

PAUL NGOLOGOZA AND THE MAKING OF 'KIGEZI AND ITS PEOPLE' OF SOUTHWESTERN UGANDA¹

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Abstract

In the popular logic of binary opposites and analogical deduction that have defined the study of Africa for long, Paul Ngologoza could be categorized as a tribal patriotic leader who enforced Bakiga customs. Indeed Ngologoza worked hard to advance the interests of his people, the Bakiga. When, for instance land became scarce in South Kigezi, he encouraged the Bakiga to resettle elsewhere in Uganda but also exhorted them to preserve the good customs and characteristics of their tribe. It is from such Ngologoza's work assumed as reinforcing custom that Derek Peterson deduces "the origins of one of colonial Uganda's several patriotisms."² He shows how Ngologoza defended Bakiga tribal customs against revivalist movement in Kigezi with a whip in hand. This portrays Ngologoza as a tribal architect and a despot. However, beyond tribalism and despotism, Ngologoza's career and works concentrated on the making of the intertribal political identity of Kigezi as opposed to advancing Bakiga tribal nationalism. This serves to explain why in Kigezi politics has not been defined by majoritarian tribal efforts to suppress and ostracize minority groups. In this paper, I want to move beyond the binaries and analogy in the study of Ngologoza and his works in the making of 'Kigezi and its people'. As a methodology, I work with the Kigezi district archives, Ngologoza's family papers and conduct oral interviews to place Ngologoza in his context and the circumstances that enabled him to think more of Kigezi in geographical terms than Bakiga tribal solidarity; a conception that helped create an intertribal political identity in Kigezi. It is this intertribal political character that make it impossible for groups of people in Kigezi to mobilize along tribal lines and further explain why Kigezi though multi-tribal has remained relatively free from escalating postcolonial violence.

¹ This paper is prepared for the 'MISR Graduate Student' conference 2018. I am still developing it and should therefore not be cited. It is an extract from my forthcoming PhD thesis: Politics and Violence: A Comparative Study of Kigezi Inter-tribal Politics and Tribal Politics in Toro. It follows a chapter on the 'colonial history of Kigezi and Toro' in which I examine the distinctions upon which the two districts were made.

² Derek Peterson. 2012. *Ethnic Patriotism and the East African revival: A History of Dissent, c. 1935-1972*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 77

Introduction

“I would, in writing this, like to remind the settlers that even if they become rich and change their mother tongue, they should remember the proverb, ‘even hot water eventually cools’. They must never forget the good customs and characteristics of the Bakiga, nor forget their own language, and they must feel in their bones that they are Bakiga, remembering where they used to live.”³

This famous quote of Paulo Ngologoza seemingly illustrates tribal patriotism. It is apparent that Ngologoza worked so hard to advance the interests of his people, the Bakiga. For instance when it became clear that South Kigezi was overpopulated, he spearheaded the resettlement of the Bakiga into north Kigezi, Ankole, Toro and Bunyoro. While he encouraged the Bakiga to resettle, intermix with others, learning new ways of life and language and becoming richer in foreign lands, he also insisted on the preservation of the good customs and characteristics of the Bakiga. This smirks of Bakiga tribal nationalism. Peterson believes that Ngologoza wrote and acted to defend the tribal hierarchy and customs. Mahmood Mamdani suggests that the tribe was the bearer of custom. “The more custom was enforced the more the tribe was restructured and conserved.....”⁴ and the chief who enforced custom became a despot because he did so with an iron hand. Peterson shows how Ngologoza defended custom against revivalist movement in Kigezi with a whip in hand.⁵ However, beyond tribalism and despotism Ngologoza as a state builder concentrated on the making of the intertribal political identity of Kigezi as opposed to advancing Bakiga tribal patriotism. Ngologoza as the chief architect of ‘Kigezi and its People’ conceived of the inter-tribal Banyakigezi political identity in terms of a geographical area of residence ‘Kigezi’ as opposed to tribe. In this endeavor, he and other state builders in Kigezi have succeeded in their work in so far as Kigezi politics have not been defined by majoritarian effort to suppress and ostracize minority groups. In this paper I want to focus on the life and work of one of the makers of Kigezi, Paulo Ngologoza, the first Secretary General and the first native judge of Kigezi district and author of ‘Kigezi and its People’. This study of Ngologoza as the agency of state building will

³ Paulo Ngologoza. 1968. *Kigezi and Its People*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 98.

⁴ Mahmood Mamdani. 2017. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Johannesburg and Kampala: Wits University Press and Makerere Institute of Social Research, 51.

⁵ Peterson 2012.

demonstrate why in postcolonial Uganda, the Bakiga and the people of Kigezi in general were not able to mobilize along tribal lines politically while elsewhere in Uganda political tribalism was the norm. In this paper I will concentrate on the biography of Paulo Ngologoza, the processes in the ‘making of Kigezi and its People’ and the debates over the resettlement of Bakiga outside Kigezi. The central question in the debates is that of nativity, tribal institutional hierarchy and custom. Did Paulo Ngologoza act and write to enforce these?

Biography of Paulo Ngologoza

Paulo Ngologoza was exceptional when compared to his peers in the politics of Kigezi. His father was Banjarana son of Maheesi, son of Ruhiira, a descendant of Kainika.⁶ He was therefore a Mwinika by clan. Ngologoza was a second born to a family of four children namely: Ndereya Rubale, Paulo Ngologoza, Elizabeth Banyagente and Yozeph Nyamugyema. They were bereft of their father at an early age but grew up to become responsible citizens in Kigezi. Apart from Banyagente who became an Anglican, the rest professed Catholicism.⁷ Ngologoza started humbly given his lack of formal education but rose through the ranks so quickly. However, available evidence indicates that Ngologoza knew how to read and write despite his lack of formal education. Contrary to the widely held view that Ngologoza had a personal secretary who wrote everything for him, several documents found in his family papers are written in his own handwriting. This is collaborated by his trademark signature found in the family papers that he himself wrote and elsewhere in the official documents in the Kigezi district archives. Pakomo Barekye the only Ngologoza’s surviving son relates how in addition to Catechism lessons his father acquired these skills from the Baganda when he worked for them as a houseboy.⁸ In particular Pakomo mentions one Ikazire, a Muganda chief in Kigezi who is believed to have taught him Luganda and Swahili in addition to reading and writing. Pakomo recounts how Ikazire’s visits to Ngologoza’s home in Bukinda were always memorable ones involving good feeding including goat roasting. As an appreciation from the Ngologoza’s, it became a tradition that Ikazire would serve meat to the

⁶ Paulo Ngologoza. 1967. *Kigyezi Nabantu Bamwo*. Nairobi, Dar es salaam and Kampala: East African Literature Bureau,

⁷ Pakomo Barekye, *Interview*, Bukinda, Rukiga, 9 June 2018.

