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THE
MAKING
OF
THE
KARAGWE
KINGDOM



by
Israel K Katoke

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The Making of the Karagwe Kingdom

TANZANIAN HISTORY FROM ORAL TRADITIONS

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PREFACE

The recovery of independence by African states and the awareness of their neglected cultural heritage have prompted an urgent need for the study and reconstruction of the African past. This urgency has created an immediate need for the collection and rewriting of African history with an African flavour. The collection of information related to the hitherto neglected precolonial societies is especially pressing for two reasons. First, until very recently it has been believed that prior to the arrival of the white men Africa had no heritage or history worth studying and recording. Hence most of the histories that were written and taught covered the more recent period, from about 1700 onwards. Second, while the information about this neglected period remains in the custody of royal court chroniclers, family or clan heads, warriors and other individuals, time for collecting it is running out. For as Dr. A. Roberts observes, "old men die, and all too often . . . take their knowledge to the grave with them".¹ The purpose of this paper, therefore, while using Karagwe as an example, is to illustrate what historians are doing to recapture and record this valuable information before it is too late.

Although basically I followed the methods and techniques used by other oral historians, the results and interpretation of my research are somewhat different from theirs because of the nature of Karagwe history. For example, there are not three groups in Karagwe, as there are in Rwanda, all of which claim to have ruled all or part of the country. My information is mainly based on oral traditions, supplemented by archaeological data and recorded accounts by European travellers, missionaries, traders and colonial officials.

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THE MAKING OF THE KARAGWE KINGDOM

The country

The former kingdom of Karagwe lies in the northwestern corner of Tanzania. It is one of the four districts which form the West Lake Region of the United Republic. It is approximately 2,700 square miles in area and has a population of about 99,500 people according to the preliminary figures of the 1967 census. (In 1918 the population was estimated at 29,000.³) According to all available information the land area was much larger before 1900 than it is today (see map 2). As will be observed later, some of its territory was given to Mukama (king) Kasusura of Rusub and Kahi . < ; ? Kiha as a reward for their cooperation with the German administration of Tanzania, because these two rulers are said to have been obedient to and co-operative with the German authorities. According to these sources the southern boundary of Karagwe is said to have been the Mwiruzi River which now forms the southern border of Biharamulo District.

On the west Karagwe is bordered by the river Kagera which separates it from Rwanda . To the north the Kagera separates it from the former kingdoms of Mpororo and Nkole (in Uganda) and Missenyi in Bukoba District (Tanzania). To the east it borders the former kingdoms of Kiziba, Kihanja and Ihangiro, while to the south lie the districts of Biharamulo (which comprises the former kingdoms of Rusubi, Buzinza and Kimwani) and Ngara. A number of small lakes and rivers including the Kagera lie within Karagwe's borders and along the boundary. The main ones are Lake Burigi to the south-east, Rushwa, and Mujunju or Lweru Rwebishonga to the west.

Topographically Karagwe falls into three main systems: the mountain ranges which form part of the Karagwe-Ankole system, with a height of 4,000-6,000 feet above sea level; the lower Kagera valley, which contributes to the existence of the small swampy lakes and is a not very fertile plain ; and the Mwisu-Burigi plain which separates the Karagwe highlands from those of Bukoba District.

On the whole the soil is good and fertile. Karagwe's altitude and moderate rainfall made it possible for the indigen-

ous Banyambo farmers to establish semi-permanent settlements and grow food crops along the ridges of the hills.

Karagwe and the neighbouring regions, especially in the north, seem to have been first settled by hunters and food gatherers who used stones as their tools. This possibility is indicated by the presence of numerous pebble tools and stone flakes, which are found all over the highlands. It has been estimated by some archaeologists that these hunters and stone age peoples inhabited Karagwe about 500,000 years ago.³ These early inhabitants of Karagwe used these tools to skin the animals they killed, or for scraping the skins which they used for clothing. Further evidence of the presence of these people in this region has been found at Nsongezi, which is situated on the Uganda side of the Kagera River. Nothing is known about what happened to these early men, but there seems to be a very long gap between their presence and the emergence of the more advanced people who arrived and settled in this region about a thousand years ago.

The coming of the Bantu-speaking peoples

Scholars are not yet agreed on the exact place from which the Bantu-speaking peoples came. However, there is enough linguistic and archaeological evidence to show that the first Bantu-speaking farmers to settle in this region arrived between the fifth and tenth centuries A.D. Moreover this evidence shows that these immigrants were farmers. In all probability they reached Karagwe in two bands. The first formed part of a migration which came from the south-south-west and moved towards the north-east. Before continuing on their north-eastward migration, these Bantu-speaking peoples seem to have remained in Karagwe for about two or three centuries. Here they established permanent settlements where they left some of their members when they continued with their northward trek. The second wave of Bantu-speaking peoples to hit Karagwe came from the north. It consisted of descendants of the first party which had left Karagwe in about the ninth and tenth centuries and had gone to Nkole, Toro and Bunyoro. It also included members of the Bantuized Nilotic peoples whom they had encountered and mingled with in the Bunyoro region.

This southward retreat was a result of the encounter of the Bantu with the Nilotic peoples from the southern regions of the present Republic of Uganda. It is also suggested by some authorities that the region was also being raided by the so-called Bachwezi or Bahima from western Ethiopia at this time and that it was the Nilotic (Luo) "intrusion into Nimule region that put an end to this 'Hamitic' invasion". Since the Bantu-speaking peoples were basically farmers and were

not used to fighting fierce wars, they decided to retreat to Nkole and Karagwe. Even so they left some of their members back in Bunyoro. Because of the remoteness in time and the fact that the Bantu peoples who came to Karagwe from the north had intermingled with the Nilotic and "Hamitic" peoples, Banyambo traditions regarding their origins are overshadowed with Bunyoro myths. Most clans claim to have come from Bunyoro. However, it must be said that some of the Banyambo believe that they have been in Karagwe since the time of creation. Others say that their ancestors came from heaven.

Originally the indigenous Bantu-speaking Banyambo were grouped in clan and family groups. Each family lived in a homestead, and a group of these homesteads formed a village. A family unit was presided over by the father, or the elder brother if the father was dead. The clan, on the other hand,

as led by a head called *Omukuru w'Oluganda*. Most of these family or clan units were patriarchal and exogamous. They also observed dietary prohibitions and taboos, which forbade them to eat or touch certain animals and plants. As Rehse points out, it was feared that if anyone were to harm or eat the animal, thing or plant associated with his clan or "the forbidden food . . . he would be afflicted . . . by irritation in the arms and hands".

As the length of time these clans stayed in one particular place increased, those areas became more or less their property, so that the villages were named after them. For example, some villages are still named after some of these clans, although the composition of their populations has changed. One finds villages like Kishao ky'Abon jojo, Kayanga K'Abaheta, Kashebe K'Abankango, Kasheshe K'Abakaraza, and so on, meaning that they were the property of these clans.

