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Adebowale Ibidapo ADEFUYE

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POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE PALWO, 1400-1911

POLITICAL
HISTORY OF THE PALWO,
1400 - 1911

SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
M.A. IN HISTORY IN THE GENERAL
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ABSTRACT

The Palwo are a branch of the Luo who settled on the northern part of Bunyoro-Kitara kingdom. Their history is essentially that of rivalry between two ethnic groups, the Luo and the Bantu.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE PALWO, 1400-1911

The Luo empire of Bunyoro-Kitara, originating from the Sudan, the Luo settled in the hitherto exclusively Bantu inhabited area.

By overthrowing the ruling dynasty, and setting up a new one, while intermarrying with the Bantu population, the Luo kings ensured that only Luo blood ran through them by their Luo wives (full-blooded Luo) becoming queens. It was an attempt by the Luo to preserve their Luo blood in the Luo empire.

Adebowale Ibidejo ADEFUYE

When one of the Luo kings found himself compelled by circumstances to type Bantu blood into his Luo blood, he chose one of his children born by a Bantu woman to succeed him, the Luo protested. They attempted to undermine the authority of this Bantu king who had no other alternative than to wage a war to drive the Luo out of Bunyoro-Kitara.

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The period of the Luo rule in Bunyoro-Kitara ended in 1911. The Luo appeared to have faded.

While taking refuge from the war which crushed their rebellion, a good number of the Luo left Bunyoro-Kitara and established their hegemony in the neighbouring areas. But some of them later came back and with the coming of

ABSTRACT

The Palwo are a branch of the Lwo who settled on the northern part of Bunyoro-Kitara kingdom. Their history is essentially that of rivalry between two ethnic groups, the Lwo and the Bantu, vying for supremacy in the empire of Bunyoro-Kitara. Originating from the Sudan, the Lwo settled in the hitherto exclusively Bantu inhabited empire, overthrew the ruling dynasty, and set up a new one. While intermarrying with the majority Bantu population, the Lwo kings ensured that only sons born to them by their Lwo wives (full-blooded Lwo) succeeded them. It was an attempt by the Lwo to make the throne their exclusive preserve.

When one of the Lwo kings found himself compelled by circumstances to bypass convention and chose one of his children born by a Bantu woman to succeed him, the Lwo protested. They attempted to undermine the authority of this Bantu king who had no other alternative than to wage a war to 'crush the rebellion'. Henceforth children born by Bantu women ascended the throne. The period of the rule of the Lwo appeared to have ended.

While taking refuge from the war which crushed their rebellion, a good number of the Lwo left Bunyoro-Kitara and established their hegemony in the neighbouring areas. But some of them later came back and with the coming of

more Lwo from the Sudan and Northern Uganda, the Lwo population in Bunyoro-Kitara a century after their rebellion was back to nearly what it was before the war.

But the memory of their clash with the Bantu king was not forgotten by the Lwo. To them, it was humiliating to be deprived of a throne which for centuries had been occupied by their own people. Taking the Northern extreme of present day Bunyoro district as their base, the Lwo directed their activities for the following two centuries towards regaining their lost privileged position in Bunyoro-Kitara empire.

However, in spite of their success in undermining the authority of some Bantu kings and launching series of military attacks on them, in spite of their economic boom caused by the activities of foreign traders, and which the Lwo attempted to turn into military advantage, they never succeeded in winning back the throne of Bunyoro-Kitara. Kabalega, a Bantu king, permanently converted them into an insignificant minority in the empire.

scholarship, and ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS and attention he gave to me

The task of writing this thesis could not have been accomplished without the help of certain individuals. It is not possible to list all of them but some deserve special mention.

I owe a huge debt of gratitude to Professor Bertin Webster of Dalhousie University, Halifax, Canada. It was he who, while on a trip to Ibadan in 1969, encouraged me to conduct a research on an aspect of Uganda history. From Makerere University, Kampala, where he was Head of History Department until June 1972, he made the publications of the Department available to me by post. These publications provided the necessary background to this study. During my sixteen-month stay in Uganda, he did all that was humanly possible to ensure the success of this project. The four Makerere history seminar papers which he encouraged me to write moulded my ideas on various aspects of Palwo history.

Dr. J. A. Atanda of the Department of History, University of Ibadan was more than a supervisor. Apart from providing the necessary academic guide, he took personal interest in my welfare. I hereby recall with gratitude the frequent representations he made to the appropriate authorities when my allowance was mistakenly delayed, the strong letter of recommendation he wrote for the necessary extension of my

scholarship, and the prompt personal attention he gave to me in spite of his other heavy commitments. Indeed, but for him, this work would have taken a much longer time to produce, and would have been under more difficult conditions.

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This study was financed by Ibadan University post-graduate scholarship grant. I am grateful to the authorities of the institution.

While acknowledging the contribution of these well meaning individuals to this work, I am prepared to bear the sole responsibility for all errors of fact and judgement.

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The Cause of the Exodus
The Exodus
Faleye Activities in West Africa
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Faleye Activities in Africa
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Muntungale (Plural Muntungale) - Sub Provincial Chief in Bunyoro and Palwo land

Omukama (Plural Omukama) - King of Bunyoro

Foot - King of the Palwo

Sosa - Provincial Chief in Bunyoro-Kitara.

GLOSSARY

- The Palwo live in the Palwo county of Bunyoro district in the north-western part of present day Republic of Uganda. They are a product of the circumstances in which their group have been subjected. They have left their homeland in the Sudan and reached Palwo in the sons of Olan, the leader of the group from this split that the group emerged. The first group settled in Bunyoro and Palwo land.
- Abarusura** - Kabalega's regimented equipped, permanent army
- Aligo** - A guild of elephant hunters.
- Baragana** - Poor men working in King's palace for their livelihood.
- Barusura** - King's private body guards
- Datet** - Iron makers.
- Jagho Plural (Jaghi)** - Provincial Chief in Palwo land.
- Juok (Plural Jodi)** - Traditional god.
- Kibandwa** - Chief Priest.
- Muntongole (Plural Batongole)** - Sub Provincial Chief in Bunyoro and Palwo land
- Omukama (Plural Abakama)** - King of Bunyoro
- Rwot** - King of the Palwo
- Saza** - Provincial Chief in Bunyoro-Kitara.

1. For details of the migration of the Luo see J. P. Grassola, The Luo Part I: Migrations, (Vernon, 1950).
2. See R. Oliver, "The Interior, 1500-1850", in R. Oliver and G. Mathews, (eds.), History of East Africa, Vol. I, (O.U.P., London, 1963), p. 187.
3. J. Nyakatura, History of Bunyoro-Kitara, Translated by Feopista Ngunya, edited with introduction and notes by G. N. Ugoigwe. MS, Makerere University Kampala. Introduction p. ix.

PREFACE

The Palwo now inhabit Kibanda county of Bunyoro district in the north-western part of present day Republic of Uganda. They are a product of the circumstances to which the entire Lwo group have been subjected. Having been compelled to leave their homeland in the Sudan, the Lwo travelled south towards Uganda and reached Pubungu where a quarrel among the sons of Olum, the leader of Lwo, resulted in a big split.¹ It was from this split that the Palwo as well as the Acholi and Langi emerged. The first group of the Palwo settled in the northernmost part of Bunyoro-Kitara empire then ruled by the Bacwezi dynasty. Another wave of Palwo migrants overthrew the Bacwezi and set up a new dynasty of kings called the Babito. The importance of the Palwo in the pre-colonial history of Uganda lies in the fact that practically all parts of Uganda² were affected by the activities of members of the Babito dynasty. This was perhaps what prompted Uzoigwe to declare that the "Pre-Colonial history of Uganda must pivot around the axis of the Kitara kingdom".³

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1. For details of the migration of the Lwo see J. P. Crazzolara, The Lwo Part I: Migrations, (Verona, 1950).
 2. See R. Oliver, "The Interior, 1500-1840", in R. Oliver and G. Mathews, (eds.), History of East Africa, Vol. I, (O.U.P., London, 1963), p. 187.
 3. J. Nyakatura, History of Bunyoro-Kitara, Translated by Teopista Mukanwa, edited with Introduction and Notes by G. N. Uzoigwe. MS. Makerere University Kampala. Introduction p. xx.

But the Palwo who seemed to have dictated the course of the pre-colonial history of Uganda have been neglected by scholars. Professor Ogot could not help expressing surprise at why such an historically important group have been neglected by even anthropologists.¹ The answer perhaps lies in the nature of Palwo society and the historical circumstances to which the Palwo have been subjected. These have combined to make a construction of the history of the Palwo not only a difficult but also a particularly uninviting task. It is perhaps necessary to have an insight into these circumstances.

It is generally believed that centralized societies present less problems for study because their social and political organisations are more conducive to the accumulation of traditions. Their royal chronicles form the basis of their oral traditions. Buganda, Bunyoro and Nkore are some of the Uganda kingdoms whose traditions have been collected by foreign and local historians. These traditions give a picture of the history of those areas and an introduction to the various theories and hypotheses. They provide a starting point for the researcher.² The Palwo

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1. B. A. Ogot, History of the Southern Luo, (E.A.P.H. Nairobi, 1967), p. 20.
 2. M. S. Kiwanuka, for instance acknowledges the usefulness of recorded tradition to his research. See M. S. Kiwanuka, Kings of Buganda, (E.A.P.H. Nairobi, 1971.) Introduction.

do not fall within this centralised group whose traditions have been collected. Though the seven chiefdoms to which Northern Bunyoro was eventually divided were presided over by individuals called Rwhodi (which, literally translated, means king), the extent of their centralisation cannot in any way be compared with that of Buganda and Bunyoro. Moreover, the area occupied by the Palwo was an integral part of Bunyoro-Kitara empire. "Palwoland" was just a province, ruled over by a Saga (Provincial Chief) appointed by the Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara. The court in Palwoland was not as elaborate as the one in Bunyoro. It was not big and centralised enough to warrant the existence of King's chroniclers as it was in Bunyoro and Buganda.

Centralisation may be conducive to the collection of oral tradition of an area; but, it is certainly not a pre-condition. Ogot has mentioned that A.C.K. Oboth Ofumbi¹ collected traditions on the Padhola, a segmentary society.

1. B. A. Ogot, op.cit., p. 21.

2. J. O. A. Lawrence, The Iteso (O.N.P., London, 1935)

3. This will be seen in Chapter Three below.

4. See Chapter Six below.

Similarly, Lawrence has written on the Iteso of Uganda.¹ Regardless of the system of government, an area with a considerable amount of social and political stability is bound to have some of its traditions recorded and kept for future use. Political stability was one of the things that eluded the Palwo. The attempt of the Palwo to regain their control of the empire from the "Bantu usurpers" was protracted and made it impossible for the Palwo to settle on a particular spot for a long time. Their attempt to undermine the authority of the first Bantu king resulted in the persecution of the Palwo. Some of them especially those connected with the royal family had to leave Northern Bunyoro for other places. While some of them came back to continue the struggle, others chose to stay permanently in their "New Found land" having established authority over the people they met on the spot.² Descendants of such men who now claim citizenship of these new areas would have been useful informants. But the series of wars against the Bantu in the nineteenth century caused the untimely death of many members of Palwo ruling dynasty.³ When Kabalega finally defeated them,

1. J.C.D. Lawrence, The Iteso, (O.U.P., London, 1955)

2. This will be seen in Chapter three below.

3. See Chapter Six below.

1. See Chapter seven below.

he took some of them to his capital situated in the Bantu section of the empire.¹ In 1911 the outbreak of sleeping sickness resulted in the evacuation of many of the Palwo to other areas, notably Acholi and southern Bunyoro.

The 1911 evacuation perhaps proved most disfunctional to the collection of oral tradition among the Palwo. It was carried out just at the time Christianity and Western education were being introduced to them. It was in Acholi and Bunyoro that the Palwo were christianised and educated. Most of them however became assimilated and regarded themselves as citizens of the areas to which they were evacuated. Those who remained in Kibanda county were, at least during the early period of colonial administration, uneducated. Unfortunately, it was during this period that literate Africans, namely, Nyakatura in Bunyoro, Kagwa in Buganda, and Anywar in Acholi, were being encouraged to collect and record the oral traditions of their areas. Though Nyakatura and Anywar made references to the Palwo, these references were only in so far as they help in understanding the history of their areas. They could not be expected to collect traditions of the Palwo. Educated Palwo men would have done the job. But at this time, even if the missionaries and the colonial administration were interested in any aspect of the lives of the Palwo, it would have been impossible to find literate Palwo men to do the job.

1. See Chapter seven below.

From the above, the explanation for the scarcity of material on the Palwo becomes easy to understand. The circumstances of their history were such that in the twentieth century they became so numerically unimportant that scholars and even their neighbours failed to realize their existence. Except for the older generations of Acholi and Bunyoro, majority of the people in Uganda are not aware of their existence. Such an "insignificant" group cannot be expected to attract the attention of foreign scholars. The result is that since the Palwo were not able to record their traditions, and they were not numerous enough to be noticed by foreign scholars, there is no single publication either in the vernacular or English on any aspect of their lives. The writer did not come across any written work on the Palwo. Little wonder that earlier scholars did not study the Palwo. They would have had to make a start from no where in particular. It is the challenge of this unpleasant task that the writer decided to face.

The lack of any form of written evidence compelled a near complete dependence on oral tradition. Except for the last half of chapter seven when evidence collected from Entebbe Archives in Uganda is used, this thesis is based largely on oral tradition. Oral tradition has been

3. J. Vansina, "Recording of the Oral History of the Bakuba" *loc.cit.*

described as "testimonies of the past which are deliberately transmitted from mouth to mouth".¹ The case for oral tradition as a valid source material for history has already been made and need not be repeated here.² Vansina's declaration that "there is nothing intrinsically less valuable in oral tradition than in a written one",³ sums up the attitude of the writer to oral tradition. For the purpose of this exercise, 140 interviews were conducted among individuals of Palwo origin. This does not include the 20 interviews of Acholi clans who claim to have left Northern Bunyoro as a result of the persecution of the first Bantu king. Apart from the occasional trips to Kampala, the period between March and December 1971 was spent in interviewing people. The interviews on which the thesis is based are titled Palwo Historical Text (P.H.T.). They are in the possession of the writer and will be deposited at the Ibadan University Library.

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1. J. Vansina, "Recording of the Oral History of the Bakuba", Journal of African History, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1960.
 2. For example (a) B. A. Ogot, op.cit., pp. 11-21.
 (b) M.S.M. Kiwanuka: op.cit., pp. xiii-xviii.
 (c) J. Vansina and H. Mauny, and H. Thomas, (eds.), The Historian in Tropical Africa, (O.U.P., London 1964).
 3. J. Vansina, "Recording of the Oral History of the Bakuba" loc.cit.

The reliance on oral tradition perhaps explains one of the peculiarities of this thesis. As will be observed, its size appears relatively small when compared with earlier thesis produced in this Department. It has to be so because, unlike all other theses, there was very little documentary evidence at the disposal of the writer. Oral evidence, first collected in 1971, cannot be expected to be as voluminous as those collected and written in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. The present study is an analysis of all the traditions that could possibly be elicited from the Palwo.

Another peculiarity of this exercise is the system of dating adopted. The most difficult problem facing a historian using oral tradition is that of chronology. Difficult as it is, if oral history is to be differentiated from myths, fables, and legends, a time scale on which a chronology is to be built is a necessity. Until 1710 when absolute dates were supplied, the writing of Palwo history is based on the chronological formula first evolved by Professor Oliver in South West Uganda,¹ and confirmed by Professor Ogot² and Webster's experiences

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1. R. Oliver, "Preliminary Survey of Ancient Capital sites of Ankole", Uganda Journal, Vol. 23, No. 1, 1959 and "Notes on some Historical sites in Buganda". Uganda Journal, Vol. 23, No. 1, 1959.
 2. B. A. Ogot, op.cit.

among the Padhola of Kenya and the Iteso of Uganda respectively. "The chronology", says Webster,¹ "can be applied to all parts of the interlacustrine region".

The formula does not aim at establishing absolute but rather relative dates. The relative dates are based on generations. A generation is the time that elapses between the birth of a man and that of his first surviving child. The length of a generation based on experiences in the interlacustrine region was taken to be twenty-seven years. Thus taking the length of a generation to be twenty-seven years, a chronology was worked out for the Palwo.²

Vansina³ might be right in saying that the technique is not easy to handle and remains somewhat suspect. David Henige⁴ also has reservations about the validity of the formula. Uzoigwe⁵ on the basis of the fact that Kiwanuka exposed a margin of 22 years in the reign of one of the Kabaka says the issue of chronology has to be looked

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1. J. B. Webster, Tentative Chronology for events in Northern Uganda, (copies available at the History Department, Makerere University, Kampala) Makerere University 1971.
 2. See Appendix of this work for a table of important dates in Palwo history.
 3. J. Vansina, R. Mauny and L. U. Thomas, op.cit.
 4. David P. Henige, "Oral Tradition and Chronology", Journal of African History, Vol. II, No. 3, 1971.
 5. Nyakatura, op.cit., Introduction, p. xix.

afresh into. What the critics appear to have lost sight of, is the fact that the system is not aiming at establishing absolute but relative dates, not specific years, but a range at least smaller than such expressions as "late seventeenth or early eighteenth century". It is pertinent to note that none of the critics have suggested an alternative and until a better alternative is suggested, Oliver's dating formula will continue to be used.

In this exercise, the formula was used in the first three chapters. Henceforth Nyakatura and other Bunyoro sources provide fairly absolute dates. As from the reign of Olimi Isansa 1710-1730 the reign of the Banyoro Abakama are dated.¹ In almost all the instances when the formula was adopted, the dates arrived at were corroborated by relevant, but independent, researches carried on at the same time or before the writer's. For instance, the date of the arrival of the Babito (1409-1436) was corroborated by Oliver's conclusions on the disappearance of the Bacwezi which were based on archaeological excavations.

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1. By knowing the kings who reigned in Bunyoro at the time the events occurred, one could get fairly absolute dates.
 2. See R. Oliver, "A Question about the Bacwezi", Uganda Journal, Vol. 11 No. 2, 1953. His conclusions were based on excavations carried out at Bigo Hill. Oliver is of the opinion that the Bacwezi disappeared in the very early part of the fifteenth century. Also J. B. Webster, Tentative Chronology for the Lwo, places the establishment of the Babito at 1409-1436.

The date of Palwo migration to Acholi and other areas was also supported by evidence from areas to which they migrated and by Nyakatura.¹ These tend to add some validity to Oliver's formula and point to the near-accuracy of dates arrived at by using the formula.

One other peculiar thing about this study is the unusually long period, 1400-1911, which it attempts to cover. The factors which were responsible for the dearth of material on the Palwo have been mentioned. In the circumstances, perhaps the most convenient way of writing a meaningful history of the Palwo is to focus on their rivalry with the Bantu for the control of the empire of Kitara. The rivalry during which the Palwo were compelled to move from place to place and sought to use factors of religion and economy to achieve their aim, spread over five centuries. Any attempt to concentrate on one section of this period to the neglect of others will result in an unbalanced picture of the Palwo. It seems the most convenient way of writing a coherent history of this numerically insignificant² but historically important

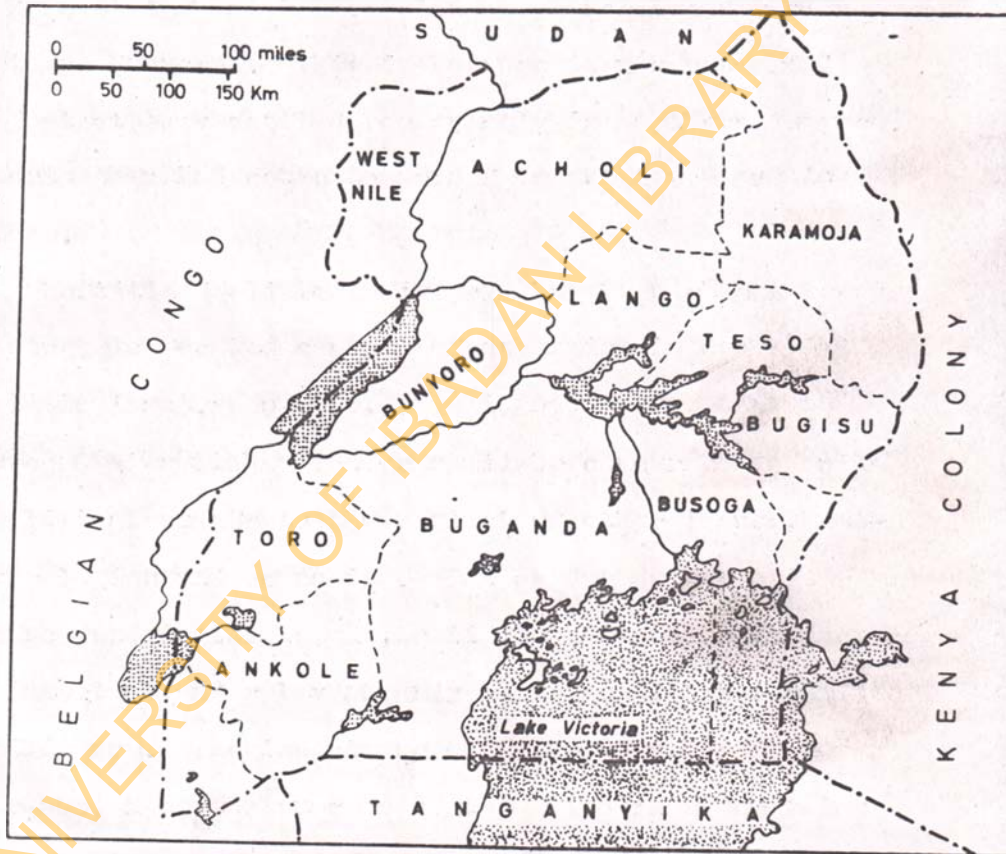
-
1. Webster dates the arrival at Agago at 1720-1760 see J. B. Webster, Migration and Settlement of the Interlacustrine Region, Maura Garry also dates the arrival of the Palwo at Pajule to 1706-1760. See Maura Garry, The Settlement of Pajule and the Failure of Palwo centralisation, Makerere Seminar Paper No. 7, 1971.
 2. For instance the total population of Palwo's county of Kibanda in 1959 was 12,628. See B. W. Langlands, The Population Geography of Bunyoro District, Makerere Geography Occasional Paper No. 35, 1971, p. 6.

group is to focus on their activities during the whole of the five centuries.

Yet another peculiarity of this exercise is that until chapter four, no particular area was demarcated as the home of the Palwo (Palwoland) - hence the use of "Northern Bunyoro". This is because it was not until c.1830 that they settled permanently in Northern Bunyoro. Hitherto they had cause to move from one territory to another.

The title "Political History" has been chosen because the struggle for the control of an empire is essentially a political act. However, this is not to say that the five centuries with which we shall be concerned is full of political events to the neglect of other issues, notably religion and economics. But as far as the writer is concerned in this study, religious and economic factors are important and relevant only in terms of their political significance. The importance of Palwo gods lay in their contribution to the success of the Palwo in undermining the authority of the Bantu "usurpers". The economic boom is important only for the encouragement it gave to the Palwo in their attempt to defeat their opponents. Throughout the five centuries one will not fail to notice that the overriding issue was the political struggle for the control of Bunyoro-Kitara empire.

MAP 1



UGANDA, SHOWING BUNYORO AND SURROUNDING REGIONS

The writer has chosen to write Lwo and Palwo in spite of the fact that some earlier writers have spelt the two words in slightly different ways.¹ Lwo and Palwo are written as such because the inhabitants of Palwo's county of Kibanda pronounce and write like that. Ogot also suggested that the Alur, Padhola, and Kenya Luo have undergone certain morphological changes which are lacking in the Acholi, Lango, and Palwo.² This perhaps explains the differences in which these two groups of Nilotes pronounce and write "Lwo". It is perhaps worth noting that even Ogot who writes Luo for the entire group writes "Palwo" for this branch of the Lwo. Moreover most writers on the Lwo of Uganda³ write Lwo for the entire group and Palwo for those in Northern Bunyoro.

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1. (a) J. P. Crazzolara, The Lwoo: Parts I, II, III, Verona, 1950-1954.
 - (b) B. A. Ogot, op.cit.
 2. Ibid., p. 32.
 3. J. B. Webster and others; The Central Lwo during the Aconya. In Press with East African Literature Bureau.
 - R. S. Anywar, Acoli ki ker Megi (The Acholi and Their Chiefdoms). Eagle Press, Kampala, 1954. Translated by P. Odyomo.
 - J. Onyongo-ku-Odango, The Early History of the Central Lwo, Typescript, Makerere University Kampala, 1971.

CHAPTER I

PALWO ORIGIN, MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT
IN PAWIR C.1400-1571

The Palwo are a branch of the Lwo. A discussion of their early history should therefore begin with an insight into the origin and migration of the Lwo. Available literature indicates that the Lwo along with the Nuer and Didinga constituted the Nilotic racial group.¹ The question of their original homeland has so far defied any satisfactory solution. Crazzolara places the Nilotic cradleland around the Bahr-el-Ghazal region in the present-day Republic of Sudan.² Odongo

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1. There are two accounts of the migration of the Lwo from their cradleland (1) J. P. Crazzolara, op.cit.
(2) J. Onyago-ku-Odongo, op.cit.

The exercise on pp. 1-4 is an attempt to fuse the two accounts, the contents of which are basically the same especially with regards to splits, quarrels and division, but which differ greatly in details i.e. names of places and personalities involved in the issues. For instance, Odongo and Crazzolara differ on where the cradleland was, and the route followed by the migrants. While Crazzolara tends to postulate a straight north to south movement, Odongo postulates a movement from north to east of present Palwoland. They however agree that there were splits but differ as to where they occurred. The popular 'spear and bead story' is the same in structure but as to who was involved and where it occurred, they have different opinions. In reciting the story, the writer has chosen to present the personalities mentioned by Crazzolara because some of the names mentioned by Crazzolara were also mentioned by Palwo informants.

2. Crazzolara, op.cit., p. 31.

4. Crazzolara, op.cit., p. 30.

claims that it was on the western shores of Lake Rudolf.¹ Wherever it might have been, a combination of the factors of over-population, shortage of pastureland, and hostility of their neighbours compelled the Lwo to leave the place. Ogot suggests that the Lwo left the Nilotic cradleland at c.1000 A.D.² Odongo also arrived at the same conclusion.³ In view of Odongo's corroboration, Ogot's date seems convincing.

The migration of the Lwo into Uganda featured series of quarells and disagreements during which one branch after another broke from the main bulk to settle at different places. One of such separations was at Wipac where, as Crazzolara records, one Dimo led a group away in a southerly direction.⁴ From Wipac, other Lwo groups went to settle at different places. The Padibe went towards Baar, the Patiko moved towards the Nile, and Nyimur Alur crossed the Nile and moved to present-day West Nile District. Other minor separations occurred until the group reached an area called Pubungu.

While Crazzolara seems to trace the north-western migration route of the Lwo, Odongo concentrates upon the north-eastern route. The Lwo, according to Odongo, moved

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1. Onyago-ku-Odongo, op. cit.
 2. Ogot, op. cit., p. 41.
 3. Odongo arrived at the same date while carrying out his research independent of that of Ogot.
 4. Crazzolara, op. cit., p. 38.

from Lake Rudolf to a place called Tekidi, which may have been in the Ogili mountains of Agoro region. In Tekidi, there was a split given in terms of 'the spear and bead story'¹ in which one group moved west to the Nile and settled in Pawir and another headed south towards Nyanza. Putting the traditions of Odongo and Crazzolara together, it is possible that the first Lwo settlements in Pawir came out of both the eastern and western wings of Lwo migration. However, there is conflict in the 'spear and bead quarell' as narrated by both authors. Crazzolara argues that this quarell took place at Pubungu, while Odongo argues that it was at Tekidi.

According to Crazzolara, Pubungu occupies a unique position in the history of Lwo migration and in the evolution of the Palwo, Alur and Acholi. The traditions of origin of Acholi and Alur stress the arrival of the whole group of migrating Lwo at Pubungu. "It is therefore, the most prominent place in the history of the Lwo of Uganda".² At Pubungu, there was a debate as to whether the migrating Lwo groups should continue marching southwards, or settle permanently at that spot which looked so conducive to human

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1. For the details of the story see pp. 4-5 of this chapter.
 2. Crazzolara, The Lwo Part I: Migrations, p. 59.

settlement. Most of the migrants were weary of the seemingly endless journey to an unknown destination. Some were however pushed on by the spirit of adventure and favoured a continued march. Thus, there was a disagreement which can be said to have been partly responsible for the break-up of the Lwo at Pubungu.

If Pubungu was described as conducive to human settlement, Tekidi was also said to be a fertile mountainous area inhabited by a people called Muru who were so friendly to the incoming Lwo that a great deal of contact and inter-marriage occurred between the two groups.¹ Pubungu or Tekidi was however not destined to be the final resting place of the Lwo. Apart from the disagreement earlier mentioned, a more important reason for the break-up of the settlement was, according to Odongo and Crazzolaro, the quarell over the "lost spear and the swallowed bead".² Both writers relate the same story but differ in the names of the personalities involved. According to Crazzolaro, the quarell was among the sons of Olum, the leader of the migrating Lwo. Olum had three sons, Nyipir, Tilfool and Labongo. Nyipir one day used Tilfool's spear to attack an elephant which escaped

1. See Crazzolaro, op. cit., p. 59 and Odongo, op. cit.

2. Ibid.

with the spear hanging on its body. Tilfool insisted on having back his own spear and refused all substitutes. Nyipir had to go into the forest to look for the spear. He was fortunate to meet a woman who gave him not only the exact spear he was looking for, but also some beads and millet. Nyipir returned his brother's spear - but not without bitterness for having compelled him to risk his life in search of it. Sometime afterwards, Tilfool's son was playing with Nyipir's beads and swallowed them. Nyipir saw this as an opportunity to revenge against Tilfool for his uncompromising attitude over the spear. He insisted on having back his exact beads and the child's belly had to be ripped open. The child died shortly afterwards. These incidents created such animosity that it became clear that the brothers could not continue living together. Tilfool was reported to have crossed the River Nile and settled in the forest where Nyipir had recovered his spear. He, according to Crazzolaro, became the ancestor of the Alur. Nyipir went in another direction. At this point Labongo who was said to have accompanied his two brothers had to return to Kilak and, with his supporters, he settled in present-day Acholi land. Olum, the father of the quarrelling brothers led the remaining Lwo towards Bunyoro. They were said to have arrived at

Chope¹ where they settled. 'The dispute' was also said to have caused a large exodus of population from Tekidi to the Nile area, Pakwac and Pawir². The branch of the Lwo who settled in Pawir became known as the Palwo. Since Pawir was the earliest and most important of the territories established in the region, all those who later came to settle in the area west and south of Pawir were also known as the Palwo.

It has been necessary to relate the story of the quarell because of its relevance to the origin of the Palwo. Except for the Palwo of Pajao, every other section of the Palwo community ascribe their origin to the quarell over the lost spear and swallowed bead even though with some variations as to the place, time, and personalities involved. Because

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1. The word 'Chope' is the other name by which the Palwo is known. It was said to have originated from a visit to the Palwo by some Banyoro at a time when the men were out in the farms. On meeting only women the visitors asked for the men and they were told Chope-pe "Cho" meaning 'man' 'pe' meaning 'none'. The area then began to be known as 'Chope' the people being Bachope (Muhope singular). The people resent this name and insist on being addressed as Palwo. Unfortunately, however, the term Chope has gained such currency that even their fellow Lwo refer to them as Bachope e.g. Odongo.
 2. Odongo, op. cit.

3. The origin of the Pajao will be discussed fully in chapter II, pp. 36-37 below.

the story is popular among many Lwo groups, even those as far apart as the Boor and Kisumu, Crazzolara has suggested that the story is not of Lwo but of Madi origin.¹ The Madi are a group who occupied a considerable part of the territories along which the Lwo passed in the course of their migration. In some areas, the Lwo absorbed the Madi while in others, the Lwo were compelled to abandon the Madi settlements and moved further. The result is that various branches of the Lwo are separated by Madi-speaking people. On the basis of the fact that the Madi were the pre-Lwo inhabitants of most of the area now occupied by the Lwo, Crazzolara thinks that the "lost spear and swallowed head" story was of Madi origin and was only taken over by the Lwo when they met and absorbed the Madi.²

However, Crazzolara's contention seems not to be supported by available evidence. For instance, the inhabitants of Pajao (one of the later Palwo chiefdoms) are of Madi origin. They came to Northern Bunyoro from Madi-lula and their present Lwo language still has some Madi accents.³

1. Crazzolara, op. cit., p. 61.

2. Ibid.

3. The origin of the Pajao will be discussed fully in chapter II, pp. 36-37 below.

These people are completely ignorant of the lost spear and swallowed bead story. They are not even familiar with the places and personalities connected with the incident. Therefore, since the Lwo are very familiar with the story and the people who are of Madi origin are not aware of it, one is inclined to agree with A.C.A. Wright who argued that "the fact that the story was of sufficiently dramatic nature to have imposed itself on the imagination of Lwo people as far apart as those of Boor, Wau, and Kisumu shows that it is of Lwo origin".¹

Granted that the story is of Lwo origin, the question of where the quarell occurred needs to be looked into. According to the traditions supplied by Crazzolara, the quarell over the lost spear and swallowed bead occurred at Pubungu.² Pubungu is the area presently known as Pakwac in Uganda's west Acholi district. The story of the quarell is known to, and used to explain the origin of all Lwo groups including the Boor. But the Boor were one of the first groups to separate from the main bulk of the migrating Lwo. They live in the Sudan and did not come as far south as Pubungu.

1. A.C.A. Wright, "Lwo Migrations: A review" Uganda Journal, vol. 16, no. 1, 1952, p. 83.

2. Crazzolara, op. cit., p. 59.

If it is true that the story is not only known to, but also used to explain the origin of the Boor,¹ one begins to doubt whether the incident occurred at Pubungu. It must have been in a place as far north as, if not farther than, the Sudan where the Boor live. Moreover, Pubungu is so near to where the Palwo now live that if the incident really occurred there, the Palwo would not have hesitated to mention it. But no single Palwo informant said that the quarell occurred in Pubungu. Instead places farther north including the Sudan were mentioned² as the scene of the quarell. It is on this basis that one is prone to accept Odongo's reasoning that the spear and bead quarell occurred when the Lwo were still living together (most likely in the Sudan) and before they were widely dispersed. Thus it was passed down among all the Lwo and often employed to explain later separations.³

If the spear and bead story was invented by the Lwo to explain their dispersal, they have done nothing peculiar. Other groups have engaged in similar practice. For

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1. Ibid., pp. 113-114.
 2. Isaya Eyewarjom P.H.T. 91, Chopelwor, 5/8/71. Francis Kirube, P.H.T. 108 Mutunda 16/9/71. Antonio Onyuru P.H.T. 107 Mutunda 15/9/71. Other places like North Africa, Libya were suggested.
 3. Odongo, op. cit.

The History of the Yoruba See E. Johnson, The Yoruba from the Earliest Times to the Foundation of the British Protectorate (C.N.S., Lagos 1921).

instance, the Yoruba of Nigeria explain their dispersal in terms of the decision of the sons of Oduduwa (the ancestor) to separate and establish their authority in different areas.¹ The 'common consent story' is believed to have been invented to justify their separation. The real cause of the separation might have been one, or a combination of the factors of overpopulation, quarrells among brothers, or the desire to move into new areas. In the case of the Lwo, the spear and bead story might have been invented to serve the same purpose as the common consent story of the Yoruba. The cause of the separation might have been a result of one, or the combination of factors of overpopulation, shortage of pastureland, and hostility of their neighbours. In any case, whether the quarrell occurred or not, most of the Palwo groups trace their origin to it.

The Palwo settled at the northern extreme of present-day Bunyoro district. Their place of settlement includes the area containing the Murchison Falls National Park and Kibanda County. The former Palwo county of Kihukya was converted into the present-day Murchison Falls National Park after the Palwo had been forced to leave the area in 1911 by the Colonial Government. The Palwo first came to this area either during the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. They did not all settle under one single authority but in what might be

1. For details on the History of the Yoruba see S. Johnson, The History of the Yoruba from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the British Protectorate (C.M.S., Lagos 1921).

called chiefdoms governed by whoever happened to be selected as leader or whoever led the respective migration groups into the area and usually addressed as 'rwhot'.¹ Seven of these entities namely Pawir, Koc, Kisona, Kisoga, Paitwol, Munyai and Pajao could be identified. In fact most writers refer to the whole area as Pawir, regardless of the fact that it was only the oldest of the Palwo chiefdoms. This is not to deny the fact that Pawir's influence was spread to other areas by its inhabitants who went to establish chiefdoms in these places. Indeed so great was the influence of Pawir that its emergence must now be discussed.

Emergence of Pawir

Pawir elders ascribe their origin to a quarell over the lost spear and swallowed bead but with some variation in details.² In their version, the bead had been swallowed before the elephant was speared. Labongo whom Crazzolara presented as being relatively uninvolved in the quarell was

1. The word chiefdom has been used for the sake of convenience. They could also be called principalities or even kingdoms. After all, the head was a man called rwhot which literarily translated, means king. Kingdom is not used in order to avoid confusion with Bunyoro-Kitara Kingdom of which the area inhabited by the Palwo was an integral part.

2. P.H.T. 91, as previously cited.

said to be the one who had been uncompromising over his bead and had to go into the jungle to look for the elephant he had struck with Nyipir's spear. After returning the spear, he collected his close relatives and separated from the main group. Nyawir, as the aunt of Labongo, was the eldest member of this group and was said to have taken an active part in deciding the routes to be followed by the migrants. Labongo died in the course of the migration and Nyawir assumed leadership. The migrating Lwo later arrived at a place called Awechi, named after one of them who decided to stay there because his wife was at the point of being delivered of a baby and therefore could no longer continue marching. The others kept on moving and arrived at Kamdini situated in present-day Lango district. Some of them decided to cross the River Nile and settled on the opposite side. Others chose to go as far as Kidilandi. Between Kamdini and Kidilandi, the migrating Palwo were said to have been subjected to attacks by the people living in these areas. Their cattle were raided and some of them were physically assaulted whenever they resisted the cattle raid. At Kidilandi, a king named Arum, after whom Karuma Falls was believed to have been named, was exercising authority. Some of the Palwo chose to stay with him. Nyawir and the majority of the migrants crossed the Nile and decided to stop at Bedmot which became more or less

the capital settlement. She chose Bedmot because of its fertility arising from its proximity to the river. Added to this was the fact that the majority of the migrants had become exhausted after crossing the Nile. Bedmot and the surrounding area where this first group of Palwo migrants stayed was later known as Pawir in memory of Nyawir.