⁸ Pakomo Barekye, *Interview*, Bukinda, Rukiga, 9 June 2018.

family and carry away roasted meat on his departure.⁹ Born in 1897 at Rwanyena in Rubaya, Kabale in Kigezi, Ngologoza attended catechism lessons and was baptized a Catholic at Kitabi in Ankole in 1922.¹⁰ He started serving Kigezi as a village chief in 1923, promoted to Parish Chief in 1925 and became Gombolola Chief of Kikongyere in 1929.¹¹ He became Saza Chief of Kinkizi in 1936 long after the native Bakiga had replaced Baganda Chiefs. He was transferred to Rukiga as Saza Chief in 1942 and became the first Secretary General of Kigezi in 1946, a position he held for nine years.¹² He was appointed Chief Judge in 1956 and Chairman Appointments Board in 1959.¹³ When compared to his peers such as M. Mukombe, Paul Rukeribuga, Paul Kakwenza and Thomas Rwomushana, it becomes obvious that Ngologoza did exceptionally well. Mukombe for instance worked with the Native Administration Police in 1912. He became a Station Chief in 1920, Gombolola Chief in 1921 and replaced a Muganda as Saza Chief of Ndorwa in 1930.¹⁴ This record of progress shows that Mukombe was senior to Ngologoza. However, in 1946, Ngologoza became superior to his senior when he (Ngologoza) was appointed the first Secretary General of Kigezi. The Secretary General was the highest rank one could have in the district. In terms of influence, it was Paul Kakwenza the Saza Chief of Ndorwa who was ranked second to Ngologoza, the Secretary General in the district in 1953.¹⁵ Ngologoza and Thomas Rwomushana were the first Bakiga to receive certificates of honor from the colonial government in 1934.¹⁶ However, while Rwomushana received the honor as a county chief, Ngologoza was a mere Sub-county Chief. To deserve this, Ngologoza had consistently proved to work hard. In 1930 and 1932, the

⁹ Pakomo Barekye, *Interview*, Bukinda, Rukiga, 9 June 2018.

¹⁰ Box 92. Administration. Honors: List of holders of honors, eligibility file. Telegram from the District Commissioner, 28 August 1952 mentions Paul Ngologoza's approximate date of birth as 1899. But Paulo Ngologoza. 1967. *Kigyezi Nabantu Bamwo*. Nairobi, Dar es salaam and Kampala: East African Literature Bureau, mentions 1897 as the approximate date of birth.

¹¹ Paul Ngologoza. 1967. Also see Box 92. Administration. Honors: List of holders of honors, eligibility file. Telegram from the District Commissioner, 28 August 1952.

¹² Box 92. Administration. Honors: List of holders of honors, eligibility file. Telegram from the District Commissioner, 28 August 1952,

¹³ Paulo Ngologoza. 1967.

¹⁴ Box 92. Administration. Honors: List of holders of honors, eligibility file. Form of Recommendation for honors of Mr. Mukombe, Record of Public Service, District Commissioner Kigezi, 4 February 1949.

¹⁵ Box 92. Administration. Honors: List of holders of honors, eligibility file. Form of Recommendation for honors, Grounds of recommendation for Mr. Paul Kakwenza, District commissioner, Kigezi, 24 January 1953.

¹⁶ Box 92. Administration. Honors: List of holders of honors, eligibility file. List of Holders of Honors in Kigezi District. District commissioner, Kigezi to the Provincial commissioner, Western Province, Masindi, 10 May, 1949.

District Commissioners described him as the “best chief in the county”.¹⁷ This shows that Ngologoza was an exceptional chief. It is also believed that he was the first Mukiga to fly by air. This widely held view is also expressed in the traditional Bakiga song of *enanga* (trough zither) commonly known as *endegye* (euro-plane) in praise of Ngologoza.¹⁸ Contrary to the view that Ngologoza travelled abroad in that euro-plane, Pakomo explains how the euro-plane was a military aircraft that the British used to airlift Chiefs to convince them that Britain was well prepared for the impending war against Germany.¹⁹ It was at Nyakashara in Mbarara where all chiefs from Western Province had gathered in 1939 that the British displayed this show of might. Mukombe (mentioned in the song) who had been selected from Kigezi is believed to have declined the offer to board the aircraft, in fear of death, but Ngologoza courageously took on the challenge. After flying in the aircraft, chiefs would then help to mobilize the native young men to join the army. Whereas Mukombe and his colleagues who feared are believed to have done so on account of advancing age,²⁰ available evidence indicate that there was only six years of age difference between Mukombe and Ngologoza. For instance in 1949 Mukombe was 56 while Ngologoza was 50 years old.²¹ Moreover both men had families to look after. It is for instance alleged in the traditional song that Ngologoza bade farewell to his son Rwabishari and requested him to take care of his property as the heir in case he (Ngologoza) died in the aircraft.²² Pakomo relates how his elder brother Rwabishari joined the army (African Rifles) to participate in the British war against Germany in the World War II at the encouragement of their father Paulo Ngologoza.²³

¹⁷ Box 92. Administration. Honors: List of holders of honors, eligibility file. Paulo Ngologoza, Comment, 1930, J. E. Phillips, Comment, 1932, J. R. Bell.

¹⁸ *Endegye* is the traditional song of *enanga* (trough Zither), a music instrument that is unique for Bakiga and Banyarwanda in Africa. My elder sister Jasinta Ntegyerize knows how to play *enanga* and used to do so and sing for us *endegye* in praise of Ngologoza on the fireplace at home.

¹⁹ Pakomo Barekye, *Interview*, Bukinda, Rukiga, 5 May 2018. Pakomo is the last born only surviving son of Paulo Ngologoza.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Box 92. Administration. Honors: List of holders of honors, eligibility file. Form of Recommendation for honors, Name and age of Mukombe, G. B. Moss, District Commissioner, Kigezi, 4 February 1949. Also see Box 92. Administration. Honors: List of holders of honors, eligibility file. Form of Recommendation for honors, Name and age of Paulo Ngologoza, District Commissioner, Kigezi, 4 February 1949.

²² Rwabishari, the first born of Ngologoza died and is survived by a widow and Children who live in Kyanamira on a very large stretch of land that he inherited from his father (Paulo Ngologoza). He is mentioned in the *endegye*, Bakiga traditional song.

²³ Pakomo Barekye, *Interview*, Bukinda, Rukiga, 9 June 2018.

Ngologoza received accelerated promotions and awards on account of his hard work. This is evident from comments of Kigezi District Commissioners. In 1936, A. G. N Jenkins described him as “a delightful personality and a man of outstanding merit.”²⁴ In 1939, Ngologoza was described as an excellent chief who organized and controlled his county well.²⁵ By 1945, L. A. Mathias could describe him as the “most progressive and sensible chief in the district.”²⁶ On his recommendation of Ngologoza to receive a King’s Medal for African Chiefs for Kings birthday honors in 1949, the DC would write: “I do not think that there is any doubt that Paulo Ngologoza deserves a King’s Medal... He has now done twenty years, and what service may lack in length, has certainly been made up for in hard work.”²⁷ In 1947 the DC had already observed about Ngologoza over the same award: “I think a special case can be made for the award. Ngologoza is an outstanding man.”²⁸ Ngologoza’s peers and namesakes who include Paul Kakwenza and Paul Rukeribuga, the Mutwale of Bufumbira though with same years of service were to receive similar honor in 1953 (four years later).²⁹

Ngologoza, was a man of good character, a team player and influential. This is manifested in the confidence that the district team and his fellow chiefs had in him when they appointed him Secretary General even when he had no formal education. Ngologoza himself humbly acknowledges the support he received thus: “What could I do, a person who never got education or even a glimpse of schooling? On the other hand, I had the confidence of my colleagues, the Saza Chiefs, because they had appointed me and the following people helped me more than I can tell: Messrs. Karegyesa, Mukombe, Rukyeribuga, Kakwenza and others-good luck to them.”³⁰

²⁴ Box 92. Administration. Honors: List of holders of honors, eligibility file. Paulo Ngologoza, Comment, 1936, A. G. N. Jenkins.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Box 92. Administration. Honors: List of holders of honors, eligibility file. Paulo Ngologoza, Comment, 1945, L. A. Mathias.

