est* (Paris: Karthala, 2007); and Neil Kodesh, *Beyond the Royal Gaze: Clanship and Public Healing in Buganda* (Charlottesville, V.A.: University of Virginia Press, 2010).

¹² W.E. Owen, 'Influence of Dreams on the Baganda', *Uganda Notes* (September 1910), p. 148.

Following up the clue thus received, enquiry amongst other Baganda, Christian as well as heathen, showed that there is a belief pretty generally held, that in dreams about the dead the *Mizimu* or spirits of the dead appear. The phenomena are not dismissed as being but dreams, for great depression of spirits occurs, evidently having close relation to the intensity of the belief.¹³

Like Owen, early ethnographer John Roscoe discerned the importance of dreams among his Ganda informants, noting that, '[d]reams were regarded as important, and as the means of communication between the living and the dead'.¹⁴ Roscoe further noted the importance of interpretive practice: 'No person ever let a dream pass unnoticed, without drawing from it the lesson it was intended to convey.'¹⁵ In colonial Buganda, competing actors continued to use dreams to imagine public discourse and authenticate power.

Dissenting Protestant, Erienza Bwete, was one of Buganda's foremost trade unionists in the 1940s (see Chapter One). Together with I.K. Musazi and Peter Sonko, Bwete organised political protest and co-operatives throughout rural B/Uganda. The triumvirate employed biblical language to imagine economic justice. Textual adaption, however, accompanied revelation and dream. In July 1946, Musazi believed God 'revealed' to him the meaning of Isaiah's 'true fast', while in deportation.¹⁶ And when Bwete talked about the disturbances of 1949, he used metaphorical language replete with literary repetition and allegory, not unlike Daniel, Ezekiel or Revelation. Following one of the more violent protests of the period, Bwete fled Kampala to avoid arrest.

Recollecting his evasion, Bwete composed prophetically:

The rain came on us, the coldness, snakes and monkeys, all worried us much. Once a snake of about fourteen feet-five inches passed between us. We were terribly afraid and shouted. Another time, a dog came and killed a monkey in front of us. We were eventually told the meaning of this. The meaning was that our enemies will just pass through us and others will be killed in front of us.¹⁷

¹³ Ibid. Shane Doyle argues that spirit possession often accompanied illness or strange dreams in precolonial Bunyoro (Shane Doyle, 'The Cwezi-Kubandwa Debate: Gender, Hegemony and Pre-Colonial Religion in Bunyoro, Western Uganda', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 77 (2007), 559–81 (p. 560).

¹⁴ John Roscoe, *The Baganda: An Account of Their Native Customs and Beliefs*, 2nd edn (London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1965), p. 18.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ IKML English Bible/Isaiah 58^{6–7}, annotation; and IKML Common Book of Prayer/Isaiah 58, annotation.

¹⁷ EBP Loose Manuscripts, n.d.

Bwete's private papers further indicate that dissenting farmers in the 1930s used dreams to marshal dissent.¹⁸ While sleeping one evening in 1938, two angels wearing long black robes with white collars and red belts appeared to Bwete. As the room filled with 'great light just like sun shine', one of the angels exhorted Bwete: 'Erieza, you will do voluntary work. You will unite my people—the farmers. Do not fear anything, be patient always and you will manage what comes to you. I will always lead you wherever you go to work for the famers.' The following night, two different angels visited Bwete. At first, one 'fat and largely built' angel revealed himself, as half the room filled with light. Bwete was struck not only by the angel's weight, but by his colour: 'From his toes, waist, chest and the collar of his long robe [the angel was] very black.' The angel admonished:

You! You are the messenger whom the Lord has chosen to unite the farmers. Wherever you will go, be his messenger. You will live longer and be able to see what many farmers will do. You will live happily but your riches have been concealed. It will take many years for you to discover your riches, but you shall be proud of it.

A second cherub subsequently appeared, who then joined his portly colleague in mounting a horse. Bwete was struck, again, 'with greater clarity', by the angels' deep-black clothing. From horseback, the angels instructed Bwete: 'You will win in all things because of the might of your God.' Then, after being advised four times to '[w]rite to the leaders of the nation', Bwete awoke. For the next six days he rested in bed, unable to leave due to dizziness.

After one week's rest, Bwete, who described himself as a 'drowned person' in appearance, sought elucidation from his community. He disclosed his dream to family and neighbours throughout the village. One group suggested that the angels' black robes signified the legitimacy of the revelation, 'that the message was brought by angels from the God of all creation'. For some, the angel's red belt symbolised persecution, while

¹⁸ The following narration is extracted from loose manuscripts found throughout Bwete's private papers. Fragmented, disheveled and difficult to decipher Luganda penmanship resulted in translation difficulty. The larger corpus from which I draw is taken from an account Bwete recorded much later in life, 9 October 1999. I am not aware to what extent Bwete wished to publish his later revision, or unfortunately, how accurately they represent his original experience. In Mulira's papers, dream and revelation are consistently referenced throughout several decades—interpretations seldom contradict. Should Mulira's papers and standards of oral recollection throughout the interlacustrine region prove applicable, it is likely that Bwete's manuscripts, at least in principle, accurately preserve his earlier dreams.

others argued it implied that large crowds would ignore Bwete's divine message. One interpretation read: 'Let us run away from him, he is wearing blood.' Other village interpretations foretold collective sorrow, of those who would 'walk away slowly, holding their heads obviously worried and weeping'.

Following local analysis, Bwete sought interpretation from dissenting Protestant-turned-Orthodox, Reuban Spartas Mukasa, *Abazukulu ba Kintu* organiser and principal Bataka activist during the 1940s (see Chapter One). From Namungona, Kyaddondo, Buganda's Orthodox priest authoritatively reinterpreted Bwete's dream. Contesting previous interpreters, Spartas argued that angelic appearance implied blessing for the obedient. Angelic revelation entailed honour and reward, that God would both compensate for Bwete's labour and multiply preachers of the gospel of the farmer. For Spartas, God had revealed in Bwete's dream that all persons committed to volunteerism were in fact preachers of the gospel. To buttress his claim, Spartas grabbed a nearby Bible and read aloud Psalm 23, showing its inner meaning, 'The Lord is my shepherd *of volunteerism*'.¹⁹ While Spartas agreed with previous interpretations, that the angel's red belt implied rejection, he suggested that it also inferred the consoling character of Bwete's mission. 'Treacherous people' would be unable to withstand Bwete's 'meetings of light', gatherings beautified by actual sunshine. Spartas further noted that the departure of protesters from Bwete's 'meetings of light' implied political victory and protection from incarceration, or torture in 'the rage to come'. Following his interpretation, Spartas organised a commissioning ceremony, where he sanctioned Bwete's calling to contest the leaders of the nation. Spartas, who raised his hands over Bwete's head, prayed that God would empower Bwete to compose; a prayer to which Bwete audibly responded, 'Amen!'. In benediction, Spartas announced: 'Erieza Bwete, let God be merciful to you. Let him help you in whatever you will do for the people. Amen.'

Ignatius Musazi, Erieza Bwete and Spartas Mukasa, used their dreams and revelations to legitimise political movement and to envision an interpretative liturgy from which they could contest Buganda's monarchy. Bwete used his dream to create a principled distancing from Buganda's colonial state, to authenticate a dissenter's moral

¹⁹ Italics added.

foci. Further, dream and ritual signified a process of luminosity, an activist's rite of passage, where Bwete ritually identified with a nascent, though formidable, political community. Dream and interpretation served to propel Bwete into activism, a calling to write to the leaders of the nation. In consequence, Bwete spent the next decade of his life rigorously advocating for Musazi's equitable kingdom.

In contrast to Ignatius Musazi and Erienza Bwete, E.M.K. Mulira used dreams to imagine a commoners' kingdom, political space where non-Baganda and *bakopi* participated directly in political hierarchy. In books such as *Teefe* and *Aligaweesa*, Mulira recast a kingdom where political accessibility did not rest on arbitrary monarchical appointment and patriotism. In Mulira's kingdom, ethnic derivation or sociological hierarchy did not ensure political virtue. As demonstrated in *Teefe*, Mulira critiqued fellow Baganda, casting Rwandese as Buganda's politically esteemed. Mulira's political vision emphasised social cooperation, ethnically inclusive moral communities—communities Mulira used dreams to imagine.

As indicated in Chapter Two, dreams were common to E.M.K. Mulira. Throughout his young and adult life, Mulira believed God provided him with political insight through dreams and revelations. In fact, Mulira's remaining diaries contain sections that detail his mysterious encounters, including a map of a geographical area he traversed while in a dream on 5 May 1930 (see Figure P.1). Three years after his father-in-law, Hamu Mukasa, helped produce an illustrated edition of John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* in Luganda,²⁰ Mulira dreamt, like those in Bunyan's 'certain place',²¹ that 'the Baganda had chosen the broad way that led to destruction [...] going to perdition, and [...] completely lost'.²² Mulira recalled:

In my dream I saw the students [Makerere students] in a crowd in the street (Hoima Road as it was called then) just where Kyaddondo Road joins with that Hoima Road. They were heading in the direction of Nakulabye. Then I heard a

²⁰ Isabel Hofmeyr suggests that *Pilgrim's Progress* was first published in Luganda in 1896, translated by the Church Missionary Society and published by the Religious Tract Society (Isabel Hofmeyr, *The Portable Bunyan: A Transnational History of The Pilgrim's Progress* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), p. 240). In 1927, a third edition was printed, where Hamu Mukasa is pictured in two of the prominent illustrations (John Bunyan, *Omutambuze*, trans. by E.C. Gordon, 3rd edn (Kampala: Uganda Bookshop, 1927).