Probably as a result of the attacks they had suffered from some of the people they came across in the course of their migration, Nyawir was ever exhorting the Pawiri to be vigilant lest they might suddenly be deprived of their land. They built their fenced huts near the Nile and experienced a short period of famine before the crops they planted were ready for harvest. In consequence of this famine, the Lwo learnt how to eat the fish. According to tradition, the Lwo did not know the art of fishing or the food value of fish until this time. The tradition of how the Lwo learnt how to eat fish which seems to be an explanation of what common sense dictates is as follows: On one occasion, some of the children went to fetch water. The calabash with which one of them was trying to take water from the river caught some fishes. Being unfamiliar objects to them, the children took the fishes to their parents. A Palwo woman suspected that the objects might be fit for

consumption.¹ She offered to cook and eat the fishes. Her survival or death would dictate whether or not the objects were fit for human consumption. She survived and from then fishing became a popular occupation. By the time fish became recognised as an item of food, the crops planted were already yielding good harvests. Life became easier, and as the population increased, the people moved from Bedmot to colonise surrounding areas. New settlements like Tochi and Karawong emerged. These settlements were usually headed by members of Nyawir's clan, the Dukeno. As these settlements were still within the chiefdom of Pawir, they remained subordinate to the authority of the king of Pawir. But Pawir and the new settlements that emerged from it were located within the Bunyoro-Kitara empire then ruled by a dynasty called the Bacwezi. It was from the Bacwezi that the Palwo took control of the Kitara empire for some time. At this point it is necessary to discuss the Bacwezi in order to understand Palwo struggle with them for the control of Kitara.

The Bacwezi and the Palwo of Pawir

Who the Bacwezi were is very difficult to say.

1. Ibid.

Huntingford and Ingham¹ suggest that they were Hamites. Crazzolara² believes that the Bahima (a pastoral group in southern Uganda) were one people with the Bacwezi and all of them were Lwo. It was these conquering Lwo who were first known as the Bacwezi, and then later as the Bahinda of Ankole and the Batutsi of Rwanda. He strengthens his argument by pointing out that the drums, spears, bows, arrows and calabash found among the Bacwezi kings were Lwo articles. Nyakatura's story³ of the Bacwezi inviting their brothers from the north to step into their shoes when they were compelled to disappear seems to buttress Crazzolara's contention. Oliver, however, dismisses Nyakatura's story of the disappearance of the Bacwezi as an attempt to supply a fictitious continuity between the Babito dynasty and its predecessors. Basing his argument on Ankole tradition supplied by Katate, he says that the Bacwezi emerged not

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1. G. W. Huntingford, "The Peopling of the Interior of East Africa by its modern inhabitants in R. Oliver and G. Mathews", (Eds.) History of East Africa, Vol. 1 (Oxford Clarendon London 1963), p. 86 and K. Ingham "Some Aspects of the History of Western Uganda", Uganda Journal, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1957.
 2. Crazzolara, op. cit., pp. 94-97, 102-103.
 3. Nyakatura, op. cit., pp. 32-34.

from the north but from the south. "First emerging as royal clan among the Batutsi aristocracy, they extended their authority to the north up to the Nile area. This northern extension of their empire was checked by the advance of the Nilotic Luo".¹ Far from the Bacwezi voluntarily inviting their brothers Babito to succeed them, Oliver argues that "the earthworks to the north of their capital at Mubende and Mtusi stand as evidence of their intention to defend their territories against the Nilotic invaders".² Karugire thinks that Crazzolara's view of the Lwo origin of the Bacwezi is mistaken because "although it is now generally accepted that the ruling house of Bunyoro was descended from the Lwo-speaking peoples, there is no evidence at all to adduce the same for the royal families of Rwanda and Nkore".³ Moreover, the fact that the Bacwezi were said to be light skinned and the Lwo were unusually black weakens the argument that the Bacwezi were Lwo. Even Odongo who is not slow in claiming credit for the Lwo does not claim that the

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1. R. Oliver, "A Question about the Bacwezi", loc. cit.
 2. Ibid., "A Question about the Bacwezi", loc. cit.
 3. S. Karugire, Foundation and Development of the Western Kingdoms, Makerere Seminar Paper, No. 21, 1971/72.

Bacwezi were Lwo. It therefore seems difficult to accept Crazzolara's claim that the Bacwezi were Lwo.

However, the fact that no one is sure of the origin of the Bacwezi is not sufficient justification for Wrigley to dismiss them as "imaginary gods rather than men".¹ The Bacwezi did exist and ruled over the Kitara empire. Opinions differ on the period they were said to have "disappeared". Oliver's view that they disappeared in the fifteenth century seems most convincing, having as it were, the force of archaeological excavations behind it.² Pawir traditions agree with Oliver's story that the Bacwezi at the time of their disappearance were extending their rule northwards to the Nile. The Bacwezi, according to the Pawir informants, came to Nyawir's palace and got Nyawir and her people to accept them as rulers. The Bacwezi gave Nyawir royal instruments such as drums, stools, spears and beads. The Bacwezi taught Nyawir how to organize her territory and collect tribute. Thereafter Nyawir paid tribute twice yearly to the Bacwezi,

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1. C. C. Wrigley, "Some Thoughts on the Bacwezi", Uganda Journal, Vol. 22, No. 1, 1959.
 2. R. Oliver, "A Question about the Bacwezi", loc.cit.
 3. Isaya Byewarjo, Chopelwor, P.H.T., 92, 17/8/71.

the first during the harvest season and the second during the empango festival. Nyawir also retained a portion of the tribute for herself. She sent the harvest tributes through her lieutenants such as Uyo and Dadao Rucho who, in return, received gifts from the Bacwezi kings. But Nyawir was always physically present at the Bacwezi capital during the empango festival. The empango was the celebration marking the anniversary of the Omukama's accession. It was an occasion for the provincial representatives to demonstrate their loyalty and obedience to the Omukama. Other representatives of the Bacwezi 'central' administration were also present. It seems the Bacwezi had established some centralized authority over Kitara empire before the Palwo came. It is pertinent to examine the nature of this political organization.

Kitara Political Structure

The Kitara empire was a hierarchically organised state with the Omukama at the apex of the pyramid of authority and a number of appointed officials and village headmen at its base. With a widely dispersed population, poor communication and simple technology, it was impossible to establish and maintain a high concentration of political power. The Omukama therefore conferred authority on some people to rule on his behalf. There seems to have been two administrative

systems in Kitara. Metropolitan Bunyoro, the central core of the Kitara empire, was divided into Sazas and ruled by princely appointees of the Omukama. In these places, for example Bugahya, Kyaka and Muwenge, the office of the Saza was not hereditary. The Omukama could replace the princes with any of their brothers. But in the peripheral states such as Pawir, Buhweju and Buzimba which had previously been independent, but were by one way or the other brought to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Abakama, the local chiefs continued to rule and were succeeded by their descendants. The Omukama's suzerainty was however acknowledged by the payment of tributes.¹ This system of incorporating already established states into the empire by making the local rulers serve as their representatives seemed to have paved the way for larger political units during the Bacwezi era. It partly explains the vast extent of the Kitara empire.

In both of these administrative areas, the rulers whether local and hereditary, or princely appointees, were more or less, micro kings exercising wide executive and judicial powers. The Bacwezi kingdom of Kitara thus looked like a loose association of semi independent states ruled

1. Carole Buchanan: The Bacwezi Cult: Religious Revolution in Western Uganda, Makerere Seminar Paper (unnumbered) 1969.

by princes or local rulers and loosely connected with the capital through the payment of tributes and attendance at empango festivals. Though it might be loose, the fact is that the Bacwezi evolved and maintained a system of rule in the Kitara empire. This system was also adopted by their Babito (Palwo) successors.

The above perhaps justifies Oliver's declaration that "The political legacy of the Bacwezi [to the Palwo] involved a system of administrative officialdom accustomed to ruling small districts as the local representative of a centralized nation".¹ This statement tends to give the impression that the Palwo of Pawir learned the notion of kingship from the Bacwezi. It seems that they had no idea of kingship before coming to Kitara. But this is not true. The political system in Pawir before the coming of the Bacwezi could not be described as segmentary. When after settling at Bedmot, the population increased to the point where some people migrated to other areas such as Tochi and Kwarong, Nyawir took care to appoint members of her own Dukeno clan to exercise authority over them. Dadao Rucho who ruled at Tochi returned regularly to Bedmot to offer tributes of foodstuffs to Nyawir.

1. Oliver, "A Question about the Bacwezi", loc. cit.

Legal cases were also referred from Tochi and Kwarang to Nyawir for settlement.¹ The system of kingship and centralised government among the Palwo of Pawir might not have been as elaborate as that of the Bacwezi who ruled a much wider area but the Palwo were not unfamiliar with the idea of centralised rule. Bacwezi's instructions to Nyawir were perhaps an elaboration of an idea already familiar. It would be wrong to assume that it was the Bacwezi who instructed the Lwo in the ideas of kingship.

Where and when one might ask did the Lwo acquire the idea of kingship and centralised government? A.C.A. Wright suggests the probability that at some point in their southward migration, the Lwo came in contact with the Hamites who had an elaborate kingship ritual which showed traces of Meroitic cultural influence. Contact was followed by intermarriage with the Lwo. "The Lwo legend of Ocak, the milk drinker, a light coloured stranger, who seduced the Lwo girl Kilak from whom sprang Nyambongo founder of the Babito dynasty" is, in his opinion, the traditional justification of these events. This mixed marriage is said to have taken

1. Isaya Byewarjo, Chopelwor, P.H.T., 93, 18/8/71.

1. A.C.A. Wright, *op. cit.*

2. Odongo, *op. cit.*

3. *Ibid.*

place in the Atura-Pakwach-Nimule triangle at a time when there were Hamitic movements between western Abyssinia and Uganda.¹

Another proof of the fact that the Lwo had had ideas of kingship before coming in contact with the Bacwezi is the fact that Rukidi founder of the Babito dynasty was said to be the son of a Lwo king Oweny and a woman from the pastoralist Bahima group. In fact, Odongo supplied a Lwo king list which showed that since c.1000 some formal leadership tradition had been existing among them. In c.1193-1220, during the reign of Rwot Opii, the Lwo state became more centralised. The king in addition to his secular powers was also conferred with religious powers.² The Lwo who later on had cause to settle in other areas adopted the system which operated under Rwot Opii. Among these Lwo groups were those in Pawir and Alur.³ Thus Nyawir, the leader of the Lwo in Pawir, seems to have inherited ideas of kingship from her ancestors. However, much as ideas of kingship were not new to Nyawir, it is clear that it was the Bacwezi who first gave her a drum and this instrument was likely new to her and her people.

1. A.C.A. Wright, op. cit.

2. Odongo, op. cit.

3. Ibid.

Some years after the Bacwezi had visited her, Nyawir was said to have disappeared in a rather mysterious manner. One version of the story as supplied by oral tradition says that one morning when the people went to pay her a visit in the palace, they found a big hole around the place and gradually the palace and everything inside including Nyawir began to sink in the hole. People were surprised but there was nothing they could do.¹ Another version by Crazzolara describes Nyawir as being one of the two wives of Olum Panya the leader of the migrating Lwo who were sent to Bunyoro by their husband to wait for him at appointed places. Olum promised to come later and take them with him to his new residence. Nyawir happened to be by the side of a cattle water hole when she heard that her husband had passed by without caring for her. She fell into the water hole from heart-break and disappeared together with her attendants, her cattle and all her property.² The story of a human being disappearing or sinking into a hole seems difficult to believe. May be the circumstances surrounding Nyawir's death was not such that the Palwo informants can account for or be proud of. The story of Nyawir's disappearance into the

1. P.H.T., 93, as previously cited.

2. Crazzolara, op. cit., p. lll.

hole might have been an attempt by the Palwo to create an aura of respect for their hereditary ancestor and perhaps a justification for deifying her.

The choice of Uyo c.1436 as successor to Nyawir was almost automatic.¹ Apart from having been Nyawir's principal adviser and chief executive, he was virtually the oldest man in Pawir at the time of Nyawir's death. He was crowned ceremoniously. Nine days of mourning were observed after Nyawir's disappearance. On the tenth day, Uyo was made to sit on Nyawir's stool, wore her garments, and was handed the drums, spear and beads hitherto used by Nyawir. Lakturn and other elders spoke at the ceremony advising him to follow the footsteps of his predecessor. Uyo was later on taken to the Bacwezi for introduction.

It was during Uyo's reign that some kind of reverence began to be paid to Nyawir's memory. One of Nyawir's children, Okelo Nyawir, was told in a dream that the Pawiri should start offering sacrifice to Nyawir at the spot where she had disappeared. Okelo Nyawir assumed the role of the chief priest whenever the sacrifice was offered, usually at the beginning of the planting season. Failure to offer

1. P.H.T., 91, as previously cited.

the sacrifice could result in famine. Goats were slaughtered and eaten, and plenty of beer was consumed at that spot where Nyawir disappeared. People ate and drank as much as they could, leaving behind the remains including the pots used for cooking. It was believed that Nyawir used to consume whatever food and drink was left.¹

Uyo and Nyawir were both members of the Dukeno clan. They were, however, not of the same family. In fact, Uyo seemed to have represented the head of another important segment of the clan. The succession of Uyo and the worship of Nyawir suggest that the descendants of Nyawir assumed a religious role when they lost their political authority. That such a thing is possible has been indicated by Rennie in his paper on Rwanda.² Furthermore, Odongo has shown that in the kingdom of Puranga, the original dynasty held both religious and secular powers. When that dynasty was replaced, there was a separation of functions, the old royal family becoming the hereditary chief priest and the new royal family having authority only over political matters.³ The same holds

1. P.H.T., 92, as previously cited.

2. J. K. Rennie, The Pre-Colonial History of Rwanda, Makerere Seminar Paper, No. 11, 1971/72.

3. Odongo, op. cit.

The appalling situation in Pawir was perhaps part of the general retrogression which overtook the whole of the true for the empire of Kitara where the displaced Bacwezi rulers began to be worshipped after their disappearance and the new Babito rulers attempted to legitimise their rule by the worship of Wamara, the last of the Bacwezi.¹ Among the examples above, there is an important difference. In the case of Nyawir and the Bacwezi, the spirits of the departed dynasty actually assumed the role of gods while in the case of Puranga the old dynasty merely formed the chiefly family ministering to an already established divine oracle.

Some time during Uyo's reign, the people of Pawir passed through a very difficult period. A small pox epidemic claimed the lives of many. Then, there was an outbreak of famine. The harvests were poor and even the Tochi river failed to provide fish. The situation was so bad that Uyo could not be paid the annual tributes by his subjects.² As a result, he in turn failed to meet his annual tribute obligation to the Bacwezi. The Bacwezi did not, and perhaps could not, make any effort to compel Uyo to do what was expected of him,

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1. Carole Buchanan, op. cit.
 2. P.H.T., 93, as previously cited.

The appalling situation at Pawir was perhaps part of the general catastrophe which overtook the whole of the Bacwezi kingdom of Kitara shortly before the advent of the Babito. Nyakatura¹ explains the misfortune of the Bacwezi as a consequence of the rudeness of Wamara's wives to Kantu, an old man, but a blood friend of, and diviner to, the last Mucwezi Omukama. Kantu was said to have come to Wamara's palace at a time when the Omukama was preparing to go out hunting. Wamara however ordered one of his servants to take Kantu to his wives and be given whatever he wanted. The Omukama's wives not only refused to give him water for which he asked, but also forcefully pushed him out where he was trampled upon by the king's cattle. Kantu was said to have cursed the Bacwezi. Thereafter, there followed a period of decentralisation and fragmentation punctuated by famine and disease all over the Kitara Kingdom. The Bacwezi lost the respect and admiration people had for them. Putting the Pawir traditions together with those in Kitara, it seems that there is a general agreement that the end of the Bacwezi

1. Nyakatura, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-29. There are several versions of the story of the disappearance of the Bacwezi. All of them point to unfavourable political and economic situation as the cause. It is only Nyakatura who describes the reasons for the political and economic decay. Among the Palwo and Banyoro parties to a blood friend pact agree to help each other in time of need. It is believed that anybody who directly offends his blood-friend will meet with some misfortune.

dynasty was accompanied by a severe famine and epidemic. The famine had an effect on the political history of Kitara. It led to the replacement of the Bacwezi with the Babito as rulers of the empire.

Arrival of the Babito

It was during a period of famine when Uyo was still the rwhot at Pawir that the Babito arrived in Pawir from the north.¹ Rukidi, a Lwo man who later became founder of the Babito dynasty came to Karawong (some would say Panyadoli), carrying a bag of porridge on which he and his companions fed while most people were suffering from hunger. The Bacwezi asked Rukidi for porridge but Rukidi would give it to them only in return for royal drums. The drums being the sacred instruments of authority were too valuable to be

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1. Zachariah Manyuru, P.H.T. 27, 17/4/71. Kings in Bunyoro-Kitara are supposed to have a spiritual source for their authority. They are believed to have been given the power to rule by the gods. The instrument of authority was the drum. By giving away the drums the Bacwezi have placed temporal over spiritual considerations. The Palwo story of the coming of Rukidi is an attempt to emphasize this, Rukidi in an effort to get himself accepted by the inhabitants of Kitara empire especially in the Bantu-speaking areas tried to establish a link between himself and the departed Bacwezi. The Babito were said to be spreading the story of their being brothers of the Bacwezi and that it was the Bacwezi who invited them to take over power. They also worshipped spirits of the departed Bacwezi, see Carole Buchanan, op. cit.

exchanged for porridge. The Bacwezi thus went away in hunger. Three days later, the Bacwezi could no longer bear the hunger and handed over the drums. By exchanging the drums for mere porridge, the Bacwezi committed the most sacrilegious of sins. The gods were said to be angry and the already bad condition of the empire became worse. To start with, the quantity of porridge proved insufficient to satisfy members of the household. Far from curing their hunger, the small quantity only served to stimulate their appetites and provoked bitter quarrelling as each individual tried to get more. The gods were said to have invoked their anger and a series of misfortunes started befalling the Bacwezi. Strange sounds were heard in the palace, and many of the princes died. Things came to a head when the palace started giving way. The Bacwezi attempted to summon people to come to their aid but having given their drums to Rukidi, there was no way of calling the people. The palace collapsed, many of them died, and those who survived disappeared in the direction of Lake Albert.

It can be seen that the Palwo explanation of the Bacwezi decline differs from that of Nyakatura,¹ who ascribes it to

1. Escherich Manyara, P.S.S., 17, Kirako, 12/4/77.

1. Nyakatura, op. cit., pp. 27-29.

failure to carry out an obligation to a blood friend. It is perhaps an attempt to offer a religious justification for their eventual assumption of authority in Kitara. It may also be an effort to present the situation in Kitara empire as demanding a new set of rulers who could put an end to the famine the effects of which even the Bacwezi did not escape. Whatever might have been responsible for the decline of the Bacwezi, all sources agree that the Bacwezi disappeared and the Babito (Lwo) took over the control of Kitara.

After the disappearance of the Bacwezi, Rukidi, the leader of the Lwo, established himself as king and from Pawir he extended his influence to the Bantu-speaking southern province of the former Abacwezi empire of Kitara. In recognition of their Lwo ancestry, Rukidi and his successors shifted the capital back to Pawir even when the expansion into the Bantu-speaking areas was still in progress.¹ Pawir informants² recall how the inhabitants of other parts of the Kitara empire came to their territory to offer tributes and attend empango festival during the reign of Rukidi and at least his two immediate successors. Perhaps in an effort to

1. Zachariah Manyuru, P.H.T., 17, Kiroko, 10/4/71.

2. e.g. Isaya Eyewarjo P.H.T., 92, Chopelwor 6/8/71.

emphasize the "Lwonesse" of the dynasty, the Abakama married at least one Palwo woman and appointed sons born by these Palwo women as their successors. The names and clans of the mothers of the Abakama as recorded by Nyakatura in his book¹ show that many of the Abakama had Palwo mothers. The tendency of some Abakama to ignore this tradition as they stayed longer among the Bantu was to be a source of friction between the Palwo and the Bantu within the Kitara empire.

It is possible to see the Palwo story of the coming of Rukidi as an attempt to glorify their past. The story is not however without evidence to establish a claim to validity. Pawir is in the northern extreme of the Kitara empire and if it is agreed that the Babito are Lwo who came to Kitara from the north, then it is logical to assume that they are Palwo. Archaeology, however, reveals that the Bacwezi capital was at one time in Mubende² and other areas but nowhere in Pawir was mentioned as a capital. This does not invalidate the possibility that the Bacwezi, like most of the precolonial African rulers especially in East African kingdoms, were shifting their capitals and it might happen to be

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1. Nyakatura, *op. cit.*, also see Appendix for a list of Abakama's wives and their origin.
 2. E. C. Larning, "Excavations at Mubende Hill", Uganda Journal, Vol. 13, No. 1, 1966.

somewhere in Pawir at the time the porridge incident occurred. Archaeology may one day prove this. It is also possible that when Rukidi came, he did not meet the real Bacwezi but their agents of authority. But between the time the porridge incident occurred, and Rukidi's arrival in Bunyoro, the misfortune which compelled the Bacwezi to disappear had already befallen them and Rukidi simply came to take their place. The fact that a time lag has been alleged to exist between the disappearance of the Bacwezi and the appearance of the Babito strengthens this possibility.¹

Nyakatura does not agree that the Babito are Lwo even though he admits that Rukidi and his men came to Kitara from the north and stayed with the Palwo before moving south. But he agrees that the Babito spoke a language different from that of the Banyoro.² This was probably Lwo. Nyakatura

explains the succession of at least four Palwo Abakama after Rukidi not in terms of the desire of the Babito to preserve the Lwo exclusiveness of the Omukamaship but in terms of the widely recognised aggressive tendencies of the Palwo. According to Nyakatura, when an Omukama died, there

1. Carole Buchanan: op. cit.

2. John Nyakatura, Hoima, P.H.T. 130, 25/10/71.

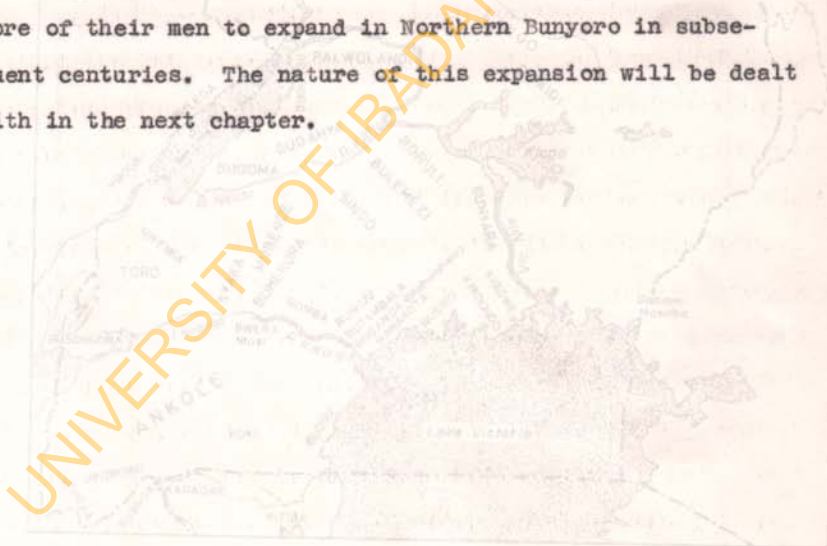
was always a struggle for succession.¹ Each of the contesting princes was supported by the inhabitants of the areas from which their mothers came. The Palwo were able to impose their nominee on other people because a refusal to grant the Palwo's request might result in their causing trouble within the palace. The first four Babito Abakama were buried in Northern Bunyoro because, according to Nyakatura, their capitals were situated there.

Despite Nyakatura's view, the balance of learned opinion is that the Babito were Lwo. While it may be true that the Palwo were aggressive, it seems unlikely that they were ever numerous enough to continually control succession to the throne. At the time of the first four Babito and even in the later period, the Palwo element within Kitara was small in relation to the Bantu. Perhaps, something more than a successful application of brute force can explain the succession of the Palwo to the Omukamaship. In any case, the fact that Rukidi, a Lwo, manipulated the Bacwezi out of the palace and installed himself as the Omukama, had his capital in Palwo territory, was buried there, and among his many sons picked on the one born by a Palwo woman as his successor, is important. It showed that even if the Palwo used force to impose their

1. Ibid.

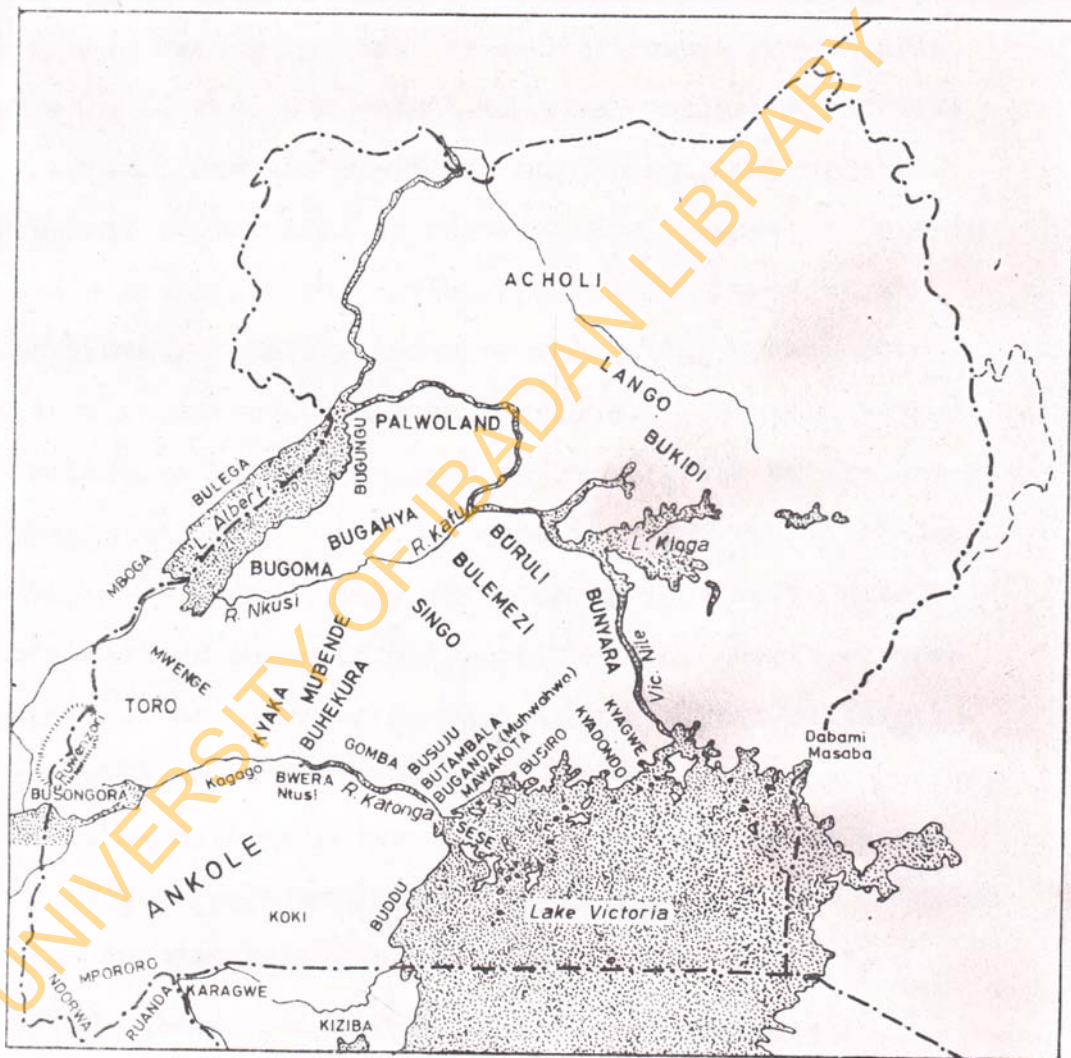
own men as Abakama, the force was only used to ensure that what seemed a well established procedure of Palwo exclusive right to the Bunyoro-Kitara throne was not disrupted. It was an attempt to uphold tradition by force if necessary.

Thus the Palwo managed to displace the Bacwezi and established themselves as rulers of Kitara empire. Tradition is silent about the events in Kitara for the next one century. However, the position which the Palwo had acquired enabled more of their men to expand in Northern Bunyoro in subsequent centuries. The nature of this expansion will be dealt with in the next chapter.



MAP OF BUNYORO-KITARA KINGDOM TAKEN FROM A. R. DUMBAR
A HISTORY OF BUNYORO-KITARA

MAP II



MAP OF BUNYORO-KITARA KINGDOM TAKEN FROM A. R. DUMBAR
A HISTORY OF BUNYORO-KITARA

The Chiefs of Pajao CHAPTER II

PALWO EXPANSION IN NORTHERN BUNYORO

C. 1571-1733

As mentioned earlier, the migration of the Lwo into Uganda was in series. As more migrants came, Pawir expanded. It was as a result of such population increase that new settlements like Tochi and Kwarong emerged outside Bedmot the capital of Pawir¹. The process of Pawir's expansion continued even after the establishment of the Babito dynasty. More princes of the ruling Dukeno clan were sent to govern these new settlements. In the period C.1571-1625, a famine was said to have broken up the Lwo settlement in Pawir. This ushered in a new period of Lwo migrations². It is likely that many people left Pawir for other places of abode in Northern Bunyoro. However, none of these new territories emerged as a distinct political entity until the early eighteenth century. But before that happened, considerable expansion had been going on elsewhere. This expansion led to the emergence of the chiefdom of Pajao founded by a Madi man called Modo who settled among the Palwo.

1. See Chapter One p. 14 above.

2. Odongo, op. cit.

1. Echia Jao, Kinsgarana, P.N.T., 75, 15/3/71.

The Chiefdom of Pajao

According to tradition, Modo came from Madilula where he had been living with his relatives¹. He left because of a dispute with one of his brothers called Kalele. One day Modo's wife prepared a meal from Obol (vegetable) for the entire group. Kalele's wife with her husband's connivance stole the meal and used it to feed her family. When Modo rebuked Kalele's wife, the husband supported his wife. A hot exchange of words escalated into physical combat in which Kalele lost his life. Much as the clan disapproved of Kalele's behaviour, they felt that the offence was not of such magnitude as to warrant death. Modo's sense of shame would not allow him to continue living with the group. He left with members of his household and marched towards Northern Bunyoro. He crossed the Nile and decided to settle at Ewera which later became and remained the capital of Pajao C.1652-79.

Modo was taken by some of the people he met on the spot to the Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara. He was well received. Apart from allowing Modo and his large following to settle at Ewera, the Omukama gave him instruments of authority such as a drum, spear, stool and beads in

1. Zachia Jao, Kinagarana, P.H.T., 75, 15/5/71.

exactly the same manner as the Bacwezi had treated Nyawir. One of the Omukama's wives was asked to accompany Modo and provide him with the necessary guidance in the day-to-day administration of his territory. This use of women as political residents appeared to be a common feature of Kitara's administration. For example, Omukama Nyamutukura Kyebambe III (1786-1835) sent his daughters Batebe and Mpanja to rule on his behalf in the area of Kazingo and Mugusu¹. Modo was strictly forbidden from having any sexual dealings with the woman. A few years after Modo had established his authority and extended the chieftom beyond the immediate area of Bwera, the Omukama's wife who was the political resident, became pregnant for Modo. Upon being informed, the Omukama sent his men to attack and kill Modo and members of his household. Modo's body was burnt and the ashes were thrown into Lake Albert.

The 'unfaithful' woman was not killed but sold in her pregnancy as slave to a Langi. It was at Lango that Kagoro, her son, was born. The prince grew up and regarded himself as a Langi until one day he came to know the story of his origin. After confirming the story from his mother, Kagoro decided to go back to

1. J. Wilson, op.cit.

Pajao. He took his dog and spear, crossed the Nile, and went straight to meet the Omukama of Kitara. Like his father before him, Kagoro was well received and given the instruments of authority. This time no Omukama's wife was asked to instruct him. He returned to Ewera, beat his drum and the people came to pay homage.

The Pajao traditions about Modo and Kagoro probably reveal what they were designed to conceal; that Kagoro and Modo were not related. For one thing, the story of the coming of Kagoro from Lango does not lend itself to credibility. It sounds strange that a bastard son of an unfaithful Omukama's wife such as Kagoro could be so well received and given authority to rule by the same Omukama. It seems improbable that there was any blood relationship between Modo and Kagoro. In any case, "Kagoro" in the above story must have been a mubito. The accession of the Kagoro mentioned in the above story seems to mark the beginning of the rule of the Babito in Pajao. Modo and his followers represented a non-Lwo group who settled in Pajao with the permission of the Omukama. Giving Modo the instruments of authority and yet appointing his wife as a political resident to keep an eye on him suggested that the royal court was not entirely convinced of Modo's loyalty. Whether adultery was the actual offence is

3. J. E. Hennie, *op. cit.* p. 31.

4. Nyakabara, *op. cit.* p. 31.

immaterial: what is clear is that Modo was disobedient and was executed as punishment. The Omukama then decided to bring a royal prince to rule. This was not only to ensure loyalty but also to emphasise Babito pre-eminence instead of Madi which Modo represented. It was then the fiction, which linked Kagoro with Modo in order to secure Kagoro's acceptance by Modo's followers, who were predominantly non-Lwo, and non-Bantu, grew up.

This device of establishing an apparently fictitious relationship linking an old with a new dynasty was very common in African history. A similar story was used to legitimise Ndori, the new king of Rwanda in the early seventeenth century.¹ Both the Bahinda and Nkore and Babito of Kitara sought to create fictitious relationships with the former Bacwezi rulers.² In Rwanda, Ndori was supposed to be a mysterious son of the former king who came from Karagwe.³ Rukidi the founder of the Babito claimed to have been a son of Wamara again coming from Bakidi, a distant place.⁴ In Kitara itself c.1652-1679 the king had died childless and a female regent, Mashamba, took over the throne. The kingmakers finally 'found' one of the queens who was impregnated by the late king and

1. J. K. Rennie, op. cit., p. 32.

2. Nyakatura, op. cit. p. 51.

3. J. K. Rennie, op. cit. p. 32.

4. Nyakatura, op. cit., p. 51.

crowned her male offspring as Kyebambe I.¹ Nyakatura admits that some people were suspicious that Winyi, the new king, was not the son of the late king. The incident in Bunyoro took place only shortly before the reign of Kagoro (c.1679-1706) in Pajao. One last point needs to be made about Kagoro. He could not have been brought up among the Langi who did not leave the Otuke area until c.1780². However, the reference to Langi probably refers to the Iseera agriculturists who were living to the north and east of the Pajao-Pawir area.

However, by the time of Modo's execution, Pajao had grown beyond the confines of Bwera. New territories such as Change, Payuda, Alokolenga, and Kikangara had emerged as a result of the influx of migrants from the north. All these new territories of Pajao were headed by men who later became Jaghi. Originally these Jaghi were probably the pioneer leaders of settlers into the areas. They, however, recognised the subordinate status of their territories to Bwera, the capital of Pajao. Though the expansion of the territories took place during Modo's life time, he seemed not to have interfered in their internal affairs, especially with regards to succession, so long as they recognised his suzerainty by paying

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1. Ibid. Jac, Kikangara, P.E.S. 75, 15/5/71.
 2. J. B. Webster, Migration and Settlement in the Inter-lacustrine Region, Typescript, Makerere University, 1972.

tributes. When one of the Jaghi died, the inhabitants of that province met to decide who should succeed, after which he was introduced to Modo. Succession was not strictly hereditary but there was always preference for the wisest of the late Jagho's¹ sons because of his familiarity with the manner in which affairs were conducted. Modo had exercised less control over his provincial Jaghi than was the custom in Pawir. This was probably because in Pawir, as the Chiefdom expanded, members of the Dukeno royal clan were appointed as the subordinate leaders or sub-chiefs as, for example, in Tochi and Kwarong. Moreover, in Pawir, the out-lying settlements were largely groups which had left Bedmot, the capital, and thus their closer attachment to the capital ensured their loyalty to the Rwhot. In Pajao, the outlying settlements were founded by diverse migrant groups from the north. While they recognised the supremacy of Bwera, their attachment to the capital was inevitably less. Therefore, they were not as loyal as those who left Bedmot.

The difference in the relationship between the Rwhot and Jaghi in Pawir and Pajao continued even after the death of Nyawir and Modo and became a permanent feature

1. Zachia Jao, Kinagarana, P.H.T. 75, 15/5/71.

of their political life. Because Nyawir appointed the first Jaghi at Tochi and Kwarang, the practice of Bedmot exercising control over succession in the provinces was established. Wherever a Jagho died in Pawir, the choice of the successor was made by the Rwhot at Bedmot, though a son of the dead man was usually chosen. It was not a question of the inhabitants of the provinces making the selection as was the case in Pajao under Modo. The choice was made in the capital and imposed on the provinces. Kagoro, Modo's successor, was anxious to make himself acceptable to the people of Pajao. An attempt to take away powers from the people of the provinces would have militated against his acceptance. It was wise to leave things as they were. In spite of that, other factors led to crisis which brought about the fragmentation not only of Pajao but also of Pawir. These led to the emergence of other chiefdoms.

Fragmentation of Pawir and Pajao and the Emergence of other Palwo Chiefdoms

The generation following the reign of Kagoro witnessed the emergence in Northern Bunyoro of five chiefdoms, Munyai, Paitwol, Koc, Kisoga, and Kisona. It is very significant that all these chiefdoms were established in the period when there was an almost continuous exodus

of Palwo out of Pawir into Acholi. This exodus is believed to have been caused by the search for better economic and political opportunities. The period witnessed an outbreak of famine in Pawir. Ever since Nyawir and her people settled there, more Lwo migrants had come to settle at Pawir. With time, Pawir could not contain all these people. This over-population coupled with famine might have produced a population explosion which resulted in the movement of groups of people outside Pawir. One of such groups of people were the Koc. Koc elders not only say that they lived at Pawir,¹ some would even say that they lived there during the period when Nyawir was exercising authority. Others say they came later. Whenever they arrived in Pawir, it seems clear that in the early part of the eighteenth century, the Koc were one of the many groups that left Pawir. Duliech, the first king the Koc could remember, reigned 1706-1733. Some of those who left Pawir went through Busoga to Padhola as recorded by Cohen² and Ogot.³

The chiefdoms of Kisoga and Kisona were founded by two

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1. Antonio Oyuru, Mutunda Gombolola headquarters, P.H.T. 107, 19/9/71.
 2. D. W. Cohen, Retracting the Footsteps of Mukama: The coming of the Founders of the ruling houses of Northern Busoga, Makerere Seminar Paper, No.6, 1971.
 3. Ogot, op. cit., p. 103.