²⁷ Box 92. Administration. Honors: List of holders of honors, eligibility file. G. B. Moss, District Commissioner, Kigezi, The Provincial Commissioner, western Province, Masindi, 4 February 1949.

²⁸ Box 92. Administration. Honors: List of holders of honors, eligibility file. Notes, District Commissioner, 17 January 1947.

²⁹ Box 92. Administration. Honors: List of holders of honors, eligibility file. Form of Recommendation for honors for Paul Kakwenza 50, Recommendation and order of preference, Queen’s Medal in Silver-Gilt. J. A. Burgess, District Commissioner, Kigezi, 24 January 1953. Then Box 92. Administration. Honors: List of holders of honors, eligibility file. Form of Recommendation for honors for Paul Rukeribuga 50, Recommendation and order of preference, Queens Medal in Silver, 24 January 1953.

³⁰ Paulo Ngologoza. 1968, 101-102

Despite this humility, on recommending him for an award of Honorary Member of the British Empire (M. B. E.) in 1952, the DC described Ngologoza as a man of “considerable strength of character, tact and a progressive political sense”, an excellent example to all officers of government and “an outstanding African to whom Kigezi owes much.”³¹

Paulo Ngologoza was devoted to the building of state and Church alike. Besides the honors bestowed on him by the colonial government, Ngologoza became a Papal Knight equivalent to the honor of K. S. G Knight of St. Gregory in 1980.³² The Church had also in 1950 sponsored Ngologoza’s trip to Rome to attend a holy year pilgrimage becoming one among the first people from Kigezi to travel to Europe. Available evidence indicate that the protectorate government in Uganda agreed to provide further funding to enable him extend his trip to the United Kingdom where he would “spend three to four weeks at government expense”.³³ On his return Ngologoza shared his experience with the people of Kigezi and continued to serve the protectorate government until he retired in 1960. However, even after his retirement, Ngologoza would be called upon as a compromise candidate to serve on the district council and to give expert advice in the time of crisis. Ngologoza believed in change as a factor of life and in progress and not in custom. Though as a Catholic Ngologoza was of a Democratic Party (DP) leaning, he changed to become a supporter of Uganda People’s Congress (UPC) and the *Rutakirwa engabo ya Kigezi* institution in early 1960’s not because he belied in custom but because it was a popular institution politically at the time. He believed in the saying: “the tree bends wherever the wind blows”. He is known to have advised his fellow Catholics to join UPC for the benefit of their religion.³⁴ He served the UPC government diligently although this did not provide immunity to discrimination by the UPC on account of religion. Having generously donated land to the Rwanyana Catholic Mission, a Primary School was built there and named Paulo Ngologoza Primary School in his honor. However, the

³¹ KigDA Box 92. Administration. Honors: List of holders of honors, eligibility file. Form of Recommendation for honors for Paul Ngologoza, Recommendation and order of preference, Hon. M. B. E., District Commissioner, Kigezi, 28 July 1952.

³² Ngologoza. 1967.

³³ KigDA Box 35. Administration. Visit of Uganda Africans to other territories file. Mr. Paulo Ngologoz’s visit to Rome and the U.K, District commissioner, Kigezi to All Saza chiefs, Kigezi, 3 May 1950.

³⁴ Silverio Twinomugyisha (Fr. Dr.), Vicar General Kabale Diocese, *interview*, Rushoroza, Kabale, 6 June 2018.

name has since been removed and erased from the records due to fear of discrimination. According to Silverio Twinomugisha, this was done during the UPC government.³⁵ It is also alleged that the *Banyama*-UPC group “B” destroyed Ngologoza’s coffee plantation either for his support of the *Rutakirwa* or for his religious affiliation to Catholicism or both.³⁶ He was appointed the Vice Chairman when the Uganda People’s Congress (UPC) rift between the *Baboga* who were the supporters of the constitutional monarchy (UPC groups “A”) and the *Banyama* which was a progressive UPC group “B” faction that resented the constitutional monarchy in Kigezi.³⁷ These factions threatened to tear apart the Kigezi district council.³⁸ He was also among the elders identified to resolve *Banyama-Baboga* political impasse in the district following the election of *Rutakirwa engabo ya Kigezi* as a UPC regional chairman. In 1967, Ngologoza was appointed the deputy district Speaker. In this position, he used his exceptional skills and experience to help a well-educated but ill suited speaker to negotiate and resolve conflicts at a time when Kigezi was still ‘a blaze with factional politics’.³⁹ Muniini Mulera describes him as a man revered by his people and whose name is “synonymous with honor, integrity and visionary leadership”.⁴⁰ Ngologoza held many other leadership positions in the evening of his years until he died in 1984.

The Making of ‘Kigezi and its People’

Mahmood Mamdani examines how colonialism created bifurcated states of natives and non-natives each with a separate law.⁴¹ In introducing this binary the British were following the advice of Henry Main who advised that the best way to govern the

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Pakomo Barekye, *Interview* Bukinda, Rukiga, 9 June 2018.

³⁷ KigDA Box 16. Administration. Confidential Flimsies file. E. W. S. Kamwaka, District Commissioner, Kigezi to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Regional Administration, Kampala, Kigezi District Council Meeting, 2 August 1965. The correspondence indicates that the district council had nominated Mr. Ngologoza with 58 votes and Mr. Buraaro with 21 votes. Also see Charles Kabuga. 1972. The Banyama-Baboga Controversy in *A History of Kigezi in Southwestern Uganda*. Ed. Donald Denoon. Kampala: The National Trust. Adult Education Center, 286-297. He confirms that Paulo Ngologoza was returned as the Deputy Chairman of the District Council by the appointing authority, the Minister of Regional Administration.

³⁸ Charles Kabuga. 1972. The Banyama-Baboga Controversy in *A History of Kigezi in Southwestern Uganda*. Ed. Donald Denoon. Kampala: The National Trust. Adult Education Center, 286-297.

³⁹ Muniini K. Mulera. “Paulo Ngologoza of Kigezi: The Tragedy of Neglect” in *Daily Monitor*, Thursday, April 3, 2018

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Mahmood Mamdani. 2017.

natives of India was through native customs.⁴² When this system of governance was replicated in Africa, it defined who a native was and created homelands, which were tribal with customary law for the natives and civil law for non-natives. For Kigezi, which had three tribes, Bakiga, Bahororo and Banyarwanda, it would imply that each tribe would have its own native law, which would discriminate not only Europeans and Indians but also tribes from different homelands in Kigezi and elsewhere in Uganda. The Bakiga native law for instance would on the one hand discriminate Bahororo and Banyarwanda and on the other hand discriminate tribes from outside Kigezi, Europeans and Indians. The civil law however, would apply only to non-natives including Europeans, Indians and non-natives of other tribal homeland. In the process tribalism would develop because a theory of tribal history supported by the colonial administration would frame the agency of the native, which in the colonial sense of power and knowledge was considered tribal.⁴³ Therefore, Mamdani described tribalism as “culture pinned to the homeland, culture in fixity, politicized so that it does not move.”⁴⁴ Everywhere in Africa tribalism as defined became the norm. In Kigezi however, a combination of colonial approach and native response put to question the whole concept of nativity and tribal homelands. In studying the making of Kigezi and its people, my motivation is to explain the historical context within which Ngologozo was shaped as a state builder and the circumstances that enabled him to focus on the intertribal political identity of Kigezi as opposed to Bakiga nativism and their tribal homeland.

