

**KIYINGI ROOTS:
A LIFE STORY OF
PAULO KIKWANGUYIRA KIYINGI
THE UNSUNG HERO**

**“A legacy to the children, grandchildren
and generations thereafter”**

English Version
of
OLULYO LWA KIYINGI: OMUZIRA ATAAYATHIKIRIRA
“Omusinji eri Abaana, Abazzukulu n’Emirembe Egiriddawo”

By
Kikuttobudde Sekkadde Kiyingi

This book is dedicated to all those parents who are, or have been
“UNSUNG HEROES” in their times.

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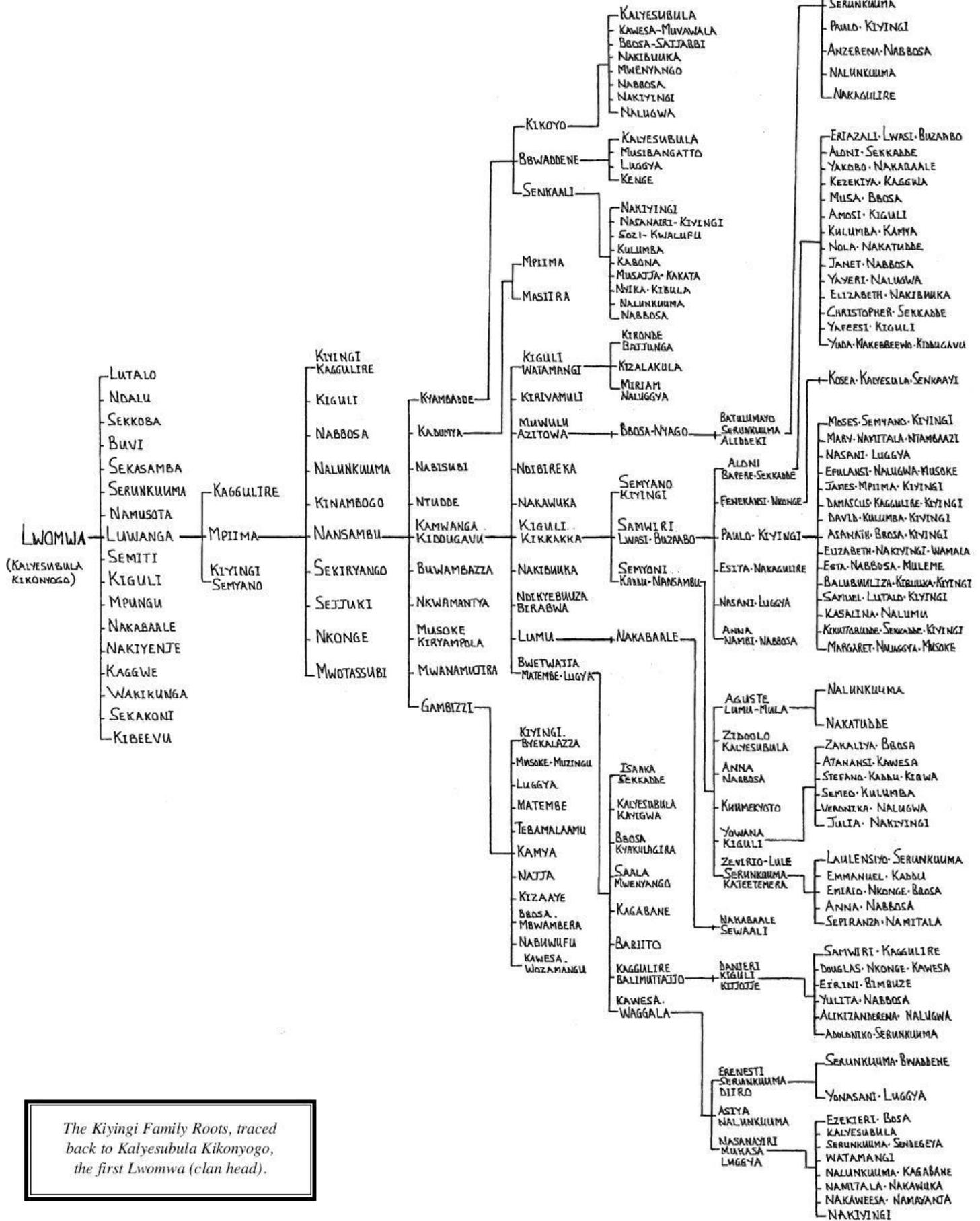
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Clan Head (Lwomwa) Clan Divisions (Masiga) Clan Sub-Divisions (Mituba) Lineages (Nyiriri)



The Kiyingi Family Roots, traced back to Kalyesubula Kikonyogo, the first Lwomwa (clan head).

FOREWORD (A)

It is often said that for the perpetuation of injustice to continue, good men are required to do nothing. After reading this book it will become apparent that Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi was a good man who endeavoured to do everything he could.

It has been an amazing journey for this book and the message it brings. I can truly testify that “Kiyingi Roots” has been a labour of love for my father. That the production of this book means so much to him can only be evidenced through the mere fact that he has taken the time to compile an English version for Luganda speaking neophytes like myself.

Dr. Seka Kiyingi has managed to compile a fascinating and educational account of the life and times of Paulo Kiyingi. The content has been thoroughly researched and the storytelling delightfully personal. A great and particularly interesting feature of this book among other things is its outline of Paulo Kiyingi’s ancestry and the history of the Ndiga Clan. This deserves applause as the connection between a person and their past is a vital ingredient to their sense of being and self-worth. It is often said, “a view to the past is a view to the future.” I wholeheartedly concur because you can never know where you are going if you don’t know where you have been.

Throughout this book, there is an underlying theme of politics and the political atmosphere in Uganda during PK’s time. Within this framework, the reader is able to garner a clearer picture of Paulo Kiyingi the political activist. The political warfront has always been situated upon the struggle between political ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’. In this case, the insiders were the British colonialists. They had access to the reigns of government and controlled the levers of colonial Uganda’s economy. They were the typical ruling class. Yet what is so special and inspiring from my point of view was that Paulo Kiyingi was the quintessential outsider. He fought for the underdog. He was the “Man’s Man.”

I believe that in life when you are faced with a particular problem or point of concern you have two choices of action. You can wallow in self-pity or you can channel all your energy into making things better. Paulo Kiyingi didn’t sit idly by and complain or whimper about Buganda’s predicament. He chose to do something about it. He knew what he wanted and he went for it. Although I will never get to meet him and tell him what a champion I reckon he was, just reading this book makes me feel that I know a little about him. And in that sense, I feel contented knowing that his legacy lives and his blood runs strong in all of his descendants.

There are many salient messages and lessons that can be learned from this book. Most importantly, Paulo Kiyingi showed that you can’t expect people to do good turns for you just for the sake of it. People are too busy looking out for themselves and trying to promote their own interests. Therefore if you really believe in a cause or a certain course of action, don’t wait for someone else to take charge. Take it upon yourself to be the first one to put on the gloves. Be a policy-maker and not a policy-taker. Thus, my interpretation of this book can be summed up in this phrase: “In the race of life always back self-interest; At least you know it is trying!”

Kivebulaaya Kulumba Kiyingi

Law Student,

University of Queensland, Brisbane, AUSTRALIA.

FOREWORD (B)

The Baganda are proud of having a rich culture which has been in existence long before 1200 AD, when a modern Kingdom emerged from the pre-Buganda Kings and clan Lords, up to this day Buganda flourished steadily under Ssaabataka the Kabaka as a pivot of all 52 clans. The Heads of clans (*Abataka b'Obusolya*) are the pillar of Buganda as a Kingdom and as a nation.

The year 1966 marked the beginning of turmoil and the systematic elimination of Baganda and their culture, ordered by the then President of Uganda Apollo Milton Obote and his sycophants. This heinous act went on for two decades!! It played a big role in driving away the elite of Buganda from their motherland to settle in other countries, and those Baganda that stayed behind suffered in one way or other. Furthermore, the world political and economical environment also drove many more grandchildren of Buganda (*Bazzukulu ba Buganda*) to seek greener pastures in the Diaspora.

The dramatic development towards the end of the last century has transformed the entire world into one "Global village". The Baganda cannot remain in isolation. We must strive to assert ourselves and our culture in that "village".

In this book Dr Kikuttobudde Sekkadde Kiyingi has come out with a neat and well-researched literature of the sheep (*Ndiga*) clan, centring on Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi's lineage. This book is a great asset to all Baganda in general and to people of the Ndiga clan in particular. The writer challenges other Baganda in the Diaspora, as well as those at home in Buganda, to get up and write about the historical deeds of our great ancestors. Fortunately, the written material and verbal testimony are plentiful, still hidden within the 52 Buganda clans, waiting for the good sons and daughters of Buganda to bring it out for general consumption.

This book will serve as a bridge between the grandchildren of Buganda, presently staying and working outside Uganda and their cultural background. They may marry into different nationalities but be desirous to protect and keep some cultural traditions of their roots, like naming their children after their great ancestors. Members of the Ndiga clan from Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi's lineage who will read this book will, for example, be able to find a suitable name. Dr Kikuttobudde Sekkadde Kiyingi deserves 100 percent plus thanks for the wonderful job, well done.

I strongly commend this work. Long live Buganda.

Phillip Sseruwagi Namukadde

Omutaka Kabinuli

Ow'Omutuba gw'Akasolya, mu kika ky'Envuma

Sub-division head, in the *Nvuma* clan

Kampala, UGANDA.



*Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi Banadda:
While in employment as Native Administrative Secretary
at the office of the Resident Buganda (Provincial Commissioner), Kampala.*

PREFACE

This is an **English translation** of the ancestral lineage book of the Kiyingi family, “**Olulyo Lwa Kiyingi Omuzira Ataayatiikirira**”, which took more than four years to put together and was first published in May 2002. The idea of putting together a book like this first came to me following an interview by my oldest son, Kulumba Kivebulaaya, during which he asked me many questions about my past and the history of my family. He was writing an English assignment about someone famous in his family. It was then that I discovered how disjointed my knowledge was about myself, my origins, my ancestry and the history of my extended family and clan. I was humbled. I knew very little about my roots, about my father and my children’s grandfather, the late Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi (the patriarch of the KIYINGI FAMILY), in all his greatness. It dawned on me that I was like a tree without roots. I had very little, by way of a family history, to bequeath to my children. So I committed myself to making the first draft of a document aimed at filling that gap in my knowledge. I distributed that draft to all my brothers and sisters in and outside of Uganda, together with a covering letter (both written in Luganda) on the 3rd August 1997 (see below for the English translation of that covering letter). The letter transmitted a lot of thoughts which were like a vivid dream to me then. Now I have the pleasure to announce that the dream has transliterated into the real world, four years or more afterwards.

I have not written this book single-handedly. I have acted more like an editor-author. I have received information from all the living Kiyingi family members as well as relatives and friends which, with a few additions here and there from published literature, I have then put together into a book. First and foremost, Damasko Kaggulire Kiyingi made a very large contribution through his recollections of events and the history of the 1945 Buganda Revolutions and the involvement of Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi. He also made extensive research on the history of the family from a variety of literature sources, a number of elders and other people within Buganda and sent all that information to me. He obtained a lot of information from the head of our clan, the *Ndiga* or sheep clan, Omutaka Paulo Bbosa Lwomwa. Dr Sam Kiyingi Lutalo sent me several important documents about our ancestry. Some of these documents had been written by Paulo Kiyingi himself before his death, about the family. They included a copy of a diary written by him and his colleague-in-arms Omutaka Yusufu Mulindwa, detailing their ordeal while in detention, imprisonment and deportation during the nationalist struggles of the 1940s in Buganda. In addition Dr Lutalo sent me pertinent literature sources on that nationalist struggle, as well as information on our father’s participation in World War 1. Uncle Kasolo Sserunyiigo sent me important information on our mother Eseza Nabwami Kiyingi. Efulansi Miriam Musoke Lwalamukwano sent me a lot of valuable information on the lives of our father and mother, as well as information on some of the departed members of the family. My nephew Paulo Kyambadde Ssalongo sent me some of his recollections on the life of his grandfather Paulo Kiyingi. Other members of the Kiyingi family sent me information about themselves and their families, as outlined in the appendices. When I was running out of steam sometime in May 1999, my nephew Philip Sseruwagi Namukadde wrote and sent me a revival-type of letter to keep my interests in the project up. At that time the Honourable Sseruwagi Namukadde was the Minister of State in charge of Traditional Offices in the Kabaka’s Government at Mengo, Buganda Kingdom.

The Kiganda ancestral proverb says, “*Eyetuukira, tanywa matabangule*” (Whoever gets to the well, is able to drink clean undisturbed or uncorrupted water). So most recently in December 2001/January 2002, when my family and I went on a pilgrimage back to motherland Uganda and Buganda I had the opportunity to clarify on some of the issues previously unclear to me and bring the research on the book to completion. In our travels from Uganda back to Australia we passed through Kenya where I took the opportunity to visit Voi and the Taita Hills. My father Paulo Kiyingi briefly worked there as a Telegraphic operator in 1922. Again very near to the same place is where the main thrust of the First World War in East Africa, which my father participated in, was fought.

Once again I express my gratitude to the head of our clan *Omutaka* Paulo Bbosa Lwomwa, who gave me audience and answered a number of outstanding questions about the clan’s history and our ancestry. My maternal uncle *Kojja* Kasolo Serunyiigo, a famous historian and Secretary to the Committee that deals with the cultural aspects of Baganda Clans, gave me a lot of information on World War 1. He also gave me a lot of information on the 1940s revolutions in Buganda. He gave me two copies of a local newspaper, *Matalisi*. The *Matalisi* of 26 January 1945 outlined the people’s revolt of 1945, popularly referred to as “*Namba 8*”; while the *Matalisi* of 6 May 1949 reported on the people’s revolt of 1949, popularly referred to as “*Namba 9*”. My maternal auntie *Maama* Yuniya Nandawula Lwanga of Mulago, at the ripe age of 84 years, eloquently recounted with zeal and zest, a number of stories about the greatness of her father and grandfather (our grand-uncle and great grand-uncle) Asanasiyo Lule Mujugumbya and Kasolo Mbalire, respectively.

I thank all those people for their contributions in getting this book to fruitful completion.

As editor-author I take full responsibility for all possible errors and omissions in this book. If you find any, please kindly let me know at the address below.

This is the covering letter (English translation) which introduced the first draft of this book:

Dr Sekkadde Kiyingi
PO Box 293 Aitkenvale
Qld Australia
3 August 1997

To the Offspring of Paulo and Ezeza Kiyingi of Makeerere:
Kaggulire, Kulumba, Lwalamukwano, Bbosa, Nabbosa,
Kibuuka, Lutalo and Naluggya.

OUR ANCESTRY: THE HISTORY OF OUR FATHER AND MOTHER

My brothers and sisters,

Greetings to you all in the spirit of love and cooperation. I commend you all for looking after your selves, your homes and your families. I commend you all for looking after and fighting for our ancestral home at Makeerere. I had heard that some unworthy characters in authority at our local church, St

John's Church Makeerere, were threatening to seize the land on which our ancestral home stands, but that you managed to fight and fend them off. Shame upon them for not knowing the history of that home and that church. Continue the fight with my entire support.

Due to the obvious historical importance of that home and the greatness of our parents who have never been duly recognised, an idea which I have always held, of writing an account of the history and lives of our parents Paulo Kikwanguyira and Eseza Nabwami Kiyingi has been revived. We need to write that history before we forget it. Similarly we need to write that history before people like Ana Nabbosa, Uncle Kasolo Sserunyiigo and others, forget what they now still remember. It will be for our posterity to preserve this history, the history of our ancestry. For them to read about the heroism and valour of our father who fought in the First World War; to read about his involvement in the nationalistic struggles of the 1940s in Buganda in which he was imprisoned and deported to "foreign lands" then, outside Buganda. For them to read about his academic achievements, dedication and successes in his employment career. That he had his time of fame and pomp while earning a big salary, although times changed and all that ceremony and pomp came to a sad end. What went wrong and why? What lessons can we draw from our parents' achievements and misfortunes, to better equip us and all succeeding generations to face the future.

We should have done this a long time ago, if not for our laziness. We should do it now.

I have made a draft setting out some of the questions that have come to mind, which we can use as a skeleton to write various aspects of the history and lives of our parents. At the end of their historical account we could also append something about ourselves and our families as their immediate descendants. Kibuuka has already proved himself to be a prolific writer. I have therefore asked him to be the editor and main author. I hope this will be agreeable to all, although we all need to work together in full cooperation on this issue. If it was not for the large distance between Uganda and Australia I would have volunteered to be the chief motivator. I welcome your comments on this issue.

Please note that this is just a draft, the first draft, not the last one or final copy. Therefore feel free to add on to the contents, or alter whatever imperfections you may find, as indeed there are bound to be. I conclude by reminding you of the Kiganda proverb: "AGALI AWAMU, GE GALUMA ENNYAMA" (it is a whole set of teeth which can bite through a piece of meat, not one tooth).

Yours:

Seeka (Sekkadde Kiyingi)

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January 2004

INTRODUCTION

The late Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi Banadda, also known as “PK” in this book, was born in the year 1896, the same year in which King Daudi Chwa II (the 35th King of Buganda) was born. In that very year the first copy of the Bible in Luganda (popularly nick-named “the biscuit-tin bible”) was published by the London Church Missionary Society. It was later to be presented to King Mwanga the following year 1897. That same year 1896 saw the commencement of The First Olympic Games of the Modern Era, first held in the Olympic city of Athens, Greece. At that time Paulo Kiyingi’s parents and relatives resided at Mbale Mawokota, on a hill called Mpami.