²¹ John Bunyan, *Pilgrim's Progress* (New York: P.F. Collier & Son, 1909), p. 1.

²² CCAS MP E.M.K. Mulira, [Journal], Mss., 8 April 1983.

voice say “All the Baganda have taken to the broad road including K....., only the two students from Zanzibar have not joined them”. When I turned I saw the two Zanzibar students standing behind me motionless, Then I found myself turning to the right and taking a very faint path hardly noticeable and walking down to the Konko, the Nnamaalwa’s place as it was then known because a certain lady possessed land and a house there, the path went by Ernest Samwiri W. Kironde’s house.²³

As the dream unfolded, a young Mulira was led past Kyaddondo Road, where he soon encountered an ‘old Kiganda hut’, dirty and full of smoke.²⁴ Outside the structure sat a group of inebriated elders. Being unfamiliar with the junction, Mulira reluctantly asked for directions:

They [Ganda elders] paid no attention to me. I asked them a second time and they paid no attention either. Then I decided to turn to the left at almost right angles with the Kyaddondo Road. When I turned that way I saw a footpath. I walked on it a few [yards] until I came to a very filthy pit, so filthy that I had never seen anything like it in all my life—I was aghast and turned back and went back to the dirty hut. I asked the gentlemen in the hut again whether they had seen my friends. This time, they rebuked me and shouted at my rude words and threatened that if I disturbed them again they would beat me. Meanwhile I saw my friends passing me in a crowd along the road from the Hoima Road. When they hit the Kyddondo Road they just walked across it in a crowd. After they had passed me I walked following in their trail but I could not cope with their speed[.].²⁵

Mulira’s dream concluded with an ascending journey upward toward St. Paul’s Cathedral, Namirembe. Here, like St. John of Patmos, Mulira encountered twenty-four elders clad in spotless robes and observed a number of strange and fantastic creatures before hearing Jesus, who was hovering above Mulira, declare, ‘Mulira, I will make you my servant among the people and I will grant to you whatever you will need’.²⁶

Mulira’s dream is rich in contrast and imagery, symbolism that paralleled Bunyan’s text.²⁷ In the dream, a young Mulira approached a cadre of Baganda sitting alongside a road that penetrated into the heart of Buganda’s capital, Kyaddondo. Here, he finds drunkenness, hostility and an absence of wisdom among Ganda elders, similar to Vanity Fair. The compound on which the elders are found is strikingly dirty, as is the

²³ CCAS MP E.M.K. Mulira, [Journal], Mss., ‘God’s Uttermost Love for Me[:] The Dream’, nd.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ ‘*Mulira, ndikufuula omuweereza wange mu bantu na buli ky’onyagalanga nnaakikuko beranga*’ (Ibid).

²⁷ I wish to thank Derek Peterson for drawing this point to my attention.

adjacent ground, where Mulira observed, ‘a very filthy pit, so filthy that I had never seen anything like it in all my life’. Mulira’s tableaux paralleled Bunyan’s ‘Slough of Dispond [sic.]’, where pilgrims become ‘grievously debauched with the dirt’.²⁸ In Bunyan’s dream, ‘miry Slough’ symbolised the conviction of sinners, a place where the unconverted collectively settled due to ‘many fears and doubts, and discouraging apprehensions’.²⁹ The story’s protagonist, Christian, is informed that the King, however, does not take pleasure ‘that this place should remain so bad’.³⁰ And in consequence, virtuous labourers (cf., *Teeffe*) and surveyors, ‘from *all places* of the King’s dominions’,³¹ have attempted to tend the ground, though without success:

[...] for these sixteen hundred years implored about this patch of ground, if perhaps it might have been mended: yea, and to my knowledge, [...] *here* hath been swallowed up at least twenty thousand cart-loads, yea, millions of wholesome instructions, [...]³²

Running parallel to Mulira’s road of destruction, though, lays Hoima Road, the ‘narrow way’,³³ leading to and from Bunyoro, Buganda’s precolonial rival. It is from those travelling upon the latter that Mulira finds his way. Again, in Bunyan’s story, the lauded King employed subjects from all dominions (cf., *Aligaweesa*). Fittingly, Mulira is not guided in his pilgrimage by inept Ganda elders, but by non-Baganda youth (cf., *Teeffe*), including two Zanzibari. Mulira is then led to Namirembe hill, where he encounters a bizarre world filled with biblical metaphor and imagery.

Shortly after waking, Mulira approached an Interpreter,³⁴ the students’ chaplain at Makerere College, Revd Nasanaeri Zake, where he sought insight and explanation.³⁵ Mulira used his dream to critique Buganda’s ineffectual gatekeepers, citizens who, having built their home near the Slough, now esteemed fear, doubt and apprehension. Mulira’s dream further offered a subtle critique of monarchical power in Buganda. In Bunyan’s dream, Christian’s monarch took definitive steps to marshal disparate communities for

²⁸ Bunyan, *Pilgrim’s Progress*, p. 19.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 20.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid. Italics added.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid., p. 32.

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 32–41.

³⁵ CCAS MP Mulira, ‘God’s Uttermost Love for Me’.

common purpose and labour. For Buganda's elders, no such king is evident. Buganda's king is aloof, distanced from Buganda's dirty landscape.

In Bunyan's text, monarchy is cast inclusively, spiritual space where actors of 'all places' serve God's purposes. Similarly, in Mulira's dream, luminaries are not Baganda, they are commoners from Zanzibar and Bunyoro. Like Christian's Interpreter, Zake advised Mulira to keep the dream near to his heart—a vision considered 'a very important dream'. Indeed, Mulira recalled the experience throughout his political career: 'I wrote the dream immediately in a notebook that morning but throughout the years I lost the notebook, but the dream is as fresh in my mind [1983] as it was that morning of 5th May 1930.'³⁶

Bwete and Mulira used their competing dreams to disparate ends—arguably, successfully. In each instance, both effectively translated revelatory charisma into concrete authority. In other words, a thematically related political project followed suit. For Bwete and Mulira, charismatic translation succeeded, at least partially, because of Christian resonance, connectivity with a sympathetic interpretative community from which authenticity was grounded in familiar discourse, common power. To be sure, though, dreams did not always translate into political authority or dissent. In Buganda's court, marginalised Muslims struggled to translate their dreams into dissenting movement.

On 6 July 1909, Hoda Bira, a Muslim activist, travelled from Butambala to Buganda's *Lukiiko*, where he claimed to be the Prophet Isa (Jesus), after he received a revelation.³⁷ Interestingly, Bira was not asked to leave or to remove himself from Bulange. By contrast, he was invited to explain to *Kabaka* Chwa and thirty-two members present on the *Lukiiko*—including Stanislaus Mugwanya and Nuhu Mbogo—'how he had become the Prophet Isa'.³⁸ Bira explained:

I was sleeping when the Prophet Mohamed called me. When the Prophet appeared he was together with the Angel Gabriel who stepped on my stomach and told me that I was like one of the prophets and should no longer be called

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ BLA 6 July 1909, p. 110.

³⁸ Ibid.

Hoda Bira but Prophet Isa. I had this same dream thrice. All the time the man told me to tell my friends as I would be told always.³⁹

Buganda's powerbrokers spent considerable time questioning the imagery, nature and legitimacy of the dream. The account of interpretation is preserved in detail and warrants extended citation:

He [Hoda Bira] was asked how he that appeared to him at first resembled.

He replied, "He was a holy man with a beard, tall with a silver turban on his head."

He was then asked what he looked like the second time.

He answered, "I heard the voice only saying 'I am the Prophet Muhammad. Tell your friends as I will always tell you.'"

Then he was asked what message he had been told to tell us, but he did not remember what it had been. Then he was asked why he was not able to instruct people of all religions which he had been told to do. We were gathered but he would not tell us the message. To this he replied that he could not remember everything because he was all by himself at the time of the vision.

He was then asked whether he was speaking the truth, he said that he did not know whether it was true or not because what he had was a mere dream.

Question: "If you were transformed how can we speak with you?"

Answer: "I am not sure whether or not I am speaking words of the prophets because I, too, have never seen angels."

Question: Question by H.H. Kabaka: "What you wrote to say that you were the Prophet Isa is a fact and not a mere dream. How is that?"

Answer: "I only wrote to the Mwalimu Sabiti to interpret the meaning of the dream but never knew that the matter would get as far as you."

Question: "Why do you fear us, who are after all mere human beings, when you are in fact the angel's messenger?"

Answer: "What I have got to answer is no longer worth much, perhaps they were not delivered properly to me."

Question: "Why did people boycott the mosque in your place?"

Answer: "Because I called myself Prophet Ismail, my father's name. They said that Ismail was a forbidden name in their religion."