The growth of villages, both in size and number, the growth of population due to the agricultural revolution, and the influx of immigrants from the north hastened the formation of large political units which transcended family and clan boundaries. This expansion brought about an economic and political revolution. The need for more land for cultivation or on which to graze their livestock led to the production of communal open lands known as *olweya rw'oluganda*. Politically the small family and clan communities merged and formed larger units under one head. Thus gradually Karagwe began to develop into a more coherent state. Finally there emerged a political system that brought together members of various villages and communities under one leader whom they recognized as their ruler and protector. The appointment or election of such a person marked the birth of the institution of kingship in Karagwe. Whether it was by choice

of the communities or by self-imposition of one of the most powerful clans, there sprang up one particular clan which was able to exercise and impose its power over the others. It is generally believed that this clan was of the Basita family. This belief is not confirmed by the Basita in Bugara village which is regarded as the "home" of this clan in Karagwe, although it is popularly held in Nkole, Karagwe and in other Buhaya states.

Since one tradition among the Basita claims that they came from Bunyoro and established their first settlement in Karagwe at Bugara, it may be assumed that these "returnees" from the north, having acquired some knowledge of how to run a state from the Abachwezi who were then ruling Bunyoro-Kitara, came back and imposed themselves over the Bantu cultivators and ruled them, thus founding the so-called Basita Dynasty. Whoever these people were and wherever they came from, they were contemporaneous with the Bachwezi rulers in Bunyoro-Kitara. They ruled Karagwe for at least three reigns (c. 1400-1475). A generation is here estimated to be about 25 years. The names of the three rulers who are remembered in traditions are Mugunguru, Malija, and Nono. As will be observed later, it is Nono who is claimed to have been ousted by Ruhinda I who established the Bahinda power and founded the Bahinda Dynasty. By the time Nono was ruling Karagwe, the country had more or less acquired its present form, except those areas which were later dropped off by German officials.

The economic and social impact of the Bantu

The arrival of agricultural Bantu-speaking peoples and their associates in Karagwe had significant repercussions on the area. The immigrants introduced better farming methods, although basically it was still subsistence agriculture. As already noted, they built semi-permanent homes and established permanent villages. They introduced new crops and trades. The agricultural crops included sorghum, eleusine, millet and yams. Grains seem to have provided their staple food since there are numerous grinding or milling stones scattered all over Karagwe. These cultivators brought iron technology as well. The art of extracting, smelting, and forging iron was essential for the farmers because they needed strong and sharp tools with which to clear off bushes and till land on which to grow their crops. Moreover, some of the objects such as potsherds, which have been excavated in the neighbouring areas of Rwanda and Uganda, have shown that the arrival of iron technology pre-dated the arrival of the pastoral Nilotes from the north.

The Bahima who later conquered and colonized Karagwe

still make beautiful spears and bows and arrows but as a whole they despised any kind of manual work except the care of their cattle. Work like cultivation, pottery, or smithery was reserved for the "lower" class of people. Furthermore, up to this day blacksmithery and pottery are still dominated by the ndi en _____ such as the Basinda Q. (Nshenshe an the Bahuna an asrn i o a Ironl{Q rwa m i t is a so sru m uzma to e south of Karagwe that there existed a group of people known as Barongo who were pre-eminently smiths and hunters long before the arrival of the Bahinda /Bahima in Buzinza. On the other hand, some potsherds with downturned rims and rouletted decorations (LKJ/3/1) which were collected by this writer in Karagwe have been tentatively dated by Dr. J. E. G. Sutton of University College, Dar es Salaam, as belonging to the second millennium A.D. Most probably they belong to the fifteenth century or much later. Their origin was asserted to be Nilotic. If so, they were brought in or made by people who had had contact with the Nilotic people in Bunyoro.

Since every theory advanced in regard to the possible origin of pottery and iron still needs further testing, we can say that there are three possible ways in which iron could have reached Karagwe. It may have been introduced by the Bantu farmers from the south-west who had acquired it in Nigeria (the Nok culture) and carried it through the Congo forests to the savannah regions of Central Africa whence they brought it to the interlacustrine region. Alternatively they may have invented it independently as a matter of necessity while they practised farming along the plateau of the Congo-Zambezi water divide. As a third alternative this art of making pots may have been brought by the second wave of immigrants who returned from the north where they might have acquired it from the Nilotes of Bahima. If so it is possible that this knowledge reached Bunyoro from the Sudan.

The Bachwezi/Bahinda invasions and the creation of the Bahinda empire

The political power of the Bantu rulers came to an end towards the end of the fourteenth century or the beginning of the fifteenth. The dynasty was overthrown by a powerful group from the north who came in disguise as political refugees seeking asylum in Karagwe. These empire and power seekers seem to have arrived in Karagwe in the late 14th century. They arrived in Karagwe when the Bantu rulers were in full control of the whole country, hence their visit did not result in a dramatic change of political balance in Karagwe. This

advance or spy party, according to tradition, was led by one of the Bachwezi r 1 oro-Kitara named Ndahura. According to these traditions Ndahura too a long trip from Bunyoro to visit distant countries. His long journey brought him to Karagwe and Ihangiro which was then known as "Bwirebutakya. When he reached Ihangiro, Ndahura was arrested and put into custody by the ruler because he had come without giving him prior notice. Finally he was released and allowed to return to Bunyoro. The second migration seems to have arrived at a time when it was able to overthrow the ruling Mukama and established the Bahima as rulers of Karagwe.

According to tradition, this party, which had considerable impact on Karagwe and the neighbouring states, arrived there about fifteen or twenty generations ago. On the other hand, astronomical evidence indicates that these people were already in power in Nkole when a series of eclipses took place between 1492 and 1520.

The Bachwezi were the first batch to visit Karagwe from the north. It has already been mentioned that one of the Bachwezi rulers, Ndahura, is said to have visited Karagwe and Ihangiro as part of his long expedition abroad. They seem to have been looking for new lands to expand their empire as a refuge from other invaders who were raiding their kingdom very frequently. There are several accounts of their origin and nature in the traditions of the countries which claim to have come under their political influence. Generally, the Bachwezi are remembered as a people who came from the north and established their permanent empire in Bunyoro. From there they expanded their influence and created a vast empire, commonly known as Bunyoro-Kitara. Their empire is said to have included within its borders present-day Bunyoro, Toro, Nkole, Koki, Buganda and Busoga, all of which are in Uganda. Other sources suggest that it also included Karagwe, the Bukoba states, Buzumba, and even that it stretched as far south as Tabora in central-western Tanzania. It seems unlikely that the Bachwezi did actually bring Karagwe under their political power, for Karagwe was being ruled by the "Asita" dynasty when the Bachwezi were ruling Bunyoro-Kitara. The Bachwezi remember a Karagwe ruler who visited Karagwe and Ihangiro but never succeeded in establishing his authority there. The fact that Karagwe and Buhaya stones about the early rulers and the origin of their inhabitants are coloured with legends about the Bachwezi and Bunyoro does not prove that these kingdoms were necessarily under the Bachwezi when the power of these "marvellous" people was at its peak. The presence of a Bachwezi link in these legends may be ascribed to the following reasons. First,

because of the claimed visit of Ndahura future rulers of Karagwe and Buhaya may have liked to justify their power by claiming that Karagwe had been part of the vast empire which was ruled by people whom they claim as their ancestors. Or, second, it is possible that after the "Bahinda" had conquered and subdued Karagwe they imposed their alleged political ancestry on the Banyambo and Bahaya and made them believe that the Bachwezi's influence did actually include Karagwe and Buhaya long before the arrival of the Bahinda. Third, because of the second migration which arrived in Karagwe from Bunyoro and which included the Bantuized Bahima and Hirnatized Bantu, all of whom had been under the influence of the Bachwezi, it was later accepted in Karagwe that most people came from Bunyoro and that Karagwe had been under the rule of the Bachwezi.