The first significant factor is that the Bakiga defied the British administrative practice of nativism, and homelands. When in 1912, Captain R. E. Critchley Salmonson, the then Acting colonial officer of Kigezi gathered prominent men at Ikumba to form native governments, Rwambuka, a Musigi had suggested that the Bakiga were not ready to govern themselves.⁴⁵ Rwambuka who had entered into blood pact with Yohanna Ssebalijja, a Muganda who came with the British requested that the British

⁴² Henry Main. 1906. *Ancient Law: Its Connection with the Early History and its Relation to Modern Ideas*. New York: Henry Holt and Company.

⁴³ Mahmood Mamdani. 2013. *Define and Rule: Native as Political Identity*. Kampala: Makerere Institute of Social Research, 7.

⁴⁴ Mamdani, 2013, 7

⁴⁵ Yohana Ssebalijja. 1972. “Memories of Rukiga and Other Places” in *A History of Kigezi in South-Western Uganda*. Ed. Donald Denoon. Kampala: The National Trust. Adult Education Center, 179-199.

should maintain the Baganda in Kigezi to advise the Bakiga in the art of government.⁴⁶ Indeed, while Salmonson succeeded in appointing well known traditional leaders such as Makobore as Saza chief of Rujumbura in Mpororo and Nyindo as Saza chief of Bufumbira, the appointment of Rwagara, a Musigi as Saza chief of Ndorwa to lead the Bakiga ended in a dismal failure. Fellow Bakiga from other clans including the Basigi of a different lineage rejected Rwagara. The British had no option but to appoint Ssebalijja as the Saza chief of Both Ndorwa and Rukiga. They also assigned Baganda agents to Makobore of Rujumbura and Nyindo of Bufumbira. This arrangement implies two most significant closely linked orientations for Kigezi. The first is that the British did not identify and work with one of the traditional leaders in Kigezi to defend and protect their interests. The second is that the British did not therefore enforce the customary law of any of the three tribes in Kigezi. This fact therefore implies that the British recognized the multi-tribal character of Kigezi. Elsewhere in Uganda the approach was different. For instance in Toro, the British installed Kasagama as the *Omukama* or King of Toro and signed an agreement with him as an enforcer of customary law. As a consequence, the 1900 agreement created the nativity of Toro privileging one tribe, the Batoro over other tribes. Here therefore, unlike Kigezi, the British did not recognize the multi-tribal character of Toro.⁴⁷

The second factor that explains the lack of tribal tradition and custom in Kigezi is the Baganda agency, colonial approach and native response. Once the Baganda entrenched themselves in the leadership of Kigezi, they developed a feeling that they were indispensable.⁴⁸ For nineteen years (from 1910-1929), the Baganda chiefs determined the traditions and customary laws in Kigezi. Ngologoza explains the skewed nature of the Baganda laws: “In dealing with cases they did not distinguish between criminal and civil cases, for the simple reason that they wanted all cases to involve fines so that they could acquire goats and cows.”⁴⁹ The colonial archive of Kigezi district testifies to the extortion by the Baganda chiefs.⁵⁰ It is believed that the British were opposed to the perpetual rule of the Baganda in Kigezi and

⁴⁶ Yowana Ssebalijja. 1972, 179-199

⁴⁷ This is discussed in details in the chapter on “the making of Toro and tribal politics”

⁴⁸ Ngologoza. 1968.

⁴⁹ Ngologoza. 1968, 78

⁵⁰ The details of “Baganda Agency” are found in the chapter on “the Making of Kigezi”.

overwhelming evidence is available to support this idea because as early as 1918, the British supported the appointment of the natives as chiefs. The British believed that the Baganda chiefs were alien to Kigezi and therefore required temporarily until such a time when natives would acquire sufficient knowledge to govern themselves.⁵¹ It would seem however, that this idea arose out of native response to the colonial rule of the British and their Baganda agents. First, there was the Nyakishenyi rebellion led by Ntokibiri, a Mukiga of Bahunde clan in 1917. The rebellions in Kigezi often manifested themselves with Nyabingi, which was a real threat to the colonial establishment. To this end the DC, Kigezi would write: "I should therefore very much like if possible to get the changes disposed of and the new people settled in at once especially in view of the Belgian prediction of possible Nyabingi activity in these six months."⁵² While the British saw Nyabingi activism as resistance against alien rule, they also believed that the Baganda were unaffected and therefore good shock absorbers. This is also evident in the letter of the DC, Kigezi: "I can see no excuse for retaining Baganda sub-agents here. On the other hand, the terror inspired by the supernatural activities of the anarchic Nyabingi movement operating from outside the district and unlikely to disappear before the present generation, it probably is prudent simultaneously to abolish supervisory functions of the county advisors who alone are unaffected by such influences and might be retained at least until the end of the year."⁵³ In response, the PC agreed that alien advisers and agents should be dispensed with at the earliest possible time but hesitated to recommend the abolition of all agents in Rukiga at once in view of possible Nyabingi trouble.⁵⁴ Besides the Nyabingi threat, the overriding factor for the use of aliens for such long period seem to have been that of preparing natives for the task of leadership. To this end, the British decided to take on a more direct intervention in preparing the natives when they started a school to train leaders. Captain J. E. T. Philips, the DC founded the School that brought together Bakiga, Bahororo and Banyarwanda in Kisoro in 1920 to be

⁵¹ KigDA Box 87. Administration. Native affairs: General file. Provincial commissioner, Western Province, Fort portal to the District Commissioner, Kigezi, 17 December 1918.

⁵² KigDA Box 28. Administration. Kigezi District-Appointment and Dismissal of Chiefs file. Retirement of 'alien' Agents in favor of indigenous Chiefs, J. E. T. Philips, District Commissioner, Kigezi to the Provincial Commissioner, Western Province, 6 February 1929.

⁵³ KigDA Box 28. Administration. Kigezi District-Appointment and Dismissal of Chiefs file. Retirement of 'alien' Agents in favor of indigenous Chiefs, J. E. T. Philips, District Commissioner, Kigezi to the Provincial Commissioner, Western Province, 6 February 1929.