The Lukiiko then sent for the chiefs of the area and the Mwalimu before they did any more cross-examination.⁴⁰

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 111.

Again, Bira's dream is not casually dismissed; it warranted consideration at Buganda's highest court. Even then, it is one thing to recognise the adverse impact of a vivid dream on a mentally unstable person; it is another thing all together to spend extended time working through 'thick description', accounting for the detail of voice and imagery. Political powerbrokers typically have little time to indulge their citizens' religious hallucinations, except here. Bira's prophetic dream was not religious fiction, it was politically consequential and worthy of critical analysis by Buganda's Christian government. In the public sphere, it was essential to explore what characters looked like, the colour of their clothes and the feature of their faces.

Like Mulira, who used his dream to draw an ordained minister into discussion about ineffectual Baganda, Biri sought to use his dream to translate personal charisma into authority, something he attempted to authenticate through his Muslim elder, Mwalimu Sabiti. Buganda's court, by contrast, sought to undermine the authenticity of Bira's centralising vision, which entailed repositioning Buganda's rural, Muslim landscape around the authority of a prophetic reformer (Hoda Bira), not Buganda's hierarchy. In eastern Africa's political tradition, Muslim dreams were consequential, and it seems probable that Buganda's historically-minded Christian powerbrokers recalled earlier attempts made by dissenting Nubians (Mahdists) to Islamise Buganda's monarchy. To push Biri away from this agenda, powerbrokers pluralised interpretation, using central power to dissipate discourse: 'Then he was asked why he was not able to instruct people of all religions which he had been told to do.'⁴¹ Moreover, Buganda's Protestant king directly challenged Biri, an autocratic demonstration of *sala 'musango*: 'Why do you fear us, who are after all mere human beings, when you are in fact the angel's messenger?' The *Lukiiko*'s strategy was effective; Biri reneged: '[...] he replied that he could not remember everything because he was all by himself at the time of the vision.' In consequence, the *Lukiiko* decided that the best course of action lay in further dissipation, bringing in more discussants: 'The Lukiiko then sent for the chiefs of the area and the Mwalimu before they did any more cross-examination.'

⁴¹ Ibid.

Dreams were used by disparate actors to anchor moral authenticity, and this to different political ends—some succeeded, while others failed to translate charisma into power. Throughout the twentieth century, political crisis often precipitated the intensity of dreams in the public sphere. For example, in the aftermath of Muteesa II's deportation, disparate Baganda dreamed revelations and debated interpretation to engineer moral critique. Luganda-written newspapers, such as *Ndimugezi* (I am a wise person), devoted print space to record peoples' dreams. One Muganda, Mr. Nsongola, dreamt that 'all European nations excluding Great Britain and Greece came by an aeroplane and landed at Nawampiti village'.⁴² Another dreamt that Muteesa won his hearing at the Uganda High Court, after which the deported monarch telegraphed Buganda.⁴³ In the dream, celebrations erupted throughout the kingdom, festivities that included Asians.⁴⁴ In colonial Buganda, dreams were not politically distanced experiences, contained within the walls of religious buildings. From marginal actors to monarchs, activists were challenged to authenticate and contest political authority through the practice and interpretation of dreams and revelation.

Possession & Political Participation, Colony to Postcolony

The processes of authenticating political power varied in colonial Buganda. To reason competing moral economies, activists positioned otherworldly encounters alongside variant pasts and projects. By the mid-nineteenth century, Ganda communities used spirit possession to imagine a political authority separate from Buganda's monarchy. And while initiatives were made throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century to impede possession ritual, practices continued throughout colonial Buganda. Following Muteesa II's deportation, one particular *lubaale* prophet, Kigaanira Ssewannyana, used possession to overtly contest colonial power. Through possession and public displays of supranatural authority, Kigaanira advocated for a participatory politics from which society could be positioned beyond the restrictive politicking of Buganda's constitutional intellectuals. In contemporary Buganda, possession practices provide important political space for citizens to negotiate power and authority, again, a participatory sphere of

⁴² *Ndimugezi*, 10 September 1954.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

activism where appointed leaders are held to account and the general public is able to redress grievances associated with the failure of the state.

The Prophetic Ministry of Matia Kigaanira Ssewanyana Kibuuka, 1953 to 1955

By the mid-nineteenth century, communities used spirit possession to imagine a political authority separate from Buganda's monarchy. As Holly Hanson shows, political practice associated with *balubaale* (hero-gods or spiritually powerful beings) and *misambwa* (spirits associated with trees and brooks that have an ability to appear as women or certain animals) constituted a sphere of activism that rivalled Buganda's precolonial kings.⁴⁵

Balubaale—not monarchs—'controlled lands dedicated to them, and people who lived there did not pay taxes or owe service to the king'.⁴⁶ Sovereigns and spirits negotiated their respective domains, imposed mutual expectation and 'demanded an independent realm of action'.⁴⁷ To strengthen their political position, priests used possession to provide military intelligence to generals and kings, raw data for successful armed campaigns. Indeed, political and military expansion relied on the good graces of Buganda's spirits and gods, particularly the hero-god, Kibuuka.⁴⁸ Historical traditions placed Kibuuka's activism in the mid-eighteenth century, during a time of national crisis, a period of intense hostility between Bunyoro and Buganda. Kibuuka worked alongside *Kabaka* Nakibinge to undermine Bunyoro aspiration.⁴⁹ In particular, through supranatural power, Kibuuka routed Banyoro through his ability to fly. In course, though, Banyoro fighters fatally wounded Kibuuka, while aerial, with a volley of arrows—the hero-god plummeted onto a tree.

Toward the mid-nineteenth century, Muteesa I expanded Buganda's kingdom through military centralisation and long-distance trade, expanding into Bunyoro's peripheral regions and Kooki. To consolidate monarchical power, Muteesa I undermined the political authority of Buganda's priests and spirits, a process that continued into early

⁴⁵ Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, p. 72.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 73.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 72.

⁴⁸ Kodesh, *Beyond the Royal Gaze*, p. 150.

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 143–58.

colonial Buganda.⁵⁰ However, while initiatives were made throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century to impede possession ritual, practices continued throughout colonial Buganda.

Following Muteesa II's deportation,⁵¹ one particular *lubaale* prophet, Kigaanira Ssewanyana, used possession to overtly contest colonial power. Through possession and public displays of supranatural authority, Kigaanira advocated for a participatory politics from which society could be positioned beyond the restrictive politicking of Buganda's constitutional intellectuals, a space where animals could be sacrificed and kings reinstated. Kigaanira cured women of barrenness, provided medicine, commanded power over animals and more importantly, guaranteed Muteesa's return.

Kigaanira was born in Kyakanyomozi, Buddu, in the mid-1930s.⁵² Baptised Matia, Kigaanira was raised in a strict Catholic home.⁵³ Following his Catholic education, Kigaanira gained employment with the Trans-Congo/Uganda Company as a freight driver, where he was first publically possessed by the Ganda god of war, Kibuuka.⁵⁴ While resting in-route at a restaurant in Fort Portal, Kibuuka descended upon Kigaanira's

⁵⁰ Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, pp. 59–126. In an effort to further suppress possession practices in early colonial Uganda, by 1918 Buganda's *Lukiiko* passed the Witchcraft Prevention Ordinance, which was recast in 1936 as the Witchcraft Prevention Law (MUA Unmarked Buganda Government File/2 'Minutes Discussed by the Annual Lukiko', 26 October 1936).

⁵¹ A 'resurgence' of possession practices and church attrition following Muteesa II's deportation caused considerable alarm among colonial officials (BNA CO 822/1191 'The Reversion from Christianity in Uganda', Special Branch Report, December 1955). In turn, the East African Institute of Social Research was commissioned to examine the history and 'revival' of possession practices. Research conducted by Martin Southwold and John Beattie showed that the public practice of possession in both Buganda and neighbouring Bunyoro had never actually diminished (BNA CO 822/1191 Martin Southwold, 'Report on Supposed reversion to Paganism in Buganda', n.d.; and BNA CO 822/1191 John Beattie, 'Supposed Reversion to Paganism in Uganda', n.d.).

⁵² Peter Rigby, 'Prophets, Diviners, and Prophetism: The Recent History of Kiganda Religion', *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 31 (1975), 116–48 (p. 133).

⁵³ Interview, Euginia Bonabana and Rose Nakimera, Kigaanira's widow and daughter, 19 January 2010, Mutundwe. Cf., 'Called Himself God and Fooled Thousands', *Drum*, April 1965.