As for the Bachwezi dynasty in Bunyoro-Kitara, three names are mentioned in almost every tradition. They are Ndahura, son of Igaba alias Isimbwa who is sometimes said to be Ruhanga or Creator; Mulindwa, brother of Ndahura; and Wamara, son of Ndahura. As was stated earlier, Ndahura left his country and went abroad for a while. During his absence his brother Mulindwa acted as regent. When he returned after being rescued by some of his men from the custody of the Mukama of Iho, Ndahura discovered that he was no longer popular with his subjects because they had become fond of his brother, Mulindwa, and also they felt that he had been defiled when he was put into jail by the ruler of Ihangiro. Ndahura, therefore, decided to abdicate in favour of his son, Wamara. It is not known exactly what became of Ndahura or when he died, except that it is said that he "disappeared" somewhere into the unknown. Wamara did not last long in power either. He was soon overthrown by a team of twin-brothers, Isingoma Mpunga Rukidi and Kato Kimera, who invaded Bunyoro from across the River Nile and founded and established a new dynasty, the Babito dynasty. According to Ogot these "twin-brothers" were Nilotes of Dinka and Nuer extraction who were forced to leave their home areas in the present day "Equatoria and the eastern parts of the Bahr-el-Ghazal Provinces of the Republic of Sudan", because of overpopulation or overstocking or other external factors. Their introduction into Bunyoro and the Nilote region brought to an end the so-called "Jamitic" rule.⁷

It is not stated clearly in any tradition whether there was a direct confrontation between Wamara or the Bachwezi rulers and the twin-brothers who ousted Wamara. What seems to have happened is that the twin-brothers or the Nilotes sent ahead of them a group of soothsayers to scare the ruler of Bunyoro and force him out of his kingdom. These

soothsayers foretold the great disasters that were to befall Bunyoro. On hearing this prophecy, Wamara (or whoever was ruling Bunyoro) and some of his followers fled the country and moved their capital to a site in the neighbourhood of Blogo. In the state of panic and confusion Wamara and his followers left most of their belongings behind. It is said that they left some of their regalia and royal insignia intact, and that they left some of their wives behind as well.

Wamara had at least three sons: Ruhinda, Muasha, and Kanan. It is not stated how many wives he had but we are told that Ruhinda was a son of a slave girl, N'unaki. Either because of Wamara's age or because of her status as a slave girl, her son, Ruhinda, is regarded by all traditions as an illegitimate son of Wamara. Even so it was his "bastard" son who was destined finally to revive the lost name and fame of the Bachwezi by founding a new empire and establishing a new dynasty which has borne his name up to this day.

...Ruhinda and the Bahinda dynasty

At the time of his father's flight, Ruhinda is said to have been left behind in Bunyoro under the supervision of a royal slave girl, N'unaki. He served as a usurper of his father's throne the Babita twins, for a while, in the meantime making plans to escape with some of the regalia which his father had left intact when he fled. The most important of the insignia he took with him was a drum which he later used as a means to claim his authority as a ruler.

Although there are some scholars who regard Ruhinda as a legendary character who has been made into an historical person by those who claim to be his descendants in order to justify their political claims, I regard him as a real person with flesh and blood who lived at a particular time and place. The question whether he personally invaded and conquered all the countries he is said to have conquered is of a different nature. According to Nyakatura, as well as other traditions Ruhinda was a man of great repute who refused to be ruled by another king,⁸ hence he decided to move to other countries away from Bunyoro.

Having left Bunyoro, Ruhinda went through southern Uganda and finally reached Karagwe where he established his stronghold and built a new empire. There are several versions of traditions concerning the route he took to come to Karagwe and the means by which he came to power. According to Nyakatura, Ruhinda settled for a while at Karungu in Nkole soon after leaving Bunyoro, but later moved to Karagwe and Buzinza. One Nkole tradition, as recorded by Katate and Kamugungumu,⁹ says that Ruhinda left Bun-

nyoro together with his father and other Bachwezi (Bahima) to Mahigi or Bioko in Uganda where they established a new capital. From there, together with a group of followers left his father and went to Buzinza and Karagwe. He took with him some of the Bahima followers and left some with his father. When he returned for his expedition he found that Mahogora had been raided by invaders. His father and most of the other Bachwezi had been killed by the invaders, except that his mother and an elder brother Kayangwe (Kayangol), had been spared. Since he could not feel secure by remaining there, he took his mother and brother to Nkole. Here they found Katuku, a filial indigenous Bantu ruler, on the throne. Having killed Katuku or having forced him to flee (for it is said that Katuku fled long before Ruhinda arrived when he heard of the approach of the forces of Ruhinda and was not prepared to face them) Ruhinda declared himself ruler of Nkole and built his capital at Mweruka. He later moved to Rurama. At Rurama, Ruhinda got his son Nkuba to whom he later entrusted the kingdom of Nkole. He himself went across the Kagera to Karagwe, never to return to Nkole.

In Karagwe itself, all traditions agree that Ruhinda was the son of N'unaki the slave girl, and that he came from Bunyoro and ousted the Basita ruler believed to be of the Basita clan. Nevertheless, these traditions disagree on the route followed by Ruhinda from Bunyoro to Karagwe, and the means he used to overthrow Nono. For example, one informant claims that Ruhinda came from Bunyoro with a group of followers (Bahima) and a large herd of cattle. He came by way of Toro and Koki, crossed the Kagera into Karagwe, and settled first at Bugara in northern Karagwe. From there he and his party moved to Bugabwe (Ituntu), then through Migongo (the villages on the central highlands of Karagwe), and finally to Bwehange where he established his permanent capital. This site was selected after a bull - Bihogo bya Rutwenge had died on the spot, but significant at this place was suitable for a kingdom's capital. The death or killing of the bull is in accordance with the common practice and belief among the inter-lake region people. Before a decision to build a house on a new site is made, a diviner or witchdoctor has to be consulted in order to make sure that the site is harmless. In most cases a goat, fowl or a bull is killed and its entrails examined for any sign of malignancy. A sick or maimed animal is found in the place is declared clean. On the other hand a sudden death of a bull before its owner goes to war or undertakes an unusual adventure is an indication that everything is favourable for the bull has been a ransom for his life.

Earlier on his arrival at Nona's residence, Ruhinda is said

to have knocked at Nona's door. When it was opened for him he greeted his host with a curse, saying in Runyambo (the language of Karagwe), *Kachenjere!* (May you perish!) Nothing is said of what became of Nono after his meeting with Ruhinda, except that he did not continue to rule Karagwe. Soon afterwards he was replaced by Ruhinda. Together with him, Ruhinda brought some of the royal insignia, such as drums, spears, and other weapons, which were later used as symbols of authority by him or his followers as a means of expanding his empire. The royal drum of Nkole is *Ba endanwa* (the one which one travels with and that of ara we JSNyabatama. The latter drum is said to have had three wives: Muhunda, Katakebuka and Rushama. This Nyabatama is also regarded as the father of M. w. u. u. w. w. luhaya states (except Kiziba, Buzinza, and Rusubi.