After the establishment of these chiefdoms, important events which point to the nature of Palwo political princes of the royal Dukeno clan of Pawir, Lochara, and Aduor respectively. Tradition is silent about the circumstances surrounding their foundation. However, it seems as if Kisoga and Kisona were provinces of Pawir ruled by Jaghi appointed from Bedmot, and that during the period c.1706-1733 they secured their independence from Pawir. This may have been the culmination of a long process whereby Pawir gradually lost control over its outlying provinces until these provinces no longer paid tribute to Pawir and had their secessions confirmed.¹ This fits into Crazzolarara's theory of people leaving Pawir in search of better political opportunities such as the one that resulted in the foundation of Umiya Myimah in Acholi.² Munyal chiefdom was founded by the Madi-Palwo who left Pajao as a result of congestion. Paitwol is also said to have come into existence at the same time and in the same manner.³

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1. Even informants at Pawir admit that before Aduor became king at Kisona, people had been living at Kisona. They went there from Pawir.
 2. Crazzolarara, *The Lwoo, PART II: Traditions*, (Verona 1954), p. 312.
 3. Zachariah Manyuru, Kiroko, P.H.T. 102, 1/9/71.

After the establishment of these chiefdoms, important events which point to the nature of Palwo political organisation occurred. Duliech, the Rwhot of Koc who reigned in c.1706-1733, appointed Machinde as his successor. Ochor, a brother of Machinde, contested his father's decision and gathered forces to prevent his brother from ascending the throne. However, with the support of his father's palace guards, Ochor was able to implement Duliech's decision.¹ In the period c.1760-1787, the selfish behaviour of Rwhot Olendu during an outbreak of famine in Koc, cost him his life. Olendu was said to have taken his family to an island near River Damanji where there was an abundance of yam. He made no effort to cater for the people most of whom were forced to migrate to the north of the Nile. When he came back, some of his subjects attacked and killed him.²

In c.1706-1733, Okelo was the Rwhot of Munyai. On his death he was succeeded by Okwir. Okwir had only one son, Wagnor, whom everybody expected to succeed his father. Okwir however refused to nominate Wagnor. This was because of Wagnor's questionable character. He had several times stolen milk meant for his father's visitors. In

1. Antonio Oyuru, Mutunda, P.H.T. 107, 16/9/71.

2. Ibid. Oshanda, G'ok, Aden, Shaya Atiya, P.H.T. 94, Kirua headquarters Bina, 19/9/71.

spite of repeated warnings, he refused to desist from the practice. On one occasion, he stole clothes belonging to Kiija Kidopo a village chief at Mayanda.¹ His royal blood shielded him from punishment. But his father took notice of the behaviour. Consequently he disrecommended Wagner for the succession. Dalokar Jagho, one of the men who had been helping Okwir to collect tributes, was chosen as the Rwhot. In Pawir, Ojok Apeche c.1679-1706 appointed Jambe Uyo to succeed him. Opio, an elder brother of Jambe who had led many successful raids against neighbouring territories, saw no justification for his father's decision. If military valour was an asset to Opio, his apparently insatiable appetite for blood and booty which led him to raid the inhabitants of his own Pawir chiefdom had alienated him from his people. They were prepared to have anybody except Opio as king because they feared that Opio's reign might be one of terror. Opio went to recruit some of the men with whom he had conducted raids and at first appeared poised to depose Jambe Uyo. He was however betrayed by Danduru, one of the men he had recruited but who shared the anxieties of the populace as to the desirability of having Opio installed as king. The night

1. William Ochanda, Ojok, Adem, Olaya Atiya, P.H.T. 94, Miruka headquarters Dima, 19/8/71.

1. Antonio Oyuru, Scahelala headquarters Mwandu, P.H.T. 107, 15/9/71.

before Opio's intended attack, his camp was unexpectedly attacked by Jambe's forces and many of his soldiers were killed. Opio escaped death and fled with his relatives to the North of the Nile.¹

Palwo Political Structure

The events in the Palwo chiefdoms especially the disputes over succession point to the importance which the Palwo attached to the person and office of the Rwhot. In order to see the importance attached to the office of the Rwhot it is pertinent to examine the political structure of the Palwo. Indeed, the Palwo Rwhot occupied a position similar to that of the Bunyoro Abakama in the political hierarchy. This is not surprising in view of the fact that Palwo political structure was patterned along that of the Bacwezi in Kitara even though the Lwo had ideas of kingship before their arrival in Northern Bunyoro. In effect, the Palwo political structure was essentially similar to that of the Bacwezi, though some minor differences existed in detail. It should be stressed that although the area inhabited by the Palwo was an integral part of Kitara, until the eighteenth century, the Palwo enjoyed a considerable degree of internal autonomy. The Palwo Rwhodi enjoyed complete

1. Antonio Oyuru, Gombolola headquarters Mutunda, P.H.T., 107, 16/9/71.

with the slightest opportunity attempted to occupy it, independence of action in their territories. Like the Abakama there was in theory no limit to their powers. Even in practice, they had considerable influence. The Palwo Rwhot held among his people a position of outstanding privilege and authority. His exalted status was reflected in the ceremonial surrounding him. He was addressed by his official title and people often punctuated their remarks by such flattering terms as "lord of the soil", "protector of the people".¹ He and whatever pertained to him were described in a special vocabulary understood only by the inhabitants of the palace. Court etiquette demanded that those seeking audience should be kept waiting for a long time. People conversed with him through an interpreter. His household was the largest in the territory and most of the resources used in maintaining it came from his subjects. Ever since the coming of the Bacwezi to Nyawir's Court, the Palwo Rwhot had been in the possession of regalia including, among other things, spears, stool, crown, and drums - the last regarded as the most sacred instrument of authority.

Thus the pomp and pageantry which surrounded the office of the Rwhot made it so attractive that any prince

1. Zachariah Manyuru, P.H.T. 24, Kiroko, 24/4/71.

2. See pp. 45-46 above.

with the slightest opportunity attempted to occupy it. Perhaps one surprising thing about the Rwhotship is the fact that despite the importance and respect attached to the office, there were no clearly formulated rules to govern succession to the post. Neither primogeniture nor ultimogeniture was the rule. Any son of the Rwhot could succeed him. The Rwhodi used to nominate their heirs during their life time. Though preference was always given to their direct descendants, proof of good character was usually a pre-requisite for nomination. If none of the children was good enough, any other person could be nominated.¹

But nomination by the former king was not in itself a sufficient guarantee of succession. The new king had to be acceptable to the people and senior chiefs. Moreover, he needed sufficient military strength to contain the activities of his rivals. The careers of Opio in Pawir and Machinde in Koc illustrate this point.²

Whoever managed to establish himself as a Palwo Rwhot had a fairly wide horizon within which to exercise influence. The Rwhot had a say in the appointment of provincial chiefs in their chiefdoms. The manner in

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1. As it happened during Okwir's reign, his only son, Wagner, was of questionable character. Okwir refused to nominate him and appointed one of his officials Daloka Jagho see pp. 45 above.
 2. See pp. 45-46 above.

which the Rwhodi exercised influence in the appointment of these men however varied. In Pawir, the Jaghi were directly appointed by the Rwhot of the chiefdom.¹ In Pajao, the local people were left to make their choice after which the man appointed was presented to the Rwhot for confirmation.² The system which obtained in the other chiefdoms is not clear. It is however certain that the Rwhodi had a say in the appointment of Jaghi.

Regardless of the manner in which they were appointed, the Jaghi ruled their areas in the interest of the Rwhodi. They collected tributes and adjudicated on petty cases. Serious cases such as murder and witchcraft were deemed to exceed their competence. These were referred to the Rwhodi. The Jaghi also recruited for the Rwhodi, men who took part in raids conducted on adjoining territories.

The Jaghi were however not the only group of officials appointed directly or indirectly by the Rwhodi. Appointments to offices of the Dadit Barusura (head of the Rwhot's personal guards) Datigo (the gate keeper) and Dagobul (keeper of the Rwhot's drum) were made by the Rwhodi.³ These men and the Jaghi constituted the Rwhot's

1. See Chapter One p. 20 above.

2. See Chapter Two pp. 40-41 above.

3. Zachariah Manyuru, P.H.T. 38, Kiroko, 31/5/71.

1. J. B. Webster, *The Feudalism of Pajao*, *Journal of African Studies*, No. 1, 1971.

2. Obelo Wango, P.H.T. 105, Kiroko, 4/9/71.

advisory council. They recommended policies and made decisions on important issues. The above is the political system which operated in the Palwo chiefdoms. In spite of the difference in their point of origin, geographical proximity seemed to have promoted social and cultural contact as well as identity of political systems and institutions. It would even seem that the Palwo chiefdoms operated a kind of political confederacy, something like the Council of Rwhodi which Webster¹ describes for Agago area of east Acholi in the nineteenth century. It would appear that the confederacy even decided the issue of succession disputes within the individual chiefdoms without reference to the Omukama of Kitara. For example, collective kingly pressure was applied in the succession disputes which broke out in Pajao at the death of Kagoro between his sons Oweny and Chwa.

Pajao Succession Dispute

The succession dispute in Pajao is said to have had its roots in the disagreement between a hunter farmer called Ojok and his wife. The couple lived near Kagoro's palace towards the end of the Rwhot's reign.² Of all the animals hunted, Ojok's wife had a particular dislike for

1. J. B. Webster, The Peopling of AGAGO, Makerere Seminar Paper, No. 1, 1971.

2. Okelo Wange, P.H.T. 105, Kirwala, 4/9/71.

the tortoise and would not taste its meat. One day, Ojok decided to trick his wife by giving her a mixture of buffalo and tortoise meat to cook. After she had eaten it, she was told how she had been tricked. Ojok's wife was very annoyed and decided to revenge against her husband. It happened that Kagoro was ill at that time. Ojok's wife went to the palace and accused her husband of being responsible for the Rwhot's illness. She alleged that her husband went to Payuda to bring the head of a baboon which he concealed in the front of the Rwhot's palace. Among the Palwo, to hide a baboon's head in front of someone's house is perhaps the greatest manifestation of ill-will. The victim was not supposed to survive after seven days unless a Kibandwa (medicine man) discovered and performed the necessary ritual.¹ Two days after the unfounded allegation against Ojok was made, Kagoro died. It was difficult to eradicate the impression that it was Ojok who had killed the king.

Among Kagoro's many sons were Oweny and Chwa. The latter was said to have been of consistently bad behaviour. Consequently, his father sent him to Kikangara so as to isolate him from the palace. Though he was accorded all the honour due to a prince in his new residence, Chwa

1. Ibid. her allegation against her husband was false.

1. Ibid.

naturally was not favourably disposed towards either his father or Oweny who was the heir apparent. Chwa was thus not in the palace when Ojok's wife maliciously implicated her husband in Kagoro's death. Nine days after the king's burial rites, Oweny was crowned in succession to his father. Meanwhile Chwa had not been informed of what was happening at Ewera. When he heard, he felt cheated and was not disposed to co-operate with his brother.

Oweny ascended the throne c.1706 with the impression that Ojok the hunter and farmer was responsible for the death of his father, Kagoro. He was thus determined to avenge his father's death. A month after his accession, he sent his men to attack and kill all members of Ojok's Dunywen clan. All of those captured were executed. Oweny did not stop there.¹ He went to the extent of cutting off the private parts of Ojok and his relatives and arranging them on small pieces of wood which he displayed on both sides of the road leading to his palace. The people of Pajao did not quarrel with Oweny for taking revenge against the alleged killer of his father but the barbaric act of exhibiting their private parts was frowned upon. Opposition to Oweny increased when Ojok's wife confessed that her allegation against her husband was false.

1. Ibid.

She admitted that she went too far in attempting to revenge on her husband for having tricked her into eating tortoise meat. It became clear that Ojok had not deserved to die. Oweny's act of savage barbarism was unjustified. The people clamoured for Oweny's abdication. The 'gods' it seemed, joined the chorus of protest. There was prolonged drought and famine. The people interpreted this as a sign of the god's support for their demand for Oweny's abdication. Oweny would not move. The Pajao sent a delegation to Chwa in Kikangara, asking him to return and replace his brother. Chwa was only too happy to agree.¹ Accompanied by recruits from Kikangara, Chwa entered Bwera and the populace rose in his support. Oweny was expelled. Chwa beat the drum and he was hailed by the populace. Coincidentally, the period of drought and famine came to an end. To the people, this was a triumph for truth and their will.

Oweny, who had taken refuge at Change would not however accept defeat. A year after Chwa had been on the throne, he collected some people from Change and launched an unexpected night attack on Chwa's palace at Bwera. Chwa was over-powered. When Oweny beat the drum, the people were unhappy, and the gods again appeared to have displayed their anger by bringing more drought and

1. Ibid.

famine. The Jaghi felt compelled to act to rectify the situation. They decided to summon a meeting of every adult male in Pajao and invite the Rwhodi of other chiefdoms to intervene in the dispute. On the appointed day, the Rwhodi of Munyai, Kisoga, Kisona, and Pawir were said to have been present.¹ The most senior of the Jaghi, Ochet of Payuda, opened the discussion. He related all that had been happening, emphasising Oweny's unprecedented brutality based as it were on wrong information, and the hostile reaction of the people, and the gods. The famine, he said, was caused by Oweny's clinging to the throne despite the displeasure of the people, the disapproval of the Jaghi and the anger of the gods. Ochet argued that the only solution was for Oweny to abdicate. The Rwhodi of Kisoga and Pawir also joined in the call for Oweny's abdication. The call for his abdication was too strong for Oweny to resist. He left the palace and went to live at Change. His descendants were treated as commoners.

It is perhaps necessary to note the influence of the 'judicial confederacy' on Oweny. He had not been unaware of the fact that majority of the people of Pajao did not want him. He had stayed on the throne in spite of their opposition. But when it came to a point when

1. Ibid.

the Rwhodi of other chiefdoms joined in the call for his abdication, he realised the futility of continued resistance. Though the chiefdoms were independent of each other, and no chiefdom had the right to interfere in the 'internal affairs' of another, it seems that the other Rwhodi felt that they had a collective right to intervene once they had been so invited by the Jaghi of Pajao. The chiefdoms might be politically independent of one another but there was a great deal of economic and social interdependence. Pajao for instance depended for its foodstuffs on neighbouring Munyai which sold grain and bananas in return for Pajao's fish and meat. Oweny as Rwhot in Pajao could not be sure of a continued supply of food from Munyai ruled by a Rwhot who had called for his abdication. In any case, the other Rwhodi would have nothing to do with Oweny as long as he turned down their advice to abdicate. A Rwhot thus internally and externally isolated could not survive. This Oweny realised and he submitted to the will of the majority.

Another interesting factor in the Pajao succession dispute was that the Omukama of Kitara had absolutely nothing to do with it. One of the major reasons for the existence of the Council of Rwhodi may have been to keep the royal court of Kitara as much as possible out of the

affairs in the area inhabited by the Palwo. But the aftermath of Pajao succession dispute was the Omukama's appointment of saza chiefs in Northern Bunyoro.

Almost immediately following the Pajao succession dispute, and in consequence of it, the Omukama of Bunyoro Kitara moved to strengthen central control over the Palwo chiefdoms. Omukama Winyi III appointed one of his children to look after the Palwo chiefdoms in his interest. The prince, officially known as a Saza chief, was to ensure the Palwo's payment of tribute and their presence at the Omukama's court during the empango festival.¹ Until this time, the Palwo Rhodi such as Uyo in Pawir and Kagoro in Pajao, had been in the habit of sending tributes to the Kitara capital on their own initiative. With the establishment of more chiefdoms in Northern Bunyoro, the Omukama probably felt the need to appoint someone to coordinate the activities of these chiefdoms. The prince appointed was Bikaiju.

Bikaiju was a royal son by a Palwo female slave in the court of Kitara. It would seem that in the court this fact was considered enough not to make him a possible heir to the throne because in tradition mothers of kings have to be free born. It may be that it was in order to

1. Ibid.

prevent him from being king that he was sent away from the capital and appointed as Saza Chief in Northern Bunyoro. If it was the intention of the Omukama's court that Bikaiju's appointment would bring the Palwo more securely under central control, they miscalculated, for the Palwo looked at Bikaiju as one born by a Palwo woman and even though his mother was of slave origin, they believed that he was preferable to someone whose mother was a Bantu. Therefore, they saw him as a rallying point for pressing their claim of exclusive control to the throne of Kitara.

It will be recalled that Rukidi, founder of the Babito dynasty and his successors, had been in the habit of appointing princes born by Palwo women as their successors. Whether this was a mere convention or a clearly-formulated principle governing succession to Kitara in the Babito period, is difficult to say. The Palwo, however, regarded it as a well laid down principle, the violation of which would render the regime illegal and provide the Palwo with a theoretical justification for rebellion. This Palwo belief seems justified by the fact that a glance at the mothers of the Abakama as recorded by Nyakatura¹ shows that, except when Mashamba

1. Nyakatura, op. cit.

was a queen regent because the previous king had died childless, the succession had passed to princes born of Palwo women, or, if not that, at least from mothers whose clans originated north of the Nile that is Lwo or Madi who later became Lwo. Omukama Winyi was the first to break this pattern by appointing Nyaika. Bikaiju protested at his father's choice and appealed to Palwo sentiments for support. He found no difficulty in collecting soldiers to wage a war against the Bantu "usurper". To the Palwo, Bikaiju was a hero: a symbol of resistance against an attempted encroachment of their rights. Bikaiju arrived at the royal court and with the support of other princes overthrew Nyaika who was then occupying the throne. Because Bikaiju killed his brother, Kinyoro sources present him as a usurper and he is referred to as Kyebambe (usurper) II in the king list of Bunyoro.¹ The Palwo do not regard Bikaiju as a usurper since as far as they were concerned, Nyaika whom he killed had no right to the Omukamaship. The Palwo therefore called Bikaiju Omukama Bikaiju.

Strangely enough, Bikaiju (c.1679-1706) overturned the principle of Palwo succession despite the fact that

1. His official title according to Nyakatura was Omukama Kyebambe II Bikaiju. He was called Kyebambe meaning usurper because he killed his brother Nyaika and usurped the throne; see Nyakatura, op. cit., pp. 32-34.

he had fought for it. He negated what he professed to stand for by appointing his son born by a Bantu woman to succeed him. Omukama Bikaiju had many wives one of whom was Kitanire. This woman was engaged in secret adulterous practices with a man called Katenga. While on a visit to Kitanire, Katenga injured Bikaiju in an assassination attempt. The Omukama called on his sons to avenge the wound inflicted upon him. It was Olimi Isansa, son of a Bantu woman-lady Mpanga Omganwayo who killed his father's assailant. In appreciation, Bikaiju offered Olimi the succession; thereafter, Bikaiju took poison and died. He had to do this because Kitanire, by inflicting a wound on Bikaiju, had shed the Omukama's blood. According to tradition, any Omukama whose blood was shed should no longer live after the incident.

An additional reason for Bikaiju's choice of Olimi as his successor, in spite of Olimi's Bantu origin, was that the state of affairs within Kitara dictated the necessity for a strong personality to become the Omukama. Most of the provinces were exhibiting secessionist tendency and Kaggwe had been lost to Buganda during Bikaiju's reign.¹ If the decline was to be halted, a strong man had to be chosen as Omukama. Olimi seemed to be the

1. Nyakatura, op. cit. p. 53.

strongest of the princes. The monarchy part of necessity

It is also possible to explain Bikaiju's action by the fact that, for two hundred years prior to his reign, the Babito monarchy, originally of foreign Lwo origin, had sought to mix and identify themselves with two cultures, the Bantu and Nilotic. A good example of this was the bilingualism of the court. The Bantu and Lwo languages were both used in conducting the affairs of state. The men whom the Bacwezi were said to have left behind to instruct the Babito in the art of governing also taught the Babito rulers the Bantu language.¹ Of course Bantu was the medium of expression at the court during the Bacwezi period. Moreover, young Babito princes were sent during their youth to Mwenge to be assimilated into the Bahuma-Bantu culture² - a practice which would not have been necessary if the court itself had been the cultural heart of the state. It seems likely that for a long time after the foundation of the Babito monarchy, the court at least was a good deal more Lwo in culture than it had become by c.1679. The Bantu language and culture had been growing at the expense of

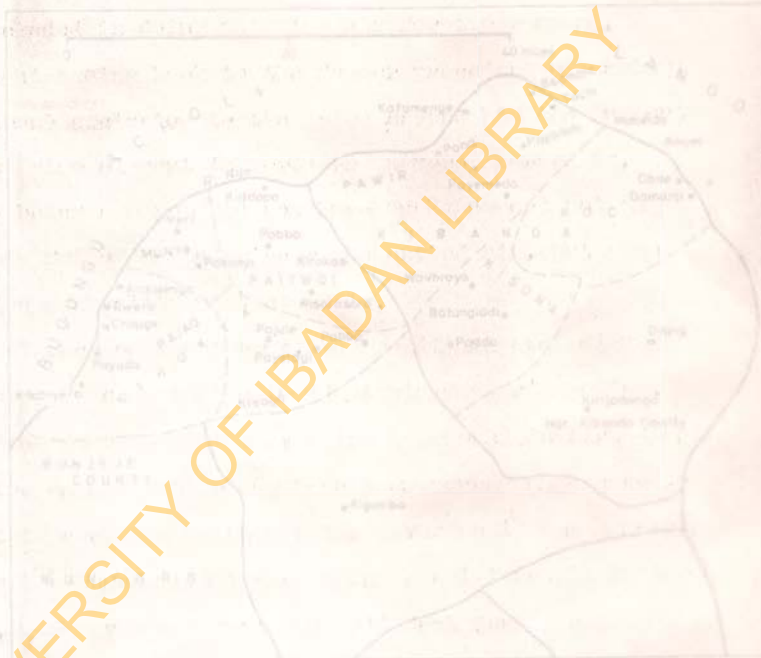
1. Nyakatura, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-25.

2. G. N. Uzoigwe personal discussions. Makerere University April 1972. Uzoigwe claims to have got this information from Nyakatura and Daudi Kibira.

Lwo language and culture. The monarchy must of necessity reflect these changing conditions. Omukama Winyi III had seen the logic of this and recommended Nyaiika, a Bantu prince, as his successor. But Bikaiju upset this plan. He succeeded in doing this largely for two reasons. First, his going back to the former precedent of making the throne exclusive to the Palwo earned him the support of the Palwo element in Northern Bunyoro. Secondly, Nyaiika being a minor did not have much support not only from his fellow Bantu princes who envied him, but also from the generality of the people.

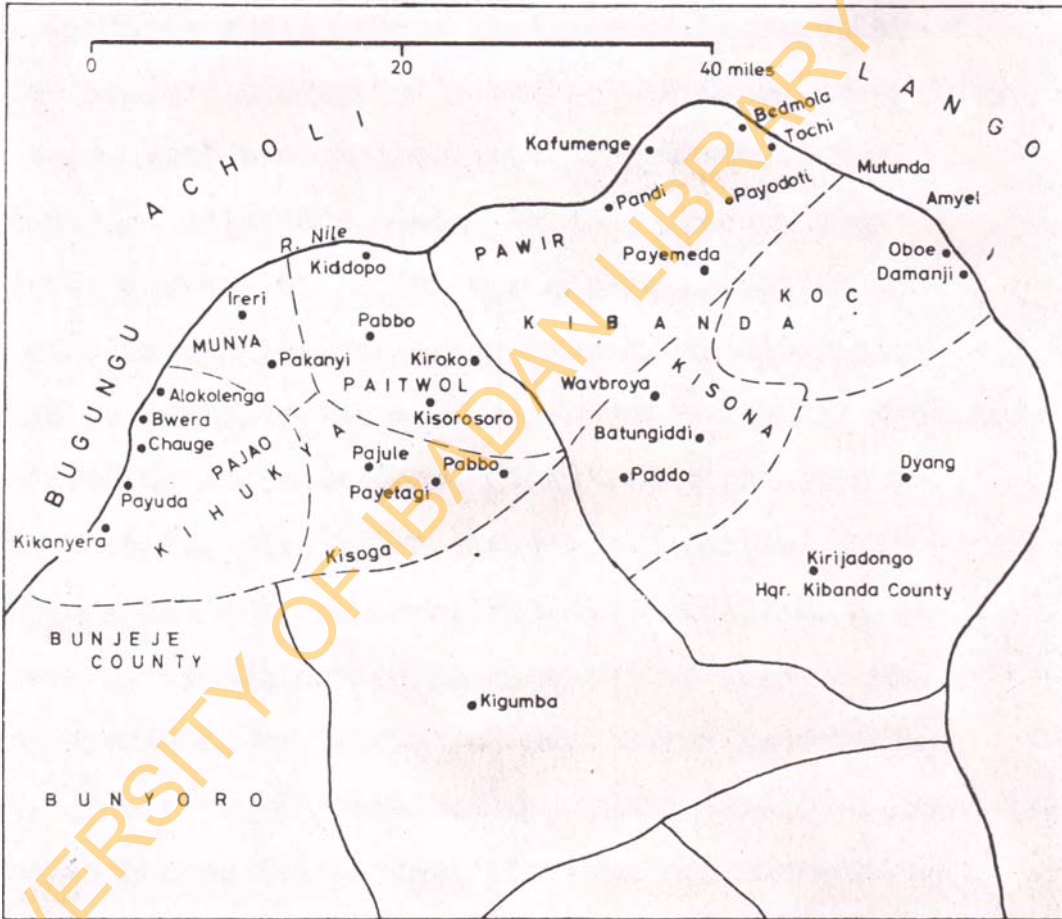
But once on the throne, the political and cultural pressures forced Bikaiju to adopt his father's policy. Thus, the story of Olimi avenging the wound inflicted by Kitanire on his father may have been merely an excuse to institute a change which was long overdue if the monarchy was to keep pace with the changing conditions within the state. Whatever cultural and political justification Bikaiju had for his action, it nevertheless betrayed a shallow commitment to the principle of Palwo succession to the Omukamaship. It shows how Bikaiju in the pursuit of political ambition - that is, the preservation of the Kitara empire and the continued rule of his descendants - could discard an age-long tradition. It was a classic example of expedience taking precedence over tradition.

But, as will be seen in the next chapter, it was also a very costly expedience.



MAP SHOWING PALMO CHIEFDOMS (See Chapter VI)

MAP III



MAP SHOWING PALWO CHIEFDOMS (See Chapter 11)

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CHAPTER III

PALWO EXODUS FROM, AND ACTIVITIES OUTSIDE
NORTHERN BUNYORO C.1733-1830

Causes of the Exodus

The primary cause of the exodus was the reaction of the Palwo against Bikaiju's 'rape' of cherished tradition. As has been mentioned in the last chapter, the Palwo supported Bikaiju's coup-d-etat largely because they felt he was a champion of their exclusive right to the throne of Kitara. But the Palwo were shocked to see that Bikaiju discarded this principle on political grounds. He appointed as his successor, Olini Isansa who was born by a Bantu woman. The Palwo immediately decided that Olini Isansa who reigned in C.1733-1760 would not have things easy. Opposition to him was led by Biakaia who had been appointed by Bikaiju as Saza Chief in Northern Bunyoro. Their chief ground of opposition was that Olini had no right to become the Omukama since he was not born by a Palwo woman. Biakaia, who probably had been looking forward to becoming the Omukama, went to stay in Palwo chiefdoms and, contrary to what was expected of him as Saza chief, severed connections with the capital. As a county chief, he had been expected to increase the control of the capital over the Palwo chiefdoms. But

instead, he visited the Rwhodi at Kisoga, Kisona and Pawir expressing his disappointment at, and disagreement with, his father's decision to appoint Olimi as the next Omukama. Quite naturally, the Palwo of these chiefdoms shared Biakaia's feelings and supported his decision to withhold tributes meant for the Omukama. It was a manifestation of their dissatisfaction with the accession of Olimi whom they regarded as a usurper.¹

But it was not an easy task to dethrone Olimi Isansa. He proved to be a militarily powerful king. He conquered Nkore and successfully withstood a Buganda assault on his territory.² Furthermore, he defeated the Gisaka armies which were raiding as far north as Mwenge and he extended and consolidated Banyoro influence around the Lake George area, establishing Babito dynasties in Kitagwenda and Busongora. He also established Babito dynasties in Buhweju and Bugimba, all of which paid tribute to him. He was described as a hero king,³ famous for his military exploits. Besides, he achieved special popularity among the non-Lwo

1. Just as the Banyoro regarded Bikaiju as a usurper, the Palwo regarded Olimi Isansa as a usurper because he was not born by a Palwo woman and should not therefore be the Omukama. Thus they call him Olimi Keyebambe (usurper).

2. Nyakatura, op. cit., pp. 63-64.

3. Ibid.

1. Ibaya Nyawarje, P.N.T. 93, Chogolusa, 18/8/71.

elements of Kitara empire because he was the first true all-Bantu king of Kitara. All these made him too formidable for Palwo rebellions contemplated by Biakaia.

Olimi was not unaware of Biakaia's opposition to his rule, and, indeed took instant steps to crush it. When in addition to withholding taxes, Biakaia failed to arrange for the presence of the Palwo at the Omukama's court during the empango festival, Olimi attacked the Palwo. The principal motive was to kill Biakaia but since the Palwo connived at Biakaia's insolence, they suffered as well. The inhabitants of Kisona and Pawir, where Biakaia pitched his tent suffered most.¹ Biakaia as well as many Palwo was killed. A large number of those who managed to survive left Northern Bunyoro, in an escape from "Kyebambe's persecution." Olimi Kyebambe's persecution thus set in motion large numbers of Palwo refugees moving in all directions from Northern Bunyoro for safety.

The Palwo Exodus

The exodus of the Palwo to the north and south east of northern Bunyoro has been dated to the period C.1679-1760. Webster has argued that the exodus was broken into

1. Isaya Byewarje, P.H.T. 93, Chopelwor, 18/8/71.

two parts, that it ceased moving into the Agago area during the Nyamdere famine of the 1720's but began again shortly after, continuing until about 1730.¹ A number of political upheavals in Northern Bunyoro as well as the unsettling and persecution resulting from Biakaia's rebellion against Olimi Kyebambe were responsible for this exodus. There was the succession dispute between Uyo and Opio (c.1679-1706),² Olimi Kyebambe's persecution in c.1733-1760³ and Machinde's struggle against Ochor in c.1733-1760.⁴

Apart from political upheavals, economic and social unrest also forced many of the Palwo to migrate north of the Nile. The Palwo's eastern neighbours, the Langi, were in the habit of raiding the Palwo. The inhabitants of Koc kingdom in particular were several times subjected to looting and kidnapping. Finding life insecure, some left Northern Bunyoro to migrate northwards.⁵

Palwo elders give the impression of their being the most unfortunate group of people in Uganda. It is their view that they have had more than their fair share of

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1. J. B. Webster, Migration and Settlement of the Inter-lacustrine Region, Makerere University History Department 1972. (Typescript).
 2. See Chapter II pp. 46-47 above.
 3. See Chapter III p. 66 above.
 4. See Chapter II p. 45 above.
 5. Antonio Onyuru, P.H.T. 106, Gombolola headquarters, Mutunda, 15/9/71.

inexplicable natural disasters in the form of droughts, famines and epidemics.¹ The inhabitants of Pajao recall that during Kagoro's reign (c.1679-1706) there was a severe famine during which the waters of the Nile dried up.² In Pawir, during Jambe Uyo's reign also (c.1679-1706) the last four months of the year were said to be periods of excessive sunshine resulting in a shortage of foodstuffs.³ The reaction to these famines was emigration out of the Palwo chiefdoms.

East Acholi informants mainly ascribe the coming of the Palwo to "Cilabwami's" persecution.⁴ This is, however, understandable in that the persecution was the most spectacular of the events leading to Palwo migration north of the Nile. As has been mentioned earlier,⁵ other events were also responsible for the exodus of the Palwo. For instance, Maura Garry has identified five groups of Palwo arriving in Pajule between 1700 and 1800.⁶ It is certain that not all of them came as a result of Olimi Kyembanbe's persecution.

1. For example, see *Ibid.*

2. P.H.T. - 75, Zachia Jao, Kinagarana 15.7.71.

3. P.H.T. - 93, as previously cited. These incidents among others contributed to a decline in population of the Palwo. For details on Palwo population history see Ade. Adefuye, *op. cit.*

4. J. B. Webster, Acholi Historical Texts.

5. See pp. 67-68 of this chapter.

6. Maura Garry, op. cit.

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The coming of the Palwo - 69 - (due to the enlargement)

Moreover, Crazzolara's story of Olimi leaving Pawir for the north after having found that all positions of authority were held by others¹ is an instance of migration out of Northern Bunyoro in reaction to the unfavourable political situation within the Palwo chiefdoms. Evidence from Lira-Palwo says that Omongo, Acer and Atira were sons of Opi² - possibly a corruption of Opie - who lost the contest for the throne in Pawir against Jambe Uyo (c.1679-1706).

The activities of all these Palwo who for one reason or the other were compelled to leave Northern Bunyoro was an important development in the political history of the areas to which they moved. In West Acholi, it has been discovered that groups of Palwo who moved there after losing the dynastic struggle in Bunyoro introduced new concepts of government to the region.³ In Pajule, Lagoro Aboga and Owiny Oput were Palwo refugees whose ideas and personalities encouraged the formation of larger political entities.⁴ In East Acholi, the presence of the Palwo contributed to the emergence, expansion, and sometimes maintenance of kingdoms.⁵ In Alur,

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1. Crazzolara, The Lwoo Part II: Traditions, p. 312.
 2. J. B. Webster, Lira Palwo: An Expanding Acholi State, Makerere Seminar Paper, No. 3, 1971.
 3. Ronald Atkinson, State Formation and Development in Western Acholi, Makerere Seminar Paper No. 5, 1971/72.
 4. Maura Garry, The Settlement of Pajule, *op. cit.*
 5. J. B. Webster, Acholi Historical Texts, Nos. 14, 17, 74, and 81.

the coming of the Palwo contributed to the enlargement of Lwo chiefdoms and to the assimilation of non-Lwo elements.¹ In Busoga, groups of Lwo who left Pawir were said to have assumed a governing position among the Bantu speaking groups with whom they came in contact.

The Palwo came to these areas mainly because of their defeat in a struggle for succession to Kitara throne. The office of the king in Kitara was of such importance that any prince with the slightest possibility of success attempted to occupy it. And since the successful candidate wielded a considerable amount of prestige, if not power, the unsuccessful candidate (if still alive) and all those allied to him usually escaped to other places for safety. The Palwo left their territory after having lost a struggle for succession. It is not therefore surprising that their activities in almost all the places they migrated to had to do with kingship, the formation of political entities, and the establishment of dominant groups - an attempt, it seemed, to make up for what they had lost in Bunyoro.

The Palwo attempted to achieve that aim in their new places of abode by introducing concepts derived from their experience in the Kitara empire. Briefly, the essentials of the concepts introduced by the Palwo were: the institution of the royal drum as a symbol of power and authority, and as

1. A. W. Southhall, "Alur Tradition and Its Historical Significance", Uganda Journal, Vol. 18, No. 1, 1954.

an instrument of rain making. The drum gave prestige to the chief. With the prestige surrounding his person, the chief was able to form large chiefdoms and incorporate surrounding smaller ones into his own. But he allowed the smaller chiefdoms a large measure of autonomy. This provided for the expansion of the existing Lwo states - something quite reminiscent of the activities of the Bacwezi among the pre-Bacwezi chiefdoms. There was also the introduction of tribute paying, consisting of part of each game animal caught as a proof of acknowledgment of chief's suzerainty. Finally, the Palwo introduced a system of succession. This was one in which the Rwhot was allowed to nominate his successor. But disputes over the legality of the nominations caused a fragmentation of political units. The aggrieved party broke away to form his own kingdom.

However, it must not be taken that Palwo impact was uniform throughout their new places of refuge. In virtually all the places to where the Palwo migrated, they were preceded by non-Bantuized Lwo-speaking groups. The reaction of the earlier Lwo settlers to the Palwo immigrants varied. Among the Alur, west of the Nile River, the Palwo were either not successful in establishing chiefdoms or failed to maintain them after their initial establishment. In these areas, it seems that the Palwo ideas of drums to enhance the Rwhot's status and larger political units based

on incorporation of smaller chiefdoms was taken over by the earlier Lwo chiefs and used to their own advantage. Among the Alur, it seems that the Palwo found open hostility. Thus, Acer, the only state they established, was finally taken over by a prince of Okoro, a state established earlier. Between the Nile and the Aswa, Palwo-ruled chiefdoms were not noticeably successful. However, Payera, adopting the Palwo innovations, began a rapid and spectacular expansion. In Pajule, the entities over which the Palwo managed to establish themselves were not large enough to warrant the term kingdoms. After the outbreak of the Lapanat Famine, Ling, a Palwo adventurer, might have succeeded in establishing a kingdom had it not been for opposition from his fellow Palwo. In the east, Omongo succeeded in establishing himself over some members of the Agengo protective alliance; but he soon met with opposition from the established Lira kingdom.¹ The backbone of Lira's resistance was, however, broken by the outbreak of the Lapanat Famine. In Busoga, the Palwo displaced the former rulers and established their rule over Bantu speaking peoples.

One major obstacle in the way of greater success by the Palwo migrants was the lack of unity. It seems that the Palwo behaved like Babito princes, quarrelling among themselves, dissipating their energies which often

1. J. B. Webster, Lira Palwo: An Expanding Acholi State

resulted in the fragmentation of the political entities. Kingdoms of Labongo, Parabongo and Kwong were all set up by a father and two sons. This fragmentation occurred in the first generation when the influence of the Palwo was still strong. This seems to justify Webster's observation that when other Lwo groups adopted the Palwo ideology they were more successful than the Palwo themselves in its implementation.¹ Of all the major Lwo kingdoms, namely Payera, Patiko, Atyak, Padibe, Pabbo, Koc, Pajule and Lira-Palwo, only two of them had Palwo royal families. Pajule had a very tenuous unity because five Palwo groups were vying for power.

However, in all the places where the Palwo managed to establish fairly centralized government over largely acephalous kinship-based communities by introducing concepts derived from their contact with the Bacwezi, the pattern conformed to what obtained in the Palwo chiefdoms - entities presided over by kings who had a considerable amount of pomp, pageantry, and adulation, but very little political power. The king ruled on the advice of councils, the membership of which he had little way of influencing and the recommendations of which he could not afford to reject outright. The impact of this political system was most successful in West Acholi.

1. J. B. Webster, Migration and Settlement in the Inter-lacustrine Region.

Palwo Activities, West of the Aswa (West Acholi)

The period 1680-1780, when the Palwo arrived and introduced the new concepts, witnessed a revolution in the political history of present-day west Acholi. The spread of the concepts led not only to the foundation of twenty to twenty-five independent small kingdoms but also to the fusion of various ethnic groups that make up the west Acholi people.