⁵⁴ KigDA Box 28. Administration. Kigezi District-Appointment and Dismissal of Chiefs file. Provincial Commissioner, Western Province to the District Commissioner, Kigezi, 27 March 1929.

trained as leaders of a multi-tribal district, but in what looks like tribal distinction, the School was split into two; one for the Banyarwanda located at Sesema in Kisoro and another for the Bakiga and Bahororo natives was moved to Rugarama in Kabale in 1922.⁵⁵ What is remarkable is that in what looks like a calculated move to detribalize the politics of Kigezi, the British emphasized the teaching of Swahili in the Schools. In addition, while the British were content to use the Baganda agents in ruling Kigezi, they seem to have been averse to the entrenchment of Baganda traditions and customs in Kigezi. This could explain why the British encouraged the teaching of Swahili and not Luganda in Kigezi. Alongside the Baganda chiefs, the British brought in Baziba from Tanzania to serve as Clarks and to teach Swahili to the natives. Available evidence indicates that Swahili became the language of communication both in written and verbal form in 1920's and 1930's. This also meant that natives of Kigezi who had received training from the colonial Schools at Seseme in Kisoro and Rugarama in Kabale could be posted anywhere regardless of their tribal affiliation. There is adequate evidence to prove this approach of intertribal appointment of chiefs in Kigezi. For example Bakiga chiefs worked in Bufumbira and Mpororo while Banyarwanda were appointed as chiefs in Rukiga. Knowing Kiswahili as opposed to native language became one of the qualifications for the appointment. In recommending the appointment of two indigenous Bakiga as chiefs in Rukiga county, the DC, Kigezi wrote: "They have long years of exemplary service, are active men, speak good Swahili and are liked by the peasantry and have an unusual driving force of character."⁵⁶ As early as 1921, the DC was recommending William Biteyi a Muhororo for a position of gombolola Chief among his tribesmen in Rujumbura on the basis of his knowledge of Kiwahili that he learnt in the colonial School. The DC, Kigezi described him as, "an intelligent and useful boy who has been taught the three R's and Kiswahili."⁵⁷ Ngologoza himself explains how his knowledge of Kiswahili helped him in doing his work as a Chief. Though he had no knowledge of English, having acquired no formal education, he overcame the problems of communication because he knew Swahili.⁵⁸ Swahili had become a medium of communication that

⁵⁵ Ngologoza, 1968.

⁵⁶ KigDA Box 28. Administration. Kigezi District-Appointment and Dismissal of Chiefs file. J. E. P. Philips, the District Commissioner, Kigezi to the Provincial Commissioner, Western Province, 28 November 1929.

⁵⁷ KigDA Box 29. Administration. Appointment of Chief's file. J. E. Philipps, District Commissioner, Kigezi to Provincial Commissioner, Western Province, 1 February 1921.

⁵⁸ Ngologoza. 1967.

even the Provincial commissioner could write to the chiefs in Swahili. For instance, to the Mutwale of Bufumbira the PC wrote: “*Nimefuraha sana kuwona Bwana DC amenifahamisha kama umefanya kazi mzuri sana katika Bufumbira tangu ulichaguliwa kuwa Mutwale,*”⁵⁹ (I am very happy to see the DC informing me that you have done good work in Bufumbira from the time you were chosen as Mutwale). The British also tried to erase the Baganda traditions and customs by replacing Ganda names of chieftainships with Swahili names. The colonial language board meeting for instance suggested that the names *Saza*, *Gombolola* and *Muluka* be retained for the three grades of chieftainship apart from the latter, which should change to *Mluka* to suit the Swahili variation. In addition, it was recommended that the chiefs themselves be called *Mwenyi Saza*, *Mwenyi Gombolola*, and *Mwenyi Mluka*.⁶⁰ While the British were getting rid of the alien Baganda customs, they did not emphasize native ones, a factor that could help explain the intertribal comity in Kigezi.

The third and most significant factor that explains lack of tribal custom in Kigezi is the role of state builders who focused their attention on the making of the intertribal political identity of the Banyakigezi as opposed to tribal solidarity. The chief architect of Kigezi, Paulo Ngologoza did not focus on only Bakiga customs to produce Bakiga solidarity but focused his attention on the multi-tribal customs to produce an inter-tribal solidarity. In his work; “Kigezi and its People” Ngologoza paid attention to Bakiga, Bahororo and Bafumbira customs alike. Moreover, Ngologoza recognized the Bahororo and Bafumbira traditional leadership in Kigezi. A group of people they call Bakiga neither confined themselves in boundaries nor professed a common political identity until the British fixed the boarders of Uganda and enfolded the Bakiga of Uganda into a territory the British came to call Kigyezi after *ekigyezi* (a lake) found in Bufumbira, the current district of Kisoro. Indeed the Bakiga were only an amalgamation of clans that could be equated to tribes since each had its own leader and was independent of the others. The British called them Bakiga because they lived

⁵⁹ KigDA Box 29. Administration. Appointment of Chief's file. C. Sullivan, Provincial Commissioner, Western Province, Fort Portal to the Mutwale of Bufumbira, 31 October 1929.

⁶⁰ KigDA Box 29. Administration. Appointment of Chief's file. The Chief Secretary to the Provincial Commissioners, Eastern, Western and Northern Provinces, 6 June 1929. It follows that the Swahili language policy did not only apply to Kigezi region but to the Eastern and Northern Provinces as well. However, it seems this policy did not apply to Buganda since its Provincial Commissioner was not copied. It is also possible that such a policy did not apply to Kingdom districts such as Toro and Ankole where the British emphasized native custom.

in Rukiga. The British tried to constitute the Bakiga into a tribe without success. By the time the Bakiga became politically conscious they belonged more to Kigyezi than Rukiga. Derek Peterson is right to say that Ngologoza's work, testifies to efforts by the author to create structures of governance, identify institutions that enforce custom and elevate personalities upon which people could draw inspiration but makes a huge claim to argue that this was to "impart to Kiga leadership both validity and authenticity".⁶¹ Peterson wrote: "In his potted biography, Paulo Ngologoza was working to identify and elevate Kigezi's leading figures, anchor contemporary political and religious authorities within an inspiring past, and thereby impart to Kiga leadership both validity and authenticity."⁶² This is how Peterson's work just like others that use binary opposites and analogical deductions simply categorize all African state builders including Ngologoza as tribal patriotic leaders. Highlighting a few points in Peterson's work will help illuminate the weaknesses of such a binary approach in the study of Ngologoza.

First, Peterson claims that Ngologoza like all state builders in Africa spent many of his work giving detailed biographies of prominent tribes men, the Bakiga. He gives the example of Magyengye whom Peterson claims occupies half a page of Ngologoza's work. This claim is not true because Ngologoza talks about Magyengye in only one sentence that opens up a paragraph: "Magyengye son of Rwamushwa was a *Mukuru* of Bakongwe at Mukyante."⁶³ It is Katuregye, the warlord and young brother to Magyengye that Ngologoza talks about in a few more lines of the same paragraph not as a hero but a villain who uses Batwa pygmies to annihilate the Bakiga.⁶⁴ On the contrary Ngologoza paid tribute to the Muhororo king, Makobore, the *Omukama* of Rujumbura. In almost two pages, Ngologoza traces Makobore's lineage from king Kahaya of the Bashambo dynasty of Mpororo whom even the Bakiga respected and praised in their famous expression: '*Oshe Kahaya ka Ruguru*'.⁶⁵ It would therefore be these Bahororo leaders that Ngologoza would be seen to identify and elevate as leading figures with an inspiring past but not fellow Bakiga tribesmen as Peterson suggests. In the Makobore lineage, Ngologoza identified his