It was a time of relative peace in Buganda, two years following the declaration of a British Protectorate over Buganda in a landmark agreement signed on 27th August 1894. King Daniel Mwanga Basammula “Kalibukambwe” was on the throne of the Buganda Kingdom. The celebrated Apollo Kagga “Gulemye” was his Prime Minister (*Katikkiro*). The religious wars between the Protestants, Catholics and Moslems had eased off a bit. Otherwise it was a period characterised by revolutions, wars, famine, poverty and want, during which the Europeans settled and established themselves in our land of Buganda and Uganda. Four years after Paulo Kiyingi’s birth the Uganda Agreement of 1900 was drafted and signed by the British rulers on the one hand and the three Regents of the young King Chwa on the other. That was the controversial agreement in which the British robbed the Baganda of all their independence, dignity and honour.

Buganda: a powerful Bantu kingdom in East Central Africa since the 17th century, is a quasi-federated state of Uganda with a population of approximately 4 million, area size about 66,304 sq. km (25,600 sq. miles). In the past the King (called *Kabaka*) was the sole executive ruler of Buganda before its annexation by the British in 1894. The Kabaka’s power and influence over his subjects gradually diminished during the British colonisation and after Uganda’s independence in 1962. The Kingdom was temporarily abolished by the post-independence Prime Minister in 1966, to be revived in 1993 with the crowning of His Majesty Kabaka Muwenda Mutebi. The present Kabaka is not an executive leader. Rather he is a strong cultural and moral leader who is deeply revered by his people the Baganda wherever they are: in Buganda, Uganda and the entire world, hence serving as a uniting factor for his people.

The most characteristic attribute of the Baganda is their clan system (*Ebika*), whereby each Muganda belongs to a clan (*Ekika*). Each clan has a primary totem (*Omuziro*) that the clan members identify with. The clan also has a secondary or alternative totem (*Akabbiro*) which each member of the clan must know and name. These totems now largely serve as emblems or symbols for the clan, not as religious relics, although in the traditional spiritual beliefs of the Baganda one cannot deny them a prominent place. Thirdly, each clan has “*Omubala*” (a clan motto, slogan or war chant) which, when sounded on a drum, rallies all clanspeople into action.

There is a legend about the origin of totems for the clans of the Baganda: During the great Bantu migration east and southward from West Africa in the 4th and 5th century AD, it is said that people travelled in small groups, usually on foot, or riding on the backs of animals. They had to look for food along the way, which was sometimes scanty and at times not enough to go round. They would hunt and

kill animals and birds for food, collect plants/vegetables from the land, fish from rivers/swamps and anything they imagined to be edible. As happens in such situations, some people would fall sick from eating some of the food items they had collected, either as severe allergic reactions, or some mild reactions like tummy upsets which would settle easily. They came to interpret such events as warnings that it was not right for that person to have eaten such food. They therefore agreed that whenever a leader of any group ate anything to which they reacted badly, he and his group should cease eating that food item, be it an animal, plant, fish or whatever. And that from then on that person, the people in that group never ate that food item again. Consequently all their children and their children's children or descendants never ate that food item again. So, as the legend goes, such items became identified as totems for those groups of people. The people became the clans.

The Luganda word “*omuziro*” (totem) comes from a verb “*okuzira*” which means “to refuse or prohibit”, like in “*okuzira emmere*” (to refuse or prohibit food). Hence “*omuziro*” means “what is prohibited” or what is not eaten. A clan is an ancestral unit or group of people who do not eat one given totem (*abeddira omuziro gundi*). A true Muganda never eats his or her totem. Instead, they respect it, love it, glorify it and treat it gently like one treats their own brother or sister. Hence, they elevate that totem to the status of a human being, whom we all do not eat. To add credence to this legend is the fact that in Buganda it is widely said, and probably believed, that if one eats their totem, deliberately or not, they would get the shakes or tremors similar to those of Parkinson's disease, a very feared and incurable illness. That acts as a deterrent and a constant reminder for the children to always ask what food is presented to them before they eat it, lest they eat their totem and become sick with shakes. All members of one clan treat each other like brothers and sisters, and are indeed related through common ancestry. A true Muganda never marries within his or her clan. That is, two members of the same clan can never join in marriage; it is taboo or prohibited (*kizira*).

Luganda Vocabulary (explanations of some of the Luganda words frequently encountered in this book):

Buganda/Obuganda = the Kingdom.

Baganda/Abaganda = the people of Buganda (sing. *Muganda/Omuganda*)

Ffumbe/Effumbe = civet cat (a totem).

Ggombolola/Eggombolola = sub-county (pl. *magombolola*).

Kaawonawo = war veteran or returned soldier (pl. *bakaawonawo*).

Kabaka = King of Buganda and the Baganda.

Katikiro = Prime Minister of Buganda.

Kabbiro/Akabbiro = alternative totem; secondary totem.

Katikiro we Kika = presiding officer or moderator of the clan meetings.

Katonda = God the creator (*okutonda* = to create).

Kigango/Ekigango = a commoner's enclosed compound.

Kika/Ekika = clan.

Kisaakaate/Ekisaakaate = a chief's enclosed compound.

Kkobe/Ekkobe = above-ground purple yam (a totem). *Kojja* = maternal uncle.

Kwanjula/Okwanjula = to introduce.

Lubaale = an ancestral spirit medium, intermediary between God (*Katonda*) and man (*omuntu*) (pl. *balubaale*).

Lubiri/Olubiri = a King's palace

Luganda/Oluganda = language of the Baganda.

Lugave/Olugave = pangolin (a totem).

Lukiiko = Buganda parliament.

Lunyiriri/Olunyiriri = lineage; a further sub-division within a clan sub-division, with many families
(pl. *nyiriri/enyiriri*).

Lwomwa = head of the Ndiga clan.

Matooke/Amatooke = a variety of green bananas, soft cooking and delicious tasting.

Mmamba/Emmamba = lung fish (a totem).

Mpeewo = Oribi antelope (a totem).

Mpologoma/Empologoma = lion (a totem).

Mubala/Omubala = clan motto or slogan.

Mugalagala/Omugalagala = King's bodyguard.

Muguya = young lung fish (an alternative totem).

Mukungu/Omukungu = a noble chief

Muliga/Omuliga = person who belongs to the Ndiga clan (pl. *Baliga/Abaliga*).

Mutaka/Omutaka = title used on an elder in the community (pl. *Bataka/Abataka*).

Mutuba/Omutuba = clan sub-division (pl. *mituba/emituba*).

Muziro/Omuziro = totem (symbol or court of arms which identifies a clan).

Nalubaale (Ennyanja Nalubaale) = Lake Victoria.

Namasole = Queen mother (mother of a reigning king).

Ngabi/Engabi = bush-buck antelope (a totem).

Ndiga/Endiga = sheep (a totem).

Ngo/Engo = leopard (a totem).

Nkima/Enkima = monkey (a totem).

Nnyonyi/Ennyonyi = bird (a totem).

Omukama = King of Bunyoro and the Banyoro.

Ssaza/Essaza = county (pl. *masaza/amasaza*).

Ssiga/Essiga = major division within a clan (pl. *masiga/amasiga*).

(Etc. etc. the list is not exhaustive)

CHAPTER 1

THE PAULO KIYINGI (PK) ANCESTRY

1.1 The Ancestry

Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi (Banadda) was a son of **Samwiri Lwasi Buzaabo of Mpigi**, a grandson of **Kiguli Kikkakka** and a great grandson of **Kamwanga Kalyesubula Kiddugavu**. Paulo Kiyingi was born in the lineage (*Lunyiriri*) of Nansambu, in the sub-division (*Mutuba*) of Mpiima at Ggumba, Mbale Mawokota, in the clan division (*Ssiga*) of Luwanga at Mpami, Mbale Mawokota, in the Sheep (*Ndiga*) clan. The head of the clan is called "*Lwomwa*". The first person to head the *Ndiga* clan was **Kalyesubula Kikonyogo** and it was with him that the name "*Lwomwa*" started. The ancestral land of the clan head *Lwomwa* is in Mbaale Mawokota. Paulo Kiyingi was a true Muganda of the Sheep or *Ndiga* clan and, like all people who belong to this clan, the alternative totem (*akabbiro*) is the Lion (*Mpologoma*).

1.2 A History of the Ndiga Clan

Various authors who have written books and documents on the history of the clans of the Baganda have stated the following about the origins of the *Ndiga* clan. They say that the ancestral grandfather of all people who belong to the *Ndiga* clan was man called Sekkoba. He originated from Bumogera, Kavirondo near Bukedi in the present Eastern Uganda, went to settle in Ssesse group of islands where the spirit medium (*Lubaale*) Wannema resided during the reign of *Kabaka* Kayima (the seventh king of Buganda). Sekkoba settled at a place called Busanga, on Kkoome Island one of the Ssesse groups of islands in Lake Victoria (*Nyanja Nalubaale*). While at Busanga Sekkoba had his first son named Bbosa, whom he ceded to the deity called Wannema. Bbosa spent his early childhood days in Ssesse islands in the household of Wannema. That Bbosa first moved to mainland Buganda as Wannema's emissary to *Kabaka* Nakibinge (c.1580-1607). Bbosa used to commute between the king's palace on the mainland and Wannema's household on Ssesse islands, carrying messages to and fro. In all his generosity the King gave a piece of land at Mutungo for Bbosa to settle on. While at Mutungo, Bbosa had his first son whom he named Kalyesubula Kikonyogo. When Bbosa died he was succeeded by Kalyesubula Kikonyogo who later became the first head of the *Ndiga* clan and acquired the name **Lwomwa**. It is said that from then on the name *Lwomwa* became the titular name for all heads of the *Ndiga* clan.

Other authors state that the *Ndiga* clan is one of the original clans (*ebika binnansangwaawo*), which existed long ago, even before the legendary first king of Buganda called Kintu came to Buganda.

However, documents which I obtained from the current head of the *Ndiga* clan *Omutaka* Paulo Bbosa *Lwomwa*, confirm that the origin of the clan is not Bumogera, Kavirondo in the present day Eastern Uganda. They also confirm that ours is not one of the original clans which existed in Buganda from time immemorial, although the ancestors of the people who later grouped themselves into the *Ndiga* clan lived in Buganda long ago and were probably present when Kintu first arrived in Buganda. They confirm that the first clan patriarch, our great ancestor was a man called MBAALE, who used to live on a hill called Lwasi in Mawokota County. Mbaale was a fresh-water fisherman, who used to catch a

certain type of fish locally known as “*Nsonzi*” from a swamp called Kkoba. The Kkoba swamp is at the foothills of Kavule hill, located near Katende village, about twenty five miles on the Kampala to Masaka highway.

It is stated that for a long time Mbaale had no children and was growing desperate for an heir. One day while fishing to catch his *Nsonzi* from the Kkoba swamp, he met with another elder *Omutaka* Ndugwa the patriarch of the *Lugave* or pangolin clan. During their conversation Ndugwa asked Mbaale whether Mbaale had any children, to which question Mbaale answered “No”. Ndugwa then told Mbaale of someone, a kind of deity, who could grant him children. Ndugwa directed Mbaale to an ancestral spirit medium (*lubaale*) named Mukasa, the father of *Lubaale* Wannema of Ssesse islands. Mbaale travelled to Ssesse to seek *Lubaale* Mukasa’s divination. Mbaale was given medicine in form of some herbal plant seeds to take back with him to the mainland, with strict instructions to plant them in his compound and wait for them to germinate. He was told that the germination of the seeds would signal that he would have his desired children. He was instructed to cede his first-born child to *Lubaale* Mukasa as the price payment for his divination. Mbaale did as he was told.

So it came to pass that Mbaale returned to mainland Buganda and planted the seeds. True to Mukasa’s words, on the germination of the seeds Mbaale’s wife fell pregnant with her first child. It was a boy and Mbaale named him Sekkoba in memory of the Kkoba swamp, the river of luck, which introduced him to Ndugwa, who advised him on who to turn to in order to get the children he so much desired. Mbaale had three other children, making a total of four in all, as follows:

1. Sekkoba
2. Ssekizimu
3. Nambi Nabbosa
4. Bbosa

Mbaale later fulfilled the promise he made to *Lubaale* Mukasa, the father of *Lubaale* Wannema. He took his first born child Sekkoba to Ssesse islands and handed him over to *Lubaale* Mukasa as his price payment. That is how Sekkoba went to Ssesse, as a son of Mbaale from Buganda, not from Bumogera in Kavirondo as has been written by some other authors.

1.3 Origins of the Ndiga Clan

Mbaale had a little lamb, which later grew into a sheep. He looked after it very tenderly. Everywhere he would go it would follow him, like a dog follows its master. So people came to nickname him “the sheep-man” (*omusajja ow’Endiga*) or the man who goes around with a sheep. As Mbaale grew old, nearing his death, he called all his children and instructed them never again to eat lamb or mutton. He told them that he had been looking after that sheep not as a source of meat, but more as a pet, with a great love for it. He therefore instructed them that from then on the sheep would be their totem. That if they were to keep it in their homes, they were to treat it with great respect and love, like their own brother, never to slaughter it, never ever to eat it, offer it as a sacrifice or harm it in any way. That if anybody ever ate the sheep in any form: lamb or mutton, that person would cease to be his child or grandchild. From then on all of Mbaale’s descendants wherever they went never ate the sheep. That is how the Sheep or Ndiga clan began. Up to today all people who profess to belong to the Ndiga clan, whether they are in Buganda or outside Buganda, do not eat lamb or mutton or any product from the

sheep. That is the culture. To do otherwise would be tantamount to breaking the culture and traditions of the Baganda in general, and those of the Ndiga clanspeople “*ABALIGA*” in particular.

When Mbaale died he was succeeded by his youngest son Bbosa, who in turn fathered the following children:

1. Buvi
2. Namusota
3. Kalyesubula and others.

These three offspring of Bbosa then became very popular during the reign of King Nakibinge (the eighth King of Buganda); especially during his wars against the Banyoro people who were being led by Prince Jjuma. Kalyesubula more so than the other two, became very influential to King Nakibinge. When it looked certain the King was beginning to lose the war, Kalyesubula came to his rescue by advising the King to call for one great fighter to bail him out. They sent for the hero of all wars, Kyobe Kyomubazzi, nick-named “Kibuuka” (the flyer), a son of *Lubaale* Wannema from Ssesse islands, to come to mainland Buganda and fight for the King. Kibuuka fought with valour and style, for he was said to fly high up above the clouds in the sky, hide in there and kill his enemy by firing arrows at them on the ground. They would never see him or imagine that the arrows killing them were being fired from the clouds above them. So the war turned in favour of King Nakibinge until man’s age-old weakness, a woman, overcame Kibuuka. This led to his death in battle. He fell for and befriended a woman from the enemy nation of the Banyoro who tricked him into revealing to her his secret fighting tactics. She then betrayed him to her people, who were quick to shoot Kibuuka down from the clouds he was fighting in. When Kibuuka died, Kalyesubula was ordered into a cave, partly for his own protection and partly to ensure he did not run away, for he was directly answerable to *Lubaale* Wannema for the death of Wannema’s youngest son Kibuuka. Kalyesubula was a man of great humour who cracked jokes and made those who visited him in his prison-cave laugh.

After a while when the uproar over Kibuuka’s death had subsided, during the reign of King Mulondo who succeeded Nakibinge, Kalyesubula was released from his cave. He had refused to shave since the day he was thrown in his dungeon, so he had grown bushy hairs all over him. When he heard of his imminent release, he quickly shaved off all the bushy hair and beard. People who saw him the day he was released were shocked to see him so changed. So they asked him what had happened to him. Kalyesubula simply replied “*Lw’owona obusibe lw’omwa*” (you shave on the day you get out of prison). The people threw back some of his jokes at him by nicknaming him “Lwomwa”, a name he took to very happily. He settled at Mbaale in Mawokota. Because of his popularity and wise counsel the elders of the Ndiga clan, Buvi, Nakatandagira, Kituuma and others, elected him their leader. He became the clan patriarch and the King confirmed him so. Starting with him all subsequent leaders or patriarchs of the Ndiga clan, up to today, are called LWOMWA as their official titular name. No one else except the patriarch (*Ow’Akasolya*), in the Ndiga clan, is called by that name. Kalyesubula was the first Lwomwa of the Ndiga or Sheep clan, while Mbaale is crowned as having been the very first patriarch.

1.4 Clan Divisions (Amasiga)

The Ndiga clan has seventeen (17) divisions called “*Amasiga*” (singular - *Ssiga*) and they are named as follows, together with the addresses of the ancestral headquarters of the division chiefs:

1. Sserunkuuma at Mpami in Mawokota
2. Luwanga at Mpami in Mawokota
3. Namusota at Maziba in Mawokota
4. Ssemiti at Buyanga in Mawokota
5. Sekkoba at Busanga - Koome in Kyaggwe
6. Ndalul at Mpanga in Mawokota
7. Buvi at Bunnamweri in Mawokota
8. Nakabaale at Membe in Mawokota
9. Kiguli at Sseneene in Mawokota
10. Ssekasamba at Busamba in Mawokota
11. Ssekakoni at Bunnamweri in Mawokota
12. Kaggwe at Bukaggwe in Mawokota
13. Lutalo at Buyijja in Mawokota
14. Mpungu at Bweya in Butambala
15. Wakikunga at Mutungo in Kyaddondo
16. Nakiyenje at Bugiri in Busiro
17. Kibeevu at Ssi - Bukunja in Kyaggwe

The first four (4) *Masiga* or divisions: Sserunkuuma, Luwanga, Namusota and Ssemiti, are traditionally crowned the royal *Masiga* within the Ndiga clan. It is from these four *Masiga* that the clan head, called Lwomwa, is chosen. A clan head reigns for life. At his death the next Lwomwa is chosen from the next royal *Ssiga*, in rotation. That is the clan tradition, which has existed for a long time and has never changed.