In order to appreciate the impact of Palwo activities in this area, it is necessary to look at the situation there before the arrival of the Palwo. There were three main ethnic and linguistic groups west of the Aswa River: the Paranilotes, Lwo and Madi. The earliest of them were the Paranilotes who are believed to have arrived some time around c.1490-1571.¹ At one time, the Paranilotes spread over a large part of present-day west Acholi and even to West Nile. Next were the Lwo who began to enter west and east of the Aswa River at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The earliest were those who founded the kingdom of Padibe.² Another group moved in from modern Pakwach. A third branch of the Lwo came through Karamoja and entered present-day Acholi in the eighteenth century. The third

1. R. Atkinson, op. cit.

2. Paul Owot, Padibe During the Aconya, Makerere Graduating Essay, 1970.

pre-Palwo group west of the Aswa River were the Madi who came out of Boar and moved into west Acholi in the period c.1600-1800.¹

The three groups were organized in small scale political units which could be described as embryonic chiefdoms. Both the Madi and the Lwo, for instance, had royal clans and hereditary chiefs with regalia. Clans composed of people formerly of different ethnic origins had emerged. There were also extra-clan groupings headed by one of the clan heads of the grouping which co-operated for purposes of joint defence. But, by and large, the three groups struggled to preserve their cultural and linguistic differences. There was no question of a common language.

This was the situation in c.1680 when groups of Palwo started arriving from Bunyoro. A small Palwo group under the leadership of a man named Alero and who probably had his relatives in south-west Acholi, was the first to introduce the new concepts into the territories west of the Aswa River. Coming with a drum, he introduced the concept of tribute paying and royal drums to the four Lwo-speaking groups led by Atiko, Ayira, Acwe and Aboma. As from the late seventeenth century, royal drums and tribute began to feature in their traditions. Alero emerged as king over

1. J. B. Webster, Migration and Settlement in the Inter-lacustrine Region

these territories and the former leaders ruled their areas on his behalf paying tributes to him. The PALERO Kingdom which emerged consisted of the territories formerly ruled by the men with whom Alero came in contact. Alero had therefore brought four territories hitherto independently administered under one central administration.

In explaining why the Lwo-speaking groups were the first to adopt the new concepts, Atkinson¹ mentioned the Lwo language as providing important common ground between the introducers and recipients of the concepts. Another reason was "proximity of and a sequence of contacts among most of the Lwo-speaking groups west of the Aswa at the time of the initial introduction of the new political ideas."²

The Lwo were the first but not the only group to adopt the new concepts. The first non-Lwo group to be introduced to the new ideas was the small Paranilotic Palaro group.³ Here there was an element of force involved. Before 1720, an army came from Northern Bunyoro to fight against the Palaro group. Palaro was defeated, its leader Obura was killed and his son was taken to Bunyoro by the victors. There he was instructed in the art of government. He returned and became the Rwhot of Palaro,

1. Atkinson, op.cit. p. 14.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

where he ran his administration in line with the ideas learned from Bunyoro. In 1706-1733, a wandering rainmaker from Palwo chiefdoms was said to have brought secrets of ritual and government to the leader of the then small Pabo group of Madi origin in the Mount Kilak area. From there, the idea spread to the neighbouring and related Lamogi.

An outbreak of famine in the easternmost part of west Acholi and a consequent complex series of migrations led to the introduction of the concepts into Puranga, Koro and Bolo.¹ The famine started in the middle of the eighteenth century and a large number of people at first moved from the east to the west of the Aswa. Eventually, large numbers of people moved into eastern Acholi near the famous mountains of Labwor and Otuke. The land resources of these areas were overcrowded by the coming of the migrants and some Lwo-speaking groups, namely Kolo and Bolo, moved to the confluence of the Aswa and Agago Rivers where they met the Koc who introduced the new concepts to them. The Koc group are believed to be those who left the Palwo chiefdom of Koc in the late seventeenth century. They came to present-day Acholi with a royal drum and other regalia. They settled at the confluence of the Aswa and Agago and established their rule over the Iseera group they met there. When the Puranga, Koro and Bolo came, the Koc spread the

1. Ibid.

concepts to them and assimilated them into their chiefdom. By 1760, Palwo concepts of government had been adopted by twenty groups in present-day west Acholi.¹

As mentioned earlier, the carriers of these ideas were the Lwo groups who were usually the first to come into contact with the concepts. But the question arises as to why people gave up their independent existence as clans to become part of an alien Palwo-introduced system? The answer lies in the fact that the circumstances in which most of the groups found themselves at the time showed that there was more to gain in doing so. In some cases, for example Puranga and Koro, those who joined were refugees fleeing from human or natural enemies. They saw their only hope in aligning themselves with a larger group such as a kingdom. The Kingdom could then protect them, share food with them, and give them the advantages of wider social and economic co-operation. There is also the fact that even in peace time, it was advantageous to join extra clan groupings. Economic interdependence made life more comfortable and indirectly guaranteed protection against external attacks. Moreover, the Palwo refugees had something extra to offer to the groups with whom they came across. The regalia, royal drums, and powers of

1. Ibid.

rainmaking¹ which some of them brought from Bunyoro tended to make their hosts look at the Palwo with an aura of respect and fear. They thus joined the kingdoms established by the Palwo.

The incorporation of clans west of the Aswa into kingdoms marked the beginning of present-day West Acholi. Clans no longer lived separate lives nor retained their original languages. There was a fusion of peoples. Custom and Culture mingled, producing a synthesis which is today regarded as typical of West Acholi. There was also the emergence of Lwo as the dominant language. There are three possible explanations for this. In the first place, the political system that became established in the area was introduced by Lwo-speaking Palwo and adopted first by other Lwo speakers. In the second place, Lwo was by far the easiest to learn of the three languages spoken in the area (Madi and Iseera inclusive). Once the three linguistic groups were brought under one kingdom Lwo was the natural choice out of the three languages. Finally, since there had been no overwhelmingly dominant language, Lwo was able to supplant all others.

1. For example, Lagoro Aboga. See pp. 86-87 below.

In West Acholi, it seemed that the Palwo succeeded in getting their concepts adopted, not because of their acknowledged superiority to the people they came across, but because conditions in the west of the Aswa at the time of their arrival favoured the adoption and spread of their concepts. Perhaps the most important contribution of the Palwo to west Acholi history was the establishment of kingdoms. It should, however, be remembered that in the pre-Palwo epoch there had been some extra-clan groupings presided over by one of the clan heads. The existence of these groupings made the adoption and spread of the concepts easier. Some of the leaders of these groupings, like Patiko and Paboo, adopted the concepts and their groupings became the core of the new kingdoms. In west of the Aswa, as has been seen, the presence of Lwo elements facilitated the spread of the concepts to non-Lwo speaking peoples. The dislocation caused by famine compelled many clans to join the kingdoms. A number of reasons therefore contributed to the success of the Palwo in west Acholi. It is now necessary to examine the degree of their success in other areas like Alur, Busoga, Pajule, and Agago.

Palwo in Alur

2. Among the Alur, the Palwo did not establish kingdoms. Their presence, however, contributed to the enlargement and

consolidation of chiefdoms already established by the Lwo communities. The Alur are presently classified as Nilotes because the Lwo have assimilated other groups of people who had earlier on settled in the territory. Among the people absorbed were Kebu, Madi, Lendu, and Bendi. According to Southhall, the Lwo were the first to arrive in the area. They were closely followed by the Madi, also from the north but intermingled with the Lwo.¹ The Kebu came later and divided into a number of independently moving groups some of which mingled with the Lendu, some with the Madi and others with the Lwo. After the Babito had taken over in Kitara, some Lwo moved in, after which more Madi arrived. In c.1571-1598 one Nyipur, a Lwo, established the chiefdom of Attyak.² He was succeeded by his son, Umer. In the same generation a branch of the Lwo founded the chiefdom of Panyikanyo, south of Panyimur, after assimilating the diverse elements hitherto living in the area.

In the late seventeenth century, the Palwo started arriving.³ Their leader was Acer. He was said to have established a chiefdom which was constantly at war with its neighbours. Ultimately, the Palwo chief was replaced

1. Southhall, op.cit.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

2. J. B. Webster, The Peoples of Africa, p. 3.

by a prince from the royal house of Attyak-Okoro founded by Nyipir. Another Palwo group called the Pamera came and accepted the leadership of the Paminya, a Lwo group who had earlier on established a chiefdom in that area. The Parombo group also settled in Ukuru chiefdom founded by the Lwo and even acted as agents for the chiefs of Ukuru in supplying them with salt from Panyimur.¹ Thus, in Alur, contrary to what happened east of the Nile, the Palwo hastened the process of assimilation of the non-Lwo groups and consolidated the already existing Lwo chiefdoms.

The Palwo in Agago

Agago is another area to which the Palwo migrated. Before their arrival in Agago, the area consisted of small ethnic groups, each with its own culture and language and living in isolated pockets in the mountains.² Among these were the Abunga who lived by trapping small animals, the Taa Gule who probably originated from the Agoro mountains, and Pader who are also believed to be original inhabitants of Agoro. The settlement of Agago was affected by outbreaks of famine, aftermaths of which were the influx of settlers from the west. Two Madi groups, Madi Oduny and Madi Kiloc, dispersed at Pubungu Pakwac and came to Agoro apparently fleeing from some catastrophe. From Kilak the Lukor and Lamogi moved out in the period c.1625-1652 and

1. Ibid.

2. J. B. Webster, The Peopling of Agago, p. 3.

settled in the Ogili mountains near the modern Wol area. Amyel island and Labwor Otuke also appeared to have received immigrants at this period. In the same generation, the Lakwar and Paranga, both originating from Nyakwai, settled at Amyel and Labwor Otuke respectively. They provided leadership in their respective areas. Also in the same generation, Ajali's first dynasty - the Loka - moved southward in the direction of Amyel island. The Lango Tiro came from the north and moved south towards Amyel. The agglomeration of ethnic groups at Amyel island presented an explosive situation which led to conflict between the Lango Tiro and the Madi. The latter were exterminated as a group. The few who escaped did so by amalgamating with other clans and hiding their identity.¹

The inter-ethnic mixture at Amyel dictated the need for a more centralized and stronger leadership than the one hitherto provided by the Lakwar. The recently victorious Lango Tiro and the Lakwar formed a coalition, with the former as the senior partners, becoming the Kal while the latter were accorded a secondary, but aristocratic position within the new kingdom of Patongo.

1. J. B. Webster, State Formation and Development in Eastern Acholi, Makerere Seminar Paper, 1970.

2. J. B. Webster, State Formation and Development in Eastern Acholi, p. 2.

The pre-Palwo epoch in Agago thus had much in common with that of west of the Aswa - small groups sometimes struggling to maintain their identity, though famine sometimes forced them to disperse. They could be described as segmentary in so far as no elaborately centralized political structure existed, but they were not completely averse to the idea of centralization. In fact, as the activities of the Lakwar and Lango Tiro showed,¹ some of these groups possessed what could be called "outlines of centralized government" before the Palwo came. But with the coming of the Palwo, the centralization became more pronounced.

When Omol, a Palwo refugee, arrived at the eastern side of the Ogili mountains, he met the Taa-Gule and the Atura each governing itself separately with its own rain-maker. Omol negotiated with Acut, the leader of the Taa-Gule. Acut accepted Omol's leadership and, in turn, Omol accepted Acut as his chief priest. After some initial hesitation on the part of the Atura, they also accepted Omol's leadership but kept their own Jok while the Jok of the Taa-Gule became the national Jok. Webster explains Omol's success in terms of the protection which the new kingdom guaranteed.² "Another reason", "seems to be the

1. J. B. Webster, The Peopling of Agago.

2. J. B. Webster, State Formation and Development in Eastern Acholi, p. 2.

complimentary nature of the economies of the two societies".¹ The indigenous people were cattle rearers while Omol and his people were agriculturalists. Omol was said to have travelled around, encouraging people to engage in agriculture by distributing seeds and hoes. Devotion to agriculture alongside cattle rearing produced a stable, prosperous community which attracted other migrants.

Among those who came to join Paimol kingdom during Omol's lifetime were clans of Lwo, Jie and Karimojong origin. Some of them were like some groups in west Acholi, compelled to join in times of famine and hence had very little bargaining power. They had no representation in the political system. They were not represented in the Lukwena, the Palwo-type king's council.

In Agago area, there was a man, Rwt Atiko of Patiko, who applied the Palwo ideology to his small chiefdom. He had been influenced by a Palwo man, named Alero. Under Atiko, there was a great expansion of Patiko. In c.1679-1706 Rwt Lapono, a Madi, after separating from Atiko at Got Goma, brought two clan groupings into one political entity and thus set the stage for the emergence of the Lira kingdom based on Palwo ideology.² Lapono's son, Lira, continued the process of state-building and many clans,

1. Ibid.

2. J. B. Webster, Lira Palwo: An Expanding Acholi State

escaping from the hard conditions created by the outbreak of the Laperanat Famine, joined the kingdom. By the time of Lira's death, his kingdom comprised thirteen clans. There was also a grouping of clans at Mount Lapono headed by the Paican royal clan which had its origin at Mount Ajulu. They were probably originally Lwo-speaking Madi. A third group of clans also existed at Agago. In reaction to the anarchy created by the Nyamdere Famine some of these clans formed the Agengo defensive or protective alliance which posted look-outs for warning against attack. Thus, the ground was already prepared for Omongo, the Palwo man, whose activities shaped the course of history in these areas. He did not have to start building an empire over segmentary peoples. By the time Omongo came the political entities headed by Lira and Paican in Agago had grown enough to be described as kingdoms by Webster.¹ In spite of that, the coming of the Palwo-man, Omongo had a great impact on the history of the area. Omongo of Panydwongo clan was said to have left Bunyoro because the Omukama began a policy of suppression of the small Lwo states in Fawir which had hitherto been allowed to function with only a minimal recognition of the Omukama's suzerainty. Omongo or his father might have been one of those who backed

1. Ibid.

Biakais against Olimi and had to flee in order to escape persecution. When he arrived at Lapono with his brother Acer, the Aburu and Amenda clans of the Agengo protective alliance invited Omongo to be their king.¹

The decision to invite Omongo to head the alliance might have been motivated by some defensive considerations. At the time of the arrival of Omongo, the clans had the shadow of an external attack hanging on them. The need for a joint protection against external attack has been the primary consideration which brought the protective alliance into being. Omongo who was probably a member of one of the Palwo royal family might have been deemed to have something extra to offer, possibly a royal drum, and other regalia, powers of rainmaking and perhaps the ability to protect them against external enemies. Whatever might have been the primary consideration of members of the Agengo protective alliance, Omongo's emergence as king over the various hitherto independent clans represents a revolution in the political history of the area. At no time had so many clans come under one such single unified authority.

This incident should not be taken to mean that everywhere the Palwo went, they were invited to become rulers.

1. J. B. Webster, Lira Palwo: An Expanding Acholi State

There were cases, even where the Palwo established kingdoms, when some groups refused to join but were later forced to do so by a sense of insecurity arising from famine. This was why Paican, for instance, joined Omongo. The Lira kingdom was another example. The people of Lira refused to be incorporated into Omongo's kingdom and scorned their neighbours for having accepted him. The resistance of this Lwo group to Palwo domination was however broken by the outbreak of the Lapanat famine during which the clans, the Lakwena and the king fled in different directions to seek sustenance. This ultimately led to the breakdown of the administrative structure. In the disturbed conditions, efficiency at fighting and procurement of food became the criterion for leadership. When the famine was over, and the clans returned to the east, the king decided not to go back to Lapono mountain. Some of his people stayed with him while others returned to Lapono. Meanwhile, Okidi ti Madit, had become the Rwhot at Lapono. As those who refused to stay with the Lira king came to join him, Okidi found himself ruling an even larger area than Omongo. He adjusted the administrative system to accommodate the incoming groups. He appointed Amot of the Paicut clan as Jago over the Lapono-Katet area. More Lira clans left their king and came to join Okidi ti Madit. A little while after the end of the famine, Okidi

succeeded in reducing Lira to half of its former size. Much as the Lapararat Famine dislocated Lira, Okidi's ability to take advantage of the situation also contributed to the enlargement of the kingdom. Added to this was the fact that in the course of their flight, the Lira lost their royal drum. This accounted for the failure of the Lira Rwhodi to save the kingdom from incorporation into Lira-Palwo.

The Lira-Palwo kingdom thus grew from strength to strength. By the time Ryemarot was Rwhot, the problems of establishment and consolidation appeared to have been solved. Ryemarot's paramountcy deriving from the size and stability of his territory, had been recognised by the neighbouring chiefdoms. As the group of kingdoms in the Agago area were being threatened by external aggression and the individual kingdoms were not powerful to resist invaders, the need arose for a pooling of military resources. A council of Rwhodi to plan joint defence came into being and Ryemarot was elected the chairman.¹

Thus, by a combination of political ingenuity and favourable circumstance, the Palwo managed to establish themselves as the dynasties of some east Acholi kingdoms. They cannot be described as founders in that kingdoms had already existed before they arrived. They, however, built

1. J. B. Webster, The Peopling of Agago, p. 8.

1. H. G. G. G. G., 20.01.00, p. 4.

on what they found. Two earlier kingdoms, Palcam, and Lira were incorporated as sub-chieftainships within a larger kingdom; the segmentary Agengo clans had been brought directly under the Palwo Rwhot and so many clans had joined the two new Jaghoships - Kako and Kaket which had been created. Lira-Palwo was probably the kingdom which demonstrated the success of the Palwo ideology in Palwo hands better than any other. By 1910 when the British began to set up their administration, Lira-Palwo was the largest state south of Padibe and east of Puranga.

The Palwo in Pajule

Attempts of the Palwo to establish themselves as kings in Pajule (central Acholi) met with failure. The pre-Palwo Pajule consisted of several clans, the oldest of which was the Palenga. They claim to have been original inhabitants of the Okaka mountains, while some clans ascribe a Lango origin to them. Among the clans that are known to have migrated into Pajule, the earliest were Pajol, Pajaa and Ogolo clans coming from the east in c.1679-1706.¹ The first two were probably Madi while Ogole came from Palmol. The three clans lived together as good neighbours, each maintaining its independence and identity. In the following generation Lukeel and Gem clans came from the direction of Lango. This generation also witnessed the

1. Maure Garry, op.cit., p. 4.

arrival of the Madi clans of Boyo and Lukwor in Puranga. A small clan from Lango later known as Lukwor Paiwol joined the Lukwor and became their bong (servants). Thus, before the Palwo came, the Pajol, Pajaa and Ogole formed a confederated grouping of clans, while Lukwor, Bolo and Lukwor Paiwol formed another. They co-operated for the purpose of defence. Otherwise, the clans maintained their identity and had no overall central authority to administer them.¹

It was in c.1706-1733 that the Palwo started arriving in Pajule.² Some of them claimed they had fled from Cilabwami's persecution while others migrated for social and economic reasons, for example the search for a better place of settlement. It seems clear that Owiny Opok led the group which fled from Kyebambe's persecution. On his arrival at Mount Ogaka, the Palengo, Lokaci and Painata accepted Owiny as king. Another Palwo man called Lagoro Aboga came with regalia from Northern Bunyoro, and succeeded in establishing himself over the Oryang, a Lwo group. He then went back to Bunyoro to get his father's blessing on his kingdom. He died while in Bunyoro and Owiny Opok took over his regalia. This proved distasteful to the Oryang group who made a forceful attempt to recapture the regalia. Though Owiny's group was defeated in the fight,

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid. p. 8.

he still managed to keep the regalia. It is, however, not surprising that he failed to win the allegiance of the people of Oryang. From what has been described above, it is difficult to regard Owiny or Lagoro as state-builders in the sense that Alero, Omongo and Omol were. Lagoro only established himself over a group of clans while Owiny's 'kingdom to be' never got off the ground. Had Owiny succeeded in adding Lagoro's territory to his, probably a semblance of a kingdom might have emerged. The eighteenth century thus ended with the Palwo doing little to alter the political structure of Pajule.

The outbreak of famine in the middle of the nineteenth century tended to create a situation conducive to the establishment of kingdoms by the Palwo. The famine forced the Pajule to flee to Abam, the confluence of the Pagor and Aswa rivers, mainly to escape from the onslaught of incoming famine-stricken Lango Dyang. At Abam, where the clans were closely settled, Liing Pao Otto, a Palwo man, emerged as the dominant figure and appeared to have established a good reputation for leadership.¹ Though he was a leper, he managed to secure the services of an able warrior, Ojuku, who successfully led the Pajule in wars against Padibe, Pajok and Labongo.

1. Ibid., p. 10.

2. Ibid., p. 12.

Moreover the Oryang were mystically instructed by Lagoro to recognise the authority of Liing. This added to Liing's territory and gave a sort of religious and mystical justification for his political authority.¹ It was this famine as well as Lagoro which contributed to the expansion of Liing's authority.

In spite of these events, it seemed as if the Palwo were not destined to succeed in Pajule. Just as Liing was about to reach the highest point of his prestige his wife deserted him, taking away his daughters and the heir to the throne.² Liing married another wife but she could not provide a male heir. Another group of Lwo descendants of Cunmor from the house of Labongo attempted to take advantage of Liing's lack of an heir to secure the leadership by taking the drum. Surprisingly enough, the majority of the Palwo supported Labongo's action. This was because of Liing's physical deformity. Thus, after the death of Labongo, Okiru kept the drum; but when there was famine and Okiru could not provide rain, he was compelled to return the drum to Liing who had earlier on refused to sacrifice without it. Though the drum was returned to Liing, the support given to Labongo's action showed the extent to which Liing experienced opposition even among

1. Ibid., p. 11.

2. Ibid., p. 12.

his fellow Palwo. He thus found it difficult to cope with opposition to his dominance from other groups who, perhaps taking advantage of internal opposition to him, frustrated his efforts at enlarging his territory and thus building a kingdom. Liing, for instance, failed to bring Lamogi under his control. His attempt to appoint his man as ruler there was successfully resisted. Even the Lukwor clan which did not accept Liing's authority attacked Liing's place. Although they were forced to pay compensation, they never tendered the expected apology. Thus, at best Liing could only be described as first among many heads of clan groupings. His rule never extended beyond that of his clan and some of the Oryang. What happened in Pajule could at best be described as the transfer of a settlement in Northern Bunyoro to Pajule. There was no question of building a kingdom over others as in Agago and west of the Aswa. But even though no kingdom could be said to have been built by the Palwo, there is the fact that their presence resulted in a mixture of very many ethnic groups out of which Lwo became pre-eminent, and Lwo became the language.

The Palwo in Busoga

Busoga is another area to which the Palwo migrated in the late seventeenth century. Their arrival in Busoga was,

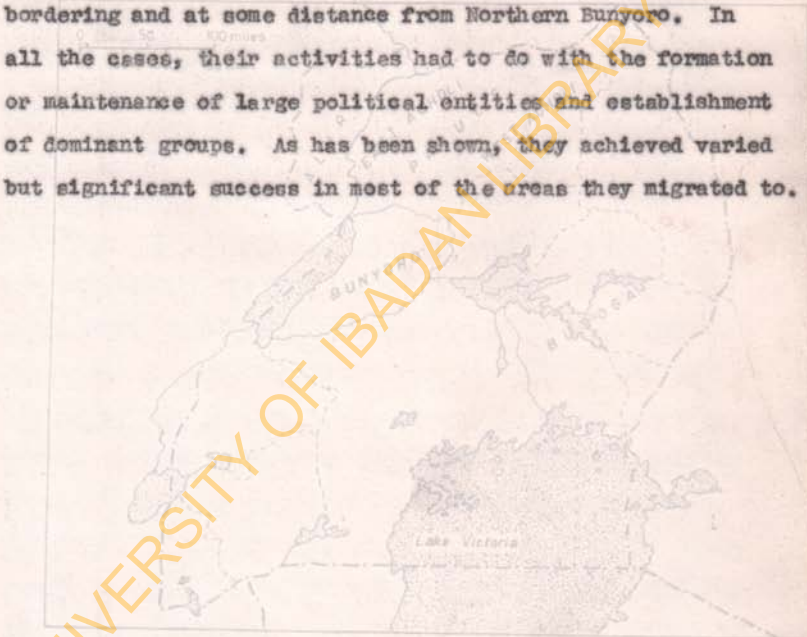
I am indebted to Professor Cohen for allowing me to read the manuscript of his book.

however, preceded by the settlement of Lwo communities, probably part of those who came directly from the north. These early Lwo had established fairly centralized governments over "fishing peoples, farmers and hunters in the north".¹ With the arrival of the Palwo the process of state building continued. Many Palwo groups among which were the Abaise Mudola, Abaise Naminha and Abaise Kirugi, came from northern Bunyoro and established dominance over groups they met on the spot.

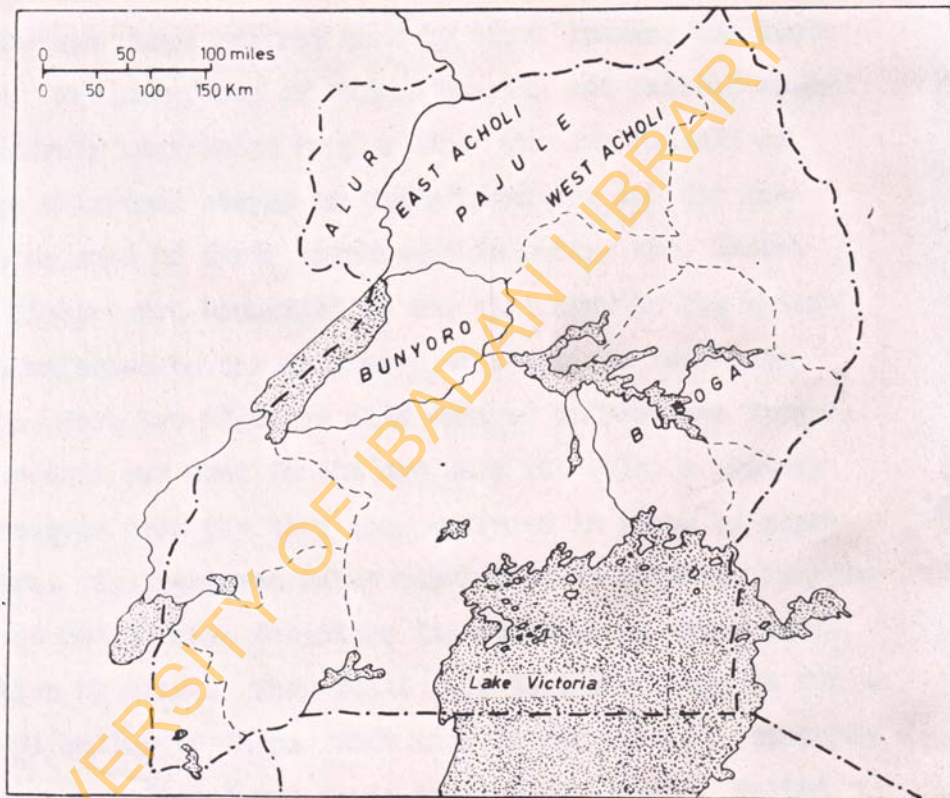
The Abaise Menha were, however, the first Palwo group to arrive in Busoga. They were said to have emerged from a complex of Lwo and other groups whose movements took them from Pawir through Buruli, Bunyala and northern Busoga. Another group from the same direction was the Abaise Mpina clan led by Kakaire who displaced the Lwo Musumbo clan as the ruling group at Bukohe. Musumbo, the former leader, was said to have been neglecting his people. When Kakaire arrived at Bukohe he gave them gifts. The people were happy with him and with their instigations and support, he deposed Musumbo after which he established his authority over the area.²

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1. Cohen, Retracing the Footsteps of the Mukama, p. 5.
 2. D. W. Cohen, Historical Tradition of Busoga: Mukama and Kintu, Oxford Clarendon Press (forthcoming).
I am indebted to Professor Cohen for allowing me to read the manuscript of his book.

The late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries can therefore be described as a period of Palwo's external activities. Their impact was felt in the territories bordering and at some distance from Northern Bunyoro. In all the cases, their activities had to do with the formation or maintenance of large political entities and establishment of dominant groups. As has been shown, they achieved varied but significant success in most of the areas they migrated to.



MAP SHOWING AREAS TO WHICH THE PALWO MIGRATED DURING THE WAR BY OLIMI THE "FIRST BANTU KING" C 1706—1733—1733—1760



MAP SHOWING AREAS TO WHICH THE PALWO MIGRATED DURING THE WAR BY OLIMI THE "FIRST 'BANTU KING"

C. 1706 — 1733 — 1733 — 1760

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CHAPTER IV

FIRST ATTEMPT BY THE PALWO TO REGAIN THE
THRONE OF KITARA 1830-1860

Not all the Palwo left Northern Bunyoro as a result of the war waged against them by Olini Isansa, the Bantu king. The chiefdoms of Pajao, Munyai, and Paitwol seemed relatively unaffected by the war. The inhabitants of these chiefdoms stayed in their territory and did not flee as some of their neighbours in Pawir, Koc, Kisona and Kisoga were compelled to do. But even in the chiefdoms affected by the war, some of those who left came back. More Lwo migrants also arrived in Northern Bunyoro. The result was that it did not take the Palwo a century to recover from the loss they suffered in terms of population. The restored Palwo population in Northern Bunyoro seemed not to have forgotten the incident of their humiliation by Olini. They still felt that the crown in Kitara should belong to them. They thus sought ways of regaining what they believed was their inalienable right. Taking advantage of the inherent weakness in Kitara's political structure, which was accentuated by the shortcomings of some of the Bantu Abakama who reigned after Olini, the Palwo successfully carved out a power base within Kitara and, from there, launched their first military attack on the Omukama in an effort to regain the throne of Kitara. The

Palwo were able to launch this attack because the circumstances were favourable to them. For example, during and immediately after Olimi's war, the situation in Northern Bunyoro was not totally uncondusive to the furtherance of this ambition.

Northern Bunyoro During the Exodus

It has been said that the chiefdoms of Pajao, Paitwol and Munyai were not seriously affected by Olimi's war.¹ It is possible to explain the non-involvement of these three chiefdoms in terms of their origin. They were founded by people who came from Madi.² They had not yet arrived in Northern Bunyoro when Rukidi set the pattern of appointing only sons born by Lwo women as Abakama. The war waged by Olimi against the Palwo was centred on the continuity of the pattern of succession set by Rukidi. It is possible that at the time of Olimi's war, the Madi-Palwo had not yet become sufficiently intermingled with their Lwo brothers as to sympathise with their aspirations. The inhabitants of Pajao, Munyai, and Paitwol were probably still more Madi than Lwo at the time of the war and since the issue at stake was the struggle for the throne between the Lwo and Bantu, the Madi-Palwo probably felt unconcerned and did not support any side.

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1. (a) Okelo Wango, P.H.T. 70, Kirwala, 11/7/71.
 - (b) William Ochanda, Ojok, Claya Atiya, P.H.T. 94, Miruka headquarters Dima.
 2. See Chapter II pp.36 above.

There is also the fact that in c.1679, Modo the founder of Pajao, was disobedient to the Omukama of Kitara and was replaced by Kagoro¹ who, though a Mubito prince, was likely to have been born by a Bantu woman (as the name suggests). Kagoro's descendants continued to rule in Pajao. Since the new monarchy in Pajao was Bantu, it might have been more sympathetic to Olimi than to the Palwo. More so as Olimi represented a Bantu attempt at putting an end to the Palwo's exclusion of the Bantu from the throne of Kitara. In the circumstance, Olimi's forces would not have attacked Pajao.

Another possible reason for the non-participation of the Madi Palwo in the war was the motive which Olimi set out to achieve. As mentioned earlier,² Olimi's principal motive was to kill Biakaia who was the focal point of resistance to his authority. The Omukama was not out to punish all the inhabitants of Northern Bunyoro. Some inhabitants of Fawir, Koc, and Kisona suffered because they aided and abetted Biakaia's rebellion by allowing Biakaia to pitch his camp in their territory. Since Biakaia did not have a power base in any of the Madi-Palwo chiefdoms, Olimi's soldiers had no reason to attack

1. See Chapter II p. 37 above.

2. See Chapter III p. 66 above.

the area whatever might have been responsible for the Madi-Palwo's non participation in the war, the three chiefdoms continued to exist and grew in population. The fact that they were not attacked by Olini's soldiers lessened the amount of loss which Northern Bunyoro would have suffered in terms of population.

But even in the areas where the war took its toll in terms of population, it was not too long before the loss was recovered. The result was that by the end of eighteenth century the population of Northern Bunyoro was as high if not even higher than it was before Olini's war. Perhaps a testimony to the increase in Palwo population is the fact that unlike during Winyi's reign c.1679-1706 when Northern Bunyoro was ruled by one Saza chief, Omukama Nyamutukura c.1786-1830 had to divide the area into two separate Sasas each with its own chief.¹

The recovery of the affected Palwo chiefdoms can be explained in a number of ways. Omukama Olini directed his war against Biakaia and some Palwo princes who supported him. It was these men whom Olini's soldiers were sent to kill. As soon as these men were killed, Olini's soldiers returned to Bunyoro. Innocent civilians who left their home in fear came back on being told of the cessation of hostilities.²

1. Nyakatura, p. 5, p. 67.

2. Isaya Byewarjo, P.H.T. 93, Chopelwor, 18/8/71.

It is even possible that Olimi encouraged innocent Palwo men to come back and live peacefully in Kitara because he stood to gain by their presence in his empire. The higher the population, the more tributes will be paid to the Omukama, and the wider was his scope for recruiting men to fight his wars. Olimi might have appealed to the Palwo by impressing it on them that he had no grudge against them but against Biakaia and his "rebel collaborators". The situation might have resembled what happens in present-day political conflicts which centre around the preservation of the integrity of a political entity. The man whose authority is being undermined tries to draw a distinction in his attitude to the rebel leader on the one hand, and the people who are being led to rebellion on the other. For example, during the Nigerian civil war, General Gowon appealed to the Ibos to come back and live in areas liberated from Ojukwu and his rebel clique. Whether or not Olimi appealed to the Palwo to come back and live peacefully in Northern Bunyoro, some of the inhabitants of Pawir, Koc, and Kisona came back after Biakaia had been killed. They came back for various reasons one of which was frustration. It will be recalled that in all the areas to which the Palwo migrated, they attempted to establish their authority over the people they met on the spot. They were

successful in certain areas and failed in others. It is not unlikely that some of the Palwo came back after having failed to achieve their purpose.

Moreover, in areas to which the Palwo migrated, recurring outbreaks of famine and epidemics compelled not only the Palwo, but also the other inhabitants migrate to Northern Bunyoro. For instance as a result of Laparanat famine which occurred in East Acholi in the period c.1785-1792, most of the kingdoms in that area broke up and the inhabitants had to come to Northern Bunyoro.¹

Thus, the effect of Olini's war on the population of Northern Bunyoro was not lasting. However, the memories of Olini's war continued to haunt the politically articulate men among the Palwo. They felt that the successful perversion of tradition by Olini should not be allowed to continue unchecked. They were therefore looking for an opportunity to reassert by force their exclusive claim to the throne of Kitara. As it happened, it was not until the reign of Kamurasi that the Palwo launched a military attack on the Bantu usurper. But before then, they had succeeded in carving out a power base within Kitara from which forceful attempts were made to regain the throne.

1. I am grateful to Alex Apecu of Makerere for this information.

Factors Aiding Palwo Efforts

In the pursuit of their goal, the Palwo had many factors to their advantage. One of them was the inherent weakness in the political structure of Kitara. Uzoigwe has described the empire as "far flung, heterogeneous and loosely administered".¹ This means that it was too wide for effective administration. It demanded a strong personality to hold the empire together.² There was also the high incidence of succession disputes during which not only did the component parts assert their independence, but also the kingdom itself was rendered liable to external aggression. These weaknesses became more evident when the throne was occupied by weak and ineffective kings.

Incidentally, the period following Olimi's reign witnessed the advent of weak and impotent Abakama. The centre lost control over the provinces and Buganda managed to annex some parts of Kitara. Owa Mujwiga 1731-1782 who succeeded Olimi failed to contain the rebellion of one of his sons and died while fighting to recover some of his territories lost to Buganda.³

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1. G. N. Uzoigwe, "Kabalega and the making of a new Kitara," Tarikh, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1970.
 2. One of the reasons why Olimi was chosen despite the fact that he was born by a Bantu woman was the fact that the state of affairs in Kitara demanded a strong personality. There were threats of internal disintegration and external aggression. For details see Chapter III pp. 60-61 above.
 3. Nyakatura, op.cit., p. 59.

Gwa's successor Olini Kasoma reigned for only four years before Nyamutukura, his elder brother, overthrew him.¹ Nyamutukura's reign 1786-1835 has been described as the "low watermark in the history of Kitara"² because this was the period when many of the princes whom the Omukama had appointed as provincial chiefs rebelled against their father's authority. They declared their areas independent of their father's control.

Omukama Nyamutukura reigned for too long, 1786-1835. The older he grew, the less effective was his hold on the affairs of his kingdom. Moreover, he had many children some of whom he had appointed as rulers in the provinces. Some of these children were too ambitious and became impatient of waiting for their father to die before taking up the mantle of authority in Kitara. Perhaps the most ambitious of the princes was Kacope born by a Palwo woman and who, having been imbued with the idea of Palwo exclusive right to Kitara throne, did not want to spare any effort at becoming the Omukama. Fisher described him as being "of a very scheming and cunning nature who was always planning in secret how he could secure the kingdom for himself on his father's death".³ He decided that the only way was to remove all other brothers. He instigated Karasuma one of

1. Ibid.

2. G. N. Ugoigwe, Revolution and Revolt in Bunyoro-Kitara. Makerere History Paper, No. 5, (Longmans Uganda 1970), p. 4.

3. A. B. Fisher, Twilight Tales of the Black Buganda, (London 1911), p. 147.

his brothers, to wage a war against their father as a result of which the prince lost his life.¹ Kacope knew that Kaboyo was the Omukama's favourite son and perhaps the greatest obstacle to his becoming the Omukama. Kacope then went to Kaboyo and intimated him of the Omukama's plot against Kaboyo's life.

It is difficult to estimate the extent to which Kacope's intrigue led to the breakdown of relations between Omukama Nyamutukura and his favourite son. However, a little while after, Kaboyo left the palace, visited Toro where he was invited to come and become king independent of the control of Nyamutukura. At first, Kaboyo was said to have felt reluctant, but on being assured of an army and probably coupled with Kacope's warning, he decided to accept the offer.² Conflicting evidence abound on the reaction of Nyamutukura to Kaboyo's secession. Palwo and Bunyoro³ sources claim that the rebellion was unchallenged, while Wilson⁴ gives the impression that Nyamutukura made an unsuccessful military effort to crush the rebellion. Whether or not Kaboyo's secession was challenged, the important thing is that from 1830 onwards Toro became independent

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1. Nyakatura, op.cit., p. 65.
 2. For details of Kaboyo's activities in Toro, see J. Wilson, op.cit.
 3. Ugoigwe, Revolution and Revolt in Bunyoro-Kitara, and P.H.T. 62, P.H.T. 75 as previously cited.
 4. J. Wilson, op.cit.

of the control of Omukama Nyamutukura.