⁵⁴ Rigby, 'Prophets, Diviners, and Prophetism', p. 134. Euginia Bonabana, Kigaanira's widow, recalled Matia first being possessed while a student at Aggrey Memorial: 'The spirits made him to climb a telephone pole, and while on top he pulled off all the wires on the pole and the news spread, "There is a person up on the telephone pole who is disconnecting the telephones"' ('Yalinnya n'akutulakutula essimu zonna era amavulire negabuna nti "Omuntu ali ku muti waggulu, akutula kutula waya zonna"'). (Interview, Euginia Bonabana and Rose Nakimera, Kigaanira's widow and daughter, 19 January 2010, Mutundwe).

head, causing the seventeen-year-old to unexpectedly smash his plate on the floor and retreat into a corner, where Kibuuka then announced his return to Mbaale, Mpigi, Kibuuka's traditional shrine (*ekiggwa*).⁵⁵

Matia's political journey—from lorry driver to prophet—was theatrical, a public process of authenticating practice and authority by identifying with a particular past through supranatural demonstration. From the eighteenth century, powerbrokers in the Sheep clan (*Ndiga*)—the clan to which the hero-god, Kibuuka, belonged—used traditions surrounding Kibuuka to bolster the rising political salience of their clan and to contest monarchical power.⁵⁶ Into the twentieth century, *Ndiga* traditions suggested that Kibuuka's activism was nationally beneficial,⁵⁷ and this presented an obstacle for Matia Kigannira, who was a member of the *Nseenene* (Grasshopper) clan. As a Munseenene, Kigannira's clan lineage raised suspicion and controversy, especially as he laid political claim at Mbaale, Mpigi (not to be confused with Mbale, eastern Uganda).⁵⁸ Consequently, *Ndiga* elders and keepers of Buganda's national shrine debated the veracity of Kigannira's claim.⁵⁹ But like the mid-eighteenth century, late colonial Buganda was considered to be a kingdom at war, a monarchy whose king had been removed by force. And to authenticate his dissenting practice to *Ndiga* elders, Kigannira climbed the tree where Kibuuka's corpse had fallen and began prophesying Muteesa's reinstatement, signifying the return of Kibuuka's warring spirit.⁶⁰ Convinced by his political theatrics, *Ndiga* elders extended clanship to Kigannira, thereby authenticating the return of Buganda's god of war at a time of national crisis.

Following his early orations at Mbaale, Kigannira quickly relocated himself to Mutundwe hill in the outskirts of Kampala (see Figure P.2). From his tree, again, an

⁵⁵ Ibid. For further discussion on Kibuuka see: John Roscoe, '95. Kibuka, the War God of the Baganda', *Man*, 7 (1907), 161–66; John M. Gray, 'Kibuka', *Uganda Journal*, 20 (1956), 52–71; Fred B. Welbourn, 'Kibuuka Comes Home', *Transition*, 1962, 15–20; and Kodesh, *Beyond the Royal Gaze*, pp. 143–56.

⁵⁶ Kodesh, *Beyond the Royal Gaze*, pp. 143–54.

⁵⁷ Ibid. Cf., Wrigley, *Kingship and State*, pp. 207–15.

⁵⁸ While interviewing Kigannira's daughter and one of his widows, without initial questioning, the prophet's clan lineage naturally developed as a point of discussion. This suggests that controversy surrounding clanship and possession was important enough in the 1950s to be raised intently approximately fifty years later.

⁵⁹ Rigby, 'Prophets, Diviners, and Prophetism', p. 135.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

enactment of the earlier hero-god Kibuuka, Kigaanira informed his growing audience that should they produce livestock and chickens for sacrifice, he could secure the triumphal return of Muteesa, with whom he could communicate through spiritual power.⁶¹ In contrast to Buganda's lofty constitutional intellectuals, Kigaanira provisioned immediate participation in the public sphere, an active space where sacrificial practice and reward was attainable. Kigaanira admonished Baganda to stop paying taxes to the colonial government and to cease attending religious services in B/Uganda's churches and mosques.⁶² Political parties such as the Uganda Nationalist Party Movement (UNPM) openly supported Kigaanira, arguing that all Baganda must immediately construct *lubaale* shrines near their respective homes.⁶³ Incorporating Kigaanira's prophetic utterances, UNPM leadership sought to undermine 'imported religion' by producing a pamphlet entitled, '*Lwaki Ekanisa, Kleziya n'Emizigiti Birekeddwayo?*', 'Why are Protestant churches, Catholic churches and [Islamic] mosques allowed to Remain?'.⁶⁴

Kigaanira's activism was shrouded in discursive wonder and bewilderment.⁶⁵ From his tree, Kigaanira cured women of barrenness, provided medicine and prophesied with a snake around his neck.⁶⁶ And following his arrest, one correspondent in Kampala noted: 'It was widely believed that as they [police] drew near the tree huge white rats ran down the trunk and a huge snake appeared at the bottom to protect the prophet.'⁶⁷ Kigaanira's family confirmed these reports, recalling that the prophet possessed authority over animals. Like Jesus, Kigaanira had the ability to foretell the whereabouts of certain animals:

Rose: He commanded many animals. He had a python that disappeared on that hill.

⁶¹ BNA CO 822/812 'Extract from the Uganda Monthly Intelligence Appreciation', 28 February 1955; and 'Called Himself God and Fooled Thousands', *Drum*, April 1965.

⁶² BNA CO 822/812 'Extract from the Uganda Monthly Intelligence Appreciation', 28 February 1955; and BNA CO 822/812 Sir Andrew Cohen to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 14 February 1955.

⁶³ BNA CO 822/855 'Basic Paper—Uganda Nationalist Party Movement', December 1955.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ During extended interviews at Mutundwe and Kkungu, elderly interlocutors often reflected on the fantastic stories that surrounded Kigaanira's prophecy.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ 'Pagan Threat to Colony', *Daily Mail*, 21 February 1955.

Eugenia: He also had a leopard that disappeared on that hill. That man was *really* powerful! Once when he was on the hill, he sent his men, saying, “Go to Lake Wamala! At its shores there is a forest, and bring a certain animal”. When the men went, they found the animal as he had said and brought it alive.⁶⁸

Following three months of his life sentence for the death of a government officer, Kigaanira escaped from Luzira prison,⁶⁹ after which he established himself at Kkungu rock (see Figure P.3). According to Kigaanira, he had received a revelation during a full moon that confirmed the importance of his prophetic mission.⁷⁰ After receiving the revelation, the prophet then climbed aboard a large crested crane that flew him to the pillars of Kkungu, where sympathisers believed that a two-headed snake was able to transport food and money to and from the summit. Also, interviews with Kkungu activists suggested that Kigaanira was believed to have been able to levitate to the rock’s apex.⁷¹

Kigaanira’s political theatrics not only attracted rural conservatives; it fascinated high-profile activists, including Ernest Balintuma Kalibala, a member of the Namirembe Conference, who frequented Mutundwe before Kigaanira’s arrest. Before serving on the Conference, Kalibala had earned a PhD from Harvard University for his sociological

⁶⁸ Rose: *Ebintu bye byalingamu ebisolosolo. Timba era yabulira okwo ku lusozzi.*

Eugenia: *N’engo nayo yabulira okwo. Abantu baagiyiganya nnyo. Omusajja oyo yalina amaanyi mangi. Bwe yali ku losozzi yalagira basajjabe nti, ‘Mugende mu Nnyanja Wamala, Waliwo akabira mugende mukwate yo ekisolo bwe kito, mukireete nga kiramu. Era nebagenda ne bakireeta nga bweyabagamba. Sso ng’ali ku muti waggulu* (Interview, Eugenia Bonabana and Rose Nakimera, Kigaanira’s widow and daughter, 19 January 2010, Mutundwe).

This account reflects the story of Jesus’ foretelling of a donkey’s whereabouts during the Jewish Passover.

⁶⁹ Rigby, ‘Prophets, Diviners, and Prophetism’, p. 137.

⁷⁰ Kigaanira’s narrative is preserved in the published biography of Andrew Stuart, a Luganda-speaking Administrative Officer of the British Colonial Service (Andrew Stuart, *Of Cargoes, Colonies and Kings: Diplomatic and Administrative Service from Africa to the Pacific* (London: Radcliffe Press, 2001), pp. xi–xviii). I wish to thank Michael Twaddle for bringing this account to my attention.

⁷¹ Interviews, assorted, 13 July 2010, Kkungu. For further discussion on the activism of Kigaanira Kibuuka see: ‘*Kibuka N’abamu ku Bagoberezi be bali mu Mikono gya Babuyinzal*’, *Munno*, 16 February 1955; ‘*Kiganira Aliwoza* 28 February’, *Munno*, 23 February 1955; ‘*Kiganira ate aliwoza* 26 April’, *Munno*, 2 March 1955; ‘*Abakwatirwa e Mutundwe ne Kigánira basibiddwa myáka*’, *Munno*, 5 April 1955; ‘*Ogwa Kiganira ne banne guli mu Koti nto*’, *Munno*, 27 April 1955; and ‘*Kiganira ne banne ennaku zino tebatunula bulung?*’, *Munno*, 4 May 1955. Cf., Interview, Waswa Kyansolo, Kiganira’s nephew, 27 January 2010, Mutundwe.

research on Buganda.⁷² Following, he secured a position with the United Nations. Once in Buganda, Kalibala created considerable tension within the Conference, especially with E.M.K. Mulira, who felt that Kalibala often publically undermined the Conference. Kalibala's association with the prophet accentuated tensions within the Conference, especially due to his frequent visits to Mutundwe after the government considered it a 'prohibited area'.⁷³ On the one hand, Kalibala's interest in Kigaanira is rather predictable, being an Ivy League-trained sociologist attuned to the anthropological complexities of spirit possession in Buganda. Also, Kalibala and Kigaanira were members of the same clan,⁷⁴ and it is likely that the former was perplexed to find the latter practicing custom historically associated with the *Ndiga* clan. But sources suggest that Kalibala's interest ran deeper than curiosity. For example, Kalibala publically denounced effort to arrest Kigaanira, arguing that apprehension was 'a gross interference with the liberty of the subject'.⁷⁵ And after Kigaanira was arrested for inciting violence and causing the death of a Ganda police officer,⁷⁶ Kalibala visited Kigaanira in prison,⁷⁷ and then orchestrated a collection pool for the prophet's release.⁷⁸

As for many Baganda, Kigaanira's theatrical politics engrossed Kalibala, and provided the latter with capital to distance himself—for whatever reason—from Buganda's Namirembe negotiators. Possession and prophecy constituted an imaginative reservoir from which politics and movement was grounded in emotion—emotion that

⁷² Ernest B. Kalibala, 'The Social Structure of the Baganda Tribe of East Africa', (unpublished PhD, University of Harvard, 1946). Kalibala had also worked with May Edel—who later established Rutgers University's anthropology department—to publish the definitive English translation of Apolo Kagawa's *Ekitabo Kye Mpisa Za Baganda*, ed. by May M. Edel, trans. by Ernest B. Kalibala (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934).