⁶¹ Peterson. 2012, 75

⁶² Peterson. 2012, 75

⁶³ Ngologoza. 1968, 24

⁶⁴ Ngologoza. 1968, 24

⁶⁵ Ngologoza. 1968, 28

(Makobore's) son Karegyesa and grandson F. Kitaburaza who became leaders of contemporary Kigezi. Thus unlike tribal nationalists such as George Kamurasi Rukidi III whose work 'the Kings of Toro' sought to validate and authenticate Batoro leadership by identifying Batoro kings upon whom contemporary political authority in Toro would anchor,⁶⁶ Ngologoza recognized the multi-tribal identity of Kigezi. Certainly Ngologoza's work is in no way comparable to the work of Bakonjo Life History society, which sought to establish the authenticity of the Bakonjo tribal political identity. The need to write about the history of Kigezi started in late colonial period when in 1952, the district council discussed the idea. Minute 42/52 about "*ebyafayo bya Kigezi*" (the history of Kigezi) explains it well.⁶⁷ The council members appreciated the idea and recommended that anybody interested and willing to write should do so. They agreed that the East African Literature Bureau would help such a person in producing a book desired by all people in Kigezi.⁶⁸ Paulo Ngologoza's private papers illustrate how he took on this project. The correspondences that he made with the Runyankole-Rukiga Committee, Festo Karwemera a contemporary Rukiga language expert and the East African Literature Bureau, the publishers is an abundant manifestation of the guiding hand that he received to produce the book that was desired by all in Kigezi. By 1969, Ngologoza's book "Kigezi and its people" is reported to have been on high demand in Ankole and Kigezi.⁶⁹ The work of the Bakonjo Life history Society represented the ideas of a tribal separatist movement that sought to establish the solidarity and authenticity of the Bakonjo tribe in a bifurcated multi tribal district of Toro. Their work like that of George Kamurasi Rukidi III never got published and was never discussed in the native council of Toro. It suffices here therefore to argue that Peterson's reductionist approach led him to generalize African state builders and their literature as artifacts of tribal nationalism.

⁶⁶ George Kamurasi Rukidi III. No date. "The Kings of Toro", unpublished hand written work, translated by Joseph R. Muchope, Makerere University College.

⁶⁷ KigDA. Minute Book. Minute 42/52, *ebyafayo bya Kigezi*, October 21-29, 1952

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Paulo Ngologoza's Private papers, Kigezi Nabantu Bamwe file, Paulo Ngologoza, Bukinda, Kabale to Mr. N. L. M. Sempira, E. A. L. Bureau, Nairobi, 22 May 1969. "A number of people are requesting for the copies of Kigezi N' Abantu Bamwe, and add on to say that they are not found in Bookshops. I am now asking you kindly to send as many copies in the Bookshops, Kigezi and Ankole Schools, Kilembe Mines and Jinja where most of the employees are Bakiga and Banyankole."

Second, Peterson explains Ngologoza's antagonism with the Balokole (revivalists) in Kigezi as a defense of hierarchy and Bakiga customs. Revivalists and in particular Juliana Mufuko who constantly preached outside Ngologoza's door in Bukinda disturbed peace and the established order.⁷⁰ Peterson elaborates;

“Where Kiga chiefs sought to cultivate the habits of respect and obedience among their subjects, converts openly flouted chief's authority. Where cultural conservatives defended the sartorial and culinary practices that upheld social hierarchy, converts made a point of dressing and eating indiscriminately. In Kigezi, the ‘pilgrims’ progress was an engine for dissenting cultural politics.”⁷¹

Indeed Vincent Kanyonza's view on Ngologoza-Barokole antagonism corroborates the same idea: “Ngologoza was a man of discipline and a faithful servant of the colonial state.”⁷² However, beyond this Peterson could not adequately explain what he calls private wars with Mufuko. What Peterson fails to recognize is the force of religion behind this politics of antagonism. Silverio Twinomugisha believes revivalists were a threat to Catholicism and to Ngologoza's political position because they (revivalists) resented everything that was not protestant.⁷³ Though as Peterson notes, revivalists were the main antagonists of chiefs, Festo Karwemera believes that Ngologoza disliked them because they converted Catholics into Anglicanism. Besides being a darling of the British, Karwemera also suggests that Ngologoza, was able to become a political leader in Kigezi because he was supported by the Catholics. However, this is disputed because Pakomo was able to explain how the Catholics were not the majority in the district council that elected the Secretary General in the 1940's. The Protestants did not like him because in Karwemera's opinion, he was favoring Catholics.⁷⁴ Indeed Juliana Mufuko's intention in camping at Ngologoza's door in Bukinda was to convert Ngologoza to Protestantism. Cecilia Tibahurira, Ngologoza's daughter in law recounts how Mufuko used to say that Ngologoza was lost as a Catholic; that if he became a Protestant, he would rule the world.⁷⁵ Peterson

⁷⁰ Peterson. 2012, 65.

⁷¹ Peteron. 2012, 52

⁷² Vincent Kanyonza (Fr. Dr.), *Interview*, Rushoroza, 6 June 2018

⁷³ Silverio Twinomugyisha, Vicar General, Kabale Diocese, *Interview*, Rushoroza, Kabale, 6 June 2018.

⁷⁴ Festo Karwemera, *Interview*, Rugarama, Kabale, 07 June 2018

⁷⁵ Cecilia Tibahurira, *Interview*, Bukinda, Rukiga, 6 June 2018.

himself shows us how revivalism went hand in hand with constituted authority and custom elsewhere in Uganda. For instance, Peterson explains how Toro state builders found the revival to be a useful tool to enhance their kingdoms reputation. He acknowledged that royals such as Ruth Komuntale reinforced Toro's political position while on their mission of the revival.⁷⁶ Peterson says, "Ruth Komuntale and other Toro polity builders moved fluidly between royalist nationalism and revivalist evangelism."⁷⁷ While in Toro revivalists found it possible to be patriots, in Kigezi converts were the chiefs leading antagonists. "They would go to Ngologoza's door preaching that if you don't get saved you are going to hell."⁷⁸ This confirms the position of Twinomugyisha, Karwemera and the narrative of Tibahurira with regard to the Ngologoza-Barokole antagonism. Moreover, John Bikangaga, the only polity builder in Kigezi to become a constitutional king of Kigezi in postcolonial Uganda was a Murokole Anglican who like Toro's royalist found it possible to be patriotic.⁷⁹ Generally, Uganda's patriots cultivated a close alliance with the Anglican Church because this aligned them with the British monarchy. Peterson acknowledges that this was the case in Toro. It was also the case in Buganda, Ankole, Bunyoro and elsewhere in colonial and postcolonial Uganda. In Kigezi however, Ngologoza's affiliation to Catholicism alienated him from patriotism attracting sharp criticism from the revivalist Anglicans. To become protestant was being patriotic and Catholicism was unpatriotic. That is the politics that the British bequeathed Uganda and Kigezi in particular. Ngologoza should have converted to Protestantism to become patriotic. Pakomo relates how Ngologoza is not given due recognition as a patriot even in the current politics of Kigezi. To substantiate his claim Pakomo gives the example of the district proposal to erect the Ngologoza portrait at the main and only round about of Kabale town but politics have instead supported the erection of portraits of gorillas that greet the first visitor of the town at the same sport.⁸⁰ Similarly, in naming the streets of Kabale, Ngologoza's name has been relegated to the most insignificant street.⁸¹ Even in family Ngologoza was no patriot. He bequeathed his house and estate in Kabale town to his daughter who was married to a

⁷⁶ Peterson. 2012.