Kaboyo's success in taking Toro out of Kitara is important in that it encouraged the Palwo to create a power base in Northern Bunyoro. It is possible that Kacope had this idea in mind when he alienated Kaboyo from his father. Kacope might have wanted to watch the reaction of Nyamutukura to such an action. In addition, he might have wanted to assess the Omukama's capacity to crush rebellions against his authority. The fact that Nyamutukura was not able to crush Kaboyo's rebellion must have been a moral booster for Kacope and his men.

The Emergence of Kacope and Isagara as Palwo Leaders

By the time Kacope was planning to get rid of possible rivals to the throne of Kitara, he had already been appointed as Saza chief to the Palwo county of Kihukya.¹ Another Babito prince by a Palwo woman, Isagara Katiritiri was Saza chief of Palwo county of Kibanda. It was the custom of the Babito to appoint princes as provincial chiefs. These princes were given areas from where their mothers originated to govern in the interest of the Omukama. While in Northern Bunyoro as Saza chiefs and subordinate agents of Omukama Kyebambe Nyamutukura, Kacope and Isagara Katiritiri were accorded all the honour and respect due to a king by the heads of the chiefdoms. The Palwo Rwhodi of the chiefdoms

1. Nyakatura, op.cit., p. 67.

saw themselves as subordinate agents of Kacope and Isagara's authority. It was to Kacope and Isagara that tributes were paid for onward transmission to the Omukama's capital. Appeals against the Rwhodi's judgement were referred to them for adjudication. It was Kacope and Isagara who arranged for the presence of the Palwo at the Omukama's court during the empango festival. The situation thus looked like another superstructure of authority over the Rwhodi. Such an arrangement was workable for two reasons. First, they were princes and seen as personal representatives of the Omukama. Secondly, they were Palwo men whose language culture and aspiration the people over whom they were ruling shared.

However, the exercise of authority in Palwoland fell far short of what Kacope and Isagara wished. As Palwo men, their ambition was the throne of Kitara which they believed should only be held by princes born by Palwo women. It was towards ensuring that he became king of Bunyoro-Kitara empire that Kacope caused confusion among the princes and alienated Kaboyo, the favourite prince, from his father. Kaboyo's successful rebellion proved an eye opener to Kacope and Isagara. They felt they too could take their provinces out of the control of the Omukama as a first step in the effort towards securing the throne of Bunyoro-Kitara for themselves. They planned to consolidate their hold

among their people in Palwoland¹ and acquire enough military backing to wage a war against any rival to the throne of Kitara.

Kacope and Isagara then took steps to sever connections with the Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara.² During one of their usual visits to their areas of authority, they did not come to report at the Omukama's palace as was expected of them. Tributes paid to them for onward transmission to the Omukama were withheld. They did not arrange for the presence of the Palwo at the Omukama's court during the empango festival. Kacope and Isagara later informed the Palwo of their decision to break ties with the Omukama. The major reason was to consolidate in order to wrest the crown of Bunyoro-Kitara from the hands of the 'Bantu usurpers'.

But Kacope's county of Kihukya was composed of the chiefdoms of Pajao, Paitwol, and Munyai, inhabited by Palwo people who were of Madi origin. They were therefore less sympathetic with the Lwo separatist feeling than the four other Lwo chiefdoms were. Having settled on their territory with the Omukama's permission, the Palwo of Madi origin seemed to have owed loyalty to whoever was the

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1. One could now begin to call Northern Bunyoro ~~was called~~ ~~the Palwo now settled as~~ Palwoland "because from this time they stayed here permanently and regarded it as their home - a base against Bantu usurpers.
 2. Nyakatura, *op.cit.*, p. 68, also Paulo Ochewa, Kyeganywa, P.H.T. 45, 11/6/71, Okelo Wange Kirwala, P.H.T. 73, 11/7/71.

Omukama whether Lwo or Bantu. The respect they had been according Kacope was because of the fact that he derived his authority from the Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara. When Kacope told them that he was no longer having anything to do with Nyamutukura, and that henceforth he should be treated as the Omukama, the Pajao felt he had lost the basis of his authority over them. The Pajao Rwhot thus continued to send tribute to Nyamutukura. The action of the Pajao Rwhot can also be explained in the light of the fact that, following the change of dynasty after the execution of Modo, the founder of Pajao, Kagoro who became king, was a Mubito, hence the ruling dynasty in Pajao had been Babito since the time of Kagoro. It was not easy for them to support a rebellion against a fellow clan member. This explains why they did not at first co-operate with Kacope. The Pajao Rwhot continued to attend the empango festival and took tributes to the Omukama. In Paitwol, apart from refusing to acknowledge the suzerainty of Kacope and paying tributes to Nyamutukura, Dator made an attempt to fight Kacope. Kacope was said not to have made an effort to bend these people to his wish; but with time, these Madi-Palwo reconciled themselves to the situation and accepted Kacope as king.

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1. Okelor Wenge, Kirwala, P.H.T. 75, 14/7/71, P.H.T. 75, as previously cited.

Oral tradition is silent on why, and how, the Madi-Palwo changed their attitude to Kacope. It is however plausible to explain the change in the light of the fact that although the ruling dynasty in Pajao and possibly Munyai, and Paitwol was Bantu,¹ and were loyal to Nyamutukura, a Bantu Omukama, majority of the inhabitants of the chiefdoms, at least at that time (1830) were those born in Northern Bunyoro and have been living there since. They might have forgotten the Madi origin of their ancestors and regarded themselves as full-blooded Palwo. It is very likely that they shared the aspirations of their Palwo brothers for a recovery of their right to the throne of Kitara. Thus, the attitude of the populace to Kacope might have been different from that of their rulers. When, as it happened, the Rwhodi of these Chiefdoms changed their attitude and accepted Kacope, it might have been a reaction to popular opinion in their chiefdoms.

While it took Kacope sometime to be accepted by the Madi-Palwo, Isagara did not encounter any difficulty in getting his authority acknowledged in Pawir, Koc, Kisona, and Kisoga. These areas were inhabited and governed by people who were of Lwo origin. Both the rulers and the people shared the aspirations of Kacope and Isagara. To

1. See Chapter II pp. 37-38 for the replacement of Modo by Kagoro.

them, it was a national struggle, an attempt to regain their ancient rights. Kacope and Isagara were therefore seen as national heroes, symbolising Palwo aspirations.

With time, Kacope and Isagara consolidated and assumed the position of Omukama in their respective areas. The Palwo, in fact, addressed them as Rwhot. Kacope built his palace at Puodi in Paitwol while Isagara built his in Koc. The palaces were larger than those of the Rwhodi of the chiefdoms and contained more slaves, visitors and tributes. They were built of special type of grass called Apudi.

The relationship between the Rwhodi of the Palwo chiefdoms and the new kings was cordial. Kacope and Isagara merely established a super-structure over the prevailing system. They made use of what they found to meet their needs. The Rwhodi of the chiefdoms were allowed to exercise authority over their people and behave as they had been doing before in so far as they recognised the authority of the new rulers, paid tributes to them, and carried out their wishes. The Rwhodi of the chiefdoms retained all vestiges of authority. To Kacope and Isagara they looked like Jaghi (equivalent of Bunyoro Saza chiefs), but the people they had been governing continued to regard

1. This page, 10/11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

them as Rwhodi. They were still selected in the old way, by the people among the sons of the dead king. Even though one informant¹ said the new Rwhodi (Kacope and Isagara) could refuse to confirm anyone chosen, he could not mention an instance when that power was exercised.

Thus Kacope and Isagara successfully created a power base for the Palwo. Unlike Kaboyo whose secession was a permanent reality and who even refused when called upon to become the Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara,² Kacope and Isagara's rebellion was only a first step in the effort to regain the crown of Bunyoro-Kitara empire and stop what seemed to them "the perversion of tradition by the Bantu usurpers." Their aim was to consolidate and build enough support, have a sort of base from where the attempt could be made by force if necessary, to regain the crown of Bunyoro-Kitara. The Palwo never wanted to stay out of Bunyoro-Kitara, an empire which they regarded as theirs and to which they had a strong sense of attachment. Had Kacope and Isagara wanted to do this the Palwo could not have supported them. Kacope and Isagara's assertion of authority in Palwoland was therefore only a means to an end. The end was the assumption of authority over the whole of Bunyoro-Kitara empire. The only thing they could do during their father's life time was to create a power base and prepare for a show of force

1. Okelelo Wange, P.H.T. 67, Kirwala, 9/7/71.

2. Nyakatura, p. 67.

against other Bantu usurpers. This was perhaps why Kacope and Isagara organised raids into neighbouring territories, expanded their sphere of influence, and thereby increased their following in preparation for the war against the Bantu usurpers.¹

They were further helped by the inability of Nyamutukura's successor, Nyambogo to crush rebellious designs. By the time of his accession, he was too old to be an effective ruler. During his reign of thirteen years 1835-1848, he was far too much occupied with cattle to pay any attention to the request of the lost provinces. He was succeeded by Olini Rwakabole who, like his predecessor, could not crush Kacope and Isagara. This Omukama's short reign of four years was bedevilled by attempts by his brothers to unseat him. After killing his elder brother, Rwero, for attempting to rebel, his younger brother Kamurasi staged a successful coup d'etat against him.² Kamurasi himself did not immediately find things easy. Though he killed Rwakable, he first had to undertake a purge of princes who were loyal to his brother and who had not accepted him as king. For the first four years of his reign, affairs in the Bunyoro-Kitara capital were far from being settled.

Palwo Attack on Kamurasi

Kacope and Isagara were not unaware of what had been

1. Okelo Wange, Kirwala, P.H.T. 54, 24/6/71.

2. Nyakatura, op.cit. p. 70.

happening at the Omukama's court ever since the reign of Olini Rwakabale. The situation at the Omukama's court during Kamurasi's reign was seen as a good opportunity to launch an attack on Kamurasi's palace, kill the Omukama and regain the crown of Bunyoro-Kitara for the Palwo. The Palwo at first thought they would catch Kamurasi unawares, The Omukama heard of their coming through one of his spies and before their arrival at his court, Kamurasi had organised troops to resist the Palwo offensive. When the two armies were posed to attack each other, the Palwo uttered the following words which clearly indicated the motive behind their attack:

"We are the true heirs to the throne of Kitara
You are a usurper because you come from Mwenge
What do your kind know about fighting, you
delicate drinkers of milk."¹

Fighting later started and Kamurasi's forces were overpowered. Kamurasi himself escaped and this had a demoralising effect on his troops. The Palwo looted the Omukama's palace, and captured many of the instruments of royalty such as drums, spears, stools and crowns.

One would have expected them to seize the mantle of authority at this stage and gain the crown of Bunyoro-Kitara. They could not however do this for two reasons. One was that according to the custom in Bunyoro-Kitara, anybody wanting to seize the throne had to make sure that

1. Ibid., p. 77.

the former king was dead before he could assume authority. In this case, Kamurasi was still alive, he had only escaped. Until the Palwo princes had killed him, neither of them could become the Omukama. The other reason was that, even if Kamurasi was dead, the Palwo princes had not yet decided on which of them, Kacope or Isagara, should become the Omukama.¹

Meanwhile, with Kamurasi on the run and the Palwo having gained access to the Omukama's palace, the victors settled at Kokoitwa to celebrate their initial victory. They drank so much beer that many of them got drunk. Meanwhile, Kamurasi in his place of refuge reorganised his forces under Prince Omudaya's leadership, and while many of the Palwo soldiers were still drunk, Kamurasi's forces fought back unexpectedly. The Palwo were heavily defeated and many of the Princes died. Kacope and Isagara and their sons, Mupina and Ruyonga respectively, were among the few Palwo princes who survived.²

Kamurasi regained the throne of Kitara but did not make any effort to dislodge Kacope and Isagara from their base. This was probably because Kamurasi did not have sufficient military strength to wage a war of aggression on the Palwo. He still had many supporters of Rwakabale to deal with. In that circumstance, a war of aggression on the Palwo would probably have complicated issues for

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1. P.H.T. 130, John William Nyakatura, Hoima, 25/11/71.
 2. Nyakatura, op.cit., p. 78.

the Omukama. His rivals at the capital might have taken advantage of the absence of Kamurasi's troops to attack him. Moreover, Kamurasi might have felt that a war to end Kacope and Isagara's rebellion was not worth the trouble. The Omukama knew that Kacope and Isagara's assertion of authority in Palwo land was for a purpose - the capture of the crown in Kitara. Since Kamurasi had been able to withstand the attempt, and he had other rivals to contend with, it might be worth the Omukama's while to consolidate his authority and make sure that he was not overthrown. It seemed that what mattered to the Omukama was not the maintenance of Kitara's integrity but the maintenance of his position as the Omukama.

After Kamurasi had managed to regain the throne the Palwo did not make any major effort to regain the throne of Kitara until the accession of Kabalega. Even at that time, what helped the Palwo to challenge Kabalega was the impact which economic changes had made on their social and political life. These changes and their effects will be examined in the next chapter.

Three phases of Palwo history can therefore be identified. The first coincided with the period of settlement in Palwo during the reign of Ngora (c.1850-1875). The Palwo and Ngora were their competitors before they

CHAPTER V

PALWO ECONOMY, SOCIETY AND POLITICS

Although this work is concerned with the political history of the Palwo, the changes which occurred in the economic life of the Palwo had a great impact on their society and politics not only at the local level, but also in terms of their wider struggle to regain the throne of Kitara. In view of this, it is pertinent to examine the economic changes in Palwoland in order to see their impact on society and politics.

Even a casual study of Palwo economic history shows a change in emphasis from pastoralism to agriculture and then to hunting. These changes in emphasis were a result of three factors: first, the natural and environmental conditions affecting the Palwo economy; secondly, the influence of new ethnic elements absorbed into the society, and thirdly, the effect of the external traders such as the Arab and Basombwa traders from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. These three factors not only altered the pattern of the economy but also caused substantial changes in the social and political life of the Palwo.

Three phases of Palwo economic history can therefore be identified. The first coincided with the period of settlement in Pawir during the reign of Nyawir c.1409-1436.¹ Pastoralism and hunting were their occupations before they

1. For details see Chapter one above.

settled in Pawir. Farming was at that time, a subsidiary occupation.

The Pastoralist Phase: to C.1680

As earlier mentioned, the Palwo are a branch of the Lwo who migrated from Sudan to parts of present day Uganda and Kenya. Continuous migration, transhumance and pastoralism have been associated. People who are continuously on the move have frequently been cattle rearers. Crazzolara and Ogot both assert that the Lwo were essentially cattle rearers. Ogot writes:

"In their original homeland there were vast stretches of land much of which was not suitable for cultivation. As the Lwo could always move to another land where they could find fertile soil and good grazing, they never had to bother with the means of fodder storage or devise proper methods of manuring and could afford to run down their cattle which formed the mainstay of their economy".¹

Crazzolara indicates how the early course of their migration was affected by the desire to find adequate grazing lands for their cattle.² When the Palwo settled in Northern Bunyoro, they remained dependent on cattle. Cattle and other domesticated animals served a variety of purposes including payment of dowry and sacrifice to the gods. Ogot however observed that as the Lwo migrated southwards into Uganda and Kenya, they arrived and settled in forested places more suited to agricultural communities than pastoral ones. The extent

1. Ogot, op.cit.

2. Crazzolara, The Lwoo, Part I: Migrations

of dependence upon cattle therefore decreased as the Lwo moved southward from the Sudan into Ugandan and Kenyan areas. By c.1409-1436 when Nyawir led the Palwo across the Nile, most of her followers were tired of the seeming endless journey to an unknown destination. They therefore settled with their cattle on the south bank of the Nile in an area which came to be called Pawir after their leader. The choice of settlement was probably dictated by the availability of water from the Nile and the luxurious growth of grass. The very act of settlement meant less mobility and consequently less grazing land for cattle. The abundance of tse-tse fly in the area also discouraged pastoralism. Apart from the tsetse fly, there were also recurring outbreaks of geny, a disease from which cattle became emaciated and quickly died.

Together with these factors militating against pastoralism, the fertility of the soil arising from proximity to the Nile encouraged the adoption of farming. At first farming was an adjunct to pastoralism but later took precedence over it. Initially, Palwo methods of cultivation were simple. Digging sticks were used as hoes, but after they came under the Bacwezi empire of Kitara, some iron hoes were obtained from Bunyoro. The introduction of iron further stimulated the change of emphasis to agriculture which could be described as the second phase of Palwo economic history.

The Farming Phase, 1680-1860

By 1680, it seems that farming had become the major occupation of the Palwo. Farming took precedence over pastoralism for two reasons. First, the new environment was better suited to farming than cattle. Secondly, new settlers who were iron workers came to Palwo. In the generation c.1657-1679, a quarrel between two brothers in Madilula led to the arrival in Palwo of a group of Sudanic Madi migrants led by Modo. After being introduced to the Omukama of Kitara, Modo established the chiefdom of Pajao which later expanded and fragmented to form Munyai, and Paitwol chiefdoms.¹ The coming of the Sudanic peoples must have encouraged the development of iron industry. It is not clear whether the Palwo learned iron mining and smithing from the Banyoro or whether the iron industry was begun by the Sudanic immigrants. Informants give the impression that iron was being mined prior to the settlement of Paitwol by the Sudanic Peoples. But it is very significant that the Sudanic peoples settled in Paitwol where the iron deposits were. For iron working peoples, migration was often determined by the availability of new and better source of iron ore. Webster notes that in the Agago area of East Acholi, Orom iron workers came into Wol purposely to exploit the iron ore resources.² However, by c.1700 iron mining

1. See Chapter two pp. 36-37 above.

2. J. B. Webster, Acholi Historical Text, No. 22.

and smithing have emerged as an important occupation in Palwoland. The iron industry considerably assisted the adoption of farming.

The production of iron began with the collection of lela (iron ore) in large quantities usually with the help of lineage and clan members. The lela was first broken into smaller manageable rocks with the hard wood of a tree called Mtoli or Dapenda (mahogany). They were then heated in a furnace until they became red hot. The smelt iron was allowed to cool for two days and was then cut into smaller pieces known as Kitengere. The Kitengere was then fashioned into the desired shapes such as hoes or large knife blades to which wooden handles were fitted. The smelting process up to and including the production of the Kitengere was handled by men called Bukiela (smelters). The smithing process which produced the finished tools was far more skilful and handled by men called Datet.¹

At first, iron smithing was only the part-time occupation of the Palwo who were mainly farmers. But with time, the demand for hoes increased so much that some farmers became full-time iron makers, trading their implements for food. In time, they organised a form of guild which regulated exchange rates and set rules governing recruitment into the

1. Odero and Peter Apile, P.H.T. 19, Kiryakende, 12/5/71.

profession. Admission into the buklela class was relatively easy but the number of people joining the Datet class was strictly limited. Though efficiency as a Muklela was the ostensible qualification for admission into the Datet class, only relatives of the established Datet found it easy to join the fold. Gradually the occupation became the preserve of the clans and families of the first group of datet notably, Duchobo, Dabwang and Dudwa. The importance of the development of the iron industry lay in the encouragement it gave to farming. Farming assumed importance over pastoralism and the Palwo dealt more with plants than cattle. But in spite of the preoccupation with farming, the environment of Palwoland was such that the Palwo could not do without practising hunting - at least for the purpose of safeguarding their lives and crops if not for securing meat. This was because Palwoland was probably one of the richest hunting areas south of the Nile and north of Nyanza.

Thus, while the Palwo turned from a preoccupation with cattle to greater dependence to farming, hunting remained an important secondary occupation. In fact, after the loss of cattle it may have become even more important as a source of meat. Both occupation - farming and hunting - required iron implements and contributed to the rising demand for the products of the datet.

Hunting and its Effects

Before the arrival of the Arabs and Basombwa, the Palwo had several ways of hunting animals. There was the chase method by which people divided themselves into groups and chased the animals towards places where their companions armed with spears and nets were waiting. There were also various trapping methods. One of them was the 'Muya' which was digging a pit and filling it with sharp pointed spears.¹ Animals were expected to fall into the pits and get killed. Another method was the use of a snake with a deadly poison to kill animals. The animals were lured towards the spots where the snakes were staked down. As soon as the animals were bitten by the snakes they died. In the Tong Atwok method, a big spear hung on a tree, descended on animals that were driven towards the tree.²

Hunting went a long way in increasing the material prosperity of the Palwo. Bushbukk, pig, and buffalo provided meat for human consumption. A kind of sandal was made from the skin of the buffalo. Various animal skins were also used in making clothing. After being dried, the animal skin was treated with a type of oil (Soga) dried and used in covering the body. Perhaps the most valuable commodity secured from hunting was ivory. It was the search for ivory which brought

1. Simon Kasigwa, P.H.T. 47, Kiryandogo Gombolola headquarters, 13/6/71.

2. Paulo Ochewa, P.H.T. 49, Kyeganywa, 15/6/71.

the foreign traders to Palwoland.

Ivory Traders and their Impact on Palwo Society and Politics

The search for Ivory among other things, prompted Khedive¹ Mohammad Ali to send Salim on an expedition to the White Nile in 1859. Salim reached Gondokoro and brought back reports of the availability of material resources especially ivory which could be gainfully utilised by whoever controlled the area. An immediate result of Salim's discovery was the establishment of trading posts in Southern Sudan and Northern Uganda including Palwoland by Arab traders who were in the services of some European businessmen based in Khartoum.

Salim's discovery also encouraged some organisations and individuals to send expeditions to the Southern Sudan. For instance in 1862, the Royal Geographical Society sent Speke and Grant to the Nile basin. Samuel Baker in the same year visited the interlacustrine region. He discovered lake Albert, and believed it to be the source of the Nile.²

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1. Khedive Ali sponsored the expedition in order to increase the economic strength of his country. His major aim was to tap the resources of this area. For details see Richard Gray, History of the Southern Sudan 1839-1889, (Oxford University Press, London, 1961) p. 6.
 2. For details of Speke's visit, see J. H. Speke, Journal of the Discovery of the Nile, (London 1863). For details of Baker's visit see S. W. Baker, The Albert Nyanza, Great Basin of the Nile (London, 1863).

By the time the two explorers came, Kacope and Isagara, the Palwo leaders had died and had been succeeded by their sons Mupina and Ruyonga as Rwhodi of Kikukya and Kibonda respectively. The two new Palwo Rwhodi were bent on completing the task set by their fathers, that is, wresting the crown of Kitara from the Bantu usurpers. However, the visits of the explorers did not have a visible impact on the Lwo-Bantu power struggle though Kamurasi attempted to solicit the help of the explorer against the two Palwo Rwhodi.¹

Economically, the visits of Speke, Grant, and Baker served the same purpose as that of Salim. The two explorers reported the availability of ivory thus emphasising the economic potentialities of the area. The report prompted the Egyptian Khedive Ismail to attempt to bring the area under the protectorate of Egypt and declare an Egyptian monopoly of trade in this area. Ismail sought to do this by sending explorers, namely Baker, Gordon, and Emin Pasha to the area.²

But before this explorers came, a group of traders had visited Palwoland and traded in ivory. Their activities affected many aspects of the lives of the Palwo. These traders were the Arabs from Khartoum and Zanzibar and the Basombwa. As mentioned earlier, one effect of Salim's

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1. See J. H. Speke, *op.cit.*, pp. 405-428, and G. W. Baker, *op.cit.*, pp. 34, 60, 178-179.
 2. The activities of these men will be discussed in chapter six below.

visit was the setting up of trading centres by Arabs along the Nile including Palwoland. Another group of Arabs came to Palwoland from Zanzibar. They were sent by Sultan Sayd Said to find ivory.¹ This was part of the Sultan's effort to create a commercial empire in East Africa. These men had goods which they advanced to Palwomen who organised the collection of ivory for them. Along with the Arabs, came a group of people known in parts of present-day Uganda as the Basombwa. They are believed to be the Nyanwezi from the Tabora area. All these men came to buy ivory and brought several types of commodities in exchange for ivory. The result of the trade in ivory was a change in Palwo economy and society for the better. New standards of taste and dress emerged and Palwo society became more sophisticated.

Whether the Palwo saw more of the Zanzibari Arabs and Basombwa than the Arabs from Khartoum is not clear. But contrary to the reports of raiding and pillaging conducted by the Arabs from Khartoum on the Southern Sudanese,² the impression one gets is that all the traders who came to Palwoland conducted their trade peacefully.

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1. For details of Sayyid Said's activities see R. Coupland, East Africa and its invaders, (O.U.P., London, 1938)
 2. The Arabs from Khartoum augmented the ivory trade with trade in slaves. They thus looted the inhabitants of Southern Sudan in order to get slaves. See Gray, op.cit. pp. 25-55.

On their arrival, they were said to have visited Ruyonga and Mupina and intimated them with the objects of their mission. It was the Rwhodi who later introduced the traders to the Palwo. In return for ivory, these traders brought various goods including clothes, trinkets, cowrie beads, cups, plates, saucers, and later on guns. The Rwhod's palace was for a long time the place at which ivory was exchanged for the exotic goods. At first, standard prices were fixed. A roll of cloth or a basketful of cowries was the price for a tusk. Later on the rate of exchange came to depend on the interplay of the forces of demand and supply and the relative bargaining power of the parties. A newly arrived Arab or Musombwa paid more for a tusk than one who had got enough and was only persuaded by a hard pressed Palwo hunter to buy more.¹ As ivory assumed economic importance, the Rwhodi further enhanced their position by making sure that one tusk of every elephant killed was given to them. They thus had more of the commodities brought by the traders than even the elephant hunters. The goods brought in exchange for ivory became so highly prized that those Palwo who had acquired the skill to kill elephants completely abandoned farming and specialised in hunting elephants. The need to kill more elephants in order to cope with the demand for ivory led in turn to an

1. Odero, P.H.T. 16, Kiryakende, 9/4/71.

increased demand for iron weapons such as spears and knives. The Datet entered yet another period of prosperity.

While farming and hunting remained the main occupation of the Palwo throughout the nineteenth century, a new class of specialists arose within the society, the ivory hunters. Possibly the ivory hunters were small in number in relation to the whole Palwo population, but they had an effect on Palwo society and politics far beyond their number. They represented a new elite class, rivalling the traditional chiefly elite. Traditional hunting activities were still carried on but from among the hunters, a specialist group of elephant hunters - the Aligo - emerged, whose major pre-occupation was to secure ivory for the alien traders.

In response to the demand for ivory, the aligo organised themselves into a guild which regulated prices, controlled recruitment into the occupation and organised large scale hunting expeditions. Hunting parties were divided into three groups. The Duleka, regarded as the most junior, was charged with the responsibility of locating the elephant. This was done by throwing ashes in the air and observing the direction of the wind. Since the elephants were believed to move in the same direction as the wind, the Duleka would then follow the direction and start blowing horns so that the elephants might run towards where other

men armed with heavy spears and on the trees were waiting. At first this system worked well but later the elephants began avoiding the trees. It thus became necessary to station another group of men called Dulyek not very far from the tree. When the Duleka started chasing the elephants the Dulyek prevented them from running away from the trees by setting fire on possible alternative routes, thus forcing them to pass by the trees where the Dudwar, the master strikers, were waiting for them. A man wanting to join the aligo first had to serve as a duleka after which he was promoted to the Dulyek group. A long and impressive record as a Dulyek coupled with evidence of good behaviour were prerequisites for admission into the Dudwar class.¹

Issues like price determination, recruitment, discipline and promotion of members were discussed at meetings held at the residence of the head of the Aligo. In Pawir, Dadoo Olego headed the Aligo group while Fowa was the chairman in Pajao. In Munyai, Olegodi, the eldest of the elephant hunters, was the leader. Usually, the head of the aligo recommended promotions which had to be ratified by other members during meetings. The occasion for such meetings was when a man, having been considered fit to be a dudwar and having been handed a spear by the head of the aligo,

1. Antonio Oyuru, P.H.T. 120, Gombolola Headquarters, Mutunda, 20/9/71.

killed his first large animal (not necessarily an elephant). The new Dudwar then had to call the senior Dudwar who was nearest at the time of the kill. The senior Dudwar then tied the new dudwar's arm behind his back with a type of grass called Obiha and asked him to perform the ayoza, (moving round the animal thrice). The new Dudwar was then made to stand on the head of the animal and to blow a horn thanking Orongo, the god of hunting, for helping him to kill the animal. After this the animal was taken to the house of the head of the aligo, cooked and served to all members of the dudwar. The Dudwar sang special songs thanking Orongo for his help. At this ceremony the new recruit and the other dudwar would be possessed by Orongo. Only Dudwar could be priests (kibandwa) of Orongo. After the ceremony other matters relating to the profession such as recruitment into the duleka and determination of prices were discussed.

During Mupina and Ruyonga's reign,¹ when the foreign traders first arrived in Palwoland, they concerned themselves only with the purchase of ivory without taking any interest in the methods used to secure it. Later in these reigns, however, some of the traders anxious to secure more ivory brought guns and taught the Palwo how to use them. The guns soon became widely used and replaced the spear as the most important instrument of hunting.

1. Bunyoro sources such as Nyakatura say Mupina died in 1887. Ruyonga died before Mupina.

The availability of guns affected both the elephant hunters and their organisation. With guns it was no longer necessary to undergo a period of apprenticeship before being allowed to kill an elephant. Once a man knew how to handle a gun and what part of the elephant to shoot at, he had only to collect people to help him carry the flesh if he wanted it. The importance of guild leaders such as Dadoo decreased. The guilds collapsed, individual hunters sold tusks at uncontrolled prices and Orongo, the god of hunting, declined in importance. One of Orongo's main functions had been to prevent hunters with spears from being killed by animals. Now the guns ensured that animals, if not killed outright, were rendered impotent. The danger of hunters being killed by animals was reduced.

The introduction of guns also affected the economic position of the Datet. The availability of guns at first resulted in a decrease in the demand for iron implements since guns were being used to kill animals. Some of the Datet were therefore compelled to change their occupation to hunting. But with the defection of some of their colleagues, the fortunes of the remaining datet increased even more. As more people hunted elephants and other animals, though with guns, more swords and knives were needed to cut the animals killed. Moreover, the first type of guns brought by the traders could only carry single charge. Some animals, especially elephants, unless hit in the neck or in the stomach, did not die immediately. They still had to be killed with sharp spears. Thus, the demand for spears and swords increased.

The economic significance of the increased trade in ivory lay not only in the increased prosperity of the datet. It also lay in the change it brought to bear on the system of exchange. As noted earlier, foreign traders brought, among other things, cowries in exchange for ivory. The Basombwa, who first brought them, took the cowries to Mupina and Ruyonga and persuaded them to start using cowries as money. Hitherto, exchange of commodities had been by barter. The Rwhot distributed cowries to heads of families and in time they became adopted as currency.

An established currency, apart from facilitating exchange, also increased productivity, particularly as the consumer goods brought by the traders became popular. The elephant hunters were fortunate to have access to these goods. They, however, needed foodstuffs and other commodities for which they depended on their neighbours. They thus had to secure enough ivory to sell for cowries with which to buy food. Similarly, a farmer wanting cups, plates and beads had to increase his output beyond that needed to feed his family, to sell the surplus and to buy the recently introduced commodities from those who had them. The same applied to the Datet, who had to produce more iron implements so as to get cowries sufficient to cover his food expenses as well as his demand for the exotic goods.

Increased specialisation, standard currency and a higher volume of exchange ultimately hastened the erosion of the subsistence economy. It was replaced by a more impersonal specialized and monetary one in which the "Jack of all trades" no longer had a chance. One had to be a master of something to compete. Presumably some farmers remained outside the new economy. It is impossible to estimate what percentage of the entire population they were. Nevertheless, as will be shown later, there was great social pressure especially from the women upon the men to secure the new and prestigious goods brought by the traders.

The coming of the traders provided job opportunities for some Palwo. When the Basombwa and the Arabs first came, they were faced with the difficulty of locating the homes of the elephant hunters even though Mupina and Ruyonga sent word through their chiefs about their arrival. The traders obtained the services of some Palwo as guides who took them to the places where ivory could be bought. In time these guides assumed the role of middlemen known to the elephant hunters who collected ivory from the hunters and sold it to the traders when they came. At first they were given a small monetary commission by the hunters. In time they gained enough cowries to purchase ivory from the hunters on their own account and to sell to the traders at prices which

yielded them substantial profits. Lakor Wande of Tidikata was one such middleman who rose from a commoner to acquire cattle and goats and had married five wives by the time of Mupina's death about 1887. Other Palwo men served as potters for the traders and were paid in cowries with which they worked their way into the position of trader middlemen.

The Palwo developed new tastes in dress. Marikhani and kernecke, clothes were worn on special days like festivals, the Rwhot's visit as well as during marriage, naming and burial ceremonies. Samwiri Oduonga recalled that during wedding ceremonies, people dressed in bark cloth were not allowed to come near the centre of activities.¹ Beads were worn by men and women and a man whose wife had no beads would be compelled either to buy some for her or to put up with her incessant complaints. Women took a particular fancy to gold. A man who could not afford to buy gold for his wife was looked down upon.

Wealth and status became reflected in the manner of dressing. The Jaghi and Batongole were in the habit of wearing these imported cloths on ordinary days because they could afford them. Their wives wore numerous gold bangles and drew attention to themselves by jingling the bangles. In

1. Samwiri Oduonga, P.H.T, 23, Kigumba Market, 23/5/71.

their houses they used cups, plates, and saucers. When Emin Pasha arrived at Mupina's court, he found him using plates, dishes and glasses which he had purchased from Arab traders.¹ The elephant hunters prospered more than any other group. Okelo Ayuek, Wanito Kiburu, Lamoye, Arut, Ochien Kakura were a few of the men who took advantages of the presence of the Arabs and the Basombwa to acquire a considerable amount of wealth. Ongwech who lived at Kitonusi was able to afford the marriage of five more wives and the purchase of three men and four women slaves. His wealth was inherited by his descendants. Wara, his son, lived and died in plenty. The elephant hunters prolonged their naming and marriage ceremonies because they had sufficient means to entertain guests.²

It was not only Palwo men who felt the impact of the new trade. The slaves who were an integral part of the Palwo economic community also did. Originating from Madi, Okebu, Acholi and Lango, where they were captured in raids organised by Palwo Rhodi, the slaves were distributed to influential men in the community who accorded them the same treatment as free born citizens in reward for their good behaviour. An obedient

1. G. Schweinfurth et.al. (eds) Emin Pasha in Central Africa (London, Philip, 1888).

2. Zachariah Manyuru, P.H.T. 30, Kiroko, 29/4/71.

male slave had his dowry paid by his master and could marry a Palwo girl. When hunting became more profitable, some of the slaves who proved capable in the Duleka and Dulyek class were even admitted into the dudwar class. They however remained subservient to their masters to whom they gave proceeds from the sale of ivory and who rewarded them accordingly. The income from the sale of ivory could provide the payment of their bride price without having to depend on one's master. They also built houses near their master's compounds but even after being able to support themselves they still continued working for their masters. There was no inhibition against a slave marrying a Palwo girl; thus inter-marriage became common. In the political hierarchy, the offices of the Jagho and Mutongole were hereditary within certain clans. Whenever the incumbent of such an office died without an heir, a slave who had acquired enough wealth could fill that office.

Despite the newly acquired wealth of the slaves, their masters were still able to control them. This was because the masters who were also elephant hunters were richer and more powerful and could call on fellow elephant hunters and loyal slaves to bring to submission rebellious slaves, or group of slaves. Mirogera's loyal slaves foiled the attempt by one of them to run away after killing one of

his master's children in revenge for Mirogora's poor payment for tusks.¹ Though there were instances when some rich slaves perpetrated atrocities, they were by and large submissive to their masters whose income rose as a result of the ivory trade and who in fact constituted a new elite.

It was not long before the nouveaux riches started making their presence felt in the political scene. Next to the Rwhot, the office of the Daker Madit was the most important in the Palwo political hierarchy. The Daker Madit apart from being head of the administrative hierarchy, was the Rwhot's principal adviser, chief justice and commander-in-chief of the forces. He occupied a position similar to that of Bunyoro's Munyoro Mukuru or Buganda's Katikiro. Appointment to this all-important office was based on popular selection. Whenever a vacancy occurred, two or more people signified their intention to fill it. The people had to make their choice known through the Batongole who reported to the Rwhot the most popular of the candidates. Usually it was a contest between three or four senior Jaghi, as the Jaghi were next in rank to the Daker Madit. The quality most looked for was bravery, because the Daker Madit would personally head the Rwhot's army, and in addition other qualities such as intelligence and impartiality were needed to dispense justice. Thus when Mupina's Daker Madit

1. Isaya Byewarjo, P.H.T. 101, Chopelwor, 26/8/71.

died, a contest developed for the succession. One of the contestants was Okelo Ayuek. He was only a Mutongole, but was also an elephant hunter. He secured the position against Bimera and Kiiza Pateka who were both Jaghi and who by virtue of their high position and experience seemed better placed according to traditional rules. The reason behind Okelo's unprecedented victory is not obscure. Being an elephant hunter, he acquired a great deal of wealth with the coming of the traders and hence won the respect of people living around him. As a hunter, he used to be a regular member of Mupina's occasional army of invasion. This made Okelo a favourable candidate at least for the post of the head of the forces. Finally, with his wealth which that of his two opponents combined could not match, he was able to canvass for more support. He thus won the contest and overturned the old convention by which the Daker Madit was always chosen from the ranks of the Jaghi.¹

As noted earlier, one of the tusks of every elephant killed had to be given to the Palwo Rwhot. In addition, some Palwo elephant hunters gave presents to the Rwhot who rewarded them whenever the opportunities arose. One such reward was made when a Jagho died without an heir. Though the office was hereditary within certain clans, the Rwhot,

1. P.H.T. 30, as previously cited.

had the right to appoint anyone in the absence of a suitable male heir. Elephant hunters were often chosen to fill such posts. This was how Oyara was appointed as Jagho of Kal in Munya by Okwir. Also in Pawir, Okona appointed Kijja in the same manner.¹

The recently acquired wealth by the elephant hunters tended to make some of them unruly and develop a feeling of immunity from the law. However, those of them who misbehaved were promptly put in their proper places. This was largely because the Rwhot still remained the richest and most powerful person in the society. Though he did not take part in hunting, he was given one of the tusks of every elephant killed. This meant that he had more tusks and hence more guns, slaves and foreign goods than anyone else. Far from being undermined, the Rwhot's authority became strengthened by the introduction of the ivory trade. Elephant hunters who behaved as if they were above the law were promptly dealt with. For instance, an elephant hunter, Odongo of the Duwiro clan at Koc chiefdom, was used to oppressing his poorer neighbours. An example of this was the raping of Apeo, Okoro's wife by some of Odongo's slaves acting on their master's instruction. When during a dance to mark the beginning of harvests he ordered his slaves to

1. Ojok Adem, Olaya Atiya, P.H.T. 97, Miruka Headquarters, Dima, 23/8/71.

disperse the participants, Ruyonga, who reigned c.1860-1887, ordered him to be killed and his properties to be confiscated.¹ There was also the case of Bagenda in Munya who, because he had so much gold purchased from the Basombwa, started rough handling women who attempted to buy gold from him. Mupina ordered his arm to be cut.²

The availability of guns also influenced local politics. Shortly after Ruyonga's death, members of Payetegi clan who were elephant hunters took advantage of the absence of the Rwhot and of their possession of guns to settle old scores with the Paboo. The Paboo were a clan of fishermen of considerable wealth derived from the sale of fish. In fact, in the pre-Basombwa period they had been considered to be the richest clan in Koc chiefdom. Living next to them was the poor Payetegi clan whose members had tried to combine hunting with farming. With the introduction of the ivory trade, the Payetegi not only acquired wealth but also guns which made them aggressive. A dispute flared up. Ochaka, of the Paboo clan, was said to have made advances to a woman in whom Umah of Payetegi was interested. The Payetegi with Anobo, Olike and Dachamba,

1. P.H.T. 126, Francis Kirube, Gombolola Headquarters, Mutunda, 23/9/71.

2. Ibid.

elephant hunters anxious to display their newly-acquired superiority, launched an attack on the Paboo. Informants are agreed that the attack was inspired by Payetegi's desire to dispossess the Paboo of their wealth. The comparatively defenceless Paboo were attacked and forced to flee, hotly pursued by their assailants who captured all their property and killed those they could lay their hands on. Payetegi is at present a wealthy clan in Palwo land and informants do not hesitate to point to this war as the origin of their wealth. Paboo on the other hand became impoverished.