⁷³ BNA CO 822/812 'Extract from the Uganda Monthly Intelligence Appreciation', 28 February 1955; and BNA CO 822/855/8 Andrew Cohen to W.A.C. Mathieson, 18 February 1955.

⁷⁴ Cf., Carol Summers, 'Grandfathers, Grandsons, Morality, and Radical Politics in Late Colonial Buganda', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 38 (2005), 427–47 (p. 430).

⁷⁵ BNA CO 822/812 'Extract from the Uganda Monthly Intelligence Appreciation', 28 February 1955.

⁷⁶ 'Police Fire on 200 Africans', *Evening News*, 14 February, 1955; 'Uganda Police Seize "Prophet"', *Daily Telegraph*, 15 February 1955; and 'Death Sentence on Treetop "Prophet"', *Times*, 12 July 1955.

⁷⁷ BNA CO 822/812 'Extract from the Uganda Monthly Intelligence Appreciation', 28 February 1955.

⁷⁸ BNA CO 822/855/8 Andrew Cohen to W.A.C. Mathieson, 18 February 1955.

recalled the earlier activism of Kibuuka during Buganda's precolonial monarchical struggles. Kigaanira advocated for a participatory politics that contested the restrictive politicking of Buganda's constitutional intellectuals, a space where animals could be sacrificed and kings reinstated. Kigaanira cured women of barrenness, provided medicine, commanded power over animals and more importantly, guaranteed Muteesa's return. In so doing, he authenticated power and directionalised public politics.

'The Spirit is Tracking Down': Knowledge Production & Failure of the State in Contemporary Buganda

It has been nearly fifty years since Uganda attained independence. From 1962, Uganda has experienced significant political and economic tumult, leading scholars to suggest that before 1986, 'Uganda itself was one of the greatest single sources of political instability, social dislocation and economic disruption in the Great Lakes region of sub-Saharan Africa'.⁷⁹ Central to Uganda's postcolonial pandemonium has been the recurring collapse of constitutional governance, coupled with what Phares Mutwibwa has called 'the Buganda Factor', the perennial conflict between Uganda's central government and the Buganda kingdom.⁸⁰ Since the restoration of Buganda's monarchy in July 1993,⁸¹ Buganda's relationship with the central government has been mostly stable, though increasingly capricious. In particular, in the past five years this relationship has become especially strained.⁸² Debate and protest surrounding the deforestation of Mabira,⁸³ land

⁷⁹ Michael Twaddle and Holger Bernt Hansen, 'The Changing State of Uganda', in *Developing Uganda*, ed. by Michael Twaddle and Holger Bernt Hansen (Oxford: James Currey Ltd., 1998), pp. 1–18 (p. 1).

⁸⁰ Phares Mutibwa, *The Buganda Factor in Uganda Politics* (Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 2008).

⁸¹ The fullest treatment of Buganda's interregnum politics is: Mikael Karlström, 'The Cultural Kingdom in Uganda: Popular Royalism and the Restoration of the Buganda Kingship, Volume I' (unpublished PhD, The University of Chicago, 1999).

⁸² 'Museveni Breached Agreement—Mengo', *Monitor*, 15 May 2010; and 'Wikileaks: Kabaka's Views on Museveni', *Monitor*, 7 September 2011.

⁸³ 'Deaths in Uganda Forest Protest', 12 April 2007, in *BBC* <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/6548107.stm>> [accessed 6 October 2011]; 'Ugandan Plan for Forest Suspended', 22 May 2007, in *BBC* <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/6680637.stm>> [accessed 6 October 2011]; and 'Is the Mabira Saga a Govt [sic.] Trick to Divert Citizens' Attention?', *Monitor*, 1 October 2010.

allocation,⁸⁴ monarchical movement in the public sphere,⁸⁵ the closure of Buganda's national radio station, CBS,⁸⁶ Federo,⁸⁷ the rise of neoconservative politics⁸⁸ and post-election violence raise important questions concerning the future stability of B/Uganda.⁸⁹

On the evening of 16 March 2010, amid festering apprehension between Baganda and the central government, Buganda's Kasubi-based monarchical tombs were destroyed by fire.⁹⁰ The tombs—recognised as a UNESCO world heritage site (see Figure P.5)—housed the bodies of Buganda's four preceding monarchs, in addition to historical artefacts, including furniture brought by missionaries in the late nineteenth century and a mounted leopard that belonged to Muteesa I. The tombs' burning evoked immediate outcry throughout the kingdom and instigated rumour and accusation.⁹¹

⁸⁴ 'Mengo Opts for Court in Battle of Land Bill', *Monitor*, 1 December 2009; 'Campaign against the Land Bill was Misplaced', *New Vision*, 9 December 2010; and 'Reactions to Land Law', *New Vision*, 7 January 2010.

⁸⁵ 'Kayunga Becomes Battle Field as Youths take on Cops', *Monitor*, 10 September 2009; 'Gunfire Rocks Bulange as Besigye Blames Museveni', *Monitor*, 12 September 2009; and 'Kayunga Fiasco: How it could Impact on 2011 Polls', *Monitor*, 12 September 2009.

⁸⁶ 'CBS Told to Move out of Bulange', *New Vision*, 22 January 2010; 'Mengo Rejects Government Terms on CBS', *New Vision*, 1 February 2010; and 'State House: CBS Radio Must Apologise', *Monitor*, 30 March 2010.

⁸⁷ Federo is the most salient political issue in contemporary Buganda, warranting analysis that I am unable to offer here. The theme occupied centre space in the 2009 Buganda Conference, 'The Question of Federalism for Uganda', and has resulted in numerous kingdom-published pamphlets, including, 'Federalism: A Simple Guide to Buganda's Position on Why it is Good for Uganda', which was circulated to attendees at the Conference.

⁸⁸ In the past several years, B/Uganda's public sphere has increasingly been dominated by towering conservative personalities, such as *Owekitibwa* Charles Peter Mayiga and Parliamentarians Hussein Kyanjo and Betty Nambooze. Charismatic and exceptionally intelligent, such activists have been harassed by police, won local and national elections and generated a healthy stream of literary output, such as Mayiga's recent book on Buganda's monarchy (Charles P. Mayiga, *King on the Throne: The Story of the Restoration of the Kingdom of Buganda* (Kampala: Prime Time Communication, 2009), and *Ggwanga*, a self-identified 'pro Buganda' newspaper co-edited by Betty Nambooze (JLEP 'Ggwanga', flyer, [2009]). For further discussion see: 'Mengo Disowns MP Hussein Kyanjo', *New Vision*, 8 January 2010; 'President Orders for Arrest of DP's Betty Nambooze', *Monitor*, 15 September 2009; and '*Baanukudde Museveni*', *Bukedde*, 6 October 2009.

⁸⁹ "'Walk to Work" in a Historical Light—Mamdani', *Monitor*, 24 April 2011; 'Number of Injured in Kampala Riots Shoots to 84', *Monitor*, 29 April 2011; and 'Police Arrest Mao as Besigye jets in', *Monitor*, 11 May 2011.

⁹⁰ 'Fire destroys Kasubi tombs', *Monitor*, 17 March 2010; '*Abaganda batandise okukungubaga Amasiro (Aba Gavumenti bagenze e Mmengo)*', *Bukedde*, 20 March 2010; '*Mengo esazeewo*', *Bukedde*, 23 March 2010; and '*Kabaka: Bagenda kumunaaliza mu Masiro*', *Bukedde*, 24 March 2010.