⁷⁷ Peterson. 2012, 260

⁷⁸ Mentioned in Peterson. 2012, 67.

⁷⁹ George. W. Kanyeihamba. 2003. *Canon John Bikangaga: His Life and Service*. Kampala: Centenary Publishing House.

⁸⁰ Pakomo Barekye, *Interview*, Bukinda, Rukiga, June 7 2018

⁸¹ Pakomo Barekye, *Interview*, Bukinda, Rukiga, June 7 2018

Musigi at the expense of his family lineage and clan. After his death, his home in Bukinda was abandoned and his private papers vandalized. His son Pakomo blamed it on Tanzanian soldiers but his family itself does not escape the blame. Though Pakomo handed to me three files full of material, he admitted that many more papers could be found in the homes of Ngologoza's grand sons. Osbert Rwamuhanda one of Ngologoza's grandson said that some of his grandfather's private papers were burnt because they considered them untidy to keep in their newly constructed house.⁸² Arinaitwe Jude Taddeo also Ngologoza's grandson whom I found in possession of his grandfathers certificates also believes Ngologoza was no patriot. Arinaitwe told me how Ngologoza disowned "akucwa" the rest of his sons except Pakomo. "If my father was bad, were the rest of his brothers also bad"⁸³ he wondered. The Ngologoza's live independent of the other and it is possible to find some among his grandchildren who do not know or have not met each other due to lack of coordination and family reunions. Among Ngologoza's sons, only one, Robert Tibahurira became a chief following the footsteps of his father but Ngologoza disowned him. His popular and first-born son Rwabishari was also disowned for taking over Ngologoza's estate in Katokye, Kyanamira in Kabale. In sum there is no hierarchy and custom that Ngologoza sought to defend or leave behind; be it tribal or family. He was just a servant of the colonial government who moreover did not align himself to the royal family and customs of the British monarchy in his belief. That is the man who composed 'Kigezi and its people'. He is certainly not the patriot that Peterson wants us to imagine. He is simply not a tribal man. The consequence of all this on Ngologoza is that he conceived of Kigezi in terms of geography regardless of tribe.

Ngologoza and Resettlements of the Bakiga in North Kigezi, Ankole and Bunyoro

The idea of nativity and homeland occupies a central position in the resettlement of the Bakiga into North Kigezi, Ankole and Bunyoro. The native chiefs and L. A. Mathias, the DC held divergent views over the resettlement of the Bakiga. L. A. Mathias wanted to resettle whole villages from Ndorwa and Rukiga to Ankole especially in the areas of Mwizi, Kabatanagi in Rwampara "for their suitability since the altitude was high being in hills with cool air that could match the lives of the

⁸² Osbert Rwamuhanda, *Interview*, Mwanjari, Kabale, 7 June 2018.

⁸³ Jude Taddeo Arinaitwe, *Interview*, Rwakaraba, Kabale, 7 June 2018.

Bakiga”.⁸⁴ In his view it was not necessary to seek for the consent of the natives. M. Mukombe, the main proponent of resettlement and other native chiefs who visited Ankole and the less populated areas of Kigezi objected to the idea of resettlement outside Kigezi. The native chiefs believed that the British had hidden motives in their push for resettlement of whole Bakiga villages to areas outside Kigezi. Besides reducing population pressure on the land, the native chiefs thought that the British wanted to grab the land that would be left behind by Bakiga. This fear raged on because some areas of Kigezi had been set apart for European farms to grow pyrethrum. Two Europeans were already in possession of Bisiika, Kigarama, Rwakigarama and part of Karengyere hills; all in densely populated areas of Ndorwa and Rukiga.⁸⁵ Overwhelming evidence indicate how the native chiefs objected to the idea of resettlement of Bakiga outside Kigezi on grounds of nativity. In the meeting of the district council, the native chiefs requested for an agreement from the protectorate government over the land for the natives of Kigezi. This request was in line with the recommendations of a standing committee on resettlement on five counts: Firstly that an agreement be made and confirmed by the governor of Uganda saying that the land of Kigezi being small and not enough to feed the people of Kigezi, the protectorate government will find an alternative land in Ankole district but the people of Kigezi should decide for themselves to go.⁸⁶ Secondly, it is not allowed that the land of Kigezi should be taken by the people who are not Africans or Africans who are not natives of Kigezi (enzarwa za Kigezi) but non Africans or Africans who are allowed by the district council to put the land to use for the benefit of the whole country.⁸⁷ Thirdly, it should be confirmed that the land given to the people of Kigezi in Ankole belongs to them and no one else shall at some point in future years repossess that land.⁸⁸ Fourthly, any person resettled is at peace to return to Kigezi where he came from, if he feels unhappy with the new place or if he gets problems there.⁸⁹ Fifthly, people who are resettled should go with their leaders (nabami babo): if they are One hundred (100 people), Parish Chief (owomluka), five hundred (500 people), Sub-county Chief (Owegombolola), One thousand (1000 people), County Chief

⁸⁴ Ngologoza. 1968, 88.

⁸⁵ Ngologoza. 1968.

⁸⁶ KigDA. Minute Book. Minute 2/50, *Okufururira Omuri Ankole*, 3 February 1949.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

(Oweishaza); all should be natives of Kigezi from where the settlers come from.⁹⁰ The Governor resolved the divergence between L. A. Mathias and the native chiefs in favor of the latter. He ruled, “the people should be resettled inside Kigezi and should not be compelled to leave Kigezi. But after the areas within Kigezi have been filled up, the people should be advised to move to other areas outside Kigezi.”⁹¹

It should be argued here that the position held by the native chiefs advanced tribal patriotism and served to preserve tribal customs and tribal institutional hierarchy in areas of resettlement in North Kigezi and other areas outside Kigezi. By going with their leaders to areas outside Kigezi, the Bakiga would become recognized as native tribes in the new areas outside Kigezi. However, the actual process of obtaining land for resettlement required Kigezi state builders to strike compromise with tribal leaders outside Kigezi. Ngologoza here became a key leader because he was progressive and believed in compromise. He was well aware of the difficulties involved in securing land for the Bakiga. He is believed to have travelled to Ankole, Toro and Bunyoro, kneeling before the kings to request for land for the Bakiga settlement.⁹² To win the favor of the kings Ngologoza would tell them that the Bakiga would work for the kings and natives as laborers in return for land.⁹³ Moreover, in the protectorate government policy, the Bakiga had been identified as a reserve force for labor in the mines and plantations. In Toro for instance, the Bakiga dominated the labor force in the tea plantations and Kilembe mines. In the allocation of land for resettlement to the Bakiga periphery areas were identified intentionally to create buffer zones between the wild/game reserves and the natives of Toro. In Kibale County of Kamwenge in Toro district for instance, the resettlement area was an area west of the current main road to Kamwenge town stretching to the Kibale forest and game reserves. There are complaints on crop raiding on the one hand and forest and game encroachment by the settlers. No non-native was allowed to settle in the area east of the current road to Kamwenge.⁹⁴ This was probably one way the Bakiga would work for the natives. This arrangement produced lasting political ramifications. For instance whenever there is a