1.5 Paulo Kiyingi's Lineage

Paulo Kiyingi was born into the Ndiga clan, into the division (*Ssiga*) of Luwanga, one of the seventeen divisions (*masiga*) that make up the whole clan. His was one of the four royal *Masiga* from which the clan head Lwomwa is chosen, in rotation. Here below is the lineage of Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi, starting from the division (*Ssiga*) of Luwanga as the first generation, the children of Luwanga (the subdivision or *Mituba* heads) and their children (the lineage or *Nyiriri* heads) and all succeeding generations from the *Ssiga* down to the sixth generation to which Paulo Kiyingi belongs. The Baganda are a patrilineal society, so the successive generations are propagated through the sons by tradition (*Abaana abalenzi be balanza ekika*).

FIRST GENERATION (1)

Luwanga, the *Ssiga* leader, whose ancestral grounds are at Mpami Mawokota, fathered the following three sons:

1. Kaggulire
2. **Mpiima**
3. Kiyingi Ssemugooma.

Those are the *Mituba* leaders, the three in the *Ssiga* of Luwanga at Mpami, Mbaale in Mawokota. Omutaka Paulo Bbosa Lwomwa, the current clan head or patriarch, emanates from the *Ssiga* of Luwanga, from the *Mutuba* of Kaggulire.

SECOND GENERATION (2)

Mpiima, (a *Mutuba* leader) Luwanga's second son begot the following:

1. Sekiryango
 2. Sejjuki
 3. Kaggulire
 4. **Nansambu**
 5. Nkongge
 6. Kiguli
 7. Kiyingi Kaggulire
 8. Mwotassubi
 9. Nabbosa
 10. Kinambogo
 11. Nalunkuuma
- etc... plus many others who belong to this generation, not mentioned here.

THIRD GENERATION (3)

Nansambu, (a *Lunyiriri* leader) the fourth son to Mpiima, fathered the following:

1. Kadumya
 2. Musoke Kiryampola
 3. **Kamwanga Kiddugavu**
 4. Gambizzi
 5. Buwambazza
 6. Mwanamujira
 7. Kyambadde
 8. Nkwamantya
 9. Nabisubi
 10. Ntudde
- etc... plus many others who belong to this generation, not mentioned here.

FOURTH GENERATION (4)

Kadumya, the first born to Nansambu, fathered the following:

1. Mpiima
2. Masiira

Kamwanga Kalyesubula Kiddugavu, the third born to Nansambu, begot:

1. Bwetwajja Matembe Luggya
2. Kiguli Watamangi
3. **Kiguli Kikkakka**
4. Muwulu-azitowa
5. Lumu
6. Ndikyebuza Birabwa

7. Nakibuuka
8. Ndibireka
9. Nakawuka
10. Kirivamuli.

Gambizzi, the fourth born to Nansambu, begot the following:

1. Musoke Muzingu
2. Bbosa Mbwambara
3. Kiyingi Byekalazza
4. Kawesa Wozamangu
5. Luggya
6. Matembe
7. Nabuwufu
8. Kizaaye
9. Tebamalamu
10. Kamyia
11. Najja.

Kyayambadde, the fifth born to Nansambu, begot the following:

1. Bbwaddene
 2. Kikoyo
 3. Senkaali
- etc... plus many others who belong to this generation, not mentioned here.

FIFTH GENERATION (5)

Bwetwajja Matembe Luggya, the first born to Kamwanga Kiddugavu fathered the following:

1. Kawesa Waggala
2. Kagulire Balimuttajjo
3. Kalyesubula Kayigwa
4. Bbosa Kyakulagira
5. Isaaka Batulabudde Sekkadde
6. Sarah Mwenyango
7. Babiito
8. Kagabane.

Kiguli Watamangi, the second born to Kamwanga Kiddugavu fathered the following:

1. Kironde Bajjunga
2. Kizaalakula
3. Miriam Naluggya

Kiguli Kikkakka, the third born to Kamwanga Kiddugavu begot the following:

1. Semyoni Kaddu Nansambu
2. Semyano Kiyingi
3. **Samwiri Lwasi Buzaabo**

Muwulu-azitowa, the fourth born to Kamwanga Kiddugavu begot the following:

1. Bbosa Nyago

Lumu, the fifth born to Kamwanga Kiddugavu begot the following:

1. Nakabaale

Bbwaddene, the first born to Kyambadde fathered the following:

1. Luggya
2. Musibangatto
3. Kalyesubula
4. Kenge

Kikoyo, the second born to Kyambadde fathered the following:

1. Kalyesubula
2. Kawesa Muvawala
3. Bbosa Sajjabbi
4. Nakibuuka
5. Mwenyango
6. Nabbosa
7. Nakiyingi
8. Nalugwa

Senkaali, the third born to Kyambadde fathered the following:

1. Nasanayiri Kiyingi
2. Ssozi Kwalufu
3. Kulumba
4. Nyika Kibula
5. Musajja Kakata
6. Kabona
7. Nalunkuuma
8. Nalumu
9. Nakiyingi

etc... plus many others who belong to this generation, not mentioned here.

SIXTH GENERATION (6)

Kawesa Waggala, the first born to Bwetwajja Matembe fathered the following:

1. Erenesti Serunkuuma Diiro
2. Nasanayiri Mukasa Luggya
3. Ayisa Nalunkuuma

Kaggulire Balimuttajjo, the second born to Bwetwajja Matembe fathered:

1. Daniel Kiguli Kijojje

Semyoni Kaddu (Nansambu) at Kawolo Kyaggwe, the first born to Kiguli Kikkakka fathered the following:

1. Yowana Kiguli
2. Aguste Lumu Mula
3. Zeverio Serunkuuma Kateetemera
4. Zidoolo Musoke Kalyesubula
5. Anna Nabbosa
6. Kuumekyoto

NB:Semyoni Kaddu inherited the Nansambu lineage (*Olunyiriri Iwa Nansambu*) and up to today it runs through his descendants.

Bbosa Nyago, from Muwulu-azitowa fathered:

1. Batulumayo Serunkuuma Aliddeki Mbizzi

Nakabaale, the first born to Lumu fathered:

1. Nakabaale Sewaali

Luggya, the first born to Bbwaddene fathered the following children:

1. Musoke
2. Kibuuka
3. Kaddu
4. Nansambu
5. Serunkuuma
6. Nakawesa
7. Kizza
8. Kamya
9. Nalugwa
10. Nabbosa

Kalyesubula, the first born to Kikoyo fathered the following children:

1. Kiyingi
2. Nkongge
3. Nalugwa
4. Nakibuuka
5. Naluggya
6. Nakiyingi
7. Nakagulire

Kawesa Muvawala, the second born to Kikoyo fathered the following:

1. Kiyingi
2. Kagulire
3. Nnyika
4. Kibuuka
5. Kalyesubula Kisawuzi
6. Nalunkuuma
7. Nambi

Bbosa Sajjabbi, the third born to Kikoyo fathered the following:

1. Kaggulire

Kulumba, the third born to Senkaali fathered the following:

1. Mulisi Kisawuli
2. Muliika

Samwiri Lwasi Buzaabo, the third born to Kiguli Kikkakka fathered:

1. Aloni Bapere Sekkadde
 2. Fenekansi Nkonge
 3. **Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi**
 4. Nasani Luggya
 5. Anna Nambi Nabbosa
 6. Esita Nakagulire
- etc...plus many others who belong to this generation, not mentioned here.

These generations are continued in Chapter 6 on page 24 with the offspring of the Sixth Generation - that of Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi. But first, let us see how PK grew up and matured to become a man.

CHAPTER 2

PAULO KIYINGI'S UPBRINGING

2.1 Samwiri Lwasi Buzaabo and Semyoni Kaddu leave Mpami

Samwiri Lwasi Buzaabo and his older brother Semyoni Kaddu were great mates and both full of adventure. Wherever one went, the other would follow. That is why when they came of age they both left their parents' home at Mpami, Mawokota and went trekking, together looking for adventure wherever they could find it. They travelled far and wide until they came to the compound or enclosure (*kisaakaate*) of the Prime Minister (*Katikkiro*) Apollo Kagwa Gulemye. They became employed as pages in the *Katikkiro's* compound. Because of their hard work and efficiency the *Katikkiro* liked them and eventually allocated them a huge piece of land and chiefly offices at Kawolo, Lugazi Kyaggwe.

Semyoni Kaddu became the area chief and at the same time inherited the headship of the lineage of Nansambu. He therefore came to be known as Semyoni Kaddu Nansambu and named his country "*Busambu*", after his clan lineage title. He established himself in the locality, got married and started a family while living in Busambu, Kawolo. Of his children: (1) Zevirio Lule Kateetamera got a job at a Catholic mission Nkokonjeru in Kyaggwe county. He was such a good worker that when the priest heading the mission was transferred to Kisubi in Busiro county, he invited Zevirio to move with him to Kisubi. It was while working at Kisubi that Zevirio got a piece of land at Nkumba. (2) Yowana Kiguli stayed put in Kyaggwe, got his own piece of land and started his family of six children. Unfortunately Kiguli died in active service during one of the wars and his body was never brought back for burial.

Samwiri Lwasi Buzaabo, after some adventure and getting himself a wife or two, it is said that he moved back to his birth place in Mawokota County, established himself there and propagated his family at Mpami.

2.2 Aloni Bapere Sekkadde

Of Buzaabo's children: the oldest, Aloni Bapere Sekkadde, led his younger brothers Fenekansi Nkonge and Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi from Mpami to Kiryagonja in the county of Kyaddondo, where Bapere's maternal uncle Kisulebweru of the Monkey (*Nkima*) clan lived. Bapere became a man of great influence and acquired many friends. He and his two brothers briefly stayed at another place called Kiwenda, also in Kyaddondo, with one of his great childhood friends - Yokana Gasowole. From Kiwenda Bapere left for Ndejje in Bulemeezi County where he embarked on a training program to become a lay preacher and assistant priest in the church, with the support and encouragement from another of his friends named Kitaakule of the *Mpeewo* (Oribi antelope) clan. Kitaakule was himself already a lay preacher and assistant priest. Kitaakule was later ordained a full priest and came to be known as Reverend Kitaakule. He became the parish priest of Ndejje. Bapere was later joined at Ndejje by his younger brothers, Paulo Kiyingi and Fenekansi Nkonge. He subsequently got married to his lady in waiting, Yunia Tusuubiromu Nakanwagi, being joined in holy matrimony by none other than Rev Kitaakule himself.

Aloni Bapere Sekkadde travelled far and wide preaching the word of God; going as far as Sukuma-land in Tanganyika (a country now renamed Tanzania). He therefore won great accolades from Rev

Kitaakule, who became his referee in later life. This is exemplified in the way Bapere bought a big piece of milo land at Mpigi at the recommendation and support of Rev Kitaakule. After the church at Mpigi was allocated its piece of land, Rev Kitaakule advised and recommended Aloni Bapere Sekkadde to buy the remainder of the land, which Bapere did.

Following the acquisition of that piece of land, Bapere invited his father Samwiri Lwasi Buzaabo and uncle, Semyoni Kaddu Nansambu, and allocated both some of that land at Mpigi. He also invited his two brothers Paulo Kiyingi and Fenekansi Nkonge and allocated them too some of that land. He invited his other brother Zevirio Kateetemera to relocate from Nkumba to Mpigi. He also invited Zakaliya Bbosa and his brothers, the children of his other brother Yowana Kiguli who died in battle, to move from Kyaggwe. He allocated them some piece of that land at a place called Busoke. Later on, after the death of his father Buzaabo and uncle Nansambu, Bapere invited his childhood friend Yokana Gasowole to move from Kiwenda to Mpigi, in the plot previously occupied by his father and uncle near the church at Mpigi. He also invited his maternal uncle Kisulebweru to move from Kiryagonja and gave him a plot of land. That is how Bapere gathered his entire close family members at Mpigi. He named his village “Nakaseeta”, to differentiate it from the adjacent one on which the Mpigi church is situated. He later relinquished his official services to the church, became a parish chief who then went on to motivate people to rebuild the Mpigi church at its present location on the hill crest. He grew in reputation and fame.

2.3 Paulo Kiyingi’s Early Childhood Days

As already mentioned, Paulo Kiyingi (PK) was born a Muganda in 1896. His father was Samwiri Lwasi Buzaabo, a Muganda, while his mother Banzigyamubangi Taliddawo was a Musoga. His father Samwiri Lwasi Buzaabo had two wives - namely Saalumanya and Banzigyamubangi Taliddawo. Both women were Basoga who were “looted” as war trophies by the victors following one of the battles between Busoga and Buganda during the reign of King Muteesa 1 (reigned 1856-1884). Buzaabo and his brother Nansambu were very adventurous characters who fought for their country Buganda, made it famous and enriched it with a lot of possessions including women, as was the practice in those days.

At the time of PK’s birth his parents lived at Mpami, Mbaale in Mawokota. He was given the name KIYINGI as his clan name. He was given another name KIKWANGUYIRA, from a Kiganda ancestral proverb, “*Ekikwanguyira naawe okyanguyira, ekikajjo olya kibisi*” (What you find easy should always be given priority; a sugar cane is always eaten raw). Perhaps his parents had quite early on seen signs in the young boy that he would grow up with ease to become efficient in whatever he set out to do. At his baptism he was christened the name PAULO, after the Christian Saint Paul. Later on in his adulthood he named himself BANADDA (which literary translates as “they shall return”), a name he cherished so much, as we will see in Chapter 9 dealing with his release from imprisonment and deportation. PK spent his early childhood years at Mpami, Mbaale Mawokota. Later his parents moved with him to another place called Kiryagonja, in Kyaddondo.

In his childhood PK was kind but reticent. Some people mistook his reticence for being unfriendly or antisocial. Others thought he was stern. He was clever and very calculative in speech, form and language. He was obedient and efficient in whatever tasks he was assigned to do. He executed them with the utmost care and speed, to the fulfilment of the meaning of his name “Kikwanguyira”. He would not rest until the task before him was accomplished. He was good at a variety of sports. He

participated in a number of sporting activities played by children of that generation in Buganda, like: rolling the wheel (*okukuba zziga*), spinning the olive seed (*okubonga enje*) and athletics - especially the sprint track events. He played the *mweso*, *kassonko* and he would team up with other boys in the locality to play the famous mock-war game called, "*Olutalo lwe birumbirumbi*". In this game the young pre-teenage boys would get together and divide themselves into two teams. They would collect young juicy reeds from the bush and shape them into kind of blunt spears. They then would attack each other in a mock fight like real enemies in battle and feign death or injury if they got speared. The victors would be very well rewarded. This game served to sharpen them and prepare them for battle in later life, in case their country got attacked by enemy forces. Unlike many boys of his generation though, PK never took to wrestling. In high school he also had the opportunity to participate in other types of sports like football (soccer) and cricket, which had become popular at Kings' College Buddo and other British missionary schools around Buganda. But running in track events is what he excelled in most. In later adult life, instead of running he took to walking a fast pace. He had a long stride and walked so fast that anyone wishing to walk a distance with him would virtually have to run after him. Amos Kiguli Ssaalongo of Masooli, Yokana Kiguli of Mpigi and the late Anna Nabbosa, all spoke highly of PK's zeal and zest for walking to the total disdain for riding a bicycle. He despised bicycles to the point of even refusing to be carried on it as a pillion passenger. Wherever he would go, be it a short or long journey, if he did not travel by car, bus or truck/lorry he would walk. There were times he used to walk from his older brother Bapere's home in Mpigi, back to his own home at Makeerere, quite a distance at that. It is said that he would leave in the afternoon or early evening hours when nobody would expect him to get home in time. But to their amazement he would be home in a tick.

He was very good and fluent at languages: Luganda and Swahili, as well as English, both written and spoken English, a language he excelled in at school and performed better than all his peers in class. Granted, he did not exhibit his talents in leadership to any remarkable extent, but he used to be an invaluable support to those with better leadership qualities than his. He was the invisible man who made the wheel turn and would do so with great efficiency.

2.4 Paulo Kiyingi's Schooling

While PK and Fenekansi Nkonge were staying with their elder brother Bapere at Ndejje, by that time a qualified assistant priest, they started off with catechism classes leading to their baptism and confirmation in the church. Following that, they started their formal schooling in what were known as Central Schools in the lower primary classes, working their way up to the upper primary classes. PK used to grow and sell cotton to top up on the school fees his brother Bapere used to pay for him through Primary and Junior school at Ndejje. On finishing out of Ndejje he sat for the King's College Buddo entry exams, which he passed with flying colours and won a full scholarship to join senior secondary in 1916. At Buddo he excelled in a number of academic subjects like languages (English), mathematics, geography and history. But due to his seniority in age and stamina, PK was an easy pick to conscript into the army to fight in the First World War which was going on at that time.

2.5 Paulo Kiyingi's Military Service during the First World War

Paulo Kiyingi fought in defence of the British Empire, which included Uganda at the time. Britain had joined hands with France and Russia to fight against Germany. PK and other pupils of his age were taken to war, leaving the other pupils who were much younger than them to continue with their education at school. But PK would have felt no bitterness; just determination with the proverbial

assurances of his ancestors. In one proverb the ancestors mused: “*Ekirya atabaala; kye kirya n’asigadde eka*” (What kills a fighter; could likewise kill anyone else including one who stays at home). In another proverb they mused: “*Omusajja gyagenda; gyasanga basajja banne*” (Where a man goes; he (surely) finds fellow men). PK served with “The Native Medical Corps of British East Africa”, against the German army in the then German East Africa, led by General Von Lettow Vorbeck.