⁹¹ The Kasubi burning occurred during the course of my research in Uganda, where I spent several days purposely roaming the streets of Kampala, conducting informal and semi-structured interviews. In local restaurants, taxi cabs, mosques, churches and throughout the city in general,

Thousands of *Kabaka* Muteebi's loyal subjects poured into Kampala, bringing with them material for reconstruction while wearing *kkanzu* and bark cloth (see Figure P.6).⁹² Public mourning accompanied historical reflection, leading members of Buganda's *Lukiiko* and local activists to compare the Kasubi burnings to the dissolution of monarchy in 1966/67.⁹³ Postcards with Buganda's current monarch and Muteesa II were sold, capturing a glory that once belonged to Buganda, '*Agali Amakula Gabuganda*' ('The former glory of Buganda') (see Figure P.7). Labourers clearing ash sang about Buganda's ancient and recent past, recalling the fate of Uganda's violent presidents: *Akaalo ka Buganda ka dda, akaalo kaaliko nnanyiniko. Obote n'akaleka—yali wa maanyi. N'abaali abamaanyi baakaleka*' (The Buganda village started long ago; it has its owner. Even Obote left it—yet he was powerful. All others with power will leave it, [too]).⁹⁴

Unsurprisingly, President Yoweri Museveni was cast as *the* primary suspect. From the floor of the *Lukiiko*, members cautiously expressed concern toward the ruling government. One youth organiser remarked: 'Today, we should not talk but weep; because we always say, "Whoever makes the Kabaka shed tears, I shall make them shed blood"'.⁹⁵ More insightfully, one prominent chief commented:

We love our president, no doubt, but why does he think we don't love him, and then brings the army with him when he visits? I have seen many leaders in this country—Amin sometimes rode a bicycle. We loved Museveni, to the extent of loving the ground he walked on, but why does he now send the army before he visits? He would first have gone to the *kabaka* or *katikikiro* to express his condolences, but how could he come to say 'sorry' as other bodies were falling down [a reference to Baganda killed by the army (see below)]? What do you expect your hosts to think? *You*!], his spies, tell his Excellency that we have a

conversations often concerned the fires. In subsequent weeks, in Bulemeezi (Lwero) and Mpigi, conversations were similar.

⁹² This claim is informed by my own observations conducted at Kasubi during the week immediately following the burning.

⁹³ The local press, such as *Ggwanga*, devoted entire sections to historical reflection ('*Ebyafaayo by'Amasire g'e Kasubi*', *Ggwanga*, March 2010, p. 5). Drawing on the metaphor of marriage, *Owekitiibwa* Apollo Makubuya openly compared the Kasubi fire with the government attack on the Lubiiri in 1966, suggesting that federalism is the only solution to a marriage characterized by ridicule and torture ('*Okwokya Amasiro kitujjukiiza ebyaliwo mu 1966*', *Bukedde*, 26 March 2010. Cf., 'Kayunga: Have Chickens of 1966 Finally Come Back to Roost?', *Monitor*, 13 September 2009.

⁹⁴ JLEP Kasubi Video/34/00A Kasubi Grounds, 18 March 2010.

⁹⁵ '*Ohvaleero twandibadde tetwogera, nga tukulukusa bukulukusa maziga kubanga bulijjo tugamba nti, "Kabaka alimukabya amaziga ndimukaabya musaayi"*' (JLEP *Lukiiko* Recordings Anonymous, *Lukiiko* Session, 10 March 2010).

complaint: Why do you have to first beat-up your hosts before visiting them? If there is anything the president is uncomfortable with concerning Buganda, let him say it, because we have loved him and cannot understand why it has come to this. Long live the Kabaka!⁹⁶

At Kasubi, demonstrations against Museveni were fanatical. Through song, disillusioned youth compared Museveni to a rotten fish and Buganda's monarch to a life-giving herb: '*Kabaka Ssere—bwali ssere amaze okwanya; Kaguta [Museveni] ngege—bwali ngege emaze okududa*' (Kabaka is like an herb that has multiplied; Museveni like a perch gone bad).⁹⁷ On this same day, Museveni unexpectedly arrived at Kasubi with security forces. Unwelcomed, Ganda youth organised a barricade.⁹⁸ Oral interviews suggest that the barricade was organised by a number of the same youth who had participated earlier in song and dance. In response to their blockade, Museveni's entourage shot and killed two to three protestors, wounding approximately five others.⁹⁹

In the wake of the burning, spirit possession practices accompanied demonstration and lament throughout Buganda, in general, and Kasubi in particular.¹⁰⁰ And like Kigaanira Kibuuka in the mid-1950s, possessed once again took to their trees

⁹⁶ *Omukulembeze waffe tumwagala nnyo naye lwaki atuteetera okulowooza nti tetumwagala, n'akulembeza abajaasi mu maaso. Nzi ndabye ku bakulembeze ababaddewo, Amin yaruganga n'akagali. Twayagala Museveni nga newalinnye twagalawo naye lwaki essawa eno akulembera magye nga bwe kyabadde? Yandisoose wa ssabasajja oba wa katikikiro n'amugamba nti, "Nga Kitalo nnyo!". Naye n'ohyoka ojja n'okuba amasasi ate n'ogamba nti osaasire, ng'eno emirambo bwegigwa. Ohwo osubidde nti b'ogenge okusaasira bakulowoozamu kiki? Mmwe[!] abali wano beyasindise, mutegeenze His Excellency nti ensonga eno etuluma nti lwaki omuntu gw'oyagala okusooka kumukuba miggo ng'ogenda okusaasira? Bwe waba waliwo ensonga President gy'alina ku Buganda aginnyonnyole kubanga twali tumwagala nnyo naye tetumanyi nsonga etutuusa awo. Ssabasajja Kabaka awangaale (JLEP Lukiiiko Recordings Anonymous, Lukiiiko Session, 10 March 2010)!*

⁹⁷ JLEP Kasubi Video/33/002 Kasubi Grounds, 18 March 2010.

⁹⁸ It is possible that Museveni's arrival was resisted for two reasons. First, he was considered suspect in the destruction of the tombs. Second, non-Baganda were not welcomed on the tombs' grounds. On one occasion, my Ganda research assistant was intently questioned about his ethnic ancestry due to his elongated nose. He was accused of being a Banyankore, and subsequently asked to produce an identity card verifying his Ganda name. Though I was allowed to frequent the tombs, I was on a number of occasions asked to explain the motivation of my presence.

⁹⁹ 'Three killed as President Museveni forcefully enters Kasubi tombs', *Monitor*, 18 March 2010; and 'Army Explains Shooting', *New Vision*, 18 March 2010.

¹⁰⁰ 'Fire destroys Kasubi tombs', *Monitor*, 17 March 2010; '*Ebibunzo ku muliro gw'e Kasubi*', *Bukedde*, 21 March 2010; '*Effujjo mu Masiro*', *Bukedde*, 23 March 2010; '*Ab'e Masaka nabo bakungubaze*', *Bukedde*, 26 March 2010; '*Basabye eyayokezza Amasiro asanewo*', *Bukedde*, 26 March 2010; '*Kasubi yalese bangi bazirise*', *Bukedde*, 28 March 2010; '*Ebiwanuzibwa ku kwokebwa kw'Amasiro e Kasubi: Kibuuka Omumbaale munyiivu, akooye myuziyamu*', *Bukedde*, 28 March 2010; and '*Buganda gwe mutima Yuganda*', *Ggwanga*, April 2010.

(see Figure P.8). Disheartened, activists looked for insight, relief and justice from *balubaale* and their priests. At Kasubi, people sang in antiphon:

Leader: Trouble, trouble
 People: We have been troubled since morning
 Leader: Lubaale is powerful these days
 People: We have been troubled since morning¹⁰¹

In particular, possession discourse reflected the practice of knowledge production, not unlike possession ritual in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Whoever might have organised the tombs' burning—Museveni or otherwise—priests assured their devotees that the *balubaale* would not rest until the perpetrator's identity was publically revealed. As one interlocutor noted: '*Ebintu biri bisobola okulaba abayokezza wano*', 'The powers can see those who have burned this place'.¹⁰² For example, known for its ability to track down and reveal guilty parties, *Jjembe* Kalondoozi was one spirit who frequented possession ritual at Kasubi. In antiphon, choirs enveloped fallen and gyrating women and men possessed by Kalondoozi, singing: '[The spirit] is tracking down; even if the guilty is far away, [they] will be tracked.'¹⁰³ Beyond the confines of Kasubi, priests in Masaka (Buddu) launched a self-identified intelligence probe. Aired on Kampala-based NTV, one spirit declared through his medium: 'For some forty years he has spoilt our things and we have already caught him. If I fail, I [the spirit] will never again come on the head and possess another.'¹⁰⁴ Unpossessed, this same priest reflected: 'This is where we, the believers of culture and custom, are now—we have to show power in catching that enemy'.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ Leader: '*Lebuleebu, abange leebu leebu*'
 People: '*Kalipuko—twakedde nkya kulebuka*'
 Leader: '*Lubbale wa maanyi ng'akola luno*'
 People: '*Kalipuko—twakedde nkya kulebuka*'
 (JLEP Kasubi Recordings Anonymous, Kasubi, 20 March 2010).

¹⁰² JLEP Kasubi Recordings Anonymous, Kasubi, 20 March 2010.

¹⁰³ '*Lijja lilondoola; Nebwobeera ng'oli*' (JLEP Kasubi Video/34/004 Kasubi Grounds, 18 March 2010).

¹⁰⁴ '[...] *Emyaka amakumi ana. Yayonoonye ebintu byaffe era tumaze okumukwata. Bwannema sija kudda ku jjoba*' ('Investigating Kasubi Fire: Masaka Traditional Healer Launch Own Probe'), National Television, Kampala, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ft4g6Cx9Rc&feature=youtube_gdata>, 21 March 2010 [accessed 23 March 2010].