..... Anomer account, which was more accepted by Ford and Hall in their *History of Karagwe* and later used by Cory in his *History of Bukoba District*,¹¹ states that Ruhinda left Bunyoro and traversed Buganda till he reached the shores of Lake Victoria which is called Lwe Bahay. He then owed a southerly direction along the coast until he came to Bugabo at a village called Kishanje. Here he found a ruling mukama of the Bakur clan and ousted him. He did not, however, stay long. He continued with his journey southward, taking an overland route through Bugabo, Kyamutwara which was then known as Bumbwiga, than which was called Bwirebuta, and Buzinza. It is said that in Bugabo he overthrew the indigenous ruler of the Basita clan (some sources say a Mutundu), while in Buzinza he defeated and overthrew Sansana, a Musumbwa ruler of the Batundu clan. The Batundu are said to have originally come from the vicinity of Unyamwezi. Having subdued Sansana he turned westward "through Buhimba and entered Karagwe from the south". From Buhimba he proceeded on to Bwehange where he established his first capital. The strong winds which prevail there forced him to abandon the place and move to the new site of Bweranyange. This site remained the capital of Karagwe until the time of the German administration, when Ntare was forced to move to Nyakahanga in order to be able to co-operate with Kyobya.

Since all traditions mentioned the fact that Ruhinda came with a group of faithful followers (Bahima) whose main function it was to tend his cattle, it seems quite impossible that he could travel by boat from southern Buganda to Bugabo while taking hundreds of cattle with him. Therefore the most logical route appears to be the one either through Nkole or Koki, across the Kagera into Karagwe. The story about his travel through Bugabo, as we shall see later, is mainly due to the visits he made from Bweranyange in his bid to

enlarge his empire. All accounts agree that Kishanje was the turning point.

From Bweranyange, Ruhinda made two expeditions which took him through Ihangiro, Buzinza, possibly Busumbwa and Buba, Kyamutwara, and Bugabo, and then returned to Bweranyange. The first expedition was successfully accomplished but the second met with a misfortune. It is said that Ruhinda died either in Ihangiro or Buzinza. A dispute arose soon after his death. It was mainly over where his remains should be buried, since each of the three major states-Karagwe, Ihangiro, Kyamutwara, and Buzinza-wanted to have him buried there. In the end a compromise was reached

which his remains should be buried in Ihangiro, Karagwe, and Buzinza. The places where his remains were buried are given as the locations where his remains were buried in Karagwe and Buzinza respectively. No name is given for the place where the trunk was buried in Ihangiro.

As has been shown, Ruhinda is credited with having conquered and established a vast empire during his lifetime (see map 3). He conquered and subdued the indigenous Bantu rulers whom he found in power in the respective states whose recent rulers claim to be of the Bahinda dynasty. It has been stated that in Bugabo he overthrew a ruler of the Bakurwa clan, and in Kyamutwara (Bumbwiga) of the Basita clan, although some sources say that this ruler was a Mutundu. In Ihangiro, Ruhinda is said to have found and ousted Nkombya, a member of the Batundu clan, while in Kishaka (Rwanda), which is suggested by some traditions, to have fallen under Ruhinda's influence, it was Kakulura Qf.....lebe... ezigaba clan who is said to have been ousted by Rubin%

From the accounts presented above it appears that at least three clans-Batundu, Basita, and Bakurwa (Bazigaba)-had emerged as powerful clans or possessed some special powers of leadership so that they had become rulers of those kingdoms prior to the Bahinda take-over.

The new Bahinda/Bahima overlords, who were appointed to administer the newly-subdued kingdoms, acted as personal representatives of Ruhinda. As their symbol of authority, they were each given a small drum which represented the major royal drum, Nyabatama which was kept at the major capital Bweranyange. Each of these drums had a name given to it. As already mentioned, the drum of Nkole was named Bagyendanwa; that of Kyamutwara, Mwiganzigu; that of Buzinza (which appears to have remained under direct control of Ruhinda himself), Nyabatama Ndogo; and that of Ihangiro, Kalemaiterura. It will be noted that Ruhinda did not invade and conquer Kiziba, because that kingdom had already been conquered by another "northerner", Kibi who is claimed by some sources as a stepfather of Ruhinda.

Although Ruhinda had succeeded in creating such a vast empire, this alien-imposed union began to fall apart following his death. Each of his sons and territorial representatives was not prepared to remain subordinate to Bweranyange, hence each declared himself an independent ruler. Nevertheless these rulers continued to recognize Karagwe (Bweranyange) as the birth-place of their power and Nyabatama as the father of the royal drums which were the symbols of their authority. It is said that until as late as the 1890's the new rulers of Buzinza and Rusubi had to be confirmed by Bweranyange. Moreover, according to Speke, Ndagara I was involved in settling a dispute between two sons of Rwoma of Buzinza, Ruhinda and Rwesahura. The two sons were each contending for the throne of Buzinza soon after their father's death. In order to evade a possibly bloody battle between the two brothers Ndagara divided the kingdom into two small ones. He gave the eastern part (Buzinza) to Ruhinda, and the western part (Rusubi) to Rwesahura.

As far as Karagwe itself is concerned, Ruhinda's conquest had many repercussions. It deprived the former Bantu rulers of their political powers, although some family and clan heads retained some of their positions, having been approved by their new masters. Karagwe became "mother" of the other states in so far as their future rulers were concerned. He introduced the royal insignia—the drum and spear which are symbols of the king's authority. The custom of setting the throne with a lion's skin and of a leopard's skin being used as his foot-stool was introduced at this time. A new function for the Bahima was created. Up till now they had been herders of the King's cattle, but from this time some of them were appointed as territorial or personal representative of the king in his outlying districts. Later some of these appointments became hereditary offices. The introduction of territorial or district representatives marked the beginning of the princedoms that are found in Karagwe, although they never became sufficiently autonomous to declare themselves independent of Bweranyange. Although the former Bantu states which had been subdued by Ruhinda declared themselves independent of Karagwe soon after Ruhinda's death, they continued to be ruled by his offspring, thus establishing the so-called Bahinda dynasty.

While the indigenous Banyambo had their own religious beliefs even before the arrival of the Bahinda/Bahima, it can be said that the latter were responsible for the introduction of the Bachwezi and Embandwa cults. The name and spirit of Wamara, the alleged father of Ruhinda, hold an important place in the religious life of the Banyambo. Furthermore, the other Bachwezi spirits, such as Ka

Kagoro, Kaihura-Nkuba, and others, are worshipped in Karagwe. The mukama, who claimed to be a descendant of the Bachwezi, held a special position in the society besides his political position. He was and is still said and believed by some people to possess special magical and supernatural powers inherited from his forefathers. He could "make" rain, curse people or the land, or bless it. As such he was looked upon as "the centre of authority and focus of tribal consciousness . . . the supreme giver and receiver . . . of all things," although he was not regarded as god himself, at least as long as he lived. He was a messenger or high priest who performed all rituals and offered all sacrifices on behalf of his subjects. He presided over all national festivals, secular as well as religious. When he died his spirit could be venerated.