The main thrust of the World War 1 was staged in Europe between Britain and its allies France and Russia on one side, and Germany with its allies Austria-Hungary and Italy on the other. It began against a background of a civil war in Europe, in which each of the European powers then was vying for supremacy. Germany, in particular, felt it had lost out during the Scramble for Africa of 1884. Germany saw little overseas outlets for its imperialism and became restless, feeling its greatness undermined. It therefore turned increasingly towards the European continent. Britain, France and Russia all became suspicious and felt threatened by these German expansionist ambitions. So it was all those military alliances, past conflicts and renewed suspicions, which dragged Europe into the war. The war later spilled over to involve the whole world, because the vast colonial empires of those major European powers collectively dominated the world trade.

In East Africa, the war was instigated by the Germans, as a diversionary tactic. They wanted Britain to relocate some of its troupes from Europe and commit them to East Africa in defence of its interests there. There was a German East Africa, which comprised Tanganyika or the present day mainland Tanzania and there was a British East Africa, which comprised Kenya and Uganda. In starting the war here the Germans hoped to weaken Britain’s position in its fight against Germany in Europe. Germany had already got wind of the fact that the British force in East Africa was smaller in size and perhaps weaker than the German force. So the Germans predicted that it would either be a walkover or that to match the German force Britain would have to strengthen its force by calling on its troops in Europe. The German plan was to attack the East African Railway service, which ran from the coastal town of Mombasa to Kisumu in the hinterland of East Africa. In that way they would paralyse the transport of goods from the port of Mombasa to the interior of Kenya, as well as goods destined for Uganda along the rail line all the way to Kisumu and there from along Lake Nalubaale/Victoria, by steamer, to Port Bell at Luzira near Kampala. The German commander Gen Lettow-Vorbek strategically stationed his forces on the slopes of Mt Kilimanjaro, ready to attack the railway. There was intense fighting along the section of railway line between Voi and Taveta on the south-eastern slopes of Mt Kilimanjaro on the Kenyan side. Those who heard Paulo Kiyingi’s tales about the war used to hear him cursing the Germans for the incessant and bloody attacks on their forces, especially around Voi. Many lives were lost in the battle around the town of Voi in the Taita hills. Up to this day there is a hill named “*Mlima Salaita*”, a Taita/Swahili translation for “slaughter hill”, which gives dimension to the amount of wanton killing that took place.

At that time Buganda was in the middle of celebrations marking the coming of age of the monarch. King Daudi Chwa turned eighteen years in 1914 at the start of World War 1. The war was lukewarm prior to February /March 1916 when it intensified. It was in that year that Paulo Kiyingi and his age-mates, who were conscripted into the war, were withdrawn from schools and sent out to the warfront.

By that time Britain had already sent for re-enforcement troops from South Africa to bolster the already ailing British force. They brought in an army from South Africa commanded by Lieutenant General Jan Christiaan Smuts, a reformed veteran of the Boer War of South Africa in which he had led a rebel

guerrilla group fighting against the British between 1899 and 1902. The British put Smuts in charge of the entire Imperial troops of the Kings African Rifles (K.A.R) to fight against the Germans in East Africa. Gen Smuts fought Gen Vorbeck until the latter moved his forces from the slopes of Mt Kilimanjaro, and headed southwards into Tanganyika, through Mwanza, Dar es Salaam, Tabora, down to the southern border of Tanganyika with Mozambique. It was a tactical attack in that Gen Smut's forces would strike and then recede, lest Vorbeck's forces make a tactical retreat. The ancestral Kiganda proverb says: "*Bwogoba musajja munno; embiro olekamu ezinadda*" (As you chase a fellow man; spare some strength for running back). Indeed at times Gen Vorbeck used to make tactical retreats to try and take Gen Smuts by surprise, only to find that his enemy was well versed in all those military strategies. By the time the last ceasefire was declared, marking the end of the first world war (*Armistice Day*, 11 November 1918), the German troops in East Africa headed by Gen Lettow Vorbeck were scattered all over southern Tanganyika near the borders of Mozambique and Rhodesia. The historians have it on record that in provoking war in East Africa, Gen von Lettow-Vorbek achieved his aim in that his forces managed to engage the Imperial forces in East Africa, in addition to those obtained from India and South Africa for the entire four years the war was going on in Europe. Gen Vorbeck was not aiming at victory or annexing British territories in East Africa, but only to divert the attention of the British from the more important European military campaigns (diversionary attack). You can imagine the people affected by such a senseless war!

The Kiganda saying goes: "*Zoolaga omulungi zidduka; ennaku embale tezeekunya*" (If you are planning to go to a favourite place, time flies). The war finally came to an end. Paulo Kiyingi survived it and returned home alive and with no physical injuries. He was proud that he had risked his life in defence of his motherland Uganda, although the big picture was that he fought for the survival of the British Empire. He was therefore also proud that he had come to the rescue of the Imperial forces in their fight and destruction of the German forces and influence in East Africa. He was decorated with a war medal and some other accolades for his bravery during the war. It will be remembered by those who saw him that every year at the war veterans' march (*okukumba kwa Bakawonawo*), PK used to don the medals on his veteran's uniform and march, showing off his valour. One unique gift or quality PK acquired from that war was a love for walking with speed and zeal like a marching soldier in military drill. He loved walking so much to the point of disliking and despising riding bicycles.

In early January 2002 when I visited Kenya, I met one gentleman Andrew Mwanyika Mwashigadi who resides in a village called Mgange in the Taita hills near Mt Kilimanjaro. His father too fought in World War 1. He related the following story to me about the First World War: "My father, Mzee Mwashigadi (1892-1976), also fought in World War 1 on the side of the British. He used to tell us what they told them. That Gen Smuts was a real son of King George of England, who fought very hard to remove the Germans from Mt Kilimanjaro. But when I grew up and read a story from a book called 'A short history of the East Coast' I saw that Gen Smuts was from South Africa, a Boer. He was a guerrilla. He was a rebel". That is how cunning some Britons can be.

2.6 Back to School After the War

Our spiritual ancestors philosophised in a proverb which says: "*Gyova toyombye, gyotera okudda*" (A place you depart in peace, without wronging or picking a quarrel, is one you are most likely to return to). So when Paulo Kiyingi finished his war service he went back to continue where he left off with his studies at King's College Buddo in 1918. By that time his former classmates, all those who did not go

to war for one reason or other, had advanced two classes ahead of him. He completed his studies in 1921. He was quite mature then, at 25 years of age.

It is said that Paulo Kiyingi's going to war frustrated his academic studies and emotionally undermined his will and determination to continue with them. So when he completed his senior studies at Buddo, instead of pursuing further academic studies at higher institutions he decided to look for a job and start working. He got a job in Kenya as a Telegraph Operator, stationed at Voi, in 1922. Voi was in familiar grounds as PK had been there during the war and hence had lots of enthusiasm in that job. Unfortunately this initial enthusiasm did not sustain. He therefore returned to motherland Buganda and secured himself a job in the Protectorate Government as a Native Clerk and Translator/Interpreter. Later on he did formal courses in typing, translation and interpretation methods and office management, at Makerere Technical College, near the University, in 1931.

CHAPTER 3

PAULO KIYINGI STARTS ADULT LIFE

3.1 Employment at the Buganda Provincial Commissioner's Office

With the experience in typing, translation and office management gathered in his earlier years of employment and subsequent training at the technical college, Paulo Kiyingi got himself a job in one of the highest offices in the land, that of the Provincial Commissioner, Buganda. He worked as one of the Native Administrative Secretaries. He was charged with translating and typing the Protectorate Government's official documents from English to Luganda. That way he served as an important bridge between the Protectorate Government and the Kabaka's Government at Mengo. He was working in that capacity when major changes took place in the functions and title of the Provincial Commissioner. The title was changed to that of Resident Buganda in April 1939. The offices of the four district commissioners in Buganda, together with their assistants, all of who were under the charge of the Provincial Commissioner were abolished. They were replaced by advisers to the Resident Buganda on matters affecting the administration of Buganda Kingdom. The county or Ssaza chiefs were given more powers to administer their people directly, under the Kabaka. This enabled Buganda to be administered as one entity under the Resident with his advisers for the Protectorate Government on the one hand, and as a kingdom under the Kabaka and his Ssaza chiefs on the other hand.

Paulo Kiyingi was an efficient and diligent worker. There was a time his employers thought he was losing his efficiency in typewriting due to old age and wanted to replace him with some fresh graduates from the University. So the employers set a typing test for all prospective employees, and PK was made to do it too. To their amazement Paulo Kiyingi beat all of them in typing speed and accuracy. That was 1943, when the age of 47 years was considered "old" in some circles. Paulo Kiyingi was not demoted or retired. He was instead promoted to the rank of Chief Native Administrative Secretary, replacing Mr Paulo Kavuma who had just been appointed to a higher rank of Ssaza chief of Buluuli. Paulo Kiyingi continued to work hard, with efficiency and integrity. In return he enjoyed very lucrative working conditions. He earned a reasonably fat salary, which enabled him to put his family on a high standard of living. He was at that level of employment when the 1940s revolutions in Buganda broke out. These eventually culminated into his exile in September 1945.

3.2 Paulo Kiyingi's First Marriage to Ayisa Nakku

Paulo Kiyingi first got married in 1925. By then he had started working in the Protectorate Government and was earning a reasonable salary. He had a home in a plot of land located on Nanfumbambi Road, a road which skirts Makeerere hill from Two-Mile on Bombo Road in the east, round to Joshua Zaake's home in the west (Zaake was a famous Ssaza chief "*Kangaawo*" of Bulemeezi county at one time, but had a home at Makeerere). PK's first marriage then was a traditional Kiganda wedding, to a girl called Ayisa Nakku, the daughter of Mr Busiri Muwanga who was a relative of Prince Noah Mbogo, the father of Prince Badru Kakungulu. In the intensity of their love, they were blessed with two children, a boy and a girl. Moses (Musa) Semyano Kiyingi was born in 1926 and Mary (Maliyamu) Namitala was born in 1928. PK chose those two first names for his children, Musa (Moses) and Maliyamu (Mary),

deliberately to unite the two religions, his and his wife's. PK was a Christian while his wife Ayisa was a Moslem. Due to the strict requirement of the Islamic faith, which in those days forbade a non-Moslem marrying a daughter of a Moslem, Paulo Kiyingi was not able to have a "religious" or official wedding as was the practice in those days. If Paulo Kiyingi had converted to Islam it might have been a different story, but he did not. Ayisa's parents later on got her away from Paulo Kiyingi and arranged for her to get married to another man, this time a Moslem, who lived somewhere in Bulemezi county. At the time of her departure from Paulo Kiyingi she was still pregnant with their second child Namitala. Both children were later brought up by Paulo Kiyingi after he got married to Eseza Nabwami, the daughter of Asanasiyo Lule Mujugumbya (see below). The first child Semyano was left with his father when his mother was taken to be married to a man of her father's faith. The second child Namitala was returned to Paulo Kiyingi when plague struck the area of Bulemezi County where Namitala's mother had got married. In fact it is said that when Ayisa returned to Bulemezi after bringing Namitala to Paulo Kiyingi, she soon caught the disease and unfortunately died from it. Namitala survived.

Following the dissolution of Paulo Kiyingi's marriage to Ayisa Nakku by Ayisa's parents, Paulo Kiyingi decided to look for another girl to marry. He therefore courted and later on married Eseza Nabwami, the daughter of Asanasiyo Lule Mujugumbya and Eresi Ssanyu Nambi Nabukeera, of Kassanda in Ssingo County. Eseza Nabwami had no grudges and showed no ill-feelings towards her husband's children, bringing them up as her own in all respects.

CHAPTER 4

ESEZA NABWAMI (ENK) COMES INTO THE PICTURE

4.1 Eseza Nabwami's Early Childhood Days

Eseza Nabwami (ENK) was born in 1909 during the reign of the late King (*Ssekabaka*) Daudi Chwa II (the 35th King of Buganda) at Kijugumbya, Mirembe, Kassanda in Ssinga County. Her father was Asanasiyo Lule Kalumba of the civet-cat (*Ffumbe*) clan, who was more popularly known by his chiefly name "Mujugumbya" which was acquired by his ancestors during the reign of King Ssuuna II. Her mother was Eresi Ssanyu Nambi Nabukeera of the antelope/bushbuck (*Ngabi*) clan. The remains of both her parents are still at "Kijugumbya", Mirembe, Kassanda. Nabwami was a true Muganda woman, of the Ffumbe clan, the alternative/secondary totem (*Akabbiro*) being the frog (*Kikere*). Within the Ffumbe clan she belonged to the division (*ssiga*) of Magunda at Lwanga in Mawokota County, in the sub-division (*Mutuba*) of Kalumba at Bumoozi in Mawokota County, in the lineage (*Lunyiriri*) of Byalugano. Byalugano was the father of Kasolo Mbalire, the grandfather of Eseza Nabwami.

Kasolo Mbalire, the son of Byalugano, was very closely associated with the palace of King Ssuuna II. One of his sisters Nakibuuka Busirikke was one of the king's wives. So Mbalire grew in fame and influence as one of the king's in-laws. He later got married and sired the following children:

1. Asanasiyo Lule Kalumba "Mujugumbya" - of Kassanda, Ssinga
2. Tokiya Mukasa - of Buyinjakibwa
3. Ivan Kampi - of Buyinjakibwa
4. Nekemeya Mulinsike - of Buwaya
5. Ayibu Kiwanuka - of Mubuulo
6. Mikairi Patwe - of Bwakaggo
7. Louise Nakku
8. Mazira
9. Nabayego
10. Namirembe

Mbalire died in battle, one of the many battles Buganda was involved in during those days. His first born, Lule Kalumba, grew up into a fine young man. He was a bodyguard (*Mugalagala*) in the palace of the late King Ssuuna II, where his aunt Nakibuuka Busirikke was then a widow. When Christianity was introduced during the reign of King Muteesa I around 1877, Lule Kalumba quickly embraced it and got baptised into the Christian church. He took on the name "Asanasiyo" and became a very devout Christian. He became a chief of his area and took on the chiefly name "Mujugumbya". Later he became a Christian evangelist and travelled widely both within Buganda and surrounding regions, like Moroto in Karamojja, Kitgum in Acholi and Mboga in Congo, spreading the Christian faith, together with the famous Rev Canon Apollo Kivebulaaya.

4.2 Asanasiyo Lule Mujugumbya Marries Eresi Ssanyu Nabukeera

Eresi Ssanyu Nabukeera Nambi, the bride-to-be for Asanasiyo Lule Mujugumbya, was a daughter of Paulo Ndabiddekunnamusa of the *Ngabi* clan, who owned a large piece of milo land at Kaalwanga near River Nabakazi in Ssinga County. Her mother was Nanfuka Kulyanyingi of the *Ngeye* clan. Lunzeni Nkambwe of Ssisa, the maternal uncle (*Kojja*) of Eresi Ssanyu Nabukeera, was also a King's representative/chief (*Mukungu*) in his area.

We have seen how Mujugumbya was a *Mugalagala* in King Suuna's palace and a *Mukungu* (chief). We have also seen how Mujugumbya's paternal aunt Nakibuuka Busirikke had been a king's wife. With that type of rich chiefly background, coupled with his puritanical religious influence, Mujugumbya found no difficulty in winning the heart of Eresi Ssanyu Nabukeera as his bride-to-be. After all she too came from a very influential family. At the time of their wedding Mujugumbya was working as an assistant priest in the church. So they had a grand Christian wedding ceremony at Namirembe Cathedral. The cathedral was still made of mud-and-wattle with grass-thatched roofing, before it was struck down by lightning and burnt in 1910 to give way to the present day Cathedral, which was built and opened in 1915.

Asanasiyo Lule Kalumba Mujugumbya with his wife Eresi begot seven children, one boy and six girls, as follows:-

1. Damasiko Eryeza Kawesa
2. Sofia Nanteza "Nakibuuka"
3. Eseza Nabwami "Sizannya" (born 1909)
4. Mesulemi Nakku
5. Yunia Nandawula Nawakkoonyi (born 1917)
6. Agnes Nabbumba
7. Annet Emima Mbejjerezo

Due to Asanasiyo Lule Kalumba Mujugumbya having been a bodyguard (*Mugalagala*) in the palace of the late King Ssuna II, as well as having been a chief and an evangelical priest, he was one of those awarded a piece of milo land during the land distribution of the early 1900s. He got his piece of milo land at Mirembe, Kassanda and gave it the chiefly name "*Kijugumbya*".

4.3 Mujugumbya Becomes Brother-in-Law to Yoswa Sserunyiigo

Eresi Ssanyu Nabukeera Nambi had a younger sister called Kerudiya Namazzi, both from the same father Paulo Ndabiddekunnamusa. After her marriage to Mujugumbya and settling at Mirembe, Kassanda, Eresi asked her sister Kerudiya to go and stay with her. While there Eresi got a man for her sister Kerudiya to get married to, so she could stay near her. The man was called Yoswa Sserunyiigo, a son of Lazaalo Buliggwanga, also of the civet-cat (*Ffumbe*) clan. They got married and had several children, as follows:-

1. Lazaalo Ssengendo Kibuuka
2. Musa Ssempala
3. Edisa Zawedde
4. Dunstan Leonard Sserunyiigo Kasolo
5. Geresomu Kisitu

6. Ludia Nalubwama
7. Lucia Mboge
8. Luusi Nabakka
9. Paulo Kabula Ndabidde
10. Ewudiya Nakku Kyabangi
11. Elizabeth Nangonzi

Yoswa Sserunyiigo and Asanasiyo Lule Mujugumbya became very good friends and brothers-in-law, who had both married from the same family and both belonged to the same *Ffumbe* clan. Their children grew up together like real brothers and sisters of the same compound, all of them grandchildren of Paulo Ndabiddekunnamusa.