¹⁰⁵ '*Tulina okulaga amaanyi nga ffe abakkiriza mu buwangwa okukwata omulabe oyo*' (Ibid.).

In summary, in Buganda's uncertain landscape, spirit-provided knowledge provides imagery capital from which the practice of power is contested and authenticated. From Kibuuka Kigaanira in the mid-nineteenth century to Kalondoozi in the present, possession ritual is 'a key element in discourses on power, despite modern processes of change (or perhaps because of them)'.¹⁰⁶ In modern Buganda, possession practices provide important political space for citizens to negotiate power and authority, a participatory sphere of activism where appointed leaders are held to account and the general public is able to redress grievances associated with the failure of the state.

Conclusions: Theology and the Authentication of Political Power

Among other things, politics is the practice of authentication, the art of disparate communities validating particular social agendas. Authenticity was not universal in colonial Buganda. As this Postscript shows, the authentication of dreams by dissenting Protestants seemed to be something quite distinct from the prophetic activism of Kibuuka Kigaanira, each drawing from different historical traditions to accomplish separate goals. And yet, while mechanically distinct, each raised important questions about theology and the authentication and practice of the political. In colonial Buganda, the authentication of political power was intrinsically a theological exercise, an effort to justify political claim through moral and theological assertion or practice.

Again, in late colonial Buganda, local and global politics were reasoned theologically, and theology was intrinsically political. Disparate actors used their theology and global ideals to imagine competing moral communities. Foundationally, though, the practice of religion and politics concerned *being*, not power, citizenship or the creation of states. The 'ultimate concerns' of religion and politics raised more penetrating questions—who am I, who are we? This is not to say that religion and politics were removed from broader debate over power and state building. To the contrary, it is why they were so clearly evident. But it does complicate how historians methodologically

¹⁰⁶ Peter Geschiere, *The Modernity of Witchcraft: Politics and the Occult in Postcolonial Africa*, trans. by Janet Roitman and Peter Geschiere (Charlottesville, V.A.: University of Virginia Press, 1997), pp. 7–8. Cf., *Spirit Possession, Modernity & Power in Africa*, ed. by Heike Behrend and Ute Luig (Oxford: James Currey, 1999), p. xiii; and Stephen Ellis and Gerrie ter Haar, *Worlds of Power: Religious Thought and Political Practice in Africa* (London: Hurst & Company, 2004), p. 6.

distance theological imagination from the social and the material, raising suspicion over any political history of Africa that does not direct primary attention to the theological and religious, and equal misgiving toward church historians and theologians that ignore the political. Theological reasoning (distinct from learned doctrine), *a priori*, is not simply another social category (though shaped socially), at least in the way that scholars use variant argumentative devices, such as gender, ethnicity or nationalism. It informs all other evident empiricisms. Simply put, *to be* is to be political, to be theological. This is why religion refuses to distance itself from the public sphere, from Islamic reform in nineteenth-century northern Africa to the Arab Spring, from Thomas Carlyle to global Pentecostalism, and from colonial Buganda to modern Uganda.

Like Buganda's colonial state, the postcolony raised a certain set of questions for Buganda's political intellectuals to work alongside. In 1966, Uganda's military forced the country's president and Buganda's king, Muteesa II, into exile in London, where he remained until his death in the early 1970s. In 1967, Buganda's monarchy was constitutionally abolished and remained abrogated until 1993. In 1971, General Idi Amin used his military to successfully remove Milton Obote from power, which the former maintained for nearly one decade. And from 1979 to 1986, Uganda was ruled by seven administrations, each removed by force (excluding the administration of Uganda's current president). The activists on whom this thesis has focused remained socially active throughout this period, with the exception of Benedicto Kiwanuka, who was assassinated in the early 1970s. Similar to the past, Buganda's postcolonial kingdom was intensely polemical, imagined and reconceptualised differently by competing actors. Additional research—a second volume to this study—is required to explore how competing intellectuals used the past, theology and global history during this period.

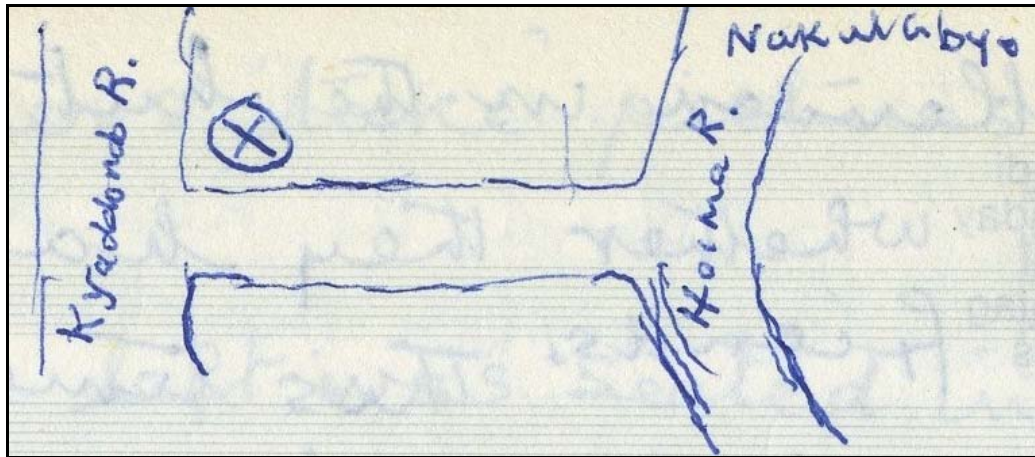


Figure P.1 E.M.K. Mulira's Dream Map, n.d.
CCAS MP E.M.K. Mulira, [Journal], Mss.



Figure P.2 Mutundwe Hill, Kampala, 2010
Principal medium of Mutundwe, Kigaanira Kibuuka's self-identified successor
© Jonathon L. Earle