On the social level, the Bahinda/Bahima rule introduced a class system. While descendants of Ruhinda formed the royal ruler, their followers, the Bahima—whose main occupation was animal husbandry—were regarded as being superior to the indigenous Banyambo and were regarded as being superior by the Nilotic Bahima as serfs. As a consequence of these social classes there emerged a special terminology based on the economic and political status of a member of the "higher" class in his relation to the mukama. For example, while Abahinda applied to all members who belonged to Ruhinda's family tree, the word *mulangira* meant a prince, *abaramata* meant advisers or ministers, *omushongore* meant an aristocrat or viceroy, and *en ura* meant a member of the Bahima from whom the mukama got his wife.

Although it is said that the Bahinda/Bahima interfered very little with the social system of the indigenous Banyambo, yet because of their intrusion certain changes were made. Some of the Banyambo clans were given special duties to perform at the capital. For example, Abarigi (Wazigaba) were made keepers of the royal fire. It was their duty to see that the fire in front of *Kagondo*, the senior house at Bweranyange, was always burning. Together with Abakaraza they were also keepers or guardians of the royal drum-Nyabatama with his "wives". They are also said to have been dressers of the mukama. On the other hand the Abakaraza of Kasheshe village were in charge of all royal regalia. Hence it was their duty to hand Nyabatama and other royal instruments to the newly-crowned mukama after having instructed him on how to handle them and how to perform religious rites and preside over state functions. Other clans which had special duties are the *ata* Batundu who were royal brewers, *Abara* door-keepers, *asindi* blacksmiths, *Abahunga* (Abazongy) who were earners of the

royal corpses, and *Abasyaba* who IQ_Qked after the shrine at Mwoga M'.arinsi.

At Bweranyange there was built a number of houses with special functions. Their number increased gradually as additional shrines were created. Some of them were shrines for the spirits of the departed ancestors: Wamara, Nkuba, Ndahura and others. The most important of these houses were *Kagondo* (which housed Nyabatama and his wives), *Kakindo* (which contained the shrine of Nyabugondo, mother of Ntse Kiita Banyoro), and Karuhinda (which contained the shrine of Ruhinda I Kizarabagabe). Nyabatama and his wives were brought before Karuhinda at the time of the new moon levee (*okusibana*) as a sign of respect to the spirit of the founder of their dynasty. *Nyamugal ya* contained the mukama's ceremonial robes and the milk vessels (*ebyanzi*), while *Kagere Kamoi* (one foot) — as the name implies — housed the king's wives.

The introduction of cattle revolutionized agriculture. Gradually the Bantu Banyambo began to keep some cattle of their own while at the same time some of the Bahima who had no cattle to tend began to take up farming. This was the beginning of mixed farming. As the need for agricultural produce by the Bahima and for animal produce by the Bantu Banyambo increased, there developed a barter system. On the whole the Bahima preferred to live in the plains of *Suna* and *wisa-Buri* where there was plenty of grass and water for their livestock, while the Bantu Banyambo continued to live on the plateau and slopes of the mountains where they grew their crops.

Intermarriage between Bahima/Bahinda and Bantu Banyambo was forbidden, albeit it was not unusual for a Muhima male to take a Munyambo girl as his wife. Whenever such a thing happened the father of the girl rejoiced because the act of his daughter marrying a Muhinda or Muhima man meant his elevation to a higher social level. He could even be counted among the *enfula* or given a public office if his daughter married a prince or a king.

Educationally the Bahinda/Bahima introduced the age-set system. In this system boys of the same age group were collected at the residence of the territorial governor, where they underwent formal training on various aspects of life. They were instructed on manners and behaviour towards their elders, the proper ways of addressing the king and other members of the hierarchy and nobility, as well as military training. Those who were outstanding were selected and sent to the mukama's residence, where they joined other youths from all over the country and were given much more intensive and vigorous training before they graduated as members of "the national reserve". Some of those who came

out top were awarded appointments in the public service. Those who showed aptitude as potential warriors were given military posts as captains, and those who possessed talents of political leadership were appointed as assistant territorial or district governors. In all respects, the system resembled very much the present system of National Service in Tanzania. Informal education was given at home by the respective parents.

/Political consolidation and economic growth; 1500-1800

As already observed, the death of Ruhinda I Kizarabagabe was followed by the disintegration of his empire into smaller autonomous states. As a result, there exists a period of unusual "quietness" in Karagwe for almost three centuries. This period has been called an uneventful period by some observers. However it appears that this unusual quietness was due partly to the fact that each of the states was busy establishing itself as a sovereign independent state following the disintegration of the "old" empire. Hence they were each concerned with their internal problems rather than invading their neighbours, unless the latter challenged or threatened their sovereign integrity. For this reason we hear almost nothing of major significance in Karagwe from Ruhinda I to Ndagara I Ruzin ga Michuchu rwa kwanzl. The only major events during this long period were the Banyoro invasion which took place during the reign of Kalarnera Bwirangenda in the late eighteenth century and the arrival of the Bahyamwezi/Basumbwa traders shortly before Ndagara ascended the throne. Another reason for this silence is the time factor. Most people tend to remember rather recent events, and since it was a long time from Ruhinda I to Rumanyika I, when we begin to get recorded accounts of Karagwe history, most of the accounts which took place between the reigns of these big rulers have been forgotten, except the list of rulers. In other words, Speke's and Grant's informants could only remember the more recent events; they gave a detailed account from the time of the Banyoro invasion (Kalemera I) to the succession conflict between Rumanyika and his brother Rwegira. Whatever the reasons for this silence, Karagwe seems to have experienced a period of unprecedented peace, so that it grew politically and economically until it became one of the major states in the interlacustrine region. As will be explained later, it was this prosperity which created jealousy among its neighbours, until they made frequent raids in an attempt to bring it under their political influence. On the other hand, it can be said that the same prosperity contributed to the kind of diplomatic relations that existed between Karagwe, Buganda,

and Bunyoro. The Mukama of Karagwe was regarded as an equal by the great kings of these kingdoms. They exchanged embassies and warned each other of any danger that might topple one of them.

Because of the prosperity mentioned above, one of the kings of Bunyoro (Chamwaja) became so jealous of Karagwe's wealth that he sent his armies to invade the country. "The Banyoro forces succeeded in ousting or killing Kalamera and forcing two of his sons-Ruzenga and Ntare-into exile. Ruzenga made an attempt to drive the Banyoro out of Karagwe but was killed in action. Finally Ntare, who had fled as an infant with his mother, Nyabugondo, to Buha, managed to come back and with the help of some superstitious beliefs and the use of some magic object which he was given by his "uncle" in Buha was able to drive the Banyoro invaders out of his father's kingdom. He restored the Bahima dynasty and reconstructed Bweranyange, which had been defiled by the Banyoro. The country which had been laid waste by the invaders now underwent an economic reconstruction. Because of his ability to drive an iron rod out of Karagwe, he was named Kiit'Abanyoro, "slayer of Banyoro".