Another example of the effect of ivory trade on local politics is the feud which developed between Kihukya and Kibanda counties. The counties, both occupied by the Palwo, had been traditionally on the best of terms. But Kihukya was richer in elephant and thus profited more than Kibanda from the trade in ivory. Jealousy developed between them and the people of Kibanda were soon allying with the Langi against their fellow Palwo in Kihukya. The Langi and the Palwo had been in the habit of raiding one another. Shortly before the death of Mupina, c.1887, one of such raids was attempted on Kibanda by the Langi.¹ The people of Kibanda, after repulsing the Langi, urged them to raid the wealthier Bahukya. At the battle of Kitenusi, the Langi and Kibanda found the Kihukya tougher than they expected. The invaders

1. P.H.T. 30 as previously cited.

were driven back and many Langi and Kibanda people died. This raid and the support given by Kibanda to the Langi against their own Palwo countrymen created long standing ill-will between the two Palwo sections so that when in 1911 the colonial administration asked the Bahukya to evacuate their settlement because of the tsetse fly, most of them preferred to go to Minakulu in Acholi or Lango instead of settling with their fellow Palwo in Kibanda county.¹

Perhaps the most lasting consequence of the trade in ivory and the availability of guns in Palwo society was the increased aggressive attitude of the Palwo towards the Bantu elements in Bunyoro-Kitara. The urge to wrest the crown of Kitara from the Bantu "usurpers" received a new military impetus resulting from economic prosperity and the acquisition of guns. Mupina and Ruyonga thus adopted an aggressive disposition towards Kamurasi who managed to resist the Palwo until his death. With the accession of Kabalega, the Palwo Rwhodi became more aggressive and were in fact the first to attack Kabalega. They were so confident of their and the newly acquired economic and military strength that they thought it would be easy to overthrow Kabalega and thus achieve their ambition. The extent to which they succeeded in this will be seen in the next chapter.

1. P.H.T. 30.

CHAPTER VI

SECOND AND FINAL ATTEMPT BY THE PALWO TO REGAIN THE THRONE OF KITARA, 1871 - 1887

In the midst of the economic boom, the Palwo and their Rwhodi never forgot the task to which they had committed themselves. The Lwo-Bantu struggle for supremacy in Kitara had become such an important issue that every opportunity was taken by the combatants to achieve their aim. The Palwo took the opportunity of the trade in ivory to improve their military organisation after which they began the offensive against Omukama Kabalega. The course and, to some extent, the outcome of the war was however affected by the activities of foreign traders. This was largely because their activities had a real impact on Palwo military organisation.

Palwo Military Organisation

Before the advent of foreign traders, the military organisation of the Palwo was centred around the Rwhodi and the Jaghi.¹ Warfare was a respectable recreation and the

1. Jaghi (singular Jagho) were heads of Chiefdoms and were formerly regarded and described as Rwhodi. But with the coming of Kacope and Isagara, they assumed the position of provincial chiefs. They became responsible to Kacope and Isagara who ruled the Kihukya and Kibanda counties respectively. Kacope was succeeded by Mupina as the Rwhot of Kihukya while Ruyong succeeded Isagara as the Rwhot of Kibanda. Kihukya county comprised Koc, Pajao, Munya, and Paitwol. Kibanda consisted of Pawir, Koc, Kisona, and Kisoga. (See Chapter 2 pp. 50-51 above for duties of Jaghi to the Rwhot).

Rwhodi encouraged it, more so as it was important for the attainment of the objective of the Palwo. Should the Rwhodi see the necessity or possibility of an outbreak of war, they consulted with their officials and Jaghi. Since there was no regular army, a decision to make war was followed by the raising of troops. Drums were sounded at the palace to alert the population about the imminence of war and to invite their assistance. This assistance was normally forthcoming from all able-bodied men. They would arm themselves and go to the Rwhot's palace. Their enthusiasm tended to be inspired by two main considerations: first, the desire to fight and thus contribute towards the attainment of the objective of their group, and secondly, the prospect for booty.

It was not only Koc and Paitwol where Kacope and Isagara respectively built their capitals that supplied the bulk of the soldiers. Other chiefdoms also supplied men to join the Rwhot's army. As earlier mentioned, the Palwo saw a commitment to raiding as an essential element of their prosperity. Even before Kacope and Isagara asserted their authority in Palwoland, the petty chiefdoms had been organising raids into neighbouring territories making use of men who were called from their peace-time

occupations.¹ Thus, when Kacope and Isagara later began to champion the cause of the Palwo against the Bantu, they recruited soldiers essentially along the same line, though on a much wider scale. The heads of the chiefdoms organised recruitment of soldiers in their areas after which they were assembled and sent to the Rwhot's palace. There they were informed of what to do and the strategies to be adopted.

There were two types of military expeditions undertaken by the Palwo. Wars that were considered to be of major importance and took a fairly long time to plan, such as the battle of Kokoitwa, were led by the Rwhodi or the Daker Madit². Minor raids on adjoining territories undertaken for the purpose of collecting human and material booty in preparation for major wars were led by individuals of good military reputation.³ Thus, when Kacope and Isagara raided the Langi and the Alur for the purpose of collecting more soldiers with whom to fight Kamurasi at Kokoitwa, outstanding warriors who had no place in the political hierarchy led the expeditions. However, not all the Palwo military engagements with the Banyoro were

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1. An instance of this was during the battle of Kokoitwa which Kacope and Isagara fought against Kamurasi. See chapter four, pp. 114-117 above for details of the battle.
 2. Zachariah Manyuru, P.H.T. 102, Kiroko, 1/9/71.
 3. An example was the raid conducted by Paynor Rwhot of Paitwol on Pawir.

premeditated. Ruyonga, for instance, carried out some spontaneous raids on Kamurasi taking advantage of the presence of the Khartoum Arab ivory traders in his capital. On such occasions, the Arab traders were supplemented by the Rwhot's Barusura and Baragana as well as the slaves.¹

The institution of the Barusura was not peculiar to Ruyonga Mupina and Kamurasi also had.² It was a party of armed individuals who provided the king with special personal guard. They watched the royal residence throughout the day and kept order at public assemblies. They forwarded royal despatches to the chiefs of the outlying provinces and brought messages for the king. They lived in the royal palace and were clothed and fed by the king in return for their services. The Barusura constituted the nearest approach to regular troops in the interlacustrine region.

The Baragana³ was perhaps peculiar to the Palwo. It consisted of poor men who made themselves available for any type of job the Rwhot might offer them in return for

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1. P.H.T. 38, Zachariah Manyuru, Kiroko, 31/5/71.
 2. This was what Uzoigwe referred to as Palace guards. See Uzoigwe, Revolution and Revolt in Bunyoro-Kitara. In fact, Kabalega's famous Abarusura evolved from the Barusura.
 3. The Banyoro might or might not have had such an institution.

their means of livelihood. Should the need arise for the ranks of the Barusura to be strengthened, the Baragana as well as the slaves were always called upon.

The difference between the Baragana and the slaves was that while the former voluntarily submitted themselves for the king's service and could leave the palace as soon as they felt their needs had been met, the slaves were in perpetual bondage and could never leave the palace. The Barusura, the Baragana, and the slaves thus formed the core of the Rwhot's army. It was they who formed the bulk of the raiding parties as well as the army to fight wars. They were sometimes supplemented by the ordinary people who responded to the call for enlistment.

The coming of the Arabs and the Basombwa ivory traders increased the number of the Rwhot's Barusura, Baragana, and the slaves. Since one tusk of every elephant killed was given to the Rwhot, his material prosperity increased more than that of any individual in his domain. He was able to sell the ivory and get in return more of whatever he needed including foodstuffs to feed the people. Thus, more men flocked to his palace as Baragana. The number of the Rwhot's slaves also swelled. More men were recruited into the Barusura because the Rwhot had the means to maintain them. Ruyonga and Mupina's punitive measures against recalcitrant elephant hunters were implemented by the numerically increased Barusura

who, apart from having the force of number to their advantage, were also better equipped than any elephant hunter could possibly be.¹

Another effect of the ivory trade in Palwoland was the acquisition of political influence by the elephant hunters. The story of Ojek's election to the office of the Daker Madit in Mupina's county of Kihukya has already been told.² Some other elephant hunters also got appointed to offices like Batongole (sub Jagho) and clan heads. Such men had their own company of slaves with whose assistance elephants were hunted and who could be deployed for military service should the need arise. They were quite familiar with the use of guns.³ The importance of hunters as Chiefs lay in the fact that they had the personality to persuade, and the means to force people to enlist in the Rwhot's army. The result was that at the time of Kamurasi's death, the Palwo had more human and material resources than ever to fight wars. They seemed very well equipped for a forceful attempt at restoring their privileged position in Bunyoro-Kitara empire. Thus, when Kabalega became the Omukama, the Palwo were very well prepared to launch attacks on him with a view to regaining the throne of Kitara.

1. See chapter five pp. 139-140 above.

2. See Chapter five pp. 137-138 above.

3. For details of the political influence acquired by the elephant hunters see chapter five pp. 137-138 above.

The Palwo and Kabalega

Kabalega was born by a woman from Toro.¹ His early years were spent in Bulega in Alur where he and his mother were compelled to flee when the Palwo had driven his father Kamurasi out of the Bunyoro-Kitara capital. Kamurasi later fought back to regain his capital at the battle of Kokoitwa. When Kabalega came back from Alur, he grew up in the palace with his elder brother Kabigumire under the care of Prince Omudaya. In spite of the guardian's liking for Kabigumire, Kamurasi indicated his preference for Kabalega as his successor. When Kamurasi died, Kabigumire at once seized and buried his father's body. According to Bunyoro-Kitara custom, the prince who buried his father's body and killed his opponent would become king. Kabalega would not accept defeat. Civil war was inevitable.

Uzoigwe claims that "It was an unusual succession war".² Normally aristocratic support in Kitara tended to be balanced between the opposing candidates. This time it was different. Practically all the Babito princes and other important people were in support of Kabalega's opponent. It was not in their interest to support a candidate who

1. For details see G. N. Uzoigwe, "Kabalega and the Making of a New Kitara". loc. cit

2. Ibid.

had made known his intention of subordinated the aristocracy and concentrating all power on himself as king. While Uzoigwe's explanation of the stand of the aristocracy in the succession struggle might be plausible, it does not seem likely that Kabalega as a young prince had any ideas about kingly power. But when he became a candidate for the throne, he found the aristocracy against him possibly because of his humble origin on the maternal side. His mother was said to be a palace maid of Alur origin. The aristocrats would not want the son of a palace maid to be crowned. Given the hostility of the aristocracy, Kabalega had to rely upon the support of the common man. He thus became the common man's candidate. Initially Kabalega's prospect of success appeared slim but with the support of Kamurasi's "Barusura" and the common people he, by 1871, had appeared victorious. Most of the chiefs and princes later professed their loyalty to him. But Kabalega never really trusted them, and certainly sought to keep them from assuming their former power and prestige.

Given Kabalega's experience in the early part of his life and during the struggle for the throne, it is easy to understand why his policies were directed at reducing the power and influence of the princes and the aristocrats. It was Babito princes (of Lwo Origin) who, when fighting his father, drove him to Bulega. Babito princes also attempted

to stand between him and the throne of Bunyoro-Kitara even when his father had indicated that it was Kabalega who should be made king. If he was to be a master in his own house, and halt the disintegration of Kitara empire, Kabalega rightly saw that the princes and the aristocrats must be put in their proper places. Uzoigwe quoting one of Kabalega's surviving sons, Aramanzi Murumbi, said, "Kabalega made up his mind to re-assert the authority of the royal power, centralise the kingdom, stamp out dissident and rebellious elements, and restore the fortunes of the once powerful and famous empire of Kitara by reconquering the rebellious provinces".¹ Anyone who prevented the realisation of this goal was an enemy and must be resisted. The Palwo were obvious obstacles to the realisation of the goal.

The Palwo were the embodiment of all what Kabalega stood against. The apparent existence of Palwoland as a separate entity from Bunyoro-Kitara showed that the Babito princes were undermining the authority of the Omukama. Kacopa and Isagara took advantage of their royal blood to carve the area out of Kitara empire, while Mupina and Ruyonga succeeded their fathers and were constant thorns in Kamurasi's flesh. In addition, the Palwo were not slow in indicating that the attempts made to dethrone the Bantu king and replace him with a Palwo one, would continue during Kabalega's

1. Ibid.

reign. Furthermore, there was the fact that, the memory of the humiliation which Kabalega suffered when the Palwo compelled him and his mother to flee to Bulega continued to haunt him. He was therefore prepared to revenge on them.

Immediately after Kabalega had defeated Kabigumire, Mupina and Ruyonga sent messages to Kabalega asking him to abdicate or face a forceful eviction from the throne.¹ As far as the Palwo were concerned, Kabalega, who descended from a usurper like Kamurasi and whose mother was a non-Palwo had no claim to the Omukamaship. Kabalega not only refused to abdicate but also made known his intention of subduing Mupina and Ruyonga to his authority. The stage was set for a military confrontation.

Palwo Preparations for War

The Barusura were the first to be geared into action.² Having been saddled with the responsibility of defending the Rwhot, they did not need much instructions in the art of warfare. They were supplied with guns acquired by the Rwhodi during the ivory trade and informed of the task ahead. The very nature of the position of the Baragana renders them available for any type of job the Rwhot might want them to

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1. Palwo Ochewa, P.H.T. 45, Kyegarywa 11/6/71.
 2. Zachariah Manyuru, P.H.T. 21, Kiroko 14/4/71.

do. They were also prepared for war and were trained in the handling of the guns by the Barusura. With the approach of war, many more people came to join the Baragana hoping to acquire booty. Many of the provincial chiefs were elephant hunters and these contributed to the building of the army. They brought with them their personal armed retainers and other individuals bound to them by family or other allegiance. The response of the commoners to the call for enlistment was only nominally voluntary for any man who was considered fit and refused to join the army stood the risk of being condemned to death. It was the Jaghi's personal armed retainers who trained the ordinary men who joined the army on the proclamation of war.¹

Apart from the army raised from their territory, Mupina and Ruyonga also made use of their eastern neighbours, the Langi. The Langi were seasoned warriors whose love of fighting was such that when they had no opponent to fight with, they would fight among themselves.² In Langi society the respect an individual commanded was mainly the result of his proven military skill. Militarism was a quality so highly valued that slaves of good military

1. Ibid., Francis Kiruba, P.H.T. 123, Mutunda 21/9/71.

2. Peter Odyomo, The Langi of Cavente, Research Essay submitted for B.A. Honours History, Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda, 1971 pg. 4.

ability were made heads of clans. Odoyomo,¹ in showing the importance attached to wars by the Langi, described how soldiers returning from battle were accorded heroes' welcome and conferred with honours at ceremonies attended by most of the inhabitants of the territory. A woman whose husband or son had done well enough to be so honoured counted herself lucky. The MOI names (special names given to distinguished war heroes), according to Odyomo, was more coveted by Langi youths than a knighthood ever was in the British society. To get married to a man with a MOI name was the ambition of most of the Langi girls. While the warriors were accorded respect and honour, those who did not participate were the targets of all sorts of abuse and derision. Military skill had more to offer than the social prestige. The wars were always rewarding in terms of the booty secured. The likelihood of the acquisition of wealth prompted Langi men to participate in wars outside their territories especially the ones between the Palwo and the Banyoro, Mupina and Ruyonga as well as Kabalega made use of the Langi in their struggle for the thrones of Bunyoro-Kitara.

1. Ibid. p. 12.

The Langi mercenaries had no personal stake or patriotic interest in the Palwo-Banyoro conflict. Initially they fought on either side. However, they were likely to gravitate to the side which was winning and could provide more booty. Thus the Langi were one of the decisive factors in Kabalega's eventual victory. In the 1860s many Langi soldiers swelled the ranks of Kabalega's Abarusura as long-time serving mercenaries. In other words, they did not go to Banyoro merely for one battle and then return home; they remained for considerable length of time, some on almost permanent basis, taking leave from time to time.¹ There is no record of this happening in Palwoland. However, it seems unlikely that in the 1870's Kabalega had organised either the Abarusura or his finances to the extent that he could maintain permanent Langi mercenary troops. He must therefore have fought with his father's palace guards and occasional Langi mercenaries.

The relations between the Palwo and the Langi were founded on trade. It has been seen how the Palwo Datet produced iron implements which aided farming.² The hoes and cutlasses were taken to Lango and bartered for goats. At first the trade was conducted peacefully. With time, however, some Langi, especially those living at the border

1. G. N. Nzoigwe, Revolution and Revolt in Bunyoro-Kitara

2. See Chapter five p. 121 above.

with Palwoland, started raiding the Palwo, depriving them of their hoes and goats. The Palwo were frightened to go to Lango. The Langi were in need of hoes and had to come to Palwoland.¹ The Palwo were reluctant to sell but the Rwhodi intervened. Mupina and Ruyonga not only arranged for the Langi to meet the Datet but also made sure that the hoes and cutlasses were purchased cheaper than before. The Palwo Rwhodi also provided accommodation for the Langi.² This was probably because of the Rwhodi's awareness of the military ability of the Langi and the possibility of having to call on their assistance in the event of an outbreak of war.

When the stage appeared set for a military clash with Kabalega, Mupina and Ruyonga called for the assistance of the Langi. Mupina's Daker Madit and the Jaghi were sent to Odong Aja, a Langi on whom Mupina had showered favours and who had also taken part in many of Mupina's minor raids on neighbouring territories. He took Mupina's officials to meet well known Langi war leaders namely, Obong, Agoro, who lived near present day Lira as well as Ogwette, who lived at Asaba.³ Obong Agoro mentioned by the Palwo might be Abwang Agoro who was the head of a large Langi military

1. P.H.T. 45, Paulo Ochewa, Kyaganywa, 11/6/71.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

confederacy the centre of which was the Lira kingdom. Not much has been written about Abwang Agoro. Ogwang-Apeya who mentioned Agoro in his research on the Langi of Adwori¹ recalled Agoro's assistance to Kabalega. There is no place where Agoro was said to have recruited mercenaries for the Palwo. However, this only points out the importance of the point made earlier that the Langi fought for the highest bidder and that in the early 1870s, the Palwo Rwhodi could offer as much if not more than Kabalega. As will be seen presently, they could not do this a decade later.

However, Obong and the military Commanders, organised the recruitment of able-bodied men who were taken across the River Nile in large canoes which Mupina had provided. Ruyonga also had his friends among the Langi. Individuals like Igwera, Abingo, Akulu, and Otwal had benefitted from their association with the Rwhot. They had secured cheap supplies of hoes, cows, and guns from Ruyonga. As if the Rwhot was anticipating the necessity of calling for their

1. See Eugene Ogwang-Apeya, The Langi of Adwori during the Aconya, Makerere University History Graduating Essay 1972.

2. Uganda Times, P.O. Box 122, Kampala, 25/9/71.

assistance, Ruyonga had been allowing the Langi to go away with booty captured in earlier raids on neighbouring territories. The Palwo who participated in such raids were expected to submit their booty to the Rwhot. When it became clear that Kabalega would have to be militarily confronted, Ruyonga sent to these men for warriors.¹

The recruits from Lango as well as those from the provinces were assembled at the Rwhot's palace and trained by the senior members of the Barisura. The Daker Madit was in charge of the training, accommodation, and general care of the recruits. The large number of people at the Rwhot's palace were fed on foodstuffs given to the Rwhot in form of tributes and gifts.

The Palwo also solicited the support of the Jogi (gods) in their military endeavours.² The two Rwhodi contacted Kambeja's and Katigo's Kibandwa. Ruyonga sent Adwong while Mupina sent Openya to ask for the Jogi's blessing. The two Rwhodi were asked to kill a goat and a chicken and bury them in a hole on a route through which Kabalega's soldiers were expected to pass. The enemy was expected to lose half of his strength after passing over

1. P.H.T. 45, 123, op. cit.

2. Francis Kirube, P.H.T. 128, Mutunda, 25/9/71.

that spot. Katigo also sent to the Rwhodi a leaf from a tree called Olwado which after being blessed by the Jok was used to rub the guns. Finally, a left-handed man called Dacam was instructed to stand with his back towards the direction where the Palwo soldiers moved. He would then throw a leaf from the Opok tree towards where the soldiers moved. All the soldiers would then jump over the leaf making sure that no part of their body touched it. All these were supposed to ensure victory for the Palwo.

One surprising thing about the conflict between Mupina and Ruyonga on the one hand, and Kabalega on the other, is that while the two Palwo Rwhodi shared the same aspirations and prepared for the war along the same line, they never combined to launch a joint attack on Kabalega as their fathers Kacope and Isagara did against Kamurasi at the battle of Kokoitwa. It might have been a strategy to keep Kabalega busy on two different fronts and thus weaken him militarily.

It also seems that the boom in the ivory trade had built up such confidence in both Ruyonga and Mupina that

each of them thought he might be able to defeat Kabalega without the assistance of the other. This was what made Uzoigwe argue that "the nineteenth century 'Chope' (Palwo) wars were important for their nuisance value in the sense that there appeared to be a lack of a concerted definite objective. Because, although both Mupina and Ruyonga wanted to drive Kabalega away, there was no agreement as to who would be king in the event of Kabalega's defeat."¹ It is not unlikely that had either Mupina and Ruyonga succeeded against Kabalega, they would have had to confront each other militarily in order to decide on who should be the Omukama. The wealth acquired from the sale of ivory had boosted their personality so much that nothing short of the Omukamaship would have satisfied either of them.

Military Encounters: First Phase

It is difficult to know who first attacked, or was first attacked by Kabalega. The Omukama, just after defeating Kabigumire, received threatening messages from the Palwo. At this time, he was not really feeling secure on the

1. G. N. Uzoigwe, personal discussion, Makerere University, Kampala, April 1971.

throne because there were still pockets of Kabigumire's supporters to deal with. Kabalega built his capital at Masindi the boundary of the Bantu-speaking part of Bunyoro-Kitara with Palwoland.¹ It was from there that he launched and repulsed attacks from the Palwo. On the eve of the battle, the Palwo Rhodi spoke to the soldiers asking them to fight bravely and promised handsome reward for the soldiers in the event of a successful outcome of the war. The military confrontations were always preceded by intensive intelligence activity, spies, and bribery being much used. Once the opposing armies met and battle was joined, it was to a large extent a game of chance. General plans of attack or combination of movements were seldom arranged. The leader took up his position well in the rear usually near to a very large tree suited for observation. When battle started, the action resolved itself into a series of isolated skirmishes. The movements of brigades, division in mass, forcing of position and platoon firing were unknown. The troops spread themselves out anyhow and skirmished away until the men and ammunition were exhausted.²

1. Nyakatura, op.cit., p. 79.

2. P.H.T. 23, 123, 128 as previously cited.

Ruyonga was said to have been informed of the intention of Kabalega to attack him. His soldiers led by Olwal waited for Kabalega's soldiers to reach Aleolu the place where the chicken and goat ordered to be killed and buried by Katigo as part of preparations for war had been hidden. Thereafter Ruyonga's men confronted the Omukama's soldiers and battle was joined. Both sides lost men, but Kabalega's invading army was stopped from going beyond Aleolu. Some of them were driven back and even pursued towards Masindi by Ruyonga's soldiers but Kabalega's Barusura¹ drove them back.

The success of Ruyonga's soldiers, in at least driving Kabalega's soldiers away from their territory, can be attributed to the bravery of the large numbers of the Barusura who handled the guns very well. Ruyonga was said to have been very happy at the performance of his soldiers. As it was not a war during which appreciable quantity of booty could be captured and given to the participants, Ruyonga had to arrange a feast in honour of his warriors. Those whose performance was exceptional, especially the Langi, were given presents of women and slaves from the Rwhot's household.²

Mupina also waited to be attacked by Kabalega. As soon as the Omukama's troops entered Buguma where the

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1. Should not be confused with "Abarusura" which was yet to come into being. Barusura was the institution of king's personal body guards.
 2. P.H.T. 123, as previously cited.

chicken and the goat were hidden, Mupina's forces confronted them. Kabalega's men were stopped from advancing into Ruyonga's territory but unlike Ruyonga's men who pursued the enemy, Mupina's men were satisfied with chasing Kabalega's men out of Bugoma.¹

The two confrontations described above were the beginning of the series of battles between the Palwo and Kabalega. Rwtot Mupina was said to have continued training his Barusura and Baragana in preparation for a surprise offensive on Kabalega. Ruyonga, while also preparing for another major encounter, was at the same time sponsoring some intermittent raids on Kabalega's palace with the assistance of the Langi.

However, the encounters had no visible effect on the political situation in Bunyoro-Kitara. The Palwo Rwhodi must have underestimated Kabalega's strength, and thought that the Omukama would be defeated easily because he didn't have guns. However, what Kabalega lacked in equipment, he made up in men. The territory over which he exercised authority was twice as big as Palwo land, he thus had a wider scope for recruitment of soldiers. His army was therefore larger than those of Ruyonga and Mupina. Moreover the guns used by the Palwo were such that could only shoot once.

1. P.H.T. 45, as previously cited.

This no doubt slowed down the pace of their operations. The Palwo found Kabalega more difficult than they had earlier thought. On his part, the Omukama was brought to realise the threat posed to his authority by the existence of Palwoland as a separate entity from Kitara. He thus saw the need to bring the Palwo to submission. But the military clashes did not end decisively. One thing was clear to the combatants - they would have to fight again.

It is perhaps necessary to make some observations on the Palwo and Kabalega with a view to understanding the reasons behind some of Kabalega's policies during his reign. The succession war between Kabalega and Kabigumire lasted till around 1871. By the time Baker came back on his second trip in 1872, the Omukama had had one encounter each with Mupina and Ruyonga. The Omukama had hardly settled on the throne when he had to face the threat poised by the Palwo. It is on this basis that the writer tends to see Kabalega's war against the Palwo more as an effort to consolidate his position on the Kitara throne, than restoring Kitara to its former glory by conquering the rebellious provinces. Unlike Toro which did not question Kabalega's claim to the Omukamaship, the Palwo were questioning the validity of Kabalega's accession. The Palwo were as bad an enemy as Kabigumire. They were not like the Batoro clamouring for a separate existence but regarded themselves a part

and parcel of the empire asserting their claim to its headship. This was perhaps why Kabalega chose to deal with them first before any other subject. Of course, he could not have done otherwise. The mood of the Palwo was such that if Kabalega had not attacked earlier, they would have attacked him. Except for the Palwo, no "dissident" element in Bunyoro-Kitara threatened to fight Kabalega. The Batoro for instance remained indifferent to developments in the capital. It was the Palwo who wanted the throne of Kitara. Uzoigwe mentioned that Ruyonga and Mupina established a stronghold of opposition in 'Chope' (Palwoland). "Rebellion and threats of rebellion", he said, "plagued the early years of Kabalega's reign" and he had to develop a wide network of informants to keep a check on potential rebels, particularly the Palwo.¹ Thus, by late 1871 or early 1872 when Kabalega was fighting the Palwo, he had not felt secure on the throne. The succession war was still on. It is not therefore surprising that when, in 1872, Baker came and informed Kabalega of his intention to establish a protectorate and introduce legitimate commerce, Kabalega quickly told him that it was useless to talk of such things until Ruyonga and Mupina were killed.² This is quite understandable because

1. Uzoigwe, "Kabalega and the Making of a New Kitara," *loc. cit.*

2. S. W. Baker, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 192-193.

Kabalega had to feel safe on the throne before he could discuss the promotion of trade in his domain. With the wars against Ruyonga and Mupina yet to be concluded, and with both sides preparing to resume the offensive, Kabalega's priority was how to feel safe on the throne.

The recurring nature of the Palwo - Bunyoro wars seems to have influenced a major development in the military and political policy of Kabalega. He had perhaps hoped to defeat the Palwo quickly and then carry out his ambition of restoring Kitara to its former glory. But with the Palwo proving difficult and threatening to attack him, Kabalega had to take measures to contain them. Uzoigwe has ascribed Kabalega's military and political achievements to his creation of a new army called the Abarusura. Unfortunately, Uzoigwe did not suggest a date for the establishment of the Abarusura. He, however, stated that the new army evolved from Kamurasi's guards, "Barusura", and from the traditional military organisation¹ - the essentials of which were, like the Palwo's, provincial armies supplied by the chiefs to the King for the purpose of external aggression or defence of the country. Perhaps the only difference between the old and the new army was

1. G. N. Uzoigwe, Revolution and Revolt in Bunyoro-Kitara
P. 3.

the fact of the latter's permanence, and use of modern military equipments - breech loaders and sniders, to mention but a few. But considering the time when Kabalega clashed with the Palwo, the idea of a permanent, regimented and highly equipped army could not have materialised even if it had been conceived. Kabalega defeated Kabigumire in 1871, and thus became confirmed as the Omukama. By 1872 when Baker came, he had already clashed with the Palwo. The building of such an army as the Abarisura would normally take a much longer time. Moreover, Kabalega equipped the army with ammunitions secured from Arab traders from Zanzibar who took slaves, salt and iron complements. Emin Pasha who visited the interlacustrine region in 1877, said that the first Arab to reach Kabalega's capital did so in 1872.¹ Hitherto, Mutesa of Buganda had been preventing them from visiting Bunyoro. Evidence from Lango² also show that when Omukama Kabalega was prosecuting the first in the series of wars against Ruyonga and Mupina he made use of recruits from the area. The Langi who fought for Kabalega did not stay behind in Bunyoro and were not drafted into a permanent army. They came back to Lango. All these tend to suggest that

1. G. Schweinfurth, F. Ratzel, R. W. Felkin, and G. Hartlaub, op.cit., p. 115.

2. Odyomo, op.cit.

at the time Kabalega first fought against the Palwo, he made use of the Obwesengeze and his father's 'Barusura'. The "Abarusura" had not been created.

However, the nature of the conflict with the Palwo seems to have necessitated a standing army. The first encounters ended inconclusively. The Palwo were bent on driving Kabalega away and could attack at any time. Ruyonga and Wupina were therefore seen as formidable enemies against whom the Omukama should be prepared to fight at all time. This, perhaps with other considerations, seems to have dictated the need for a standing army. When the Arabs from Khartoum came to exchange guns with local products, the army became better equipped. It thus seems that the Palwo factor was one of the primary considerations that brought the Abarusura, a permanent standing army into being. As the conflict was prolonged, Kabalega recruited more men and equipped them with guns supplied by the Arabs from Zanzibar the number of whom gradually increased in his court.

Impact of Foreign Visitors on Palwo-Bunyoro Wars

The political and military relations between the Palwo and the Banyoro were, after the first round of battles, affected by the activities of explorers who were in the service of the Khedive Ismail of Egypt. It will be recalled that

the expedition by Salim in 1839 which was sponsored by Khedive Muhammad Ali of Egypt revealed the economic potentialities of the southern Sudan. It also led to an interest in the discovery of the source of the Nile. This was why Speke and Grant, and later Samuel Baker visited the inter-lacustrine region in the 1860s. Khedive Ismail whose interest was aroused by the reports of Speke and Grant decided to send Baker on an expedition to put the inter-lacustrine region under the control of Egypt. Baker passed through Palwoland, met Kabalega the Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara at Masindi.

According to Baker,¹ Kabalega accepted the protection of the Egyptian government but surprisingly refused to fulfil his obligations to Baker a representative of the suzerain power. Whether or not Kabalega accepted or understood the implications of the protection offered by Baker, is a difficult thing to say. However, a series of ugly incidents arising from a mis-understanding of each other's intentions strained and embittered the relations between the

1. For details of Baker's relations with Omukama Kabalega see S. W. Baker, *op.cit.*, Vol. 11, pp. 360-373 and A. J. Gray, Kabalega, Incomplete draft of a book on the life of Kabarega presented to the Uganda Society Library by A. J. Mason, Literary executor to Sir John Gray, Uganda Museum, Kampala.

Omukama and his guest. The situation arose in which Baker had to confront the Omukama's forces militarily. At the battle of Masindi Baker's troops were overpowered, and had to beat a hasty retreat northwards towards Palwo land. Baker was not unaware of the hostility between the Palwo and Kabalega. Fortunately for him, his arrival in Koc, Ruyonga's headquarters, was at a time when the Rwhot was planning an attack on Kabalega.

Anxious to secure the support of Kabalega's enemy, Baker was very cautious and tolerant in his dealings with Ruyonga. He was full of praise for the Palwo Rwhot. Baker described him as "A handsome man of about fifty with exceedingly good manners. He had none of the stiffness of Kamwasi nor the exceedingly gauche bearing of Kabalega".¹ The common hostility to Kabalega seems to have prepared the grounds for an accord between Baker and Ruyonga. Baker told the Rwhot of his intention to put the area under the protection of the Egyptian government and appointed Ruyonga as the representative of the 'Porte'. Ruyonga declared that he would always remain the representative of the Khedive's government but at the same time they (he and Baker) must enter into a blood pact without which

1. S. W. Baker, op.cit., p. 373.

the people would not rise in his favour. Baker agreed. The following morning, Baker, and some members of his party went through the exchange of blood.

Baker discussed ways of improving Ruyonga's plan to attack Kabalega. The attack was, at Baker's request, postponed because Baker had to leave for Patiko the following day. From Patiko, Baker sent a party of troops under Ali Granati to join Ruyonga.¹ These soldiers who came from the north to join Ruyonga were perhaps the ones whom the Palwo refer to as being brought by Prince Nsale to fight against the Banyoro for having killed his son at the battle of Kokoitwa.² The battle of Masindi in which "Nsale's" soldiers participated was, according to the Palwo, the one in which Kabalega nearly lost his life. Ruyonga's army consisting of the Palwo and the Langi who came in large number (because of Ruyonga's appreciation of their role in earlier encounters) and Baker's irregulars were led by Monde, one of the Baragana. He was assisted by Kichomere, a provincial chief at Dyang. They pounced on Kabalega

1. S. W. Baker, op.cit. pp. 372-373.

2. Nsale was one of the Palwo Babito princes. His son was among those killed when Kamurasi fought back to defeat the Palwo at the battle of Kokoitwa. He was said to have gone abroad in order to bring troops to revenge on the Banyoro. P.H.T. 43, Zachia Jao, Kinagarana, 9/6/71.

unexpectedly and the Omukama in order to save his life had to evacuate Masindi and move to Bugahya. The Palwo soldiers looted the inhabitants of Masindi and plundered the Omukama's palace. Kabalega had, however, taken along with him, the instruments of authority such as drums, beads, stools and regalia. Thus, even though the Palwo occupied Masindi, Ruyonga could not be legitimately proclaimed as king. The instruments of authority had been removed and Kabalega was even still alive. No other king can, according to the custom, be proclaimed while the former holder still lived. This was one of the reasons why the Palwo could not assume authority after driving Kabalega away from the palace at Kokoitwa. Just as Kamurasi regrouped and drove the Palwo out of Kokoitwa, Kabalega also drove them out of Masindi.

Ruyonga's initial victory can be explained in terms of the military benefits derived from the trade in ivory, and the co-operation of the Langi among whom the Rwhot seemed to have had a tremendous amount of good will. The contribution of Baker's troops must not be underestimated. They were quite familiar with the use of guns and other military equipments. On Kabalega's part, his "Abarusura" might just have been beginning to emerge. The encounter

was in late 1872 or early 1873. The volume of trade with the Arabs from Zanzibar which fetched Kabalega the guns with which he equipped his army must by then be low, because it was just a year of Kabalega's accession. If by that time, Kabalega had had a standing army, it seems improbable that the army was as yet well equipped. Ruyonga, had many advantages on his side, there was the help he received from Baker whose men were well armed. He also has the advantage of taking Kabalega unawares, he was thus able to force Kabalega to evacuate the palace. But it was one thing to defeat an army on its home ground, it was another to occupy the area permanently. The latter task would be more difficult to accomplish in Bunyoro where the populace was hostile to Ruyonga's troops and remained loyal to their king.¹ They knew that Kabalega's flight from the capital was temporary and was for strategic reasons. It is not surprising that Kabalega spent only a few days outside Masindi before he was able to drive the Palwo out of the palace.

Baker was in contact with Ruyonga. He was so much excited by the news of Kabalega's withdrawal from Masindi that he did not wait to hear the aftermath. He went back to Egypt and jubilantly announced his success in declaring

1. A. J. Gray, *op.cit.*, said Kabalega possessed that divinity which hedged a king and made him and the country over which he ruled one and the same. For most Banyoro Mupina and Ruyonga were but kings of shreds and patches whereas Kabalega was 'Munyoro' (Lord) of Bunyoro.

an Egyptian protectorate over the area and the replacement of Kabalega with Ruyonga as the representative of the Khedive. Ruyonga, Baker told the world, was the new Omukama of Bunyoro Kitara.¹ However, Ruyonga did not at this or any other occasion obtain anything in the nature of a permanent footing in the Bantu-speaking part of Bunyoro-Kitara. His success in driving Kabalega from the throne was short-lived.