4.4 The name “Sizannya”

Eseza Nabwami was heir to three of her paternal aunts, due to her popularity in the *Ffumbe* clan and her family. It is said that one of those aunts, Maria Rosa Nakku, was very stern, possibly possessed by a spirit called *Sizannya* (lit. “I don’t joke”). Whenever she wanted something done for her she would demand that it be carried out immediately. If that person showed any slackness or resistance, Maria Rosa Nakku would get very agitated, fierce and angry, loudly pronouncing: “*Vaawo awo, situkiramu, anti nze sizannya*” (Get up, hurry up and get going or else..., for me I don’t joke). If the person still hesitated, Nakku would hit him or her. Maria Rosa Nakku was the mother of Joseph Kabenge Kazamiti, the father of Philip Sseruwagi Namukadde. When Eseza Nabwami succeeded her, she also took her name and sternness. For it is said that Eseza too was very stern - her older children knew and experienced this, but not so the younger ones. By the time the younger ones grew up her sternness had lessened, so they never knew it.

4.5 Eseza Nabwami’s Schooling

ENK started schooling at Nsooloolo in Ssinga County in the early primary classes. She then went on to Makonzi where she completed Primary 4. From there she proceeded to another place called Namukozi near Mityana, also in Ssinga County, where she completed Primary 6 at the age of 15 years. In those days it was quite common in Buganda for girls to end their formal studies after primary school.

4.6 Eseza Nabwami’s City Life Begins

Louise Nakku, a sister to Asanasiyo Lule Mujugumbya, was married to Yokana Kamyia Kajjongolo a Gombolola chief for Kassanda in Ssinga County. She asked her brother Mujugumbya to allow his eldest daughter, Sofia Nanteza, to go and assist her look after her husband as a kind of second wife. The request was granted, Sofia Nanteza was given away to Yokana Kajjongolo to take as his second wife. Sofia was put in Kajjongolo’s second home at Lungujja, in the suburbs of Kampala city. During school holidays Eseza Nabwami would go and stay with her elder sister Sofia at Lungujja. That is how Eseza started familiarising herself with city life, which she was later to embrace. She made lots of friends with her age mates; especially Yokana Kajjongolo’s children who were also holidaying at Lungujja. They would play games and make lots of noise, like all teenagers do, with Yuniya Nabayego - who later got married to Efulaimu Kaamaanyi, Asanasiyo Masembe - who later became chief steward in the King’s palace during the reign of Ssekabaka Muteesa II and Kulanima Kabali - nicknamed “*Lulalama*” (wry neck) from his characteristic neck posture.

4.7 Sofia Nanteza Becomes Heir to Nakibuuka Busirikke

One of Sofia Nanteza's grand-aunts (her father's paternal aunt) called Nakibuuka Busirikke had been a wife to Kabaka Ssuuna II (the 29th King of Buganda). When she died she was initially succeeded, in error, by one Magdalena Namubiru. Later, after some careful search in the family history, it was discovered that Nakibuuka Busirikke should have been succeeded by one of Asanasiyo Lule Mujugumbya's children. So processes were initiated to right the wrong. Mujugumbya decided that his oldest daughter Sofia Nanteza should be the one to succeed his aunt, her grand-aunt. Mujugumbya therefore requested Yokana Kamyia Kajjongolo to release Sofia for the succession. As was the custom in those days, Sofia then became the "widow" to the late King Ssekabaka Ssuuna II. Custom also dictated that she should not go back to Kajjongolo as his wife, for the King's widow and her heir were never permitted to remarry. So instead she went to live on the property officially allocated to Nakibuuka Busirikke as the king's widow, located on Mawanda Road at Mulago, in the city's environs. In the same way Sofia also took on the name "Nakibuuka" and officially came to be known as Sofia Nanteza Nakibuuka.

4.8 Eseza Nabwami Relocates from Kassanda to Mulago

When Sofia Nanteza Nakibuuka got properly settled in her new role as the late king's widow, on her property at Mulago, she requested her father Mujugumbya to allow her younger teenage sister Eseza Nabwami to go and stay with her at Mulago. Her request was granted. Eseza Nabwami left Kassanda in Ssingoo County and relocated to Mulago in the city environs. That happened around 1925. By then Eseza Nabwami had finished her formal studies, having completed Primary 6 the year before. There were some other relations who also went to settle on the property at Mulago, like ENK's paternal uncle Erisa Googwa. As it transpired, Mulago became the de facto city home for the extended Mujugumbya family.

CHAPTER 5

PAULO KIYINGI'S MARRIAGE TO ESEZA NABWAMI

5.1 Paulo Kiyingi's Betrothal to Eseza Nabwami

Following the refusal of a wedding between Paulo Kiyingi and Ayisa Nakku by her parents due to differences in religious backgrounds, PK started looking around for another girl to marry. One of his best friends and neighbour Erienza Sekamwa was at the same time quite well-known at Mulago in Nakibuuka's household. He is the one who spotted Eseza Nabwami as a potential future wife of Paulo Kiyingi. Negotiations followed, culminating into introductions between PK and ENK. PK approved of the girl and it was then left to ENK to sound her approval. After some long and careful deliberation, ENK finally came down with her decision. She too approved of the man. Her approval was quickly communicated to PK, by none other than Yunia Nandawula, ENK's younger sister. PK rewarded her with 50 cents (*simooni*) in appreciation of that piece of good news. After that ENK formally introduced PK to her parents in a special ceremony called "*Okwanjula*". This ceremony was performed in the home of ENK's paternal uncle Erisa Googwa, also at Mulago. With the blessings of the parents from both sides the two proceeded to arrange their wedding ceremony.

5.2 The Holy Matrimony

PK and ENK staged their wedding on 29th September 1928 at St Paul's Cathedral Namirembe, witnessed by close friends and their extended families. It was a grand wedding which was talked about around town for a long, long time. They were joined in holy matrimony by the Rt Rev Ananiya Binaiisa, the father of Godfrey Lukongwa Binaiisa QC, ex-President of Uganda (1979-1980).

5.3 PK and ENK Start a Family

After the wedding PK and ENK settled in the home PK already possessed on Nanfumbambi Road, Makeerere, and started building and raising their family. They did not stay long in that home though due to some unfortunate events that befell them. They had their first child, a boy, in that home and they named him Nasani Luggya. Sadly he died soon after, in what appeared suspicious circumstances. After about one year and half in that home they were forced to move out and build another home elsewhere. By then PK and ENK had already shown their strong commitment to the Church Missionary Society Makeerere Parish Church on top of the hill, so the church allotted them a piece of its land to settle on. This is where they built their home, on the northern slopes of the hill, about 500 meters from the hill top.

5.4 Makeerere Hill

Makeerere hill is the place of origin of the Kiyingi family. The hill is of historical significance - being one of the original seven hills on which the original Kampala city was built. The oldest and most prestigious University in East and Central Africa is located on that hill, on its southern and eastern slopes.

The name Makeerere (which literary means “dawn”) started with King Jjuuko, the 16th King of Buganda. The story is told that in the year 1680 King Jjuuko was on a journey to woo a young beautiful girl called Nalunga. He and his entourage were walking on foot. They got to this hill in broad daylight and decided to take a rest for a breather. While resting, there was a total eclipse of the sun. All of a sudden darkness fell on the land, lasting minutes to hours, such that the chickens went inside their “houses”, like they normally do when night falls. But after some time, not lasting a whole night, daylight came back again, with the sun still high up in the sky instead of rising from the east. It is said that the king got baffled at what had happened. So he remarked to his men that “*Ha, gano nno gabadde makeerere*” (Well this has been an unusual dawn). From then up to today the hill and surrounding village is called Makeerere.

This hill therefore became the place of origin of the Kiyingi family and all the descendants of Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi. The ancestral home is still located at Makeerere. That is the meeting place where they all gather for any important ceremonies affecting the entire family.

5.5 The Kiyingi Family

Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi (PK), the third born to Samwiri Lwasi Buzaabo sired the following children:

1. Kiyingi Moses Semyano - born in 1926, died in 1992
2. Namitala Mary - born in 1928, died in 1977
3. Luggya Nassani - born 29/02/1929, died in 1930
4. Nalugwa Efulansi Miriam Lwalamukwano - born 16/03/1931
5. Mpiima Henry James - born 1933, died 25/03/1966
6. Kaggulire Damasiko Erieza Kikwanguyira - born 28/02/1935
7. Kulumba David Buzaabo - born 09/11/1936
8. Bbosa Asanath Lule - born 01/02/1939
9. Nakiyngi Elizabeth Rosette Banzigya - born 27/12/1940, died 1995
10. Nabbosa Esta Lillian - born 08/05/1942
11. Kibuuka Balubuuliza - born 10/10/1944
12. Lutalo Samuel Kigwira - born 03/09/1946
13. Nalumu Kasalina Nakibuuka Ziribaggwa - born in 1950, died in 1953
14. Sekkadde Kikuttobudde - born 08/08/1951
15. Naluggya Margaret Kuumekyoto - born 31/12/1955

CHAPTER 6

THE KIYINGI ANCESTRAL LINEAGE

6.1 The Lineage of Descendants

These are the succeeding generations, continuing where we left off in Chapter 1 on page 9:

SEVENTH GENERATION (7)

Aloni Bapere Sekkadde, the first born of Samwiri Lwasi Buzaabo fathered the following children:

1. Eriazali Lwasi Buzaabo
2. Aloni Sekkadde
3. Yakobo Nakabaale
4. Musa Bbosa
5. Amos Kiguli
6. Kezekiya Kaggwa
7. Kulumba Kamy
8. Nola Nakatudde
9. Janet Nabbose
10. Yayeri Nalugwa
11. Elizabeth Nakibuuka
12. Christopher Sekkadde
13. Yafesi Kiguli

Fenekansi Nkonge, the second born of Samwiri Lwasi Buzaabo fathered the following:

1. Kosea Kalyesubula

Erenesti Serunkuuma Diiro, the first born of Kawesa Waggala fathered the following children:

1. G.W. Serunkuuma Bwaddene
2. Yonasani Luggya

Nasanayiri Mukasa Luggya of Kyabbumba, the second born of Kawesa Waggala fathered the following children:

1. Ezekyeri Bbosa
2. Kalyesubula
3. Serunkuuma Sendegeya
4. Watamangi
5. Nalunkuuma Kagabane
6. Namitala Nakawuka
7. Nakiyingi
8. Nakawesa Namayanja

Daniel Kiguli Kijojje, from Kaggulire Balimuttajjo begot the following children:

1. Samwiri Kaggulire (*Mutuba* head)
2. Kirizestomu Douglas Nkonge Kawesa
3. Alikizanderea Naluggya
4. Yulita Nabbosa
5. Eirini Bimbuze
6. Adoloniko Serunkuuma

Yowana Kiguli, the first born of Semyoni Kaddu Nansambu fathered the following children:

1. Zakaliya Bbosa
2. Tanansi Kawesa
3. Stefano Kaddu Kibwa
4. Semeo Kulumba
5. Veronica Nalugwa
6. Julia Nakiyingi

Aguste Lumu, the second born of Semyoni Kaddu Nansambu fathered the following:

1. Nalunkuuma
2. Nakatudde

Zeveriyo Lule Serunkuuma Kateetemera, from Semyoni Kaddu Nansambu fathered the following children:

1. Laurence Serunkuuma (*Lunyiriri* head)
2. Emanuel Kaddu
3. Emirio Nkonge
4. Anna Nakawesa Nabbosa
5. Sepiranza Namitala

Batulumayo Serunkuuma Aliddeki Mbizzi, from Bbosa Nyago fathered the following children:

1. Stanley Bbosa Musoke
2. Edward Kiguli
3. Erifazi Kaggwa
4. Paulo Kiyingi
5. Bbosa
6. Serunkuuma
7. Anzerena Nabbosa
8. Nalunkuuma
9. Nakagulire

etc... and many others who belong to this generation but who are not listed.

EIGHTH GENERATION (8)

Laurence Serunkuuma of Katadde, from Zeverio Lule Kateetemera fathered the following children:

1. Visensio Kalyesubula
2. Francis Lule Serunkuuma

3. Benado Kiyingi Semyano (The *Lunyiriri* head)
4. Josef Kiguli Nansambu
5. Yoakimu Bbosa Muwulu-azitowa
6. Matilda Naluggya
7. Zabeti Nakibuuka Bimbuzze

Emanuel Kaddu, from Zeverio Lule Kateetemera fathered the following children:

1. Lumu Mula
2. John Baptist Kaddu
3. Nalunkuuma Lidivina
4. Nabbosa Yulita
5. Nalugwa Veronica
6. Nakatudde Regina
7. Musoke Zidoolo
8. Namitala Sepiranza
9. Nakibuuka Margaret
10. Naluggya Lydia
11. Nakagulire
12. Kiddugavu
13. Sekkadde Henry
14. Kiyingi Bonaventura

Emirio Bbosa Nkonge of Mpigi, from Zeverio Lule Kateetemera fathered the following children:

1. Sekkadde Saalongo
2. John Kiguli
3. Nakagulire
4. Nakiyingi
5. Nabbosa Ana
6. Lwasi
7. Nkonge
8. Serunkuuma Zeverio
9. Emirio Kidde Bbosa

Eriazali Lwasi Buzaabo of Mulago, the first born of Aloni Bapere Sekkadde fathered the following children:

1. Paulo Kiyingi Banadda Saalongo
2. Ezekiel Bapere Luggya
3. Aloni Bapere Sekkadde
4. Fenekansi Nkonge
5. Samwiri Lwasi Buzaabo
6. Gertrude Nalunkuuma
7. Gladys Nola Naluggya
8. Salome Nakiyingi Saalumanya
9. Joyce Nalugwa
10. Margaret Nakatudde
11. Mary Nakagulire

Amos Kiguli Saalongo of Masooli, from Aloni Bapere Sekkadde has fathered the following children:

1. Aloni Sekkadde
2. Samwiri Kalyesubula
3. Charles Serunkuuma Kato
4. Lumu Kizza
5. Kulumba Kamyia
6. Bbosa Kaggwa
7. Kityo
8. Kiguli Kikkakka
9. Nakabaale
10. Janet Nalumu

Yuda Makebbeewo Kiddugavu, from Aloni Bapere Sekkadde fathered the following children:

1. Lwasi Buzaabo
2. Keziya Nabbosa
3. Mary Nalunkuuma
4. Naluggya

Kezekiya Nakabaale, from Aloni Bapere Sekkadde fathered the following children:

1. Krizestomu Bbosa
2. Edward Serunkuuma
3. David Luggya
4. Ekirifu Kiguli
5. Gladys Nabbosa

Samwiri Kaggulire of Namasinda, the first born of Daniel Kiguli Kijojje fathered the following children:

1. Kibuuka
2. Nalugwa
3. Nakiyingi
4. Nalunkuuma
5. Nabbosa
6. Naluggya

Krisestomu Douglas Nkongwe Kawesa Saabalongo of Bulamu, the second born of Daniel Kiguli Kijojje fathered the following children:

1. Steven Mukasa Kigongo
2. Kiyingi Wasswa
3. Kulumba Kato
4. Benoni Sserunkuuma
5. Sekkadde
6. Kaggulire
7. Moses Kiyingi
8. Krisestom Kawesa Wasswa
9. Douglas Nkongwe Kiyinikibi (The *Mutuba* head)
10. Livingstone Bbosa

11. Kalyesubula
12. Buzaabo Lwasi Wasswa
13. Kato
14. Nakiyingi Sarah
15. Betty Nakibuuka Babirye
16. Nakato
17. Nalunkuuma
18. Nalugwa Nakato
19. Joy Nabbosa
20. Nakagulire

Kosea Kalyesubula Senkaayi of Kawanda, from Fenekansi Nkonge fathered the following children:

1. Fenekansi Nkonge Kizza
2. Deborah Nabbosa Kigongo
3. Namitala Christine Babirye
4. Rosemary Nakiyingi Nakato

Moses Semyano Kiyingi of Makindye, the first son of Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi fathered the following children:

1. Paul Kiyingi
2. Stephen Mukasa
3. Elizabeth Nakiyingi

Henry James Mpiima of Masaka, the second son of Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi fathered the following children:

1. Henry James Mpiima
2. Christine Nakiguli
3. Evelyn Naluggya

Damasko Erieza Kikwanguyira Kaggulire of Kyaliwajjala Namugongo, the third son of Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi has fathered the following children:

1. Damasko Lumu
2. Fred Nkonge Kikkakka
3. Godfrey Serunkuuma
4. Frederick Luggya
5. Moses Kiyingi
6. James Bbosa
7. Paul Kulumba
8. Samwiri Kalyesubula
9. Peter Kaggwe
10. James Lutalo
11. Sarah Naluggya
12. Florence Nalugwa
13. Margaret Nakiyingi
14. Rose Nakatudde

15. Allen Nakiguli
16. Betty Nakibuuka
17. Esta Nakagulire
18. Alice Nabbosa
19. Robina Nalunkuuma
20. Annet Nalumu
21. Easter Nakkadde
22. Eseza Namitala
23. Dorothy Nakaggwe

David Kulumba Buzaabo of Ntinda, the fourth son of Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi has fathered the following children:

1. Richard Kalyesubula
2. Aloni Bapere Sekkadde
3. Paul Kiyingi Banadda
4. Samuel Lutalo
5. Eriazali Lwasi
6. Catherine Nalumu
7. Sara Rosette Nakkadde
8. Esther Nalugwa
9. Alice Nalunkuuma
10. Elizabeth Nakibuuka
11. Ssanyu Priscilla Nabbosa

Asanath Lule Bbosa of Kawuku, the fifth son of Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi has fathered the following children:

1. Paul Kiyingi
2. Nathan Luggya
3. Hannington Bbosa
4. David Kalyesubula
5. Lumu Henry James
6. Lutalo Simon
7. Eva Kyolaba Nakiguli
8. Betty Nalumu
9. Samali Nakiyngi
10. Janet Nalunkuuma
11. Juliet Margaret Naluggya
12. Nabbosa Irene
13. Nalugwa Susan

Balubuuliza Kibuuka of Ntinda, the sixth son of Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi has fathered the following children:

1. Patrick Banadda Balubuuliza
2. Peace Nambubi Namatimba Naluggya

Samuel Kigwira Lutalo of Bbunga (Uganda) and Harare (Zimbabwe), the seventh son of Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi has fathered the following children:

1. Pamela Margaret Mirembe Nakatudde
2. Priscilla Esther Nkwagala Nakiyingi
3. Patricia Roselyn Birungi Naluggya
4. Proscovia Ssanyu Nalugwa

Kikutubudde Sekkadde of Munyonyo Salaama (Uganda) and Townsville (Australia), the eighth son of Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi has fathered the following children:

1. Kivebulaaya Kulumba
2. Kikwanguyira Lutalo
3. Makula Nabbosa Namuswe
4. Ssanyu Nakkadde

etc... and many others who belong to this eighth generation but who are not listed.