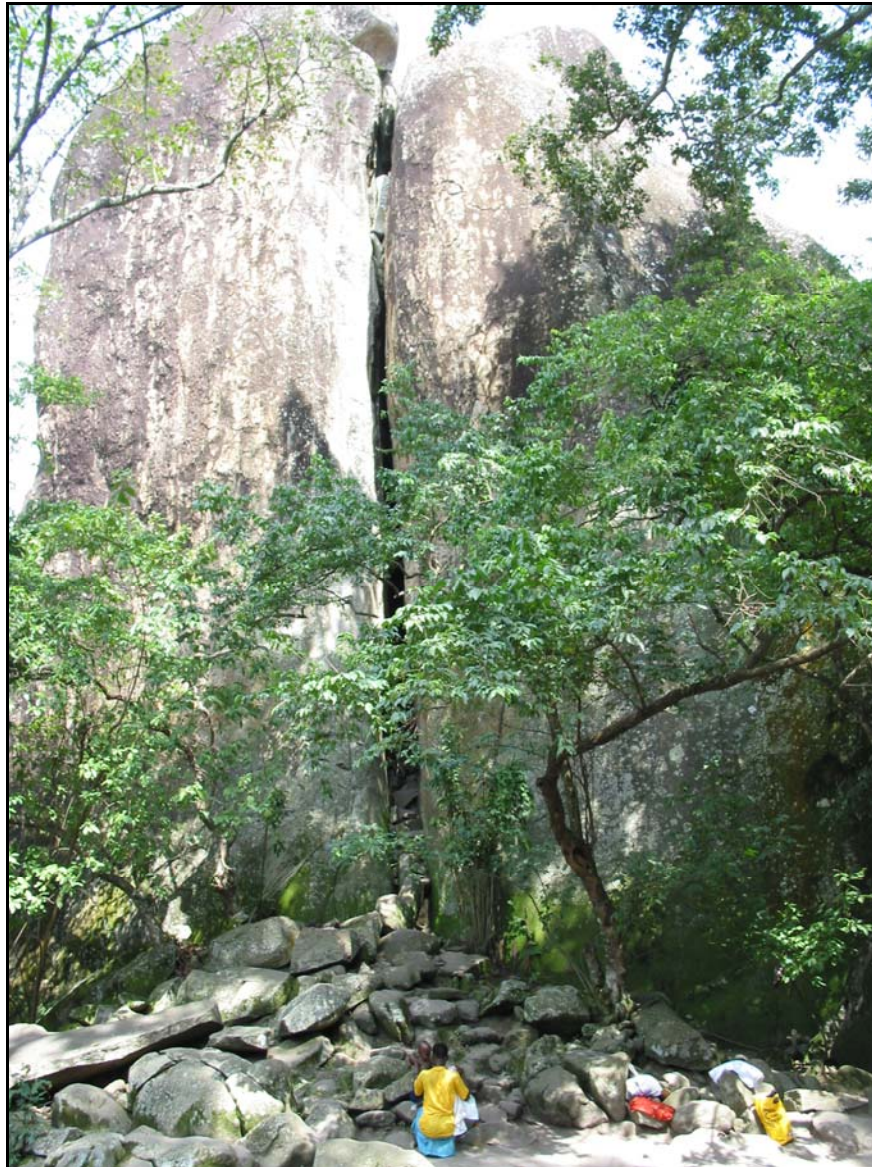


Figure P.3 Kkundu rock, 2010
Devotee entreats spirit(s)
© Jonathon L. Earle

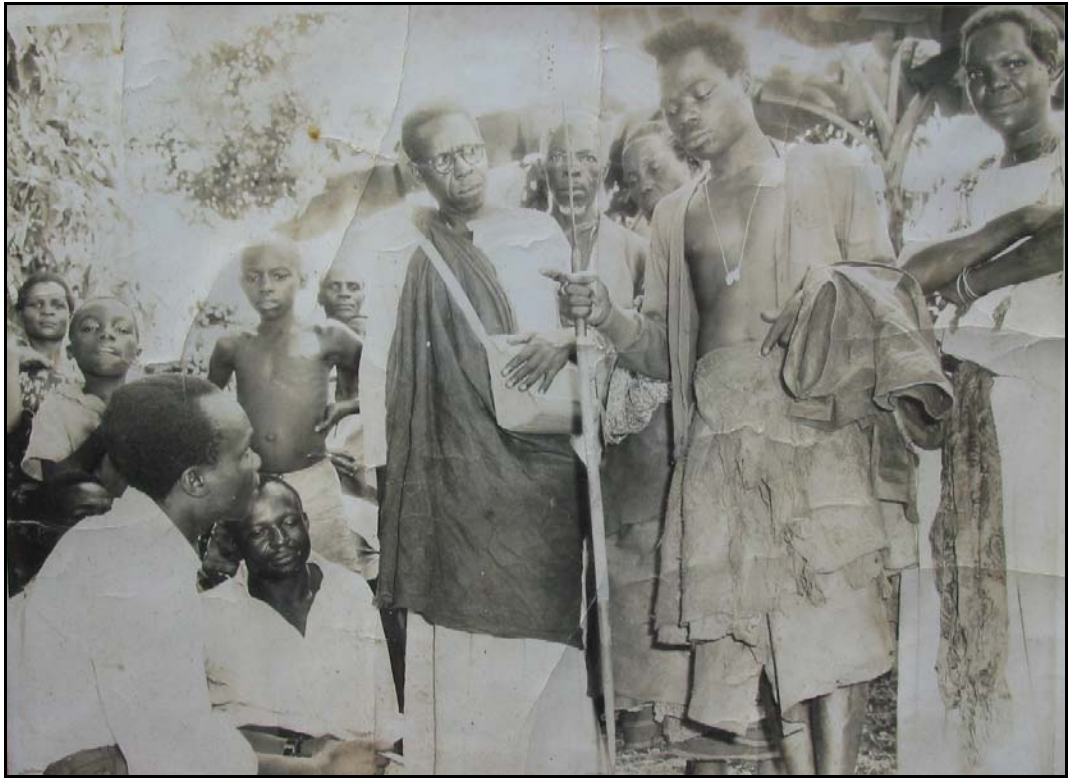


Figure P.4 Kibuuka Kigaanira with priestly assistant, n.d.
Courtesy of Euginia Bonabana



Figure P.5 Kasubi Tombs, September 2005
© Jonathon L. Earle



Figure P.6 Kampala rally following Kasubi prayer day, 26 March 2010
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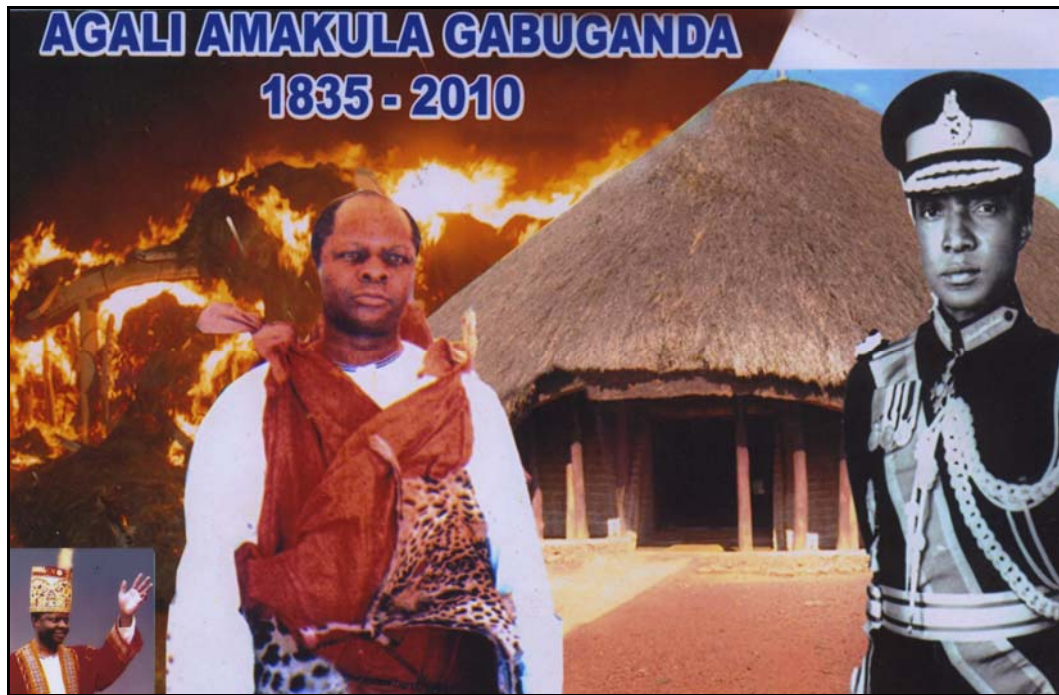


Figure P.7 'The Former Glory of Buganda', March 2010
Source: JLEP

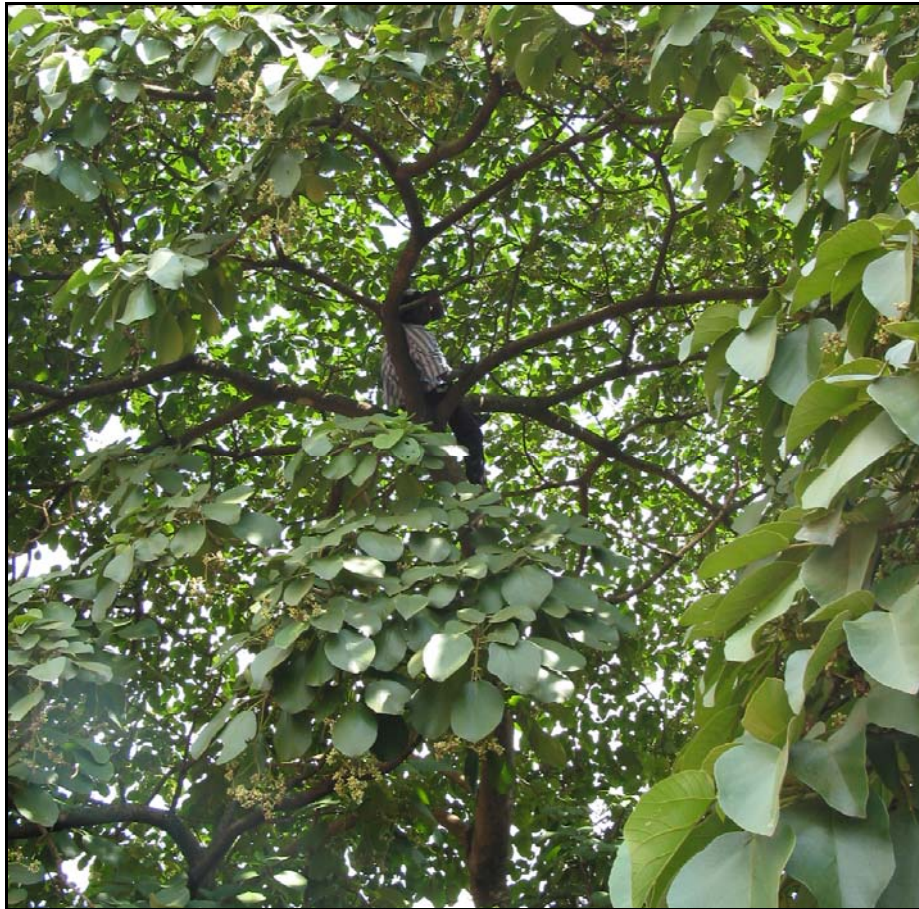


Figure P.8 Possessed in tree, Kasubi, 18 March 2010
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Explanation of Archives under Renovation

During the course of my research, specific collections were re-catalogued; therefore, respective citations used in this thesis may not accurately reflect the revised reference systems.

Benedicto K.M. Kiwanuka Papers (BKMKP)

In partnership with the Kiwanuka family, I digitised Prime Minister Benedicto Kiwanuka's personal papers. In this thesis, I used the folder titles originally designated by Kiwanuka. However, some files may be modified once the digital copies are formally deposited.

Eridadi M.K. Mulira Papers (CCAS MP)

Through the bequest of his heir(s), E.M.K. Mulira's personal papers have been deposited in the Cambridge Centre of African Studies. By the completion of this thesis, I had not yet catalogued the collection, which will soon be reorganised.

Makerere University Africana Archives (MUA)

At the time of my research, the Africana Archives was being reclassified.

Uganda National Archives (UNA SMP)

Similar to Makerere, a project is underway to restructure the files of the Uganda National Archives.

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