Baker had told the Khedive that the interlacustrine region was under the protection of Egypt. The Porte in an effort to consolidate Baker's 'achievements' sent Colonel Charles Gordon to the interlacustrine region. He was asked to "enforce his authority over the lawless slave traders and to secure a monopoly of all trade in the area".² Before Gordon's arrival in Bunyoro-Kitara, Ruyonga had sent him a message expressing his desire to be on friendly terms with the Egyptian government. Gordon, therefore, sent Chaille Long to secure Ruyonga's friendship and good will. Long met Ruyonga and described the Palwo Rwhot as "exceedingly well disposed towards the government".³ He asked Long to secure Egypt's support in his attempt to regain some of his lands taken over by Kabalega. "There is something",

1. A. J. Gray, op.cit.

2. G. B. Hill, Colonel Gordon in Central Africa, (London, 1881)

3. Chaille Long, Central Africa: Naked Truths of Naked People, (London, 1876) p. 76.

said Long, "in the countenance of Ruyonga which at once won my respect and sympathy."¹ But beyond expressions of respect and sympathy Long made no positive contribution towards the attainment of Ruyonga's aim. Linant Bellefond was also sent to Ruyonga and was also impressed. These two men however discovered that Baker's claim that Ruyonga had deposed Kabalega was false. John Gray, quoting Linant, said, "They found that Ruyonga was but a bruised reed who could not possibly hope to supplant Kabalega".² Much of the territory through which they had to pass had until recently belonged to Ruyonga but had since been wrested from him by Kabalega. Perhaps with three years of trade with the Zanzibar Arabs, Kabalega was becoming more powerful than before. The combined Baker - Ruyonga attack was the nearest the Palwo went to unseating Kabalega.³ After that, Kabalega began to have the upper hand.

It should be remembered that Ruyonga was not the only Palwo opponent Kabalega had. Mupina the son of Kachope had earlier fought Kabalega.⁴ He was however not as involved

1. Chaille Long, op.cit., p. 77.

2. Gray, op.cit.

3. Though he was shortly afterwards forced to evacuate the throne by Gordon who had hoped to replace him with Mupina, it was a war fought solely by Gordon, even Mupina's men did not take part in the war.

4. Paulo Ocheva, P.H.T. 45, Kyeganywa 14/6/71.

with foreign elements as Ruyonga.¹ His attacks on Kabalega were in league with the Langi. It was Palwo men who formed the bulk of his army.

After Linant had met Ruyonga, he moved westwards and came across Mupina. There he found two or three thousand Langi camped opposite to Mupina. They had just returned from a raid in Mupina's name into Bunyoro. They claimed that they had killed a lot of people, taken a lot of cattle and made prisoners of many women and children including among others, a sister of Kabalega. Mupina was persuaded to send a representative to Linant's camp and recognise Egyptian authority. Considering the amount of territory under Mupina's control, Linant felt that Mupina was preferable to Ruyonga when it came to the question of replacing Kabalega on the throne. Gordon agreed and it was planned to send a number of soldiers to Mupina to aid him in his wars against Kabalega. A fort was to be built in Mupina's territory from where the campaign to stamp out the slave trade would be launched. This fort, along with the garrison which Baker had earlier established with Ruyonga at Foweira² would, it was hoped

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1. This was probably because Mupina's territory did not lie along the traveller's route.
 2. Baker during his second visit left a garrison of troops at Foweira near Ruyonga's palace to maintain contact with Fatiko and Cairo. He seems to have taken the soldiers with him. This is why he had to reach Fatiko before he could send soldiers to help Ruyonga against Kabalega. It seems that Gordon replaced the men when he came back.

link the equatorial region with the Sudan and check the traffic in slaves.

Gordon inherited Baker's prejudices against Kabalega. He felt that Kabalega must be removed before the authority of the Khedive could be established in the interlacustrine region. Gordon therefore sought to remove the Omukama and replace him with Mupina. With Mupina as the Omukama, Gordon thought that he would be able to attain his objective of establishing an Egyptian monopoly of trade in the interlacustrine region. Gordon's interest in Mupina was for selfish reasons.

However, the plan to attack Kabalega through Mupina never materialised. 'Nuer Ager', the officer sent, did not go to Mupina's palace. He alleged that Mupina did not want to have troops with him. Seeing that all his efforts to liquidate Kabalega indirectly were not succeeding,¹ Gordon decided to move to Masindi, attack and kill Kabalega and then replace him with Mupina. Kabalega got to know of Gordon's plan and withdrew from Masindi, taking his instruments of authority with him. Gordon did not find any

1. Gray, op.cit.

opposition in Masindi but killed many of Kabalega's men. Besides, nothing was achieved in terms of the replacement of Kabalega with Mupina or the establishment of forts. Kabalega later re-occupied his capital; Gordon was so frustrated that when in 1876 he left for Khartoum he promised never to return to the interlacustrine region.¹

Another visitor to the lake region was Emin Pasha.² He was in 1876 sent to Rubaga to secure the release of Egyptian troops held by the Kabaka of Buganda.³ On the completion of the task, Emin left for Mruli from where he left for Mparo to meet Kabalega. The Omukama⁴ defended

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1. Gray, op.cit.
 2. His real name was Eduard Schnitzer. For details of his visit see Schweinfurth, et al, op.cit., A. R. Dunbar, op.cit., p. 66.
 3. In an effort to secure Lake Victoria for the Khodive, Gordon sent an army led by Nuer Aga to establish a stockade in Bulodengayi a territory in Kabaka Mutesa's domain. Mutesa however lured the garrison to his capital and made them stay there. If Mutesa was to have an armed body of troops in his domain, it was preferable to have them at the capital where he might be able to cope with them rather than on the outskirts of his kingdom where the task of dealing with them in case of hostilities would be much more difficult. Emin Pasha was sent to secure the release of the soldiers from Mutesa. See A. J. Gray "Mutesa of Buganda", Uganda Journal, Vol.1, No. 1, 1934.
 4. For details see G. Ratzel, G. Schweinfurth and G. Hartlaub, op. cit., pp. 48-49.

himself against Baker's allegations and explained the reason for his wars against Ruyonga and Mupina. Kabalega also succeeded in convincing Emin Pasha that he was not opposed to the Egyptian government's intention of declaring a protectorate over the interlacustrine region. In return, Emin Pasha promised to effect the withdrawal of Egyptian support for Ruyonga and Mupina.¹

By 1878, when Emin visited Kabalega, the Omukama seemed to have made up for all the handicaps he had vis-a-vis the Palwo at the beginning of the conflict. By 1871, the trade with the Arabs and Basombwa made Ruyonga and Mupina economically and militarily equipped to feel confident of a military victory over Kabalega. But by the time Emin came, Kabalega had been able to establish similar contacts with the Arabs from Zanzibar and increased his economic and military strength.² Emin Pasha describes how the "Waganda and Wanyoro brought commerce to a more advanced state of development³ and attributes it to the trading expeditions of the Arabs from Zanzibar. An extensive square of irregular shape was said to lie behind Kabalega's palace. It was there that commercial transactions were carried out. Slaves

1. Schwanfurth & etal, op.cit., pp. 105-106.

2. Ibid. pp. 111-112.

3. Ibid.

and ivory were the chief exports. Though Kabalega's territory was not rich in ivory, he was able to draw a large part of his ivory from the Western Lango district, Alur, and the southern part of his kingdom. The slaves and ivory were sold to the traders who on their arrival had to present half of their goods, especially guns, powder and lead shots to the king.¹ The Omukama then arranged in return, an equivalent amount of ivory and slaves. With the ammunition secured from the Arabs, Kabalega was able to equip his army, which, in the light of the fact that he had a bigger territory from which to recruit was bigger than that of the Palwo. Kabalega made the army into a permanent standing one. It was able to fight more efficiently than those of the Palwo which was composed mainly of individuals largely untrained in the art of warfare and hurriedly recruited on the proclamation of war.

One of the advantage which the Palwo initially had over Kabalega was the support they were receiving from the foreigners. Ruyonga fought Kabalega with the assistance of Samuel Baker. Gordon also attacked Kabalega and hoped to replace him with Mupina. An immediate consequence of Emin's visit was a withdrawal of the Egyptian government support for Ruyonga and Mupina. Though Emin visited Ruyonga after the interview with Kabalega, he plainly told the Palwo

1. Ibid.

Whot that the soldiers he was sending to Mruli through Ruyonga's territory were not to raid Kabalega but to occupy Mruli so as to have a point of connection with the ivory trade. Ruyonga's relations with Emin were not as friendly as they had been with previous representatives of the Khedive. Ruyonga for instance, had cause to complain against the choice of the leader of the troops brought by Emin to his territory.¹ Neither was Emin impressed by Ruyonga whom he described as being "rather more stupid than he used to be owing to his indulgence in Mwenge and spirits"² a striking contrast indeed to tributes paid to Ruyonga's personality by Baker. Emin Pasha also passed through Mupina's territory, but beyond expressing admiration for Mupina's friendliness, comportment and sophistication,³ nothing was done by Emin to further Mupina's interest against that of Kabalega.

Military Encounter: Second Phase

The coming of Emin Pasha seemed to be the beginning of a new phase in Palwo - Banyoro rivalry. The Palwo had ceased to be on the offensive. The end of the Palwo alliance

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1. A. J. Gray, op.cit.
 2. Mwenge is local beer in Bunyoro-Kitara.
 3. Emin described Mupina as "the only negro gentleman I have known except Mutesa's prime minister Katikiro". He was impressed by the dressing of Mupina's men and their generosity.

with the foreigners appeared to have prepared the ground for Kabalega's eventual victory. Though his Abarusura was not yet as strong as it was on the eve of the coming of the British,¹ he was able to attempt an attack on Toro as part of the plan to reconquer Kitara's rebellious provinces.² Thereafter, he began the offensive on the Palwo. His men marched towards Koc and though they were driven back, the loss suffered by Ruyonga's men was more than they had ever experienced. Palwo informants attribute the loss to the fact that Ruyonga did not get sufficient warning to plan adequately for the war. Most of his Langi friends did not participate. The Rwhot didn't even have time to consult Kambeja and perform the necessary pre-war rituals.³

The Omukama, while being happy at the loss suffered by Ruyonga's men, was not satisfied that the Palwo Rwhot was still alive. The very fact of Ruyonga's continued existence continued to haunt Kabalega. The Omukama then sought other means of killing his enemy. He conspired with one of Ruyonga's men to give him poisoned oil. As soon as

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1. By then he had conscripted the famous Palwo warriors Mupina and Ruyonga's Barusura and Baragana into his Abarusura.
 2. Uzoigwe, "Kabalega and the Making of a New Kitara"
 3. P.H.T. 128 as previously cited.

the Palwo Rwhot tasted the oil, he died.¹ Ruyonga's death coincided with the evacuation of the Egyptian positions in Bunyoro in 1889.²

Following Ruyonga's death, many of his Barusura and Baragana flocked to Mupina to seek protection. Mupina's strength was much reinforced.³ It was then that he launched series of military attacks on Kabalega. The Omukama successfully repulsed Mupina's attacks and later launched a night attack on the Palwo during which Mupina's palace was nearly captured.⁴ Mupina had to escape to Mukimere in Lango where he died shortly afterwards. The death of Mupina marked the end of the attempt of the Palwo to regain their privileged position in Bunyoro-Kitara. Kabalega established his authority over them. It remains to see how they fared under the man to whom for twelve years they constituted the greatest internal problem.

1. P.H.T. 85, Bulasio Oyundu and Werre Katulikire 31/7/71.

2. A. J. Gray, op.cit.

3. P.H.T. 85, as previously cited.

4. Ibid.

REPRODUCTION

THE PALACE OF THE KING OF BUNYERE
KABALEGA 1870-1910

After the death of the late, Kabalega took measures
to re-establish his authority over the area and to



Kabalega the king of bunyere
who defeated the palusi

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CHAPTER VII

THE PALWO IN A REVIVED AND CONQUERED BUNYORO-KITARA, 1887-1911

After the death of Mupina, Kabalega took measures to reassert his authority over the Palwo and guard against a possible re-occurrence of their insurrection. He had succeeded in doing this before Africa was partitioned. During the partition, Bunyoro came under the British sphere of influence. It was later conquered and a British colonial administration was established. This means that from the death of Mupina until their total disintegration, the Palwo had two successive masters: Kabalega and the British.

Palwoland Under Kabalega

Immediately after Kabalega learnt of the death of Mupina, he sent Katongole a leading member of the Abarusura to Palwoland as *saza* chief.¹ Katongole was accompanied by a company of the Abarusura to take care of any pocket of resistance to the Omukama's authority. The Palwo did not, however, offer any resistance to Katongole. They submitted to the Omukama's authority and offered Katongole the respect due to a king's representative. The Palwo had to do this because they seemed to have had no other choice in the circumstance. The death of their Rwhodi seemed to have

1. P.H.T. 45 as previously cited.

resulted in a loss of morale. Much as they felt strongly about their claim to the throne of Kitara, the loss of Ruyonga and Mupina who had been championing their cause seemed to have compelled a resignation to fate. Hence no single voice or action was raised against Katengole.

The appointment of Katengole, a Murusura, as saza chief was one of the measures taken by the Omukama to prevent further rebellion against his authority. Kabalega had broken with the practice of appointing Babito princes as the Omukama's representatives in the provinces.¹ Incumbents of such posts for example, Kacope and Isagara, had hitherto been using their position and royal blood to undermine the Omukama's authority by creating self-ruled empires out of the provinces.² Kabalega not only appointed commoners but made sure that even the commoners did not stay for too long in the provinces. They were for most of the time supposed

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1. Kabalega's experience with the Palwo was the reason for this major change of policy. See Nyakatura, op.cit., p. 108.
 2. It was not only the Palwo who did this, Kasoro used his influence to aid Kaboyo to secede during Nyamutukura's reign. See J. Wilson, op.cit.

to be in the Omukama's palace and visit their territories only when the occasion demanded it. The idea was to prevent them from building local following which might be used against the Omukama. The day-to-day administration was left in the hands of the local rulers appointed by the people. In Palwoland, the Jaghi were allowed to continue ruling the chiefdoms but made to realise that they had got a new master in the person of Kabalega. They were directly responsible to Katongole who served as a link between them and the Omukama.

The Palwo were not slow in reconciling themselves to the fact that an end had come to their hope of restoring their privileged position in Bunyoro-Kitara empire. The tributes hitherto paid to Mupina and Ruyonga were forwarded to Katongole. During harvests, tributes were also sent to Kabalega through Katongole. Like the other inhabitants of Bunyoro-Kitara empire, the Palwo were thenceforth compelled to absent themselves from their farms whenever the Omukama felt sick or indisposed.¹ All these measures were proofs of their acceptance of Kabalega's suzerainty. The importance of the empango festival has been mentioned earlier. Absence of the representatives of a province was regarded as a sign of rebellion against the Omukama. Ever

1. Odera and Maria Nyanda, P.H.T. 11, Kiryankende, 6/4/71.

since the time of Kacope and Isagara, c.1830-1860 the Palwo had not been attending the festival. With the death of Mupina and the assumption of authority by Katongole, the Palwo resumed attendance at the Omukama's court during the empango. It took not less than two months to prepare for the annual festival. Katongole informed the Jaghi who in turn informed the clan heads through the Batongole chiefs. The clan heads were urged to collect food stuffs and other articles as present for the Omukama. The clan heads also selected three people including themselves as clan representatives. All the clan representatives were then assembled in the Jaghi's place and from among them, "individuals of sufficiently good comportment to enter the Omukama's palace"¹ were chosen to represent the chiefdoms. These chiefdom representatives which included the Jaghi constitute the Palwo official delegation to the empango festival. Kabalega's centralization policy was such that even holders of minor offices had to be personally introduced to him before their appointments could be deemed confirmed. Such new appointees, if any, were usually included in the official delegation. Headed by Katongole,² the official delegation was accompanied by a large number of men who did some menial duties in the

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

course of the journey to the capital. Some of them, usually slaves, carried the tributes meant to be given to the Omukama. Others moved in advance of the official delegation to prepare camps where members of the delegation passed the nights. Katongole, a personal representative of the Omukama, was not supposed to trek; he had to be carried all the way from Palwoland to the Omukama's palace. Amid singing and drumming, the Palwo trekked for three days to Kabalega's palace. On their arrival at the Omukama's court the Palwo used to move into the tent reserved for them. Thereafter, the seven-day celebrations began. After the celebrations, the Omukama engaged in routine consultations with members of the official delegations briefing them on wars to be fought, and the arrangements to be made. He also confirmed appointments made in the provinces and conferred honours on outstanding individuals.¹

Apart from ensuring the presence of the Palwo at the Omukama's court and forwarding tributes to Kabalega, Katongole is also remembered for having organised the emigration of a large number of Palwo Barusura and their families to the Omukama's palace at Bugahya. Kabalega's motive in ordering the emigration is not clear. Some informants said that he was anticipating the attack of the

1. Ibid.

British and therefore saw the need to strengthen his army.¹ Others believe that in spite of the Palwo's payment of tribute, the Omukama was afraid of their military potential and thought that the Palwo might plan a surprise attack.² Whatever might have been the motive, Mupina and Ruyonga's Barusura were rounded up and taken to Bugahya. On their arrival, the Omukama was said to have beheaded Mupina's well known military commanders and conscripted many of the Palwo warriors into the Abarusura. The remaining warriors and their families were settled in the valley of Musaija Mukuru hill. There, the Palwo encountered considerable amount of hardship. The area was so barren that even the maximum effort in farming could not yield any appreciable quantity of foodstuff. Kabalega seemed to have realised this, hence he asked the Bagahya to bring foodstuffs to the Palwo.³ The supply fell short of what the Palwo needed. Some lions lived on the hill overlooking the valley where the Palwo were settled and for a long time, the Palwo who had been deprived of their guns were easy prey for the animals.

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1. P.H.T. 38, Zachariah Manyuru, Kiroko, 31/5/71.
P.H.T. 36, Petror Owor, Kiroko, 28/5/71.
 2. P.H.T. 55, Okelo Wange, Kirwala, 25/6/71.
 3. Ibid.

Later on Kabalega ordered the shooting of the animals.

It was while some of the Palwo were still in Kabalega's custody in Bugahya that Rwhita Rachepe, the worst famine in Palwo history, occurred. Opinions differ as to what was directly responsible for the famine, though they all link Katigo and Kabalega with it. A group of informants say Kabalega was aware of the support given by Katigo to Mupina and Ruyonga. When Kabalega succeeded in defeating them, he went and insulted Katigo's Kibandwa. He sent to the Kibandwa presents that were contemptuous in form.¹ These were ashes, coffee fruits and waste products. It was in retaliation that Katigo brought excessive sunshine on Bunyoro-Kitara. Another group say that 'Ochien', a cow belonging to Katigo, was captured by Kabalega's men in retaliation for the Juok's support for Kabalega's rivals.² Immediately this cow was slaughtered, an outbreak of famine occurred. Others say that Katigo's Kibandwa who was then living at Wavbroya was taken to Bugahya and while there, the cow was stolen.

1. P.H.T. 27, Zachariah Manyuru, Kiroko, 27/4/71.
P.H.T. 41, Zachia Jac, Kinagarana, 3/6/71.

2. P.H.T. 87, Maya, Bweyale, 2/8/71.

Katigo in retaliation brought famine.¹ While it is possible that Katigo had to do with the famine, it also seems that the sixteen years of military confrontations 1871-1887 during which not only was the productive sector of the population killed, but in addition, attention was diverted from farming, was enough to cause an acute shortage of food. Thus Rwhita Bachope might have been caused by war and dissatisfaction by Katigo. However, as a result, all the crops dried up and people had nothing to feed upon. The Palwo, especially those living in Fugahya, died in great numbers. Those who remained in their territory resorted to eating the roots of banana but the scanty supply could not keep pace with demand. In desperation, some of the Palwo gave their children in return for quantities of food with which to save the lives of other members of the family. For some time, those who had been hoarding food experienced a period of boom. They could sell food on return for children. Ganyi had to sell his daughter to Olobe in Pajao for a bag of millet which sustained him for some time.² The Alur having heard what was happening in Palwoland brought food stuffs to exchange for children. Many of the Palwo died.

1. P.H.T. 83, Eulasio Oyundu and Werre, Katulikire, 28/7/71.

2. P.H.T. 41, as previously cited.

But, apart from dying in great numbers there occurred an outbreak of small pox epidemic among the Palwo at Bugahya. Fearing the possibility of the epidemic affecting the Banyoro, Kabalega decided to send the surviving Palwo at Bugahya back to their territory. Some of their people however managed to remain behind in Bugahya. Descendants of such individuals like Okele of Duchua clan, Otim of Dugara, Odonso of Dakwor now claim Bugahya (Nyoro) citizenship.¹

It is possible to see Kabalega's evacuation of the Palwo to Bugahya and their treatment there as a reprisal for their support to his rivals. In fact, descendants² of members of the Barusura see Kabalega as a wicked blood-thirsty tyrant who seemed to have derived satisfaction in making people suffer. They believe that there was no need for Kabalega to ask the Barusura to move to Bugahya and settle them on a place where there was no food and which made them vulnerable to attack by lions. It may be true that there was an element of vengeance in Kabalega's action. At the same time, however, there was the fact that the Palwo, though they were finally beaten, had demonstrated their valour, and the logical thing for a king like Kabalega to

1. Ibid.

2. e.g. Paulo Ochewa, P.H.T. 45, as previously cited; and Maya, P.H.T. 87, as previously cited.

do was to conscript them into his army in order to be able to execute his internal policy of reviving the lost glory of Kitara. Kabalega did not ask all the Palwo to move to Bugahya, he was only concerned with the Barusura which formed as it were the equivalent of his Abarusura.

Regardless of what the descendants of the Barusura think, majority of the Palwo informants see the other side of Kabalega.¹ They admit that though he fought and defeated them, he did nothing to punish them for their role in the struggle between Mupina and Ruyonga and himself. The Barusura formed such a negligible part of the population that the treatment meted to them did not condition the opinion of the average Palwo man. Moreover membership of the Barusura was not exclusive to the Palwo. Any brave man regardless of his origin could become a 'Murusura', Kabalega's treatment of the Barusura could not therefore be regarded as a barometer of his feeling for the Palwo.

In fact, it seems as if Kabalega embarked on a policy of wooing the Palwo and trying to make them forget the events of the previous decade. The reason for the outbreak

1. e.g. Paulo Ochewa, P.H.T. 45, as previously cited.
Okelo Wange, P.H.T. 63, as previously cited.
Zachia' Jao, P.H.T. 41, as previously cited.

of Rwhita Bachope had been mentioned. The famine was said to have stopped only after Kabalega made a present of seven cows, seven goats, chicken, and many other articles to Katigo. This was tantamount to a recognition of Katigo's efficacy, and showed a willingness to care for the Palwo. Thereafter Kabalega was said to have been offering goats, and chicken to Katigo during its annual festival. This was a major concession to the Palwo. The Omukama's participation in the worship of their Jok gladdened their heart and promoted their loyalty. Moreover, Kabalega, after the death of Mupina married a Palwo woman Achanda and accorded her a better treatment than his other wives. The Palwo claim that it was Achanda who produced Andrea Duhaga,¹ the Omukama crowned by the British after Kitahimbwa had been deposed. Andrea Duhaga also married a Palwo woman who gave birth to Sir Tito Winyi, the last Omukama. Even the Banyoro do not refuse to admit that Tito Winyi was born of a Palwo² woman and that his real name was Oweiny (a Lwo name).

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1. The authenticity of this is doubted. At least Nyakatura contests it. P.H.T. 130, John Nyakatura, Hoima, 25/10/71.
 2. There is no doubt about this, even Nyakatura, P.H.T. 130, as previously cited, admits this. The Queen Mother was still alive at the time the writer was in Bunyoro. The Banyoro say she is a Palwo woman.

2. S. N. Duggan, "Kingship and the Making of a New State".

Kabalega's marriage to a Palwo woman was a master stroke of diplomacy. It showed a willingness to compromise with the aspirations of the Palwo. Much as he was not born of a Palwo woman, his marriage to a Palwo woman gladdened the hearts of the Palwo and made them feel that should the son born to Kabalega by the Palwo woman become king, what they had failed to achieve by war might perhaps be achieved peacefully. Palwo informants are not slow in mentioning with pride that, in spite of their failure to wrest the crown militarily from the Bantu usurpers, the last Omukama was born by a Palwo woman and thus of Lwo blood.¹ The important thing is that the marriage of Achanda to Kabalega softened the hearts of the Palwo and they became more attached and devoted to the Omukama. Uzoigwe also recorded that Kabalega in addition to his mother tongue Bantu learnt and spoke Lwo.² This must have also impressed the Palwo. Finally, the Omukama was said to have been paying particular attention to the representatives of the Palwo at his court during the empango festival. They were usually awarded gifts and specially taken care of. At one time, the ambition of every Palwo man was to be included in the delegation to visit the Omukama because he knew he would benefit from it.

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1. The last Omukama, Sir Tito Winyi, was deposed when Uganda adopted the Republican Constitution in 1966. This man who died in 1971 was born by a Palwo woman.
 2. G. N. Uzoigwe, "Kabalega and the Making of a New Kitara".

loc cit

1. See also "The Palwo Background to Kabalega and Colonial Administration", in Giliyar and Mathews (eds) History of East Africa, op.cit.

Thus, by the time the British came, Kabalega had been able to heal the wounds of the previous decade of war. The Palwo had come to accept the Omukama as their ruler and had grown to like him. Little wonder that when the British came and fought Kabalega they met with stiff opposition among people regarded as his traditional enemies.

The Palwo in British-Kabalega Wars

The Anglo German agreement of 1888 ceded the control of Uganda to the British.¹ Because of the reluctance of the British government to assume direct control of her colonies, the Imperial British East Africa Company was by grant of a royal charter given wide powers to govern the area under concessions or treaties obtained from local rulers. The British were impressed by what they saw in Buganda kingdom and sought to establish an administration there. The British thus cultivated the friendship of the Buganda and judged other areas and people of Uganda by what the Buganda felt about them. Kabalega who had fought against Mwanga in an effort to recover part of his territory lost to Buganda was an implacable enemy of the Buganda. He was painted in lurid colours by the Kabaka. That apart, ever since Baker's visit in 1872, the impression had gained ground in Europe that Kabalega was an implacable enemy of civilization and legitimate commerce. He was presented as a

1. John Flint, "The Wider Background to Partition and Colonial Occupation", in Oliver and Mathews (eds) History of East Africa, op.cit.

person who understood no other language than that of force. Successive officers of the British East Africa Company therefore came in through Buganda and attacked Kabalega at Kafu, Mparo and Budongo.¹ As Kabalega suffered defeats in succession, he moved northwards towards Palwoland. In every territory where Kabalega pitched his tent, new recruits of able-bodied men were made to reinforce the depleted ranks of his Abarusura. When in 1894 Kabalega began moving towards Rwampindo in Palwoland, Katongole ordered a conscription of able-bodied men to fight against the British.² Oweny carried out the recruitment in Koc while Okele organised it in Pajao. Dakor took charge of Kisoga. The new recruits were hurriedly trained and camped at Rwampindo. It is perhaps a tribute to Kabalega's hold on his people that, in spite of their awareness that the Omukama was being chased by superior forces, the Palwo still accorded him the honour and respect due to a king. A palace was constructed for him at Rwampindo and every morning the Palwo went there to pay homage, bringing foodstuffs and cattle as a mark of loyalty and devotion. The evenings were spent drumming, singing and dancing. In preparation for the military encounter, Katongole, the Jaghi, and the senior members of the Barusura including

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1. Marie de Kiewet Hemphill, "The British Sphere 1884-1894" in Oliver and Mathews, (eds), History of East Africa op.cit.
 2. Zachariah Manyuru, P.H.T. 31, Kiroko, 19/4/71.

Jasi, the Omukema's son, trained the new recruits how to handle the guns. The Palwo Datet also made more spears.¹ The British forces came later and the Palwo attempted to use their knowledge of the topography of the area to their advantage. They allowed the British to pass through Rwampindo but before they got to river Tochi, the Palwo encircled them and opened fire. Though many of the British soldiers were killed, the quality and quantity of the men and ammunition proved the decisive factor. The Palwo were overpowered and among those who lost their lives in the encounter with the British were Ongwech, Dungwen, and Angwack.² Kabalega escaped to Lango where he was finally captured along with Nwanga by a force commanded by Evatt. The Kabaka and the Omukama were, in 1899, deported to Seychelles island. Thereafter the British established their administration in Bunyoro district which included Palwo territory.

Palwo and British Colonial Rule in Bunyoro

By the time Kabalega was captured, Company rule had been terminated. The British government had taken over the task of administering the colonies. From August 1900 George Wilson was appointed collector for Bunyoro.¹ In

1. P.H.T. 40, Zachia Jao, Kinagarana, 2/6/71.

2. Ibid.

1901 a decision was made to introduce indirect rule in Bunyoro. The district was to be ruled through a system of counties, sub-counties, and corresponding system of chieftainships under king Kitahimbwa and assisted by a court of local parliament, the Rukurato. In addition, there were to be regular baraza, open air audiences at which public business was discussed and grievances heard. George Wilson then invited a Muganda, Jemusi Miti, to come over to Bunyoro with the title of saza chief and teach the Banyoro and the Falwo how to govern themselves. By 1901, Miti divided Bunyoro into sazasa, gombololas, and mirukas. Of the ten Saza chieftainships two were held by the Baganda. Through Miti, many Baganda found their way into Bunyoro and served in various capacities like court clerk, tax collectors, gombolola and or miruka chiefs. It was through these Baganda and other Banyoro chiefs, notably, Byabachwezi and Rwabudongo, that the British carried out its administration of Bunyoro. The British government instituted the collection of taxes, forbade the shooting of elephants, constructed roads and public buildings and organised courts¹ which adjudicated on all types of cases.

1. For details of British administration of Bunyoro, see A. R. Dunbar, op.cit.

Though Kabalega was deported, the Palwo remained loyal to him, and were thus hostile to the new administration. The Omukama's attempt at reconciling with the Palwo seemed to have succeeded so much that the Palwo came to hate all that stood against Kabalega. This, to some extent, explains the attitude of the Palwo to the Colonial administration and its Baganda agents.

Moreover, in administering Bunyoro district, the British government regarded and governed it as a conquered territory. The Palwo and Bunyoro inhabitants were made to understand that they were not like the Baganda who had a treaty with the British government. The British were therefore free to make such arrangements as they thought necessary without caring for what the Palwo and the Banyoro felt. On 10th March 1900 as a result of the Uganda Agreement,² the boundaries of Buganda were formally advanced to the Rivers Kafu and Mkusi, areas inhabited by the Bantu of Bunyoro. This was perhaps an acknowledgement of the help given by the Baganda to the British in their wars against Kabalega.

1. A. R. Dunbar, op.cit., p. 106.

2. Ibid.

The British government had such to complain against in Bunyoro district. There was the inefficiency and unco-operative attitude of the Palwo and Banyoro chiefs who refused to go far in carrying out government orders and even flouted the law. The attitude of the peasantry did not satisfy the British officials. Their response to taxation and forced labour was poor. Regulations regarding the shooting of elephants were not complied with, and the chiefs especially those from Buganda failed to secure their good will, let alone co-operation. At first the Palwo and the Banyoro maintained a silent indifference, bordering on non-cooperation to the administration. Later on their reaction changed to one of hostility. The presence of Baganda chiefs was the aspect of British rule most detested by the Palwo and the Banyoro. The climax of the Palwo and Banyoro resistance to colonial rule was the outbreak of the Ekyangire revolt of 1906-1907.¹

There were several reasons why the Palwo joined the Banyoro in organising the Ekyangire revolt. The Kihukya and Kibanda counties to which Palwoland was divided were

1. For details of the reaction of the Banyoro to the Colonial rule, see G. N. Uzoigwe, "The Kyangire 1907, Passive Revolt against British over rule" in Revolution and Revolt in Bunyoro-Kitara.

administered by Baganda chiefs. Mika Fataki was in charge of Kihukya while Antoni Kirube ruled Kibanda. Apart from the fact that the Palwo, like the Banyoro, grew to hate the Baganda for their collaboration with the British against Kabalega, the conduct of these particular individuals left much to be desired. Mika Fataki was said to be awarding the heaviest penalty for the slightest offence. It was under the pretext of trying to collect taxes that he killed many of the Palwo in Kidopo. The reaction provoked by the incident forced the colonial administration to conduct an inquiry into the incident.¹ He was also said to have brought in some Baganda as court clerks. These men forced people to pay more for offences committed. Antoni Kirube² was even worse. He forced people to dance before him, threatening to lock up those who refused to do so. He even organised raids on the inhabitants of his territory making use of the Langi. Part of the goats, cattle, and farm products captured in such raids were given to him. The British administration found him guilty of illegally confiscating such property as goats and farm products.

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1. G. Henry, Assistant District Commissioner Masindi, Report on Tour, 31/7/1906 "Secretarial Minute Paper", Uganda Archives Entebbe, No. 1314, Mika Fataki was absolved from guilt.
 2. Correspondence from George Wilson collector of Bunyoro to Gatt 20/3/1904, Secretarial Minute Paper Uganda, Archives Entebbe, No. 1314.

It was these morally debased individuals who were saddled with the responsibility of executing the instructions of the Colonial government among the Palwo. Colonialism in itself was undesirable, What made it more undesirable for the Palwo was that its agents were from a group for whom the Palwo had developed an aversion and who were themselves of questionable character. The Palwo thus saw the Baganda as symbolising all the evils of colonialism because it was through the Baganda chiefs that they learnt of government regulations which went contrary to their interests.

There were three regulations which the Palwo largely refused to comply with. These were the prohibition of the shooting of elephants, payment of taxes and their conscription for work on roads and constructing public buildings. The colonial administration, probably in an effort to conserve the elephants, directed that the chiefs could grant permission to the Banyoro to shoot two elephants on the payment of a fee of ten pounds.¹ To other inhabitants of Bunyoro district who were not very close to where the

1. George Wilson to Harry Johnson, 23rd April 1901, File A/12 item No. 13, Uganda Archives, Entebbe.

elephants were found, the regulation did not mean much; but to the Palwo, whose lives were sometimes threatened by the elephants, the regulation was impossible to comply with. The present Murchison Falls National Park in Uganda is located right on the former Palwo county of Kihukya. The animals not only devoured their crops but sometimes killed their children. The Palwo could not afford to wait and pay ten pounds before they could shoot the elephants. Apart from that, the Palwo had been making a lot of wealth from the killing of the elephants. In fact in the late nineteenth century, shooting elephants was their most profitable occupation.¹ When the Baganda chiefs informed the Palwo of the government regulations, the feeling was that it was the Baganda chiefs who wanted to harm them.

Taxation was the aspect of colonialism hated most by the Palwo. By 1904 Colonial rule was yet to be extended to Acholi and Lango inhabited by the Lwo. The Palwo could not understand why they should be asked to pay tax when their fellow Lwo living in Acholi and Lango were not paying. When confronted by tax collectors, the Palwo escaped either into the bush or Lango and hid there. They

1. See chapter five above.

sometimes physically assaulted the tax collectors. When Wilson visited the two Palwo counties, he reported that, in Kihukya, "We found the people in great fear having heard that I was coming. Many of them left their farms and ran off into the woods".¹ He had to stay for a couple of days in order to gain their confidence. He managed to evict promises of payment which were largely unfulfilled. Things were even worse in Kibanda. Most of them had moved their goats, sheep and women to Lango on hearing that Wilson was coming. The chiefs could do nothing with them. Very little hut tax had been collected and when the chiefs asked them they refused saying their friends in Lango do not pay. "If the white man tries to make them pay they will all go to Lango".² Wilson felt that not much could be achieved until the hut tax was put to force in Lango.

Apart from the reluctance to pay, the procedure for the collection of tax was not such that would make for easy collection. Though the saza chiefs were supposed to supervise collection in their areas, the village chiefs who

1. George Wilson, Unyoro monthly Report, Feb. 10 1903 in File A13 item No. 3, Uganda Archives Entebbe.

2. Ibid.

really demanded the money from the people were unpaid but allowed to exact free labour from their subjects. This privilege was often abused by the village chiefs. They took so much away from their subjects, thus leaving them with little or no time to work for the payment of tax. C. W. Fowler's suggestion that the village chiefs be paid some portion of the ten per cent of collections being paid to the Saza chiefs was not accepted.¹ The result was that even if the Palwo wanted to pay, the requirement of having to work for the chiefs precluded them from doing so. Even those who paid were without tickets. Some chiefs were alleged to have deliberately withheld tickets and spent money paid as taxes privately. This was because the masses were not aware of the importance of tickets as proof of payment. There was thus no way of differentiating a tax payer from a defaulter.²

Thus, the first ten years of Colonial administration brought so much stress on the Palwo as well as on the Banyoro. As in many other parts of Africa, reaction to Colonial rule was often manifested through its agents. Appointed chiefs were made the scape goat for the evils of colonialism. In Bunyoro district, the Baganda chiefs

1. C. W. Fowler, Provincial Report for Bunyoro, March 8, 1908. File A12 item No. 6, Uganda Archives Entebbe.

2. *Ibid.*

were seen as the twin partners of the European who combined to bring hardship on the people. The personal conduct of the Baganda chiefs and officials seemed to have lent weight to this view. The feeling all over Bunyoro district was that once the Baganda were removed there would be a change for the better.

This was the motive that inspired the Kyangire revolt of 1906-1907. Palwo and Banyoro Chiefs, and other leading individuals clamoured for the removal of the Baganda and even laid plans for the murder of all the Baganda should they not be removed. At open air conferences, the Banyoro and Palwo made known their determination to get rid of the Baganda and backed the demand with refusal to pay taxes. Prominent Palwo individuals like Vernaso Onyango, Ongwech Lachara, and Olobo joined Byabachwezi who spearheaded the protest, to ask for the removal of the Baganda. Though many of them were arrested and imprisoned, the Colonial government did not appoint Baganda as *saza* chiefs in Bunyoro after the revolt and whenever any Muganda chief or official was found guilty he was removed and replaced with an indigene.¹ Antoni Kirube was for instance

1. For details about the organisation and consequences of the Kyangire revolt see G. N. Uzoigwe, Revolution and Revolt.

removed and replaced with Ruyonga's son.

The removal of some Baganda officials did not however make the Palwo more amenable to Colonial rule. Their tax returns was still poor and they refused to comply with regulations prohibiting the shooting of elephants. As late as 1910 The Assistant District Commissioner for Masindi described them as an extremely truculent lot.¹ Palwo land was described as an extremely difficult section of the district to deal with. When as a result of the spread of sleeping sickness to Palwo land from other parts of Uganda, it became necessary to evict the Palwo from their homeland, Knowles; the Provincial Commissioner for Northern Province, called for caution in the conduct of their eviction because they are one of the wildest tribes in the protectorate".² Knowles warning was timely. The eviction of the Palwo did not prove an easy task as will be seen presently. The Colonial government encountered the same difficulty in evicting other groups who were affected by the epidemic.