The ninth (9) generation will in future be documented by our children or children's children.

NB: There are bound to be many people who have escaped mention in this book. This is neither a deliberate omission nor non-recognition of their place in the extended family. It is a result of a difficulty in getting to them during the original compilation of this book in Luganda and the limited revision during the production of this English edition. I bear full responsibility for this omission and ask for your pardon. I further request all those who may have escaped mention to please let me know so that I can include them in the next (revised) edition.

6.2 Declaration of the Lineage

To all children and grandchildren of the present and future generations, this is the way you should always declare your ancestral lineage:

We are children (or grandchildren) of Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi, whose remains are at Mpigi Nakaseeta Bulemeezi; children or grandchildren of Aloni Bapere Sekkadde, whose remains are also at Mpigi Nakaseeta Bulemeezi; children (or grandchildren) of Fenekansi Nkonge; we are children (or grandchildren) in the household of Zeveriyo Lule Serunkuuma Kateetemera, whose remains are at Mpigi, in the household of Daniel Kiguli Kijojje, in the household of Batulumayo Serunkuuma Aliddeki, in the household of Nasanayiri Mukasa Luggya at Kyabbumba, in the household of Erenesti Serunkuuma Diiro, in the household of Yowana Kiguli; we are grandchildren of Samwiri Lwasi Buzaabo and Semyoni Kaddu Nansambu both of who are entombed at Mpigi Nakaseeta Bulemeezi; great grandchildren of Kiguli Kikkakka and Bwetwajja Matembe Luggya, both of whom are descended from Kalyesubula Kamwanga Kiddugavu.

Our origins are in the lineage (*Lunyiriri*) of Nansambu, in the sub-division (*Mutuba*) of Mpiima at Ggumba, Mbale Mawokota. We originate from the division (*Ssiga*) of Luwanga at Mpami Mbale Mawokota. We are all descendants of Lwomwa the leader of the Ndiga clan at Mbale Mawokota.

We are true Baganda, our primary totem is the sheep (*Ndiga*), and the alternative totem is the lion (*Mpologoma*). Our clan's war chant or motto (*Omubala*) sounds like this: "*Mpa(wo) alimuliisa e*

Ndiga; Nabbosa. Nabbosa, mpa(wo) alimuliisa e Ndiga” which can be translated as: “Nobody will ever make her (him) eat lamb (mutton); Nabbosa. Nabbosa, nobody will ever make her (him) eat lamb (mutton)”.

6.3 Other Relatives brought up by PK and ENK

Apart from their children there were so many other children and relatives who grew up or spent some time at Paulo and Eseza Kiyingi’s home at Makeerere. Here below are a few of them:

1. Nabbumba Agnes - ENK’s younger sister, who ENK requested from her father Mujugumbya to keep her company in her home at Makeerere.
 2. Eriazali Lwasi Buzaabo - PK’s nephew, a son of his older brother Aloni Bapere Sekkadde. PK contributed to Lwasi’s education all the way from Ndejje to King’s College Buddo.
 3. Erifaazi Kaggwa Kirimuttu - PK’s nephew, a son of PK’s brother Batulumayo Serunkuuma Aliddeki Mbizzi. PK contributed to Kaggwa’s education.
 4. Paulo Kiyingi and 5. Edward Kiguli - PK’s nephews, also from Batulumayo Serunkuuma Mbizzi.
 6. Kosea Kalyesubula Senkayi - PK’s nephew from his older brother Fenekansi Nkonge. PK contributed to his education up into the high school grades.
 7. Alice Janet Nalunkuuma Bimbuze - a grandchild of PK, from PK’s nephew Zakaliya Bbosa. He contributed to her education at Makeerere Primary School.
 8. George William Serunkuuma Bwaddene - PK’s nephew from his brother Erenesti Ddiro. PK contributed to his education through Chwa II Senior Secondary School, Namungoona and Aggrey Memorial School Bunnamwaya.
 9. Douglas Krizostom Nkonge Kawesa - PK’s nephew from his brother Daniel Kiguli Kijojje. Nkonge spent much of his childhood days at Makeerere and PK contributed to his education through Makeerere Primary School, Namungoona and Nkwanga in Bugangazzi County.
 10. Philip Sseruwagi Namukadde - ENK’s grandnephew from her nephew Joseph Kazamiti.
 11. John Kiyingi Kayigwa - grandnephew (son of PK’s nephew Kiyingi Namuginga);
 12. Edmund Kiwanuka Serwadda - ENK’s nephew from her younger sister Yunia Nandawula.
 13. Joyce Namuyimbwa (Mayega) - ENK’s niece from her younger sister Agnes Nabbumba.
 14. Paulo Mugalu Senveewo - ENK’s nephew from her younger sister Agnes Nabbumba.
 15. Paulo Kyambadde - PK and ENK’s grandson from their daughter Miriam Efulansi Nalugwa Musoke.
 16. Samwiri Ddiba Kannamwangi - PK and ENK’s grandson from their daughter Miriam Efulansi Nalugwa Musoke.
 17. Asanasiyo Lule Googwa - ENK’s nephew from her older brother Erieza Kawesa Mujugumbya.
 18. Esita Nakagulire - PK’s younger sister.
- ... And a numerous number of others, not specifically mentioned here.

Their home being in the city and close to many good schools, employment opportunities and other amenities made it convenient for many relatives to send their children to or go and spend some time at PK and ENK’s Makeerere home.

CHAPTER 7

REVOLUTIONS IN BUGANDA IN THE 1940s

7.1 PK's Employment with the Colonial Administration

PK's employment with the colonial government was of the highest calibre and was always well-remunerated. He had a good salary, good enough to look after his family and extended family. He was generous at heart and his generosity even extended to friends in the wider community. It is widely acknowledged that there used to be feasts nearly every Sunday, when he and his wife would entertain visitors, relatives and virtually anybody from the church who wanted to call in on their way home from church. They would all eat to their satisfaction. Sometimes if the prepared food got finished before everybody got served, more would be cooked until everybody had had enough. Some people would stay for the night. They would be given blankets to keep themselves warm through the night. The following morning, anybody who felt they had no blanket at their home would be welcome to take the blanket they had used the night before. Those were times of plenty and extravagance, before days turned sour for PK and ENK.

7.2 Nationalist Politics in Buganda Pre-1945

Whenever PK was free from his employment and religious commitments he would engage in politics, championing the cause of freedom and democracy for the common man. He fought for the emancipation of the commoner, the farmer, commercial trader, the government civil servant as well as anybody who he thought was being down-trodden by the autocratic colonial administration. His position in the office of the Resident Buganda as a clerk and later chief administrative secretary, as well as an interpreter and official government translator gave PK access to a number of very important government documents and enabled him to know a lot about the goings on in such a high office in the land. It is not known for certain whether PK was a member of the first elders' or people's party (**Bataka Movement No. 1**) which was formed way back in 1922. One of the fundamental aims of that party was to petition the return of the land expropriated from the commoners and clan heads by the 1900 Uganda Agreement. This is the infamous agreement which was made between the Queen of England and the under-age Kabaka of Uganda (Buganda), through his agents. What is known for certain is that Paulo Kiyingi was a staunch supporter, though not officially a member, of the second people's party "**Baana ba Kintu**", renowned to be the fore-runner of political parties in Uganda. This one was formed in 1938 to champion the financial and commercial interests of indigenous farmers and traders. Its task was to ensure that the people's agricultural products like crops were sold at fair prices, not the deflated prices that the colonial masters or the Asian middlemen would have wanted to offer. The second objective was to work towards ridding the country of the Asian trader, especially in the villages, where the Asians dominated the commercial sector including the ginning of cotton and coffee. The chief moderator of the Baana ba Kintu party was Mr Ignatius Musaaazi. Other prominent members included *Omutaka* James Kivu of the Workers' Party, Spartus Mukasa Sebbanja a one-time leader of the Orthodox Church in Uganda, Mukasa Sepuuya (Spire), Samson Bazongere a one-time Ssaza chief of Kyaddondo (*Kaggo*), Semyoni Njuki a one-time Ssaza chief of Ssinga (*Mukwenda*), Haji Alamanzaani Gaanya a one-time Deputy *Katikkiro* (Prime Minister) to *Katikkiro* Martin Nsibirwa. Much later on, as we shall

see in later chapters, PK was a prominent member of the “elders’ liberationist” party (**Bataka Movement No 2**), which was officially called “**Bataka Uganda**” or “BU” for short. This was formed in 1946.

The formation of these movement groups or quasi-political parties was not always easy or safe and their operations not always legal. This was mainly because for most of the time they were critical of the autocratic system of administration, typical of a colonial power, whereas Uganda was initially and officially supposed to be a protectorate, not a colony of Britain. Not only were they critical of the colonial administration, but at times they were also critical of the King’s (*Kabaka’s*) representatives, ministers and chiefs; especially those who had unfairly benefited from the land distributions contained in the 1900 Agreement. This brought untold problems to the leaders of those parties. Some people regarded the quasi-political party activists as freedom fighters fighting for independence, others called them rebels who were inciting the populace against the wise counsel of His Majesty’s government, the Queen of Britain. So PK, together with his colleagues who were steering the political aspirations of **Baana ba Kintu**, actively participated in the defiant upheavals of 1945. This led to their arrest, imprisonment in the country’s maximum security prison and later deportation to places outside the Kingdom of Buganda. PK, the veteran of the First World War 1914-1918 must have found the 1945 imprisonment and deportation his second major war. In the First World War he was fighting for the survival of the British Empire. In 1945 he was fighting for the survival of the Kingdom of Buganda and the whole country Uganda.

7.3 Background to the Detention of Paulo Kiyingi

First and foremost there was overwhelming anxiety among the Baganda about a plan by the colonial power Britain to unite all their three East African possessions, Uganda (including Buganda), Kenya and Tanganyika in an administrative federation, to be renamed the British East African Dominion. The Baganda feared that such a move would further dilute and weaken their Kingdom, weaken the power of the Kabaka and hence destroy the very foundation of their culture. The seeds had already been sown in the introduction and imposition of the 1900 Agreement, with its disguised long-term implications for the sovereignty of Buganda. Those with strong sentiments for Buganda were very apprehensive. They had learnt of what had happened to the Kenyans when Britain imposed on them a law which dispossessed them of their land. That law, officially known as “The Resident Native or Squatters Ordinance - 1918”, permitted foreign owned companies to acquire land anywhere in Kenya, as long as it was purportedly for the economic developmental purposes. The people of Kenya had no more powers over their land. That power lay in the hands of their colonial masters. They could not prevent anybody or any company from establishing themselves on any part of their land. It is also said that the people of Kenya were compelled by Government to work as slaves for their European landlords for 180 days a year while the European landlords were prohibited from permitting the Kenyans to settle on the land without prior permission from a Magistrate. Paulo Kiyingi had personally witnessed some of this harsh treatment of the Kenyans by the British during the time he served in the First World War and the year he spent working as a telegraphic operator at Voi in Kenya. The British colonialists regarded those laws and measures as a way of expanding and spreading “economic development”. They had used the same approach in other countries like Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), Nyasaland (now Malawi) and South Africa. The Baganda mused over the concept of “economic development”; was it for the dispossessed or their masters!

Secondly, there was a rumour circulating in Buganda that Britain was planning to resettle some of its World War 2 veterans in our country Buganda.

But the most burning issue of immediate concern was the land on Makeerere hill, one of the hills encircling the city of Kampala and on which stood a parish Anglican Church of the Church Missionary Society (now Church of Uganda). In addition to the church there were several landowners and residents on that land, Paulo Kiyingi and others. The protectorate Government wanted to acquire it through purchase by persuasion or compulsion, allegedly to expand Makerere University College and to build a research station and headquarters of the British Empire Cotton Corporation in the same locality. When there was a failure to persuade the people to sell their land, the Protectorate Government planned to introduce a law of compulsory land acquisition. This would set out the procedure for the compulsory acquisition of land required for any public purpose. As it transpired, at about the same time again the protectorate Government was planning to repossess the Kabaka's 9000 square miles of land and add it to the 8000 square miles of public land apportioned in the 1900 Uganda Agreement, to make it all Crown or Public land.

The issues came to a head when the Protectorate Government wanted the Buganda Lukiiko to pass the law which would allow the Government, ostensibly through the Kabaka, free access to any piece of land anywhere in Buganda without question or hindrance. The Government insisted that this would facilitate better economic development of Buganda, similar to what it had done in Kenya. As for the Makeerere land, the landowners and residents were summoned to a meeting on the 14th April 1944 at the Kampala Technical School to be briefed about the plight of their land as well as the looming new land law. The Deputy Prime Minister (*Omumyuka wa Katikkiro*) Mr Michael Kintu and Mr Tucker Ddungu, an official from the land department, represented His Majesty the *Kabaka's* Government. The Resident Buganda was represented by Mr Bessel who had a lot to say during that meeting, trying to persuade the people to release their land. Unfortunately the people were not convinced and outrightly rejected the deal and proposed new land law. The matter was therefore referred to the Buganda *Lukiiko* (Parliament) for debate. There too the majority of members backed the Makeerere landowners and residents in not supporting the compulsion of the people into either selling their land or vacating it unwillingly. The protectorate Government subsequently tried all sorts of tricks to introduce the land law, now made infamous by its resemblance to one which had earlier been introduced in Kenya in 1918. Unlike the Kenyans though, the Baganda were found with their eyes wide open and their hearts freezing cold. A few notables though, like Ham Mukasa the Sekiboobo Kyaggwe county chief, campaigned for the introduction of the law to the extent of pronouncing all those opposed to it as narrow-minded, self-seeking opportunists devoid of any nationalism. He even threatened that the University may be withdrawn from Buganda and moved to another country. The people were unmoved by Ham Mukasa's perception of events and threats about the University. They mused that if he himself is not the self-seeking opportunist, he must be possessed by the devil or he must be the medium of some European god. They were all stuck to one resolve: not to cede their land. For they reasoned that to give up their land for such flimsy excuses and pittance payments would pave the way for the sale of Buganda, making the Baganda squatters and slaves in their own country, just like the people of Kenya, Rhodesia and South Africa. For a start the people further reasoned that the Protectorate Government had already purchased, albeit fraudulently under false pretences, seventy (70) acres of prime land from Samwiri Mukasa Kangawo, the Bulemeezi Ssaza chief. That piece of land directly adjoined the estate previously purchased by the Government from Prince Noah Mbogo on which the University was already sited, to the east and south of Makeerere hill. Instead of expanding the University and building

the cotton research station on that huge piece of land the Government was aiming at the hill summit, then occupied by the parish church, as well as land to the north and west of the hill. That way they would occupy the entire hill. That is how the land-owners and residents of Makeerere, together with their sympathisers, perceived the whole issue of land. The people of Makeerere were not opposed to the expansion of the University, not at all. They were simply opposed to the coercive acquisition of their land and the relegation of God's house of worship to an inferior position down the valley from the hill summit, without a more convincing reason. The broader underlying sentiment was the preservation of Buganda's sovereignty, so that its prime land is not given up to the Europeans just like had happened in Kenya, South Africa, Rhodesia and Nyasaland, where the people had lost their land and been turned into slaves and squatters on their own land. To this very day, as I write in the year 2002, the people of Zimbabwe (formerly Southern Rhodesia) are still struggling for their land long ago expropriated by the British colonialists using laws similar to the one they wanted to introduce in Buganda and Uganda.

The final blow came when the Protectorate Government, having sensed a very strong opposition to its proposed acquisition of the 9000 square miles of the Kabaka's land and the Makeerere land both in the Buganda *Lukiiko* and the general population, sacked the Buganda Prime Minister or *Katikkiro* Samwiri Wamala for failing to back the Government on those land issues and instead siding with the people. The Government wanted a *Katikkiro* who could influence the young Kabaka and the Buganda Parliament or *Lukiiko* to pass the law willy-nilly. Martin Luther Nsibirwa was appointed the new *Katikkiro*. Nsibirwa had earlier in 1941 resigned the *Kitikkiro-ship* on matters related to his approval of the late King Daudi Chwa's widow (or *Namasole* - the Queen mother) to re-marry, an act of abomination in Buganda culture. His re-appointment therefore was destined to lead to a crisis. In him the Protectorate Government saw a strong leader who could negotiate the new proposed law through the Buganda *Lukiiko* and get the Kabaka to endorse it. On the opposite side though, Nsibirwa was perceived as a bootlicker of the British. True to the word, he delivered the goods when he manipulated the *Lukiiko* into passing a resolution agreeing to the compulsory purchase or acquisition of land by the Protectorate Government for "public purposes". This meant the Europeans could do whatever they wanted on Buganda's land in the name of "public purposes".