Ntare was succeeded by his son, Ruhinda Orushongo, who in turn was succeeded by his son, the famed Ndaara Ruzga Michuchurwa Nkwanzu. It appears that by the time Ruhinda Orushongo came to power, Karagwe had already regained her economic prosperity so that traders from distant countries began to flow in to search for ivory, iron products, and other local produce in exchange for the goods they brought from their own countries. By the end of the eighteenth or the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, news of Karagwe's prosperity had reached places as far away as Tabora. By this time Karagwe had been visited by African entrepreneurs from Unyamwezi and Usumbwa who brought goods from the coast, such as beads and iron coils, to trade with Banyambo and other neighbouring peoples who used to visit Karagwe in those days. It is now a generally accepted fact that goods from the coast had reached the capital of the Kabaka of Buganda by the latter part of the eighteenth century and that these goods passed through Karagwe. As Ingham observes, "This trade was carried on through the Kingdom of Karagwe and it seems probable that it was the Wanyamwezi who were responsible for bringing the coastal goods into the interior".

Furthermore, this claim is confirmed by the people of Karagwe themselves, who say that it was Abashumbwa and Barungwana (Wanyamwezi) who first visited Karagwe and brought copper (from Katanga?), salt (from Uvinza and southern Usumbwa), knives, pepper, mangoes, oranges, and

millet long before the Arabs appeared on the scene. They are also said to have started building the trading centres of Kafuro and Kitengure. The fact that Wasumbwa brought salt to Karagwe is indicated by the local saying that "Omwo-nyo ngunula, Abashumbwa nibanunk", "Salt is 'sweet' but the Wasumbwa have a bad smell". According to Sfuluann, who visited Karagwe in the early 1890's, there were still independent Wanyamwezi/Wasumbwa traders at Kafuro who owned what he calls "small four-cornered huts" banda and acted as "agents of trade with the Arabs". He gives the name of their leader as a Suleiman who had lived in Karagwe "for many years".¹⁶

On the political scene, these long-distance traders established good relations with the Bakama of Karagwe, so much so that by the time of Rumanyika I one of them, Kiyengo kiyaya Mpiga Ifumura Bikungu, "Breaker of Ant-Hills", was employed as his great ambassador who travelled between Bweranyange, Buganda, Bunyoro and Tabora delivering Rumanyika's messages to the kings of those states. He later proved useful to Speke and Grant, for it was through his assistance or that of his men that these explorers were amicably received by these rulers. Without his assurance to the kings that these strange travellers were harmless and that they had no intention of overthrowing their respective majesties, it would have been impossible for Speke and Grant to traverse Karagwe, Buganda, or Bunyoro, or even to be granted audience by Rumanyika, Mutesa, and Kabarega. It should be remembered that Speke and Grant had experienced some trouble in Ugohe where they entered without contacting Kiyengo, hence they were stranded for some time and charged high entry fees which they called exorbitant taxes.

The reign of Ndagara I and the metal work

As already mentioned, when Ntare Kiit'Abanyoro died he was succeeded by his son, Ruhinda Orushongo. His reign was not marked with anything of particular importance except the story about the nature of his birth and the mysterious rescue after he had been "buried" for some days because he is said to have been an illegitimate son. His rescue came only after he had hurt one of his eyes, hence the name Orushon "the one-eyed". When he died in about 1820 he was succeeded by his son Ndagara, who ruled until 1853 or 1855. During his reign he became famous by fighting personally or directing a series of successful wars against his neighbours, who launched a number of raids on Karagwe but were defeated in all of them. Included in this series are the wars against Kahaya of Mroro, who had staged a large-scale war in his bid to expand the territorial borders of his political

influence and the Kikuba Rebellion, which was instigated by his "bother" Kajumbula, who was ruling this princely state and wanted to secede. He instigated the people of Kikuba to rebel against Ndagara, but the rebellion ended as failure. The wars against Kinyoni of Kyamwara, the Kibungora invasion of Buhimba, the war of Ihangiro, and the attempted invasion of Karagwe by Kahindire of Rwanda also demonstrated the military genius of Ndagara, for they all showed that Karagwe could not be overcome by any foreign power as long as Ndagara sat on the throne of Karae.

As a practical man, Ndagara possessed special talents. He is credited with the iron cows and copper drums, the royal stool and other metal objects which form the now famed Karwe collection. Some of these objects, including the royal stool, are in the Linden Museum, Stuttgart, West Germany. The remainder are in the newly-built museum at Bweranyange. Ndagara forged iron from a special kind of stone found in Karagwe called *Obutare*. As for copper, with which he manufactured the drums and the throne, it is said that long bars of the metal were brought from the "south" by the Wanyamwezi and Wasumbwa traders, and later by the Arabs. Because of his successful achievements in art and his special skills as a blacksmith, Ndagara was affectionately nicknamed Ruzinga Michuchu rwa Nkwanzira "the folder of dust and wearer of beads or bangles". His reign also witnessed the arrival of Arab traders in Karagwe.

If Ndagara became famous because of his great achievements, and Karagwe prospered under his reign, it is said that the future decline is partly due to his curse. Before he died of very old age, the famed Mukama is said to have cursed his kingdom because some of his subjects and even his own sons wished him to die.

The Arabs in Karagwe

While the Wanyamwezi and Wasumbwa traders reached Karagwe towards the end of the eighteenth century, the Arabs arrived there in the late 1830s or early 1840s. As their number increased, the Arabs began to replace the Wanyamwezi and Wasumbwa traders who had formerly acted as middlemen in the trade between Karagwe and Tabora. Their activities reached their zenith during the reign of Rumanyika I (Orugundu). Some of them, like Ahmed bin Ibrahim, Snay bin Amir (Kiyengo in Nkole tradition), Bakali (Bakar), Kipilipili-Hamelu and Said bin Sayf became successful in their business, so that when Stanley visited Ahmed (Muhamed) bin Ibrahim in 1876 he found him in possession of "150 cattle 100 slaves and 40 tusks of ivory", while the greater part of it "was reported to be safely housed in the

safe custody of his friend the chief Urungwana of Unyanyembe".¹⁷

With these increased trade activities, Kafuro and Kiten-gure grew into big trading depots, almost competing with Kazeh (Tabora) and Ujiji. People from neighbouring states came to trade there. As Stanley observed, there were people from all over the area, "Wanyarwanda, Wasuwi, Wanyamwezi Arabs and Swahilis (Wangwana)". One could add Wazib, Wahaya, Wanyankole, and Wanyoro. The main trade routes through Karagwe are shown in Map 4.

The success of the Arab trade in Karagwe was due to a number of factors. The nature of its Bakama, especially that of the so-called "kind-hearted" Rumanyika, attracted traders and travellers to direct their expeditions and caravans through Karagwe because they were sure they would not be charged what they called exorbitant extortions. Karagwe was centrally located in the region where the trading industry flourished. The presence of the hostile Wangni (atta) in Usukuma, Buzinza, and Usumbwa, like the hostility of the rulers in those regions, forced those travellers who might have attempted the lake route to Buganda to re-route their caravans through Karagwe. The country was still blessed with the presence of the natural resources the traders were after. When the kings of Buganda, Nkole and Bunyoro temporarily forbade the Arab traders to enter their respective kingdoms, the Arabs were forced to establish strong bases in Karagwe, whence they sent small caravans under African leadership to those kingdoms to seek the items they wanted. As the demand for slaves increased at the coast and Tabora, the Arab and Swahili traders shifted their interests from ivory and other commodities to the human cargo. This shift changed the role of the slave, who had formerly been regarded as a domestic servant and at times a full member of the family. He now became one of the major sources of income. Although no major wars took place in Karagwe or its vicinity as a means of acquiring more captives for sale as slaves it is likely that a few individuals may have raided villages and captured a few people whom they later sold as slaves to the Arabs.