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1. Report on Tour by C. Henry, Assistant District Commissioner Masindi, 31/7/1910. Secretarial Minute Paper, No. 1314 Uganda archives Entebbe, Ibid.
 2. Despatch from Knowles to Chief Secretary 11/1/11. Secretarial Minute Paper No. 1314, Uganda Archives Entebbe.

The disease was said to have been brought by the Sudanese troops of Emin Pasha whom Lugard transported to Kampala to join the forces of the Imperial British East Africa Company.¹ It has also been suggested that the disease was introduced by the Arabs from Khartoum, and Zanzibar who visited Buganda in the 1880's and settled on the Northern shores of Lake Victoria in Buganda and Busoga.² From whichever direction the disease came, by 1902 how to deal with sleeping sickness had become an important aspect of administrative policy in Uganda and a major concern of scientists in Britain. Series of Commissions were appointed to deal with the epidemic and Whydham was appointed officer in charge of sleeping sickness administrative measures. In all the areas where the epidemic occurred the inhabitants were removed and sent to the free areas. This was exactly what happened to the Palwo when they experienced the epidemic.

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1. Harvey Gordon Soff, A History of Sleeping Sickness in Uganda: Administrative Response 1900-1970 Ph.D Thesis, University of Syracuse U.S.A. 1971, Introduction. Soff was quoting the reasons advanced by the Uganda Protectorate Government.
 2. Ibid. Soff's personal suggestion.

Though it might have existed earlier in Palwoland, the Protectorate Government did not begin to notice the sleeping sickness epidemic until 1908. Generally known as Mongotta, sleeping sickness made its victims to develop protruding bellies and insatiable appetite later on, they collapsed and died. The Kibandwa proved incapable of saving the victims who on realising that they had been affected by Mongotta resigned themselves to death. When Paulo Ocheva went to collect tax in Pasore village in Kisona seven people died in his presence on the same day.¹ The chiefs brought news of the outbreak of the disease to the attention of the district administration. This led to an investigation conducted by Colonel Whydham.² It was revealed that ninety per cent of the people along the Juka and Toshi Rivers had died. In many villages, specific data were not available, but many people were said to have died. It was only Pawir, and Koc counties in Kibanda that were not seriously affected. All the chiefdoms in Kihukya county and Kisoga and Kisona in Kibanda were seriously depleted by the epidemic. Whydham believed that it was necessary to remove all the survivors

1. P.H.T. 51, Paulo Ocheva, Kyeganywa, 17/6/71.

2. Soff, op.cit.

in the affected area. Whydham's suggestions were examined by Dr. G. C. Stratham, Medical Officer in Masindi. He counselled with administrative officers as well as the Omukama and it was agreed that the Palwo should be moved. At first, it was suggested that Butobe be made the site for the re-settlement of the Palwo. It was a fertile area, fly-free, and had an equitable supply of water. The Omukama, however, felt that Butobe was too small to accommodate the Palwo. The Omukama then recommended Kigumba and Masindi port. These two areas were situated on the main road, had an adequate supply of water. Besides, the settlement of the Palwo in these areas would provide a permanent source of labour for road maintenance. It was hoped that it would be easier to get the Palwo to work on the roads unlike in the former areas where they used to hide in the woods. Plans for the removal of the Palwo were then laid down. The plan would have been carried out in January 1911 but had to be postponed till July in order to allow for the collection of food with which to feed the migrating Palwo. It was further agreed that the Palwo be granted a two-year period of exemption from taxation as a compensation for the inconveniences involved in the eviction.¹

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1. Details of the discussion in the site for the resettlement of the Palwo are available in Soff, *op.cit.* and Secretarial Minute Paper, No. 1314, Uganda Archives, Entebbe.

During the preparatory discussions, the Palwo were not informed of their impending relocation. It was not until January 1911 that the chiefs told them. Their reaction was one of disagreement and hostility to all those connected with the planned eviction. The reasons advanced did not satisfy them. Mongotta, the Palwo said, was just like any of the epidemics they had experienced from the time they had been living along the Nile. Since the previous epidemics did not last long, the Palwo believed that Mongotta was also going to be of short duration. There was no need to drive them away from a place regarded as their homeland because of a disease the effect of which they felt would have been temporary.¹ The attempt of the colonial government to compensate them for leaving their territory was not appreciated. The two-years period of exemption from taxation did not satisfy them. When the period elapsed, the Palwo argued, they would be asked to resume paying taxes. The Palwo were opposed to taxation in principle. After all, their two brothers in Acholi and Lango were not paying taxes at that time. The Nile basin which they had been inhabiting provided an adequate supply of water, fish, fertile soil, and cheap meat. No other areas, the Palwo rightly felt, could provide such advantages. Majority of the Palwo thus refused to leave their territory and the agents of the colonial administration were compelled to

1. Zachariah Manyuru, P.H.T. 38, Kiroko, 31/5/71.

burn their huts.¹ It was only after then that the Palwo began to trek to Kigumba.

The trek from their territory to Kigumba and its environs was said to have lasted three days and practically all those who had been affected by Mongotta before the start of the journey died. The Palwo were forced to leave the Nile basin but the majority of them did not go to Kigumba and Masindi as directed by the colonial administration. The Colonial Government made sure that they (the Palwo) left the sleeping sickness area, but did not exercise enough care to ensure that they went to the areas newly allotted to them. Thus, while some of them were found in Kiryandongo and some areas of Bruli, majority of them went to Minakulu, gave up their Palwo identity, and regarded themselves as Acholi and Langi, not to mention their descendants.

The Palwo chose to go to Minakulu instead of Kigumba for various reasons. First, Kigumba was inhabited by the Banyoro whose language many of the Palwo did not understand. If they had to leave their homeland, they preferred to stay with their Lwo brothers in Minakulu who spoke the same language with them. Secondly, many of the Palwo had clan members in Minakulu, and when it became clear that the Palwo

1. Ibid.

would have to leave their territory, the inhabitants of Minakulu invited their clans men to come and stay with them. One factor which heightened the scale of movement to Minakulu was that the Palwo moved in related clan groups.¹ Once a clan happened to be invited to Minakulu, all other related clans went with it. For instance, when Oweny Okidi went to Minakulu to meet Odongo Aroko, Dadao Bella, the nephew of Oweny Okidi, led his Musanguyi clan to follow Oweny. So also did Owor Oteke of Dukwonga clan, an in-law of Dadao Bella.² Thirdly, by 1911 Acholi and Lango were yet to come under colonial rule. Consequently, the inhabitants were not paying taxes. This proved attractive to the Palwo who had all the while been demonstrating their reluctance to pay taxes. Even those who went to Kigumba had to run back to Minakulu when the agents of the Colonial administration compelled them to work on the roads.³ Thus many Palwo left the Nile basin and went to Minakulu. With these men giving up their Palwo identity the Palwo are today very small in population.

1. Sawri Oduonga P.H.T. 37 Gombolola Headquarters, Kiryandongo, 29/5/71.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

The outbreak of the sleeping sickness was one of the incidents which scattered and reduced the population of the Palwo. More than Kabalega's eviction of the soldiers to Bugahya, and the outbreak of Rwhita Bachope, the epidemic, affected a large proportion of Palwo population. The consequent eviction of the Palwo from Kihukya turned Palwo land which Crazzolara called the "Big Lwoo settlement"¹ into a mere shadow of its former self in terms of population.

1. Crazzolara, The Lwoo Part I, p. 78

CONCLUSION

During the five centuries covered by this work, the Palwo made remarkable impact on the history of Kitara empire and beyond it. This branch of the Lwo who settled in Northern Bunyoro became a force to be reckoned with in Uganda when they overthrew the Bacwezi dynasty and established themselves as rulers in the empire of Kitara. Royal princes of the Palwo Babito dynasty went to establish kingdoms in other parts of Uganda, thus making the Palwo an important element in state formation in Uganda.

However, the attempt of the Palwo to make the Kitara throne their exclusive preserve brought them into conflict with the Bantu. The ultimate effect of the conflict was that Palwo numerical strength was reduced. They also declined in importance in Kitara empire as well as in present-day Uganda. The series of wars fought in order to maintain or regain their control of the Kitara throne resulted in the loss of many Palwo lives and their flight to surrounding areas.

But it was not only the wars which diminished the importance of the Palwo. The Palwo themselves seemed to have unconsciously initiated moves, the effect of which made them lose their identity and recognition. Having set up a minority ruling dynasty, the Palwo made deliberate efforts to win the loyalty of their subjects. Efforts were made to learn Bunyoro language and government was ordered along

CONCLUSION

During the five centuries of Palwo history had been an eventful remarkable impact on the history of Kitara empire and beyond it
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lines to which the Banyoro were familiar. The search for acceptance by the Palwo even extended to marriage.

When Rukidi and his successors married Banyoro women, they began a trend which has continued till the present-day.¹ For instance, the last Omukama of Kitara who died in 1971 was a product of a union of a Munyoro man and a Palwo woman. Events like the emigration of Palwo's Barusura to Bugahya, and the 1911 eviction consequent on the outbreak of the sleeping sickness brought the Palwo to Bunyoro and many of them intermarried with, and were assimilated by the Banyoro. The one striking aspect is the ease and seeming willingness with which the Palwo were assimilated by the Banyoro. Perhaps the numerical superiority of the Banyoro explains this.

The British colonial rule seemed to have accelerated the process of Banyoro assimilation of the Palwo at least in terms of language. The British administrators adopted Runyoro as the medium of instruction all over Bunyoro district including the two Palwo counties of Kihukya and Kibanda. Up till now, officials of Palwo's Kibanda county conduct their business in Runyoro. Official notices, tax receipts, and court sessions are conducted in Runyoro. In

1. See Appendix 2 for list and origin of Omukama's wives.

Kibanda, Runyoro, not Lwo, is the language of instruction in the primary schools. Little wonder why many of the Palwo speak Runyoro fluently. Even the Lwo dialect of the Palwo has so much of Runyoro accent and vocabulary that a Lwo from Acholi who was employed by the writer as an assistant found it difficult to understand the Palwo and had to be replaced with a Palwo. Perhaps a striking evidence of Runyoro cultural imperialism is the fact that the present trend among the Palwo is to have a Runyoro equivalent of their name using whichever they found convenient. In official documents, most of them use the Runyoro equivalent. All these tend to justify Oliver's declaration that in Uganda the Lwo "were the conquerors of a culture which absorbed them far more truly than they absorbed it".¹

The 1911 relocation further accelerated the process of their assimilation into Bantoro culture. It is only in Kibanda county that one can come in contact with pure Palwo. Those in Bunyoro as well as Acholi had been completely assimilated by their areas of settlement. Those of them who had achieved positions of eminence do not want to be labelled as Palwo. Particularly, those in Bunyoro, have imbibed the

1. R. Oliver, "The Interior", in History of East Africa.

Banyoro attitude of looking down on the Palwo. For a man of reasonable status in life, it is derogatory to be ascribed a Palwo origin. He prefers to be called a Munyoro.

In effect, no individual of considerably high status admits he is a Palwo. Bunyoro district, for instance, has a total of 37 Gombolola chiefs of which only one, Erukana Dalobo of Kaijubu Gombolola in Buruli county, admits he is a Palwo.¹ Informants could not mention an Assistant District Commissioner of Palwo origin not to talk of a District Commissioner. The writer did not come across a single Palwo who was in anyway connected with Makerere.

While this could be explained in terms of the tendency of the elite to feel shy of their Palwo origin, there is also the fact that the Palwo were not able to benefit enough from missionary activities and the Western education it provided. Devotion to traditional religion was one of the factors which militated against the Palwo's acceptance of Christianity. But this is not peculiar to them. In other African societies, Christianity and Western education were accepted after an initial reluctance caused by the African attachment to his traditional god. By the time, the sleeping sickness

1. There are other chiefs who admit their Palwo ancestry but now regard themselves as Banyoro e.g., Mr. Enock Bigirwa, Kibanda County Chief.

epidemic occurred, Christianity was yet to make sufficient impact on the Palwo. At least the best and most rewarding aspect of the new religion which is the provision of Western education has not been sufficiently introduced to them. Though some Mission schools were established in Prava and Kichua, the outbreak of sleeping sickness compelled their closure. It was only in Pawir and Koc chiefdoms that the schools survived. Even there, the fear of the possibility of the spread of sleeping sickness slowed down the rate of expansion of the existing primary schools. Moreover, no post-primary institutions were established. It was when the Palwo got to Kigumba and Minakulu that they were converted, went to schools and became important. They, however, identified themselves with their new areas of settlement. The Palwo of Kibanda who managed to be educated were few and did not climb very far in the educational ladder. The farthest they could go was to spend four years in the primary schools.

Thus, the Palwo do not have individuals who are well to do enough as to make other inhabitants of Uganda aware of their presence. Except for the old generations of their immediate neighbours of Acholi, Lange and Bunyoro, the inhabitants of the remaining ten districts of Uganda are unaware of the existence of the Palwo. It is indeed an irony of history that a group of people who formed, as it

were, the centre of historical activity by establishing the Babito dynasty the authority of which covered practically every part of present-day Uganda below the River Kafu could pale into such insignificance. The fault was not theirs but that of circumstances of history and environment.

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APPENDIX I

PALWO CLANS IN VARIOUS PALWO CHIEFDOMS

<u>PAWIR</u>	<u>KOC</u>	<u>KISONA</u>	<u>KISOGA</u>	<u>MUNYAI</u>	<u>PAITWOL</u>	<u>PAJAO</u>
Dukeno	Duchobo	Dukeno	Dukeno	-	-	Babito
Dukwenga	Babito	Daboro	Duzira	Dunyako	Mupalabek	Dusonga
Duweno	Dangwen	Danywen	Dukonya	Dabuk	Nyakakwer	Hesingo
Babito	Dupalabek	Dabuk	Duzira	Duchua	Dabwomgo	Dunywen
Dukonha	Dugambe	Duchobo	Mukorogo	Duyonga	-	Dunywen
Kicubya	Dakor	Basita	Babito	-	Payetegi	Payinwa

MISCELLANEOUS

Laberto	Dakor
Payetegi	Basegya
Padhola	Dakonha
Pabor	Dakwer
Patiko	Basita
Kikungulu	Dudyena
Payinluk	Dehobo

They cannot be identified with particular Chiefdoms

APPENDIX II

PALWO CHIEFDOMS KING LIST

	PAWIR	KOC	KISOGA	KISONA	PAIRWAI	MUNYAI	PAJAO
1409-1436	Nyawir -	Bacwesi?					
1436-1463	Uyo -	Babito					
1490-1517	Laktura?						
1517-1544	Dalobe?						
1544-1571	Umah?						
1571-1598	Ongwech						
1598-1625	Omali Ocol - by Odongo						
1625-1652							
1652-1679							Modo
1679-1706	Ojek Apeche						Kagoro
1706-1733	Jambe Uyo	Duliech	Lochara	Adnor		Okele's	(Oweny (Chwa (Chwa
1733-1760	Oweny	Machiele	Onwech	Miro		Okele	
1760-1787	Omar Okona	Olendu	Onyunta	Fabyetekya	Pagmor	Okwir	Oketch Jao
1787-1814	Oner Okona	Otim Ayira	Kambeja	Kukidi	Dater	Dalokar Jagbo	Muchua
1814-1841	Kachope and Isagara Rebellion During the reign of Omukama Nyamutukura Kyebambe IV.						
1841-1868	Kachope and Isagara's attempt to replace Kamurasi as Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara.						
1868-1895	Mupina and Ruyonga versus Kabalega.						

APPENDIX III

IMPORTANT DATES IN PALWO HISTORY

- 1409 - 1436 Coming of Nyawir and Bacwezi to Pawir
- 1436 - 1463 Arrival of the Babito
Disappearance of the Bacwezi
- 1652 - 1679 Mado's arrival from Madi Lala - Establishment
of Pajao.
- 1679 - 1706 Nyandere famine, Exodus from Pawir, establishment
of Koc, Kisoga, Munsai, and Paitwol.
- 1733 - 1760 Olini Isansa's war against the Palwo
- 1787 - 1814 Laparanat famine
- *1814 - 1841 Secession from Kitara
- 1841 - 1868 Attack on Kanurasi
- 1868 - 1895 Palwo War against and conquest by Kebalega.

* Absolute dates available.

APPENDIX IV

GENEALOGY OF THE BABITO DYNASTY

				<u>Generations</u>
<u>Incingoma Mpusa Rukidi</u>				
Ocaki	Rwangira (2)	Oyo Nyimba (3)		1
		Winyi I (4)		2
		Olimi I (5)		3
		Nyabongo I (6)		4
		Winyi II (7)		5
		Olimi II (8)		6
Chwa	I (10)	Nyarwa (9)	Masamba (11)	7
Kyebambe	I (12)			8
Winyi	III (13)			9
Kyebambe II	(15)	Nyaka (14)		10
Olimi III	(16)	→ Persecution of the Falwo (1730) Nyakatura		11
Duhaga	I (17)			12
Olimi IV	(18)	Kyebambe III (19)		13
		Kyabongo II (20)		14
Olimi V	(21)	Kyebambe IV	Kamure (22)	15
		Chwa II	Kabarega (23)	16
Kitahimbwa	(24)	Duhaga II (25)	Winyi IV (26)	17

APPENDIX V

*QUEEN MOTHERS OF BUNYORO-KITARA

	<u>King</u>	<u>Name of Queen Mother</u>	<u>Clan</u>	<u>Origin of clan</u>
1.	Nyabongo	Nyatworo	Kwonga	(Luo)
2.	Oeako	-	-	
3.	Oyo	Brothers		
4.	Winyi	-	Kwonga	(Luo)
5.	Olimi	Nyagiro	Nywagi	(Luo)
6.	Nyabongo II	-	Cua	(Luo)
7.	Winyi II	-	-	
8.	Olimi II	-	Kwonga	(Luo)
9.	Nyarwa	-	Gwei	(Luo)
10.	Gumali	-	Gwei	(Luo)
11.	Masamba Female regent		-	
12.	Kyebambe	Ihembe	Bito	(Luo)
13.	Winyi III	Gawa	Nywagi	(Luo)
14.	Nyaka	-	-	
15.	Kyebambe II	-	Saigi	Bantu
16.	Olimi III	-	Bito	Luo
17.	Duhaga I	-	Saigi	Bantu
18.	Olimi IV	-	Cua	Luo
19.	Kyebambe III	-	Cua	Luo

Appendix V Contd.

20.	Nyabongo III	-	Funjo	Bantu
21.	Olimi IV	-	Basira	Bantu
22.	Kamurasi	-	Sita	Bantu
23.	Kabalega	-	Gua	Luo
24.	Duhaga	-	Mwenge	Bantu
25.	Winyi IV	Aberi	Nywagi	Luo

*Taken from Okot, P. Bitok, Religion of the Central Lwo, op. cit., p. 15.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

I Oral Evidence

Except for the last half of the seventh chapter, the period covered by this work falls largely in the pre-colonial era. Since this was a period when written documents were not available, the only method by which the material on that period could be gathered is by using oral tradition. At this point, it is necessary to look at the method used in collecting the oral tradition of the Palwo.

Between October 1969 and December 1970, I was at the University of Ibadan preparing for field work by reading published literature on Uganda generally and Bunyoro-Kitara in particular. In addition, I went through all the written materials on the Lwo that could be found at the Ibadan University Library. Having established contact with Makerere University's History Department, I was able to read the Department's publications on Uganda history especially those on Bunyoro-Kitara and Acholi.

Between January 1971 and April 1972, I was in Uganda and was attached to Makerere University's History Department. My arrival coincided with the period when the Department was engaged in the collection of Oral evidence for the

purpose of publishing books on the pre-colonial history of Uganda. I was thus able to work in close collaboration with other researchers especially those working on the other branches of the Lwo.

After a month of my arrival in Uganda, I succeeded in getting the permission of Uganda's National Research Council to carry out interviews among the Palwo. The Council gave me a letter of introduction to the District Commissioner of Bunyoro, who in turn, introduced me to his assistant in Masindi through whom I got in touch with the chief of Palwo's county of Kibanda, the headquarters of which is in Kiryandongo. The county chief, in whose house I lodged, introduced me to the Gombolola and Batongole chiefs the later of which knew all the old men in their villages. The village chiefs, acting on the instruction of the county chief, informed all the old and knowledgeable men in their areas, asking them to try to remember all they could about their history. I deliberately refused to send questions in advance in order to prevent premeditated answers which may not always be true.

In the conduct of the interviews, I was guided by the training received while attending a six month lecture series on research methodology organised by Ibadan University History Department between October 1969 and March 1970. I also arrived in time to attend the training course operated

by Makerere History Department for students collecting Oral evidence for the purpose of historical research. I moved around on a bicycle, and was accompanied by my interpreter, and the chief of the village in which the interview was being conducted. Kiryandongo, 145 miles north of Kampala, was my base. However, I had cause to spend a month in Mutunda and two weeks in Acholi in order to be able to meet some of my informants.

The interview usually began with the village chief, who in all cases was a Palwo and well known in the locality, explaining the purpose of the exercise, stressing the importance of written history as a way of bringing the Palwo to the attention of the outside world. The fact that only they of all the Luo have no written history was emphasised. This made a good impression on the elders, more so as many of them were aware of the fact that the untranslated Runyoro edition of Nyakatura's book was being used as the standard history text for their children in the primary schools. Association with the village chiefs proved rewarding. It served to allay fears as to the researcher's intention, and made it possible to get in contact with as many people as possible.

At the first meeting with the village elders, questions were thrown open for any of them to provide answers. The

principal aim of the group interview was to work out a king list. In some cases, it was one or two men considered the eldest or most intelligible, dominating the discussion with the others only coming in to add more to the information. In some other places, there was a lot of argument on the order of succession of kings. The group interview is perhaps the best method of establishing a king list. After prolonged arguments on relationship between successive kings, the order of succession, the circumstances of their accession and death, something approximating the truth was usually arrived at.

In a compilation of Palwo history, two sets of king lists were required: namely, the Bunyoro-Kitara genealogy and that of the Palwo chiefdoms. Though Nyakatura could be relied on with regards to Bunyoro, efforts were made to check and confirm its accuracy. Though none of the Palwo elders could remember all the twenty-three kings who ruled in Bunyoro, those whose reigns affected Palwo history were widely remembered. The events that occurred in the reigns of Rukidi c.1409-1436, Olini Isanga c.1733-1760, Nyamutukura, 1776-1830 were widely remembered. Kamurasi and Kabalega's reigns seemed 'too fresh' to be forgotten. Particularly with Kabalega, some of the elders claim to have witnessed part of his reign. The story of the coming of Rukidi and

the manner in which he overthrew the Bacwezi seemed to have been handed down so well from generations that every old man began his evidence with a narration of the story. Olimi Isansa whom they call Olimi Kyebambe, meaning Usurper, is remembered with bitterness for his 'persecution' which forced them out of their territory. Many of the informants claim to have lived to see or hear their fathers talk about, or serve, Kabalega. Thus the kings of Bunyoro whose reigns affected Palwo history were widely remembered. The knowledge of the kinglists and history of the seven Palwo chiefdoms depended on the origin of the informants i.e. to which of the chiefdom they belong. In this regard, descendants of principal characters in the history of these chiefdoms proved particularly useful. These were Zachia Jao from Pajao, Zachariah Manyuru from Paitwol, Kirube from Kisoga and Isaya Byewarjo from Pawir.¹

A king list having been established, the elders were then asked to narrate the important events that happened in each reign. It was in the process of answering these questions, that the writer was able to spot those who knew

1. See Notes on Principal Informants for information on these men and the basis of their knowledge of Palwo history.

more than the popular stories of the coming of Rukidi, Kyebambe's persecution and Kabalega's wars. Arrangements were then made to interview them individually.

Certain aspects of Palwo history are best known to people who are connected with them either by descent or practice. Such topics as the trade in ivory, the origin, function, and manner of worshipping of the gods are best known to people who are somehow connected with them. Descendants of principal ivory traders some of whom helped their fathers in organising the transactions proved useful.

My experience confirms what has been said of the validity and limitations of Oral tradition as source material for history. The need to exercise care in interpreting evidence, by taking into consideration the source of the evidence, the circumstances in which the evidence was given, and the extent of the involvement of the informant in the issue being discussed became more evident. Some of the informants especially those related to Kabalega's rivals and victims were so partisan that they painted the Omukama and the Banyoro in very bad light. Palwo's military successes were maximised and defeats minimised. The writer thus had to cross check with evidence from Banyoro and other unemotional Palwo informants in order to present something nearing the truth. Perhaps a description of the writer's

experience with some of the principal informants will show the necessity for tact in dealing with informants.

Notes on Principal Informants

Zachariah Manyuru, aged 90, member of Dupalabek clan, Kiroko village, Kiryandongo Gombolola. Interviewed in April-May 1971.

Zachariah is a descendant of Paynor the first Rwhot of Paitwol. He was the first person to relate the story of the coming of the Babito and the disappearance of the Bacwezi to me. Zachariah was quite familiar with the activities of Mupina. His knowledge of Palwo history was acquired from his father who was one of Mupina's Barusura. Rwhot Mupina was said to have been relating the story of the Babito to members and servants of the royal household in justification of his attacks on Kabalega. Zachariah through his father acquired considerable information on the organization of the Rwhot's household, and the organization of the wars. I found Zachariah a very useful informant. He introduced me to three of his agemates, though none of them had anything new to offer. It was, however, with much difficulty that Zachariah could disclose the name of his clan. He refused to tell its history. This was probably because he felt it was too personal a secret to disclose.

Zachia Jao, aged 92, a member of Babito clan, Kinagarana village, Kigumba Gombolola. Interviewed in May-June 1971.

Zachia is a grandson of Jao the Rwhot of Pajao at the time Kacope and Isagara made Palwoland their power-base c.1830. Almost a hundred years old, Zachia Jao was my principal informant on the history of this Madi chiefdom of Palwoland. Apart from some hazy ideas of Mupina and the wars with Kabalega, Zachia, all the Palwo originated from Pajao. When asked to name the kings of Palwoland, he mentioned the Rwhodi of Pajao and claimed that they exercised authority over all parts of Palwoland. It is, however, fair to mention that his knowledge of Pajao history is very detailed. Zachia emphasized the Madi origin of the Pajao by saying that his Palwo language has some Madi accents. Zachia was a young prince at the time the Palwo were evicted from the basin of the Nile. He recalled the efforts made by Omukama Andre Duhaga to ensure that he, being a Mubito prince, was brought back to Bunyoro from Acholi where one of his guardians took him. Zachia was very co-operative. He did not hesitate to tell us all that he knew including his clan history.

Okele Wange, member of Danywen clan, Kirwala, village, Kiryandongo Gombolola. Interviewed in July 1971.

Okele Wange's great ancestor Maso was a slave to Chwa, the third Rwhot in Pajao. Maso proved to be so loyal a servant that he was assimilated into the king's household and treated like a member of the royal family. This is why the surviving members of both families, Zachia Jao, and Okele Wange now regard themselves as relatives. Though he did not know as much as Zachia on the history of Pajao, he was quite at home with the causes and course of the Palwo wars against the Banyoro. He knew more of Mupina than Ruyonga. This is probably because Mupina exercised authority over his territory. He is a strong believer in the efficacy of the Palwo gods.

Samwiri Oduonga, aged 75, member of Babito clan, Kigumba market, Kigumba Gombolola. Interviewed in June 1971.

A grandson of Isagara Katiritiri, Samwiri is one of the most partisan of my Palwo informants. He did not attempt to hide his hatred of the Banyoro. After reciting the story of the arrival of the Babito emphasising how they successfully displaced these, as he put it, "whom the Banyoro had been worshipping", Samwiri sees no reason why the Banyoro

should "reap where they did not sow". It was quite easy to see the impact of his origin on the issues being discussed. Samwiri was quite familiar with the wars against the Banyoro. Though considerable care was taken in handling his evidence, Samwiri was perhaps one of the most enthusiastic of my informants. He was one of the informants who came to my residence whenever he remembered anything he had forgotten to mention during the interview.

Isaya Byewarjo around 120 years old, member of Dunyako clan, Chopelwor Dima Gombolola, interviewed in August 1971.

Perhaps the oldest and most knowledgeable of my informants, Isaya learnt the history of the Palwo from his grandfather who was an agemate of Kacope. He is a native of Pawir and supplied the bulk of the information on the chiefdom, linking it with the story of the "Spear and the bead". He also knew about the chiefdoms of Kisoga and Kisona. Isaya's knowledge of the organisation and effects of the trade in ivory was remarkable. His father was a victim of the raids conducted by the Langi on the Palwo after the latter had acquired wealth from the ivory trade. Isaya's father also took part in the wars against Kabalega and narrowly escaped being drafted to Bugahya by the Omukama. By the time the British came to fight Kabalega in the 1890s,

Isaya was considered old enough to supplement the ranks of the depleted Abarusura. He showed us the scars of the wound inflicted on him by the British army. Isaya sees Kkyangire as a Palwo reaction against the Baganda. Much as Isaya knew about Palwo history, he did not hesitate to express his ignorance of or reluctance to discuss some topics.

Odero aged 80, member of Dudwar clan, Kiryankende village, Kiryandongo Gombolola. Interviewed April 1971.

I found Odero a good informant on Munyai chiefdom after the village chief succeeded in convincing him of the sincerity of my intention. At first, the old man could not understand why a Nigerian should inquire into the past of the Palwo. Odero is a descendant of Okwir, the first known Rwhot of Munyai. He claims to have been an eye witness of the procession of the Palwo to Kabalega's courts during the empango festival. Odero also supplied useful information on various aspects of the life of the Palwo notably, naming, marriage and burial ceremonies.

Francis Kirube, aged 85, member of Dalwalor clan, Mutunda. Interviewed in September 1971.

Kirube is from Kisoga the history of which he knew. His father, he claimed, was an eye witness of the visits

of Baker and Gordon to Ruyonga, and knew of the efforts of the Europeans to cooperate with the Palwo Rwhot against Kabalega. Kirube's father was a Murusura. He took part in all the encounters Ruyonga had against Kabalega. The eye witness accounts were related to Francis. The informant is one of the few educated Palwo men I met. He is a convinced Catholic who has completely severed connection with the Jogi. Christianity, he said, provided education of which he took advantage. Education qualified him for appointment as Gombolola chief Mutunda in 1946. When S. J. K. Baker a grandson of Samuel Baker came to Mutunda in 1957, it was Francis who took him to Bujenje where he met Kosiya Labwoni, the grandson of Ruyonga. The problem with Francis was that he pretended to have answers to every question put to him. Considerable caution was therefore taken in analysing his evidence.

Antonio Onyuru around 80 years old, member of Duchobo clan, Mutunda. September 1971.

Duchobo is the royal clan of Koc. Duliech, the first Rwhot, is the great ancestor of Antonio. Like Kirube, Antonio's father Manyoro was a saza chief under Ruyonga. It was through him that Antoni learnt some details of the Rwhot's personal life. His remarks on Ruyonga's character

agreed with the observations of Gordon and Emin Pasha. Manyoro, Antonio's father, was an elephant hunter. Antonio's accounts of the organisation of the ivory trade, and its social and political effects on Palwo society were very vivid. The informant served as a tax collector in Puodi village. He sees Ekyangire revolt as a reaction against the imposition of hut tax by the British and not a manifestation of Palwo hostility to the Baganda.

Tanansi Olake, around 100 years old, a member of Dukonya clan, Katulikire. Interviewed in August 1971.

Tanansi is the Kibanwa of Katigo, one of the principal Jogi of the Palwo. It took a considerably long time before Tanansi agreed to discuss the topic about which he was particularly knowledgeable. Apart from the reluctance to reveal what he considered a sacred secret, Tanansi feared the possibility of my being a detective agent, who was collecting information that might lead to his detention for practising an illegal religion. But for the trust he had in my interpreter who had had cause to seek his assistance on several occasions, he could not have agreed to speak in spite of the village chief's assurances.

When he agreed to speak, Tanansi treated us to a long recital of the origin, function and importance of the Palwo Jogi. He explained every major event in Palwo history in terms of religion. The Bacwezi, he said, fell because they angered the gods by giving away the drum. Kacope and Isagara succeeded because Nyskatura had the audacity to call the efficacy of the Palwo Jogi to question. Ruyonga and Mupina succeeded initially because they complied with the instructions of the Jogi. It was when they ceased to consult the Kibandwa that they met their doom. Rwita Bachope famine was due to Kabalega's rudeness to Kambega. Christianity, he emphasised, did not succeed in undermining the importance of the Palwo Jogi. He cited the misfortunes which befell those who deflected to the new religion to support his argument.

Ombito Kosiya Labwoni, around 90 years old, Bujenje village Masindi, Interviewed in October 1971.

Kosiya is a grandson of Ruyonga. His father Rujumba was appointed saza chief of Kibanda during the early years of colonial administration. Earlier on Rujumba was provided accommodation by Kabalega as part of his efforts to reconcile with the Palwo after the death of Ruyonga. Kosiya was born at Masindi and was educated there. He speaks the

English language very fluently. He was also a saza chief in Kibanda in 1936 and was a member of the Banyoro delegation who went to Britain to argue the case for the restoration of the Banyoro's counties which were annexed to Buganda. Kosiya's long sojourn in Bunyoro and his Palwo origin made him a useful informant especially on various aspects of Bunyoro-Palwo relations. He speaks Runyoro and Palwo language equally well. He is not as sentimental as expected in his attitude to Kabalega, though he maintains that the Palwo had a good case for attempting to win back the throne of Kitara.

John William Nyakatura, around 100 years old, member of Babito clan, Hoima. Interviewed in October 1971.

He is a Mubito. His father was one of Kabalega's chiefs and it was he who got John interested in the traditions of Bunyoro. John was one of the first group of people to be educated in Bunyoro. He thus served as a court clerk, teacher, and saza chief in many counties including Kibanda (where the Palwo live). He was one of the delegates who presented the petition of Bunyoro's lost counties to the Queen in London in 1955. John was encouraged by the missionaries to undertake the collection of Bunyoro's historical tradition. He claimed to have travelled to all

parts of the district to collect information. These were written in a book titled Kings of Bunyoro-Kitara, but which Uzoigwe who edited the translated text titled History of Bunyoro-Kitara.

John, though regarded as the traditional historian of Bunyoro, allowed his Banyoro patriotism to becloud his attitude to the Palwo. He would not agree that the Babito are Palwo even though he said Rukidi, the founder, came from the north of Bunyoro and stayed in Palwo land before coming to Bunyoro. Nyakatura also admits that the Babito kings were buried in Palwo land. His attempt to explain the succession of the Palwo to the Omukamaship only in terms of their aggressive tendencies sounds unconvincing.

However, in spite of his prejudices, I relied mainly on his book and the interviews I had with him to check some of the Palwo claims. The week long interview had to be brought to an end when Mr. Nyakatura resorted to reading his book in answer to my questions.

LIST OF INFORMANTS*

<u>NAME</u>		<u>PLACE</u>
1. Odera	-	Kiryankende
2. Zachariah Manyuru	-	Kiroko
3. Tegurazi Bitatule	-	Kiryandongo
4. Wana Nyanda	-	Kiryankende
5. Julius John Kahwa	-	Kiryandongo
6. Naphatali Byenkya	-	"
7. Simon Kasigwa	-	"
8. Petro Owor	-	Kiroko
9. Petero Apicer	-	Kiryankende
10. Samwiri Oduonga	-	Kigumba
11. Mustapha	-	Kirwala
12. Zachia Jao	-	Kinagarana
13. Abakachun	-	"
14. Dawokor Miro	-	Kinagarana
15. Wanda	-	"
16. Paulo Ochewa	-	Kyeganywa
17. Wasario	-	"
18. Wanda Odyek	-	"
19. Nwachakam	-	"

* The list is by no means exhaustive. Many informants especially those who took part in group interviews refused to disclose their identity.

LIST OF INFORMANTS (Contd.)

<u>NAME</u>		<u>PLACE</u>
20. Modest Kakiiza	-	Kiroko
21. Yesiah Kachope	-	Kyeganywa
22. Topacho Kawa	-	"
23. Okele Wange	-	Kirwada
24. Stanley Irumba	-	Kikunya
25. Owor Masindi	-	Kizibu
26. Alifaledi Chanmera	-	Kigumba
27. Jambe Maru	-	"
28. Okwany Muchua	-	"
29. Samwri Dalobo	-	"
30. Manyoro Chola	-	"
31. Crukana Rungala	-	Kijuma
32. Kezachiah	-	Kizibu
33. Owor Ttik	-	"
34. Gabriel Odwee	-	"
35. Nwechakan	-	"
36. Odyela	-	Bweyale
37. Odoch	-	Katulikire
38. Tamansi Olake	-	"
39. Maya	-	Bweyale
40. Wasario	-	"

LIST OF INFORMANTS (Contd.)

<u>NAME</u>		<u>PLACE</u>
41. Bulasio Oyundu	-	Katulikire
42. Werre	-	"
43. Janjok Obaryat	-	"
44. Stanley Olobo	-	Pochema
45. Dadwar Alikayi	-	Kalulu
46. Isaya Byewarjo	-	Chopelwor
47. Ochawu	-	"
48. William Ochanda	-	Dima
49. Ojok Adem	-	"
50. Olaya Atiya	-	"
51. Ernesti Ogege	-	"
52. Dakor Minobwa	-	"
53. Okumu Odooh	-	"
54. Antonio Oyuru	-	Mutunda
55. Francis Kirube	-	"
56. Okale	-	"
57. Okelo Yamana	-	"
58. Kija Mulala	-	"
59. Olwotch Oped	-	"
60. Okelo Yamana	-	"
61. Uma Kyemanywa	-	"
62. Kigire	-	"

LIST OF INFORMANTS (Contd.)

<u>NAME</u>		<u>PLACE</u>
63. Semutyo Okelokoko	-	Mutunda
64. Matayi Piluka	-	"
65. Opedi	-	"
66. A. B. K. Gigatta	-	"
67. Ali Kanjero Ojok	-	"
68. Maliko Ojera	-	"
69. Kosiya Labwoni	-	Bujenje Masindi
70. Abwoli	-	"
71. John Nyakatura	-	Hoima
72. Mugunga	-	Masindi
73. Ochor	-	Mutunda
74. Ralio Opeo	-	"
75. Vernasio Onyango	-	"
76. Simeon Wanda	-	Kiryandongo
77. Enoch Bigirwa	-	"
78. Byaruhanga Akiki	-	Makerere
79. Joseph Kasaija	-	Hoima
80. Okech Abua	-	Minakulu
81. Okele Onyago	-	"
82. Simon Odongto	-	"
83. J. P. Crazzolara	-	Gulu

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