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ngologoza. 1968, 88

⁹² Silverio Twinomugisha, *Interview*, Rushoroza, Kabale, 6 June 2018

⁹³ Pakomo Barekye, *Interview*, Bukinda, June 7 2018

⁹⁴ Tumuhairwe John (Fr.). *Interview*, Virika, Fort Portal, 3 July 2018. John Tumuhairwe is a Catholic Priest of Fort Portal Diocese who worked as a Parish Priest of Kahungye in Kamwenge which was mainly established by the Bakiga settlers.

political contest in which a Mukiga participates in Toro, the natives constantly reminds the Bakiga that they came to work on the land and not to rule; “*mukeija kulima, mutaije kulema*” (you came to dig, you did not come to rule). It is until the settlers aspired to become a political majority that the natives became hostile. This explains the 1992 brutal eviction of the Bakiga from the Kibale forest and game reserve against research recommendations. A study team from Makerere Institute of Social Research (MISR), Makerere University and Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA had argued against the application of the general government policy towards eviction on the Bakiga of Kibale game reserve.⁹⁵ It also explains the animosity that followed the request for a district of Kamwenge, a predominantly Bakiga area. The Toro natives protested arguing that the Bakiga were requesting for tribal independence in native Toro. The Kigezi native council had foreseen this. In their opposition to L. A Mathias, the council argued against resettling ‘a nation into another nation’ (*okufurura eihanga, okuritwara omwihanga erindi*).⁹⁶ In their view, the settlers would forever be referred to as visitors/migrants. Drawing from the opinion of the Administrative Officer who projected that Uganda would be overpopulated in 35 years time, the council observed that like Kigezi, Ankole and other districts would also be overpopulated and in need of expansion. This would lead to the expulsion of ‘our people’.⁹⁷ In such a scenario, they would have nowhere to settle. The council then envisaged that the settlers would then be like the Israelites who were expelled from Europe to return to their homeland Palestine already occupied by the Arabs, which resulted into endless wars.⁹⁸ The council therefore resolved that the unsuitable areas of Kigezi particularly in the north be improved for the resettlement of the Bakiga.⁹⁹ However, the council did not prevent people who wished to migrate to Rwanda or Ankole as they ‘have always done in the past’.¹⁰⁰ This assessment of the native council lays bare three pronged interpretations: First that the native council perceived of Kigezi as a nation that belonged to people in

⁹⁵ John Aluma et. al. 1989. “Settlement in Forest Reserves, Game Reserves and National Parks in Uganda: A Study of Social, Economic and Tenure Factors Affecting Land Use and Deforestation in Mabira Forest Reserve, Kibale Forest Reserve and Kibale Game Reserve-Corridor.” Makerere Institute of Social Research, Makerere University, Kampala and Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin, Madison, USA.

⁹⁶ KigDA. Minute Book. Minute 2/50, *Ebyayongerwa ha No. 2: Okufurura-Re Ankole Resettlement Scheme*, 12 May 1949

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

Kigezi regardless of tribe. Second is that the native council recognized the existence of other nations in which the Bakiga would never be accepted as natives. Third, while the council recommended internal resettlement, they would not restrain the Bakiga from migrating at their own will to Ankole or Rwanda as they have always done individually. While holding the same perceptions Paulo Ngologoza orchestrated the resettlement of people from South Kigezi to both North Kigezi and outside Kigezi regardless of tribe. The people would be induced to resettle on their own will, would be expected to prosper and to learn new customs in the resettlement area without forgetting where they used to live. The concept Bakiga has often times been used generically to refer to all people who migrated from South Kigezi to the North; Kigezi, Ankole, Toro and Bunyoro. It is possible that Ngologoza also applied the concept Bakiga generically to refer to the people of South Kigezi. So, when Ngologoza says, “they must never forget the good customs and characteristics of the Bakiga, nor forget their language, and they must feel that they are Bakiga, remembering where they used to live” he most certainly did not refer to the Bakiga tribe but to all the people of South Kigezi who migrated regardless of tribe. They would all remember Kigezi where they used to live in geographical terms.

Conclusion

Attempts have been made in this paper to examine the processes through which Paulo Ngologoza as a state builder contributed to the making of ‘Kigezi and its people’ of Southwestern Uganda. The paper shifts from the popular logic of binary opposites and analogical deductions that has defined the study of Africa for long. In the logic of binary opposites for instance, the postcolonial predicament of tribalism was naturalized. The argument was that Africa is an amalgamation of tribes, which keep reproducing themselves. Colonialism served to enhance this condition and natives responded in unison. This makes it difficult to think of a postcolonial state in which intertribal political identity is possible. It is from this perspective that Derek Peterson makes sense of African state builders including Paulo Ngologoza. This paper departs from such reading of Ngologoza and the ‘making of Kigezi and its people’. While Kigezi like Toro is multi-tribal, this has not generated tribal antagonism and separatist movements in postcolonial Kigezi as it has in Toro. This could be explained through the study of historical processes that contributed to the making of Kigezi focusing on both native and colonial agency. While the British did not tribalize the politics of

Kigezi as they did in Toro and elsewhere in Uganda, the natives provided raw material upon which intertribal politics could be built.

Paulo Ngologoza, a native chief and first Secretary General of Kigezi became the main architect of 'Kigezi and its people'. Contrary to the view that his work illuminates tribal patriotism, Ngologoza was no patriot to his lineage and tribe. He did not believe or align himself to the royal family and customs of the British monarchy. For instance, unlike Toro royalists who found it possible to use religion to enhance the reputation of their tribal institution, Ngologoza vehemently rejected such patriotism. Thus, contrary to a popular colonial tradition of Protestantism, Ngologoza subscribed to Catholicism. This could not propel him to the position of a tribal patriot in the colonial sense of the word. Thus, even in his writing Ngologoza distanced himself from tribe. He concentrated on the geographical area of residence 'Kigezi' to produce an intertribal form of political identity. Unlike George Kamurasi Rukidi III whose work 'the Kings of Toro' seeks to validate and authenticate the Batoro tribe, Ngologoza recognized the multi-tribal character of Kigezi. Moreover, while recognizing that his tribe the Bakiga did not have a lineage of royalty, Ngologoza acknowledged that the Bahororo and Bafumbira had a lineage of kingship. Thus, Ngologoza did not seek to validate or authenticate the Bakiga tribe to justify his position as a leader of his tribe. Moreover, Ngologoza could even be misinterpreted in his use of the word 'Bakiga' when he exhorted the settlers never to forget their good customs. Ngologoza could have used the word generically because the settlers were multi-tribal but hailed from the same area of residence, Kigezi. Moreover, residence and not tribe continue to define the identity of the people of Kigezi. For instance, in foreign countries, urban centers, and higher institutions of learning, the Banyakigezi Associations have become the popular way through which the people of Kigezi can be mobilized. Unlike Toro and elsewhere in postcolonial Uganda where people mobilize on tribal basis to demand for autonomy as kingdoms or districts, postcolonial Kigezi continue to mobilize along intertribal basis based on area of residence 'Kigezi' to meet their social, political and economic objectives.

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