One of the things that the Arabs introduced in the area which had considerable economic impact was the cowrie and its shell. These shells were used as hard currency for exchange of goods. They thus replaced or changed the barter system and the use of the banana seeds (entembe) as currency.

Cowries were tied in strings of ten thousand, one thousand and so on. Hence the value of a thing was measured in terms of tens, hundreds, or thousands of cowries. Some of the farmers became part-time hunters in order to get elephant tusks for sale. On the whole, however, there never emerged

in Karagwe a class or a group of local Banyambo entrepreneurs who can be recorded as persons who became successful economically because of the Arab and Swahili trade in the area. Generally speaking, it may be said that even if the Swahili/Arab trade in Karagwe failed to create a local class or group of entrepreneurs, on the material side it introduced the following items: copper coils, salt, cloth, chinaware, spears, pots, and other goods in exchange for ivory, bark-cloths, spears, bows and arrows, coffee, and other agricultural product. In agriculture it introduced new food crops such as man oes, itweet bananas. majze, millet, all types of pel?per, a aw, tomatoes, and all kinas of vegetables allcl citrus ts. Politically the Arabs and Swahilis interfered very little in domestic affairs, except when they were asked by a ruler to help in maintaining his rule, or by one of the contenders for the throne to assist him to win his claim by the use of their weapon, the mighty gun. Otherwise they remained in the secluded communities which they established as trading centres and appointed one of their nmbr as a governor of the "village" under the title *Qi Itwali*. Some managed to intermarry with local people, thus producing the small numbers of Moslems and "half-castes" who are found in Karagwe. Religiously the Arabs never made headway in gaining converts to Islam. This is partly because none of the Bakama—who were regarded as religious as well as political leaders—was converted to the new religion. Partly it was due to the fact that the Arabs themselves were not particularly interested in proselytizin because they were mainly there as traders andnot as religious missionaries. On the other hand, it is said that the Banyambo saw no advantag in being converted to Islam, a religion whose followers practised the evil slave trade while the religion preached the equality and brotherhood of men. Another factor which is said to have contributed to the lack of conversion to Islam was the practice of circumcision. The Banyambo, like most inter-lacustrine Bantu, traditionally knew no circumcision of any kind. As Kibira points out, to them the act of cutting or separating a part from a living thing, particularly that of a human being—dead or alive—was considered as witchcraft.¹⁸ Finally, the Arab or long distance trader is credited with the introduction of *unza* (jigger) or *Tunga Penetratus* between 1891 and 1892. t ca rom the Congo through Kigoma and Buha.

Rumanyika Orugundu

Rumanyika I Orugundu came to the throne at the death of his father Ndagara in about 1853-55 and reigned until 1878-79. His reign, like that of his father, was characterized by

further expansion of the Arab/Swahili trade, struggle and feuds between him and his brother Rwegira over the question of succession, a series of wars, and the arrival of the first Europeans (Abaruga Kuzimu), Speke and Grant, in 180-61, during their expedition in search of the sources of the Nile.

In this struggle for the succession to the throne against Rwegila, it is said that Rumanyika was helped by several forces, natural and supernatural. As far as the supernatural forces are concerned, Rumanyika is believed to have been born with a closed fist which contained some seeds, thus indicating that he was the rightful heir. Moreover, the story goes on to say that he was the one who lif ted the "magic object" which could be lifted only by the rightf ul pretender to the throne. Finally, when his name and that of Rwegila were called before Nyabatama in an attempt to find out who the rightf ul contender was, the drum Nyabatama sounded as soon as Rumanyika's name was mentioned, thus giving its approval.

On the physical side, Rumanyika was helped by his supporters, mostly those from Bushangaro, Nyaishozi and Migongo (Bugene and Kituntu), whom he called *Abayange*. The Arab traders and their African agents who were present in Karagwe at this time are said to have aided Rumanyika (at his request) by giving him some of their guns or by actually being involved in the fighting itself on Rumanyika's side against Rwegira's forces.

As regards his personality and character, Rumanyika appears to have been a likeable person. His relations with t?-e foreigners who visited him and what they thought of him can be summarized by the description they gave of him, the "kind-hearted" mukama. To Stanley, who visited him in 1876,

[Rumanyika] was altogether the picture of the gentle shepherd of his flock [who] drank milk, thought the meat of goat and sheep unclean, would not eat fish, fowl or guinea fowl . . . never touched stir-about . . . but merely sucked the juice of boiled beef and drank very little banana wine and was never known to be intoxicated.¹⁹

He possessed the placid temper, soft voice, mild benignity and pleasant character of a "gentle father". To him the Banyambo were children rather than subjects. He was concerned with their welfare more than anything else. His paternalistic attitude towards Banyambo and his tall stature earned him the title of Bugororoka rwa Kakindo Biringa bya Bihogo, "the upright one of Kak:indo house, the wearer of copper bangles, of Bihogo".

Besides the feud with his brother Rwegila, Rumanyika fought several wars with his neighbouring rulers, such as

Mankorongo of Buzinza, who wanted to invade and annex Buhimba, which was still part of Karagwe, and Kigeri of Rwanda, who invaded Karagwe after Rumanyika had refused to exchange Kanyonyo of Ishango (Mubari), who was a political refugee in Karagwe, for Rwegira (who was now in Mubari). Rumanyika won all these wars, though not without much struggle.

The visit of Speke and Grant as the first Europeans to reach Karagwe in 1860-61, and that of Stanley in 1876, had a considerable impact on the history of the country. Their writings about their expeditions and particularly about Rumanyika and his country gave wider publicity abroad. Their preconceived feeling that nothing good could come out of what they called "Darkest Africa" helped in strengthening the social class structure which had been introduced by the Bahinda/Bahima. They believed that the presence of a good, sophisticated political system was due to the presence of the Bahima whom they associated with the Galla of Ethiopia whom they in turn identified with the origins to which the Ethiopian rulers claimed to belong. In his attempt to convert Rumanyika to Christianity and persuade

him to send his sons to England to get western education, Speke suggested that the king and his family might become Christians since they "sprung from the Abyssinians [who] were like ourselves, and had the Wahuma not lost their knowledge of God they would be so also".²⁰ This belief was later mentioned by G. C. Swain who based his work on those of Speke and Grant. In his *Lake Victoria*, he asserts that polygamy and slavery which kept the African in a degraded condition could not be accepted by a white or superior race because "a man of superior race . . . will rather die than submit to slavery, and a woman of a superior race will inevitably rebel against polygamy". To this sense of superiority he equated the prosperity of Karagwe. To him, the country was prosperous because it was "ruled by a prince in whom semitic blood seemed to predominate", the good king Ruma-

"Iiyika. On the other hand Swain maintains, "the Kabaka of Buganda (Mutesa) was regarded as a tyrant because though a Wahuma by extraction he was said to have come of a family which had been degraded in its type by repeated intermixture with slaves [black Africans]".²¹ It is interesting to note that if Swain had lived a little longer to witness the later developments in Karagwe his opinion of the Bahinda/Bahima influences would have been the reverse of what he says above. One of the major causes for the decline of Karagwe is the tyrannical rule by the Bahinda princes Kakoko and Kaketo, who killed people and confiscated their properties at will.