As some historians have already said, to force such a law through the Buganda *Lukiiko* in the manner they did, the Government grossly underestimated the power of the common man. The people started making demands for changes to be made in the Buganda leadership at Mengo, especially in the Kabaka's government and the Buganda parliament. The people wanted a system of direct elections of their representatives to the Buganda *Lukiiko* or parliament. They also demanded changes in the top Buganda government leadership, like the Prime Minister Martin Nsibirwa and the Treasurer Serwano Kulubya. They demanded an increase in the workers' wages and salaries. They demanded an increase in the prices of cash crops and other agricultural products in order to combat the growing poverty among the people. When all those demands were compounded with the unresolved *Namasole* issue (the remarriage of the Queen mother Irene Drusilla Namaganda) the atmosphere in Buganda became quite tense.

The people congregated at the Kabaka's lake at Mengo, from where they marched to the palace to present their dissatisfaction with all that was going on in the country. The Ssaza chiefs and Gombolola chiefs were split into two camps, one sympathetic to the people's cause, while the other camp supported the government. The people camped outside the palace for several days, demanding to see His Majesty the King. The Superintendent of Police, a European, ordered the people to disperse. They refused to

move until he ordered the policemen to fire tear gas into the crowd and some rounds of ammunition into the air. The camp disintegrated and the people run amok, destroying property, burning houses especially those belonging to the renegade chiefs. It is said that the headquarters of the Ssaza chiefs of Busiro - Ssebwana, Bulemeezi - Kangaawo and Kyaggwe - Ssekiboobo were burnt down. That was the start of the people's revolt or rebellion, nicknamed Number 8 (*Namba munaana*) some time in mid-January 1945.

With the spread of the rebellion all over Buganda, the people burning houses of key opponents of the people's cause, burning Ssaza and Gombolola headquarters, setting up road blocks and throwing stones at passing cars and so many untoward actions, the Protectorate Government found it difficult to control the situation using the police alone. They therefore summoned soldiers of the King's African rifles (K.A.R.) from Jinja to quell the uprising by protecting major installations, important public places, Ssaza and Gombolola headquarters and all those foreigners who felt threatened.

By the time the revolution in Buganda came to an end, eight people (*abantu munaana*) and one Indian had lost their lives and fourteen had suffered major injuries. The treasurer Serwano Kulubya was forced to resign to escape the wrath of the people who wanted to savage him to death for disparagingly referring to them as peanut stew (*ebinyebwa*), which rises when it boils but will always calm down when the fire goes out.

The end result of all those troubles was the arrest and detention of prominent leaders of the people, like Prince Yusufu Ssuuna, political activist Ignatius Musaaazi and the workers' leader James Kivu Ndifiirakumazima. These were quickly sent into exile.

Shortly after the arrest and exile of those prominent leaders, the Prime Minister Katikkiro Martin Luther Nsibirwa was assassinated. On the morning of 5th September 1945 Nsibirwa arrived at Namirembe Cathedral for his regular early morning service. He was about to enter the church through the main entrance *Wankaaki* when he stopped to greet one fellow morning worshipper named George William Senkaatuuka. As they greeted each other the assassin fired several gun shots which hit the Katikkiro in the forehead and killed him instantly. The identity of the assassin was never established with certainty, but the authorities arrested Mr George William Senkaatuuka for interrogation in relation to the assassination. They suspected Senkaatuuka of either having been the assassin or to have been party to the plot. He was therefore charged of being an accessory to the fact of the murder and tried in the law courts. Much as he pleaded not guilty, and against all available evidence to the contrary, he was convicted of the crime and summarily executed by hanging, for the murder of Nsibirwa.

In the ensuing unrest following the assassination of Nsibirwa and the many preceding events that had precipitated the general uprising in Buganda, the protectorate Government set up a commission of inquiry to get to the bottom of all the disturbances. They particularly feared that there may be serious plots to undermine if not topple the entire colonial administration by those who had shown strong opposition to the newly introduced land law. It appeared to the Government that those people were not only opposed to the land law, but to nearly everything the Government proposed to do. A decision was therefore made to arrest fourteen (14) more people, Paulo Kiyingi and compatriots, label them ringleaders and send them into exile. The Government was fond of the practice of sending so called ringleaders of the people into exile, believing that the remainder would be emasculated. Most of the time these detentions were carried out without trial. But as our spiritual ancestors wisely stated in a

proverb, “*Awakula ennume tewakula emu*” (a herd never has one top bull, there is always another one in the offing to succeed it): as they cleared one lot of leaders another bunch of leaders would spring up, like mushrooms. As it transpired, the land law which was passed by the Buganda Lukiiko during Nsibirwa’s *Katikiro*-ship was never put into practice. The Government apparently feared the power of the people and the long term repercussions of the rolling disturbances. So all the tricks it had employed fell through. Now let us focus more on how the “Buganda nationalists” were arrested, detained and later sent into exile.

7.4 The Arrest of Suspects

They were arrested in September 1945. At that time Paulo Kiyingi was working in the office of the Resident Buganda. On Sunday 9th September 1945 thirteen of PK’s compatriots were arrested, but PK was arrested the following day on Monday when he went to his office to report for duty. On that fateful Sunday, PK did not go for church service as he usually did. Instead he spent the whole day sorting out papers and various important documents, for he had heard rumours of the arrest of his compatriots. By the nature of his job with the colonial Government he had had access to highly confidential material which was a great asset to the nationalist cause in fighting the British colonists and their puppets among the Baganda chiefs. It is said that he hid some of the more sensitive documents that Sunday afternoon.

7.5 The Arrest of Paulo Kiyingi

The following day on Monday 10th September 1945, PK arrived at his office to find a small note summoning him to urgently report to his boss. On seeing PK the boss directed him to go straight to the Central Police Station (CPS), where he was wanted for questioning. At that time the CPS was located in the place where the present Bank of Uganda is situated on Kampala road.

On arrival at the Police Station PK introduced himself and was quickly handed an arrest warrant paper for him to read. After reading it he was directed to sign it which he did, essentially turning him into a prisoner. That accomplished, PK was then handed a search warrant paper authorising the police to go and search his home for evidence of anything that would help them in their investigations. He signed the search warrant too. Thereafter a European police officer got PK into a police vehicle, together with another police bodyguard carrying a gun and drove to Makeerere to search PK’s home. When they arrived at his home PK informed his wife ENK of his arrest. He asked her to open the house and lay everything open so that the people he was with could carry out a search to their satisfaction. After the search and with whatever documents they had uncovered, they ordered PK to pack some of his belongings like a mattress, blanket and some bed-sheets. These were loaded into the police vehicle and PK was led to Luzira maximum security prison at Mpanga, for lock up. PK was not at all impressed by the arrest and lock up. He was very angry at his boss for failing to warn him of what was about to happen to him, which PK called a betrayal. But when he got to Luzira prison he found out that his 13 compatriots, who had been arrested the previous day were all at Luzira, so he was not alone. They were all happy to get together, prison notwithstanding.

7.6 The Detention of Paulo Kiyingi and Nationalist Colleagues

The people who were arrested for opposing the compulsory acquisition of the Makeerere land, for opposing the land law which was to grant foreigners free access to Buganda’s land and suspects in the plot to assassinate the *Katikiro* Martin Luther Nsibirwa in September 1945 were as follows:



Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi Banadda: While in employment as Native Administrative Secretary at the office of the Resident Buganda (Provincial Commissioner), Kampala.



The morning after the last funeral ceremony and installation of the heir to James Henry Mpiima on 12th December 1966 at Makeerere. Present in the photograph were: Kalyesubula, Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi, Nkonge, Byekwaso, Namitala, Naluggya, Sekkadde.



Eseza Nabwami Kiyingi & Esta Nabbosa: doing handicraft work during leisure time.



Paulo Kiyingi among his in-laws: He attended the wedding of his sister-in-law Agnes Nabbumba when she married Mr Topher Tenywa on 2nd September 1939. Damasko Erieza Kawesa, heir to Asanasiyo Lule Mujugumbya, was also in attendance.



Some of the Kiyingi family members who gathered at Makeerere in 1973 to farewell Kibuuka Kiyingi back to Germany to pursue postgraduate studies. Present were the following: Lutalo, Sekkadde, Bbosa, Kibuuka, Nakiyngi, Senga Esta Nakagulire Mukasa, Kulumba, Maama Ezeza Nabwami Kiyingi, Nalugwa, Nabbosa and Naluggya. Absentees: Semyano, Namitala, Kaggulire.



Ezeza Kiyingi: moving with the times. She was one of those who started and popularised the hair-straightening fashion.



Paulo and Ezeza Kiyingi were joined in Holy Matrimony on 29th September 1928 at Namirembe Cathedral.



Paulo and Ezeza Kiyingi attended the wedding of their nephew Eriazali Buzaabo Lwasi in 1935. Aloni Bapere Sekkadde of Nakaseeta Mpigi and Nasanayiri Mukasa Luggya of Kyabbumba were very much in attendance.



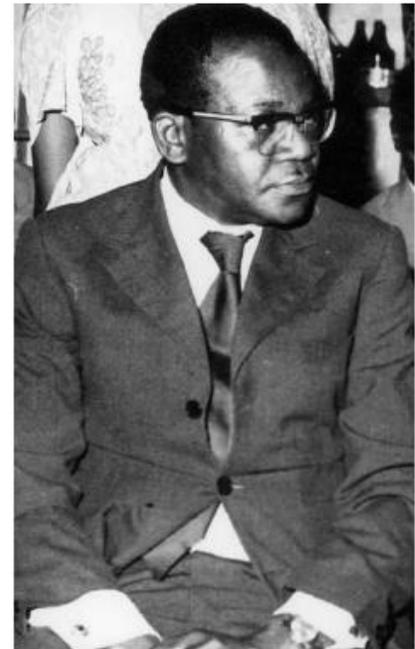
Present at the Introductory ceremony (Okwanjula) of Harriet Nangonzi in 1992, were: (from left to right) Paulo Kiyingi Saalongo, Damasko Kaggulire Kiyingi, Ezekiel Bapere Luggya and Lieutenant Kaggulire.



Henry James Mpiima, while he was working at Masaka Hospital in 1964.



Damasko Erieza Kawesa, was the senior brother-in-law of Paulo Kiyingi. He was a coffee trader, working with the Uganda Growers Co-operative Union Ltd.



Moses Semyano Kiyingi, at the wedding reception of his younger brother, Asanath Lule Bbosa, in 1973.

- 1 Joshua Kamulegeya - was Mugema, the head of the Nkima (monkey) clan and traditionally respected and referred to as the Grandfather of Buganda.
- 2 Daudi Musoke Mukubira - an elder from Makeerere: He was a trader businessman, head of The Baganda Co-operative Society.
- 3 Semyoni Njuki - an elder from Makeerere: He was *Mukwenda*, the Ssaza chief of Ssingo County.
- 4 Samson Bazongere - an elder from Bbajjo: He was *Kaggo*, the Ssaza chief of Kyaddondo County.
- 5 Temusewo Sserwadda - was the *Gombolola* (sub-county) chief of Mituba IX (*mituba mwenda*), Kyaggwe.
- 6 Yusufu Mulindwa - an elder from Namataba: He was a trader, businessman and professional hunter with a reputation of being an excellent marksman.
- 7 Henry Kanyike - a teacher: He was headmaster of the nationalist school, Aggrey Memorial School, which trained the young future nationalists.
- 8 Haji Alamanzaani Gaanya - an elder from Makeerere: He was a *Katambala*, the Ssaza chief of Butambala County. He was also the Deputy Katikkiro during the Katikkiro-ship of Samwiri Wamala and Martin Nsibirwa.
- 9 Stanley Kitaka Kisingiri - a son of Zakaliya Kizito Kisingiri who was one of the Regents of the young King Daudi Chwa II. He was a notable, Kabaka Muteesa's brother-in-law and adviser.
- 10 Sirasi Martin Musajjalumbwa - a son of Kijje, the head of Mpeewo clan.
- 11 Yusufu Baamutta - a trader who was renowned for being the first native cotton trader.
- 12 Shemu Spire (Sepuuya) Mukasa - the chief gatekeeper at the Kabaka's palace, land owner and political activist.
- 13 Matiya Wamala - an elder as well as a Gombolola (sub-county) chief of Mutuba II in Bulemeezi.
- 14 Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi - an elder from Makeerere. He was a civil servant in the office of Provincial Commissioner/Resident Buganda.

7.7 Other Groups of Detainees

These were the initial arrests following the uprising or rebellion earlier on in the year, nick-named Namba Munaana (8), which preceded Nsibirwa's assassination:

- 1 Ignatius Kangave Musazi - an elder from Nakaseke. He was a political activist and the moderator of the party "Baana ba Kintu".
- 2 Joshua Kivu Mavumirizi Ndifirakumazima - a worker and motorist. He was the leader of the worker's party "Uganda Motor Drivers Association".
- 3 Fenekansi Musoke - a member of the co-operative movement.
- 4 Bulasiyo Kayongo - a member of the co-operative movement.
- 5 Prince Yusufu Ssuuna - of Kabowa: A royal of the Kingdom, brother of the late King Daudi Chwa II.
- 6 Samwiri Wamala - the ex-*Katikkiro* who had just been sacked and replaced by Martin Nsibirwa.

7.8 The Wives' Protestation

The wives of the detainees or political prisoners joined together to protest the arrest of their husbands on God's holy day Sunday. They even wrote to Bishop Stuart of Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and Congo-Mboga, condemning such evil act. They requested to be informed of the crimes with which their husbands were being charged. They wrote to the Governor Sir John Hawthorn Hall, also requesting him for information about the charges against their husbands. They received no reply from the Governor.

But this did not stop them. They wrote to the Resident Buganda requesting permission to visit their husbands in prison and to take them some food from home. Permission for this was quickly granted, but the question about the charges against their husbands was never answered. So the wives organised themselves and visited their husbands on regular set days, sometimes taking along with them children, close relatives and friends.

7.9 Inside Luzira Prison: Detention without Trial

They spent approximately three months at Luzira maximum security prison, under detention without trial. The first 18 days were spent in virtual darkness, day and night. They would see no sunlight nor bask in the sun, a favourite pastime for prisoners in those days. They would spend 22 hours in total darkness every day. They were all herded into a dormitory, measuring 40 x 22 feet, with a hard cold cement floor where they used to spread their mattresses and blankets to sleep. Many of PK's compatriots fell sick from one illness or other. Daudi Musoke Mukubira suffered from a fever with vomiting; Joshua Kamulegeya suffered from "thirst" - a condition presumed to be diabetes, for he was prescribed to receive three injections of medicine daily to treat his "thirsty" condition; Sirasi Musajalumbwa suffered from a febrile illness lasting four days - probably malaria; Yusufu Mulindwa suffered from boils, which gave him a fever; Shem Spire Mukasa suffered from a febrile illness lasting six days - presumably malaria; Samson Bazongere suffered from some influenza-like illness which put him down for several days, especially since he is said to have been an asthmatic; Semyoni Njuki also suffered from an influenza-like illness which lasted four days and left him.

The issue of being locked away in total darkness for 22 hours every day angered them so much. Because of that and the fact of not knowing the actual charges against them forced them to write the following letter to the Governor:

His Majesty's Central Prison

Luzira, Uganda

14th September 1945

His Excellency, the Governor in Council

Entebbe

Your Excellency,

We the undersigned detainees and deportees do most humbly beg to petition your Excellency to reconsider our position and give sympathetic consideration to this our humble petition. As we understand by our arrest warrants, we are being detained and deported under the Deportation Ordinances, under which ordinances, if we are well informed a person is deported after the Governor is satisfied with the evidence submitted to him on oath that the person against whom the oath is made is dangerous to stay at large in the country. Your Excellency as we presume that all of us had sworn evidence before you concerning our behaviour, we are now requesting you to review our cases either individually or collectively, as will be appropriate to mete out justice, to which justice we trust we are entitled as British protected subjects. It is clear your Excellency that the working of the ordinance as it stands, is very difficult to understand. If it were allowed operation in a more civilised country than this one it would perhaps have been at least slightly tolerable. Its unfairness is obvious in a country

such as ours, for reasons such as these: The inhabitants of this country, together with our chiefs cannot at our level of development be very much imbued with a very high sense of justice or morality. Such a sense of justice has been found to be lacking even in the highly civilised countries such as Germany and Italy. It is only in England and possibly in America that a very high degree of justice is enjoyed. It would thus be expecting too much to rely upon secreete evidence given by our compatriots to your Excellency. It is quite natural for people of different races not to understand the mentalities of the people of other races, especially if and when the standards of civilisation are as considerably different as ours and your Excellency's are. We have grown and generally mixed with your Excellency's informants nearly all our lives. Therefore there exist many social, political or educational complexities and misunderstandings among us and those informants, which are very hard to understand. It is therefore quite easy for some people to seize the golden opportunity offered by the ordinance to revenge upon, trust or eliminate their social or political opponents. In view of such difficulties your Excellency, we humbly request that our position be given sympathetic consideration, in the interest of justice. We should be grateful if we were given an opportunity to defend ourselves, and then justice will be meted out in the interest of everybody. These we humbly beg of you as His Majesty's representative, and as such we trust that your Excellency will review the whole position as a neutral observer, for else where can we seek refuge?