The decline of Karagwe

The internecine wars between princes and contenders to the throne, the atrocities of the regents Kakoko and Kaketo, together with epidemics and other pestilences set Karagwe on the decline. Many people and livestock were lost during these wars. The rinderpest epidemic and the outbreak of smallpox in the early and mid-1890s reduced further the already dwindling human and animal population of Karagwe. Some of those who managed to escape the sharp spears, arrows, and deadly diseases took refuge in the neighbouring countries. Although Emin Pasha's visit to Karagwe early in 1891 and the Anglo-German agreement placed the country politically in the German sphere of influence, yet it was the tyranny of Kaketo which speeded up the involvement of the Germans in the internal affairs of Karagwe. It is true that the Germans had planned to build another substation in Karagwe similar to that at Kyaka (Kiburnbiro), but until Bakahuga went to Bukoba accusing his co-regent Kaketo of terrorizing the kingdom, the Germans had left Karagwe unmolested. Since Kaketo was killing people at will and confiscating their properties, these innocent defenceless people were left with no other choice than to appeal to the German authorities in Bukoba to come to the assistance of the victims of this tyrant. In response to the Banyambo's request the Germans came in order to establish a *Pax Germanica*.

The harsh rule of Kaketo and the German intervention in Karagwe led to the appointment of Kyobya, brother-in-law of Kahigi, as regent in Karagwe. When Kaketo was arrested and sent into exile on Bumbire island in Lake Victoria, Bakahuga could not rule by himself, since he was a former slave who together with Kaketo had been asked by Ndagara II (Nyamukuba) to look after the affairs of the kingdom during the minority of his son Kanyorozi (Ntare VII). The German authorities therefore placed Karagwe under the jurisdiction of their favourite mukama, Kahigi of Kihanja, who in turn appointed Kyobya to be his personal representative in Karagwe. The presence of Kyobya, who incidentally is said to have taken advantage of his office by taking a lot of cattle and other properties from the Banyambo, did not help Ntare to maintain his power when he came of age and was crowned mukama of Karagwe. Instead, Kyobya continued to accuse him before the German officials of being unco-operative, so that in the end Ntare was arrested and deported. He was tried, found guilty, and placed under the custody of Kahigi at Kyangwe near Kanazi.

In the meantime some of his brothers had fled the country and taken refuge in Nkole (Uganda) which was administered by the British. While he remained in detention under Kahigi,

Ntare wanted to contact his brothers over in Nkole. He asked one of his relatives, Kanyogombwa, son of Kaketo, to write a letter to his brothers asking them to make arrangements to rescue him. After writing the letter, Kanyogombwa—who, it seems, wanted to take advantage of the situation—informed Kahigi and the Germans that Ntare had written to his brother in Nkole asking him to contact the British to rescue Ntare, and that the Mukama had promised to place Karagwe under British protection if they were successful in rescuing him. The messengers who were carrying the letter were intercepted at Katoro and the alleged letter taken from

them. Ntare was brought to Bukoba once again, tried for high treason, and finally executed.

Although the Germans killed Ntare in cold blood with the hope that his elimination would help in maintaining their power in Karagwe, World War I did not permit them to stay much longer. By the end of the following year they were already moving out of Karagwe, having been pushed out by British and Belgian forces.

In summary, it may be said that in its history Karagwe had risen from a small state ruled by an indigenous clan to one of the major states in the interlacustrine region under the rule of the Bahinda. It had also witnessed the spread of the Bahinda influence over most of the neighbouring states and the beginning of its decline. Although it had suffered many invasions by neighbouring rulers and had experienced a series of natural pestilences, it had not completely lost its identity, although admittedly it was no longer as important as its former equals. While Bunyoro, Buganda, Nkole, and Rwanda had managed to remain as separate districts, provinces, or residences under the new colonial administrations, Karagwe had become part of the Bukoba Residency together with the other smaller states of Bukoba and Biharamulo. Its social composition now included members of those tribes which had come to trade there during the height of the Wanyamwezi, Wasumbwa and Arab trade, and those who had come to help some of the bakama to maintain their power or those who had come to invade it. Included in this category are the Wanyamwezi, Wasumbwa, Binza, Barundi, Barwanda, Banaro, and a number of other groups. The present population is a conglomeration of all these "tribal" groups which have moved into Karagwe in the course of its historical development.

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11. H. Cory, *Historia ya Wilaya ya Bukoba*, Mwanza, nd. p. 9; J. Ford and R. de Z. Hall, "History of Karagwe", *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, 24/1947, p. 5.
12. F. Z. Lwamugira, *Amakuru ga Kiziba n'Abakama Bamu*, Bukoba, 1949, pp. 64-66, and Mzee Kwezi Nsherenguzi of Kishao, Karagwe, say that Nyakiru (Kibi), who conquered Kiziba and ousted Ntumwa, was a son of Njunaki, mother of Ruhinda. This link of Kibi to Ruhinda seems to have been created by the Babito dynasty in Kiziba in order to strengthen its claim, since the Bahinda who ruled the other Buhaya and Karagwe states were more respected by their subjects.
13. J. Speke, *Journal of the Discovery of the Sources of the Nile*, London, 1864, pp. 92-3.
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FURTHER READING

- H. Cory, *Historia ya Wilaya ya Bukoba* (Mwanza. n.d.). Summary histories of the former eight kingdoms of Bukoba and Karagwe districts, written both in English and Swahili. Some of the information is inaccurate especially in the Swahili translation.
- H. Cory and M. M. Hartnoll, *Customary Law of the Haya Tribe* (London, 1945). The last section contains brief histories of the former eight kingdoms of Bukoba and Karagwe. It also has some information on the histories of the major clans.
- J. Ford and R. de Z. Hall, "History of Karagwe", in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, No. 24/1947, pp. 3-24. This is a comprehensive account of Karagwe as collected by two colonial officials in Bukoba in 1928.
- I. N. Kimambo, *A Political History of Upare* (Nairobi, 1969). The book traces the evolution of political and cultural institutions, reconstructed from oral accounts and supplemented by archaeological finds.
- F. X. Lwamugira, *Amakuru ga Kiziba na Abakama Bamu* (Bukoba, 1949). A very biased book of Kiziba history, but it contains valuable information.
- B. A. Ogot, *History of the Southern Luo*, Volume 1: *Migration and Settlement* (Nairobi, 1967). Like Kimambo's book, this volume reconstructs the history of the Luo for five centuries by using oral traditions and place-names. Useful on methodology.
- B. K. Taylor, *The Western Lacustrine Bantu* (London, 1962). An ethnographical survey containing summaries of literature on seven major tribes: Banyoro, Batoro, Banyankole, Baciga, Banyambo/Bahaya and Bazinza. It puts together some of the information which is very rare to obtain.

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