We are your Excellency's most obedient petitioners.

Sgd: D Musoke, A Ganya, Y Mulindwa, S Bazongere, H Kanyike, S Musajalumbwa, T Serwadda, S Spire, PK Kiyingi.

Time passed without getting a reply to their letter. So they wrote this reminder letter:

No 33/45

His Majesty's Central Prison, Luzira Uganda

25th Sept 1945

His Excellency the Governor in Council

Entebbe

u.f.s. The Commissioner of Prisons, Kampala

u.f.s. The Ag Superintendent of Prisons, Luzira

Sir

Re: Our Previous Petition to Your Excellency

About a fortnight ago, on the 14th Sept, we forwarded a petition to your Excellency concerning our detention and deportation. We are now most humbly writing this reminder to your Excellency because so far nothing has been heard regarding it. We have not even been favoured with an acknowledgement. May we also take this opportunity to point out for your Excellency's kind consideration that apart from the anguish of an unknown crime, we are suffering terribly due to our being completely cut off from our families, nor were we permitted to hand over our businesses. Any family man must feel what a dreadful thing this is.

This treatment is rendered much more painful by our complete ignorance of the offence for which we are being held. The other hardship, from which we beg to be relieved is the fact of our being kept 22 hours daily in a closed room. We have complained to the Prison Superintendent and to the Commissioner. They considered the question sympathetically, but regretted that under the orders under which they were holding us, the only alternative possible was the condemned yard. The yard in question, as your Excellency will understand, is most intolerable under the circumstances (this is the yard which was used by the prisoners on death row, waiting to be hanged) and so we regretfully refrained from complying with the offer. Our eyes particularly and our physical health generally, are badly being affected. This is, your Excellency, a very acute point to us. Thus we are now humbly petitioning your Excellency kindly consider our previous petition and these, our requests, sympathetically.

We have the honour to be Your Excellency's most obedient petitioners:

JR Mulindwa, Shem Spire Mukasa, T Serwadda, P Kiyingi, SM Bazongere, D Musoke, SM Musajalumbwa, H Kanyike, A Ganya

When this letter too evoked no response, the prisoners sent the following telegram to the Colonial Secretary in Britain, again petitioning to be heard:

377

Decode of Telegram to the Secretary of State

26/9/45

Despatched 9th Oct 45

Following is the text of a message to you from Thirteen detainees begins. Fourteen Baganda detained per Deportation Ordinance Governor alleges in official communiqué those Baganda connected with Katikkiro assassination. Humble petitioned Governor. Hearing and trial both refused. We positively deny allegations. Before exercising powers Governor never in any manner called upon any of us explanation as essential. Denied any and all communications with families and businesses. Measures adopted very unjust and highly repressive. Pray grant us trial and commission for general stability of once peaceful country. End

Govine

Copy to GH

Resident, C/o Prisons

All the above letters delivered fruitful results in that the prisoners' daylight exposure time was extended. They could go out into the yard to bask in the sun. They were allocated another yard in front of the kitchen, not the one for the condemned death row prisoners initially allocated to them. Eventually they received a reply from the chief secretary on behalf of the Governor, dated 5/10/1945, but received much later.

*The Secretariat
P.O. Box 5
Entebbe, Uganda
5th October 1945*

Gentlemen,

I am directed to refer to your petition of the 25th September to the Governor and to inform you, that your previous petition of 14th Sept 1945 was acknowledged on 25th September 1945. Since his Excellency has already authorised you to see your lawyers, it is not understood why you should have any difficulty in handing over your businesses. His Excellency has ascertained that there is no question of your being kept 22 hours daily in a closed room, since in fact you are allowed, during most of the day, the exclusive use of the fuel yard and from 4.30pm to 7pm you have the exclusive use of the main yard. His Excellency does not consider that these conditions of confinement are either oppressive or unsatisfactory.

I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant

*GN Faquhar
Chief Secretary*

This letter further eased the prison life of the nationalists. They were given more freedom, being allowed to get out of their dormitory any time they wanted. Such freedom continued until their banishment into exile outside Buganda.

7.10 Deportation Outside Buganda

In their deportation the prisoners were taken in three groups. The first one had eight people, namely: Henry Kanyike, Matiya Wamala, Shem Spire, Joshua Kamulegeya, Sirasi Musajjalumbwa, Temusewo Serwadda, Samson Bazongere and Yusufu Baamutta. Those were taken to Kitgum in Acholi. They left Luzira prison on 6th November. The second group had 4 people, namely: Paulo Kiyingi, Daudi Mukubira, Semyoni Njuki and Yusufu Mulindwa. They left on 3rd December. The third group, with Haji Alamanzani Gaanya (the deputy *Katikkiro*) and Stanley Kitaka Kisingiri (the Kabaka's adviser), was taken to the Ssesse islands. These were later joined by Prince Yusufu Ssuuna and the ex-*Katikkiro* Samwiri Wamala.

The deportation order was drafted and signed on 7th November 1945, and read as follows::

The Deportation Ordinance "Ch. 53. Revised Edition 1935" Order.

Whereas it has been shown by evidence on oath to my satisfaction that Paulo Kiyingi of the Buganda Province has conducted himself so as to be dangerous to peace and good order in the Buganda Province of the Protectorate;

And whereas it appears necessary for the purpose of preventing a recurrence of such conduct, that the said Paulo Kiyingi should be deported from the said Buganda Province of the protectorate;

Now therefore, I hereby order that the said Paulo Kiyingi of the Buganda Province be deported from the Buganda Province of the protectorate to Moroto.

*Made at Entebbe, under my hand and the public seal of the Protectorate;
This 7th day of November 1945.*

*Signed
John Hawthorn Hall
Governor.*

*A.R. Gregg
Attorney General
7th November 1945.*

Later on this deportation order was altered to read “Kitgum” in the place of “Moroto”. Other prisoners received deportation orders similar to the one above.

7.11 Paulo Kiyong's Deportation

Sunday 2nd December 1945 was the day for packing. Eseza Nabwami Kiyongi spent the day packing their belongings, preparing for departure (the prisoners were allowed to take their wives, some utility items from their homes, two children and a helper). That evening a government truck or lorry with security men arrived at the Makeerere home to load the luggage and deliver it to the office of the Resident Buganda in Kampala for safe custody. In those days the Resident's office was located where the present day East African Development Bank is located, facing the High Court.

Very early in the morning of the following day Monday 3rd December, ENK and the two children Kaggulire and Bbosa, accompanied by a large group of well-wishers relatives and friends, left Makeerere to go and report to the office of the Resident. There ENK caught up with the wives of the prisoners in the first group of eight, who had already left for Kitgum without their people, together with the wives of Semyoni Njuki, Daudi Mukubira and Yusufu Mulindwa. All those wives were accompanied by their children, relatives, friends and a multitude of other well-wishers who had come to see them off. It was quite a spectacle.

The bus to take them arrived at the Resident's office and all those to go were ordered on to the bus. A British officer in charge read out the names of all those to get on to the bus. The remaining personal luggage including the food to eat along the way, was also loaded on to the bus. The bus took off, headed for Luzira prison to fetch the political prisoners. At about 9 o'clock that morning the main prison gate was opened to allow the bus entry to the prison. The prisoners who had already been delivered to the gate, inside the prison, were being kept under heavy guard. They were ushered into the bus and seated in the front rows, while their wives and children occupied the back rows. With security men armed with rifles also on board, the bus left the prison gates and headed for Hoima. Driving in front of the bus was a police vehicle, with a British Police Officer Mr V.E. Bald, together with several other armed policemen. The bus was followed from behind by another police vehicle with more armed security. The whole convoy of cars, trucks and the bus drove non-stop through several small townships in Buganda, like Wakiso, Kakiri, Busunju, Bukomero, Kiboga, Wattuba and Bukwiri on its way to Hoima. Even lunch was eaten on board the bus. They crossed River Kafu to reach Hoima late in the afternoon. The prisoners were first delivered to Masindi Government prison for lock up before their families were driven back to Hoima where they were lodged for the night. The families were housed in a kind of

enclosure called “*ekigango*”, which served as a visitors’ lodge. As for food, they were well catered for in that they had been given loaves of bread, butter, tinned meat, fish and beans.

The following day 4th December 1945, at about 8 o’clock in the morning the families got on the bus once again and it left for Masindi to load the prisoners. The prisoners got a shocking experience at Masindi prison that morning, when the European in charge of their security called them boys while greeting them as follows: “*Good morning boys.*” The prisoners took offence as they were certainly not used to being called “boys”, neither were they used to that casual address either.

Later that morning the convoy left for Gulu in Acholi district. On their way they were once again to cross River Kafu, after it joins the River Nile. They got to Atura Port a crossing point, which is approximately 57 miles away from Masindi, at about 11 am. At that point the two-in-one rivers widened to such an extent to make construction of a bridge nearly impossible during those days. A ferry was in operation. The whole convoy was ferried across, all at once with all the vehicles. They got to the District Commissioner’s office in Gulu at about 2 pm. They got introduced to the DC and after completing some formalities, left for Kitgum later that afternoon at about 3 pm. They crossed the bridge over River Aswa at about 4.30 pm and arrived in Kitgum in the late evening. They got into the same camp where the first group of eight detainees were housed. Those eight detainees were overjoyed to see their colleagues the four new arrivals, if not for anything else, at least for the fact that the new arrivals had safely delivered the families of the first group of eight. After all the greetings and hoo-ha the new arrivals, Paulo Kiyingi, Daudi Mukubira, Semyoni Njuki, Yusufu Mulindwa together with their families were led to the houses they were to live in. These were round houses like skirts, with mud and wattle at the bottom half, open space with poles only in the top half and grass-thatched roofing. Therein PK and ENK, together with their two children Kaggulire and Bbosa, settled down to unload their meagre belongings, make a home and get used to a new life in a detention camp. The following morning 5th December they met with the Camp Officer Mr McCabe who outlined the rules and regulations to operate in the camp while they were in captivity.

7.12 Stop-over in Kitgum

They spent approximately three weeks at Kitgum before the new arrivals were relocated to Moroto in Karamojja district. There were approximately 37 people altogether in the camp. During those three weeks they were entitled to a detention allowance from the government. The allowance would enable them to meet their day-to-day requirements, like buying some of the food. They used to buy fresh vegetables like the Kiganda sweet potatoes, pumpkin, greens and fresh meat. In addition they would get the other potatoes (a.k.a. Irish or Kigezi potatoes), rice, dried beans, groundnuts and plain flour from Government supplies.

Shortly after their arrival at Kitgum the four new arrivals: Paulo Kiyingi, Yusufu Mulindwa, Daudi Mukubira and Semyoni Njuki received a new order from the Governor, directing them to be relocated to Moroto in Karamojja, as was the original arrangement. The new Deportation Order read as follows:

The Deportation Ordinance, Ch. 53 Revised Edition 1935, Amendment Order.

Whereas by orders under my hand and the public seal of the protectorate dated the seventh day of November 1945, I have made orders deporting Paulo Kiyingi, Daudi Mukubira, Semyoni Njuki and Yusufu Mulindwa to Moroto;

And whereas by an order dated the twentieth day of November 1945, the said orders were varied by the substitution of the word Kitgum for the word Moroto in paragraph three thereof;

And whereas I consider it expedient to further vary the said order; now therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred on me by section 5 of the above-mentioned deportation ordinance, I hereby vary the said order by the substitution of the word "Moroto" for the word "Kitgum" in paragraph three thereof.

Made at Entebbe, under my hand and the public seal of the protectorate, this 12th day of December 1945.

Signed

John Hawthorn Hall

Governor

Signed

R.L. Dreschfield

Attorney General

12/12/1945.

So they started to prepare for their eventual transfer to Moroto in Karamojja, a mysterious country they had only heard of in tales, but had never imagined that they would ever go to. There was genuine trepidation. They could not stop but wonder what else on earth the future held in stock for them. They had been told by their captors that they would leave Kitgum for Moroto on 19th December, but that day came and passed with the gang of four still in Kitgum. Instead, three other prisoners: Ignatius Musaaazi, Fenekansi Musoke and Joshua Kivu Mavumirizi joined them. These had been relocated to Kitgum from some other places they had originally been sent to. The gang of four were then given another date, 28th December, for their departure. So then all the prisoners and their families set down to start preparations for the celebration of their first Christmas in exile.

7.13 Christmas Day 25 December 1945 in Kitgum

On Christmas eve 24th December the prisoners and their families were told that they would need to get up early on Christmas day, get to the church by about 6 or 7 am, so that the priest could conduct a special service for them before other people arrived for their service. True to the word, very early on Christmas morning at about 5 am, those intending to go for the Christmas service set off on foot to get to the church about three miles away. They got there at about 7.30 am. Among the group to attend the service were: Samson Bazongere and Mrs Bazongere, Paulo Kiyingi and Mrs Kiyingi, Sirasi Musajalumbwa and Mrs Musajalumbwa, Temusewo Serwadda and Mrs Serwadda, Yusufu Mulindwa, Henry Kanyike and Mrs Kanyike, Ignatius Musaaazi, Fenekansi Musoke, Joshua Kivu, Matiya Wamala, Kaggulire Kiyingi. They were accompanied by a security guard. The other prisoners did not make the journey to the church, they stayed in the camp.

The service was enjoyable particularly, in that one of the prisoners, Joshua Kivu, read the lessons while the priest gave the homily. There was holy communion as well. After the service, they all retreated to the camp for luncheon and other informal celebrations. They had slaughtered a whole cow for the Christmas luncheon. There was plenty of other food as well, like *matooke* (cooking bananas), potatoes of both varieties, pumpkin and green vegetables of several different kinds. At about 5 pm they had afternoon tea, served with bread and butter, following an old English tradition of their captors. Shem Spire Mukasa surprised the rest of the group when he produced a loaf of bread he had obtained from Luzira Central prison on 6th November, took it with him and kept it, to eat it on Christmas day. All the prisoners shared it, marvelled at God's might for having gathered all of them in one place on that day to celebrate Christmas together. For some had just arrived from Gulu, others from Lira, while others were shortly heading for Moroto.

7.14 Final Destination Moroto Karamojja

After spending the three weeks at Kitgum and celebrating their first memorable Christmas in captivity, the gang of four prisoners: PK, Njuki, Mukubira and Mulindwa, together with their families were now ready to be relocated to Moroto. On their way they passed through Lira town in Lango district and Soroti town in Teso district, over-nighting in each of those places. On the third day they left Soroti, headed for Moroto. They got to the border crossing between Teso and Karamojja, which is marked by a narrow passage through two prominent mountains: Mt Akisimu on the left and Mt Napaka on the right. That is where they first encountered unclothed people going about their usual daily activities unperturbed by passers-by. The prisoners were filled with shame, more from concerns for their wives and children sighting such nakedness which, according to Kiganda beliefs, would blind their eyes. They got to Moroto in the afternoon. After all the formalities of introductions to the DC and checking in, they were driven to a camp about one mile outside Moroto township, where they were to be detained. This camp had a perimeter fencing made of very thorny bushes. Similar to the houses in the Kitgum camp, they were round like skirts, made of mud and wattle at the bottom and left open at the top, with grass-thatched roofs. They had door-ways but no doors. The floor was very dusty. There was a general feeling in the camp that the type of accommodation allotted them was unsuitable for human habitation, let alone for people of their background regardless of whether they were prisoners or not.

There was a high security alert and fear gripped the town of Moroto, especially when the prisoners were arriving, accompanied by armed security guards. The local population was warned to stay away from the prisoners and their families. Before going to the shops or the markets in Moroto town the prisoners and their families had to seek permission from the DC and were always accompanied by an armed security guard, children or adults the same. The camp was located in harsh scrub-land with thorny bushes, backing on a big river or stream which carried the waters from Mt Moroto. In the evening the security guards would get more thorny bushes to reinforce the one gate in and out of the camp.

7.15 Life in Moroto Detention Camp

PK and ENK together with their two children experienced some harsh weather in their half-closed or open house, round, skirt-like dwelling. The strong cold winds of the nights and the extreme heat of the days nearly killed them. Not long after their arrival in Moroto ENK started experiencing morning sickness, for she was pregnant. She was expecting Samwiri Kigwira Lutalo who was conceived in captivity. She became so sick that she had to be taken back to Buganda, leaving her husband PK and the two children Bbosa and Kaggulire behind.

There was excellent communication and cooperation between PK and the other three compatriots, all were like brothers. Their families used to do many things together, like eating meals and shopping. That way he managed to satisfactorily care for his children as a single father, despite them being still so young. They felt at home and did not long for anything.

PK was an ardent gardener. As soon as the rain season began he soon acquired hoes and other implements and started a garden, cultivating a number of crops like maize, beans, pumpkin, sweet potatoes and several types of green vegetables. He had a good crop yield, which helped them vary the food they were eating, to break the monotony of the dried food supplies from the government. In addition they also requested that they be allowed to get their families back in Buganda to send them some home food. This request was granted. So they used to get the real food “*amatooke*” (green softcooking bananas), although sometimes by the time they received the *amatooke* they had already ripened. They would also get taro or *mayuuni* and other types of food items not available in Moroto. They had plenty of meat and milk, since Karamojja was full of cattle.

7.16 Camp Security is Upgraded

There was deterioration in the security in the prisoners’ camp. Thieves would somehow break in and steal the prisoners’ belongings. So they appealed to the government to do something about it. Matters reached the high echelons of government. As a result the government decided to step up security for the detainees by building better camp housing. They built several blocks of units, made with strong brick walls and iron roofing. Each unit comprised of one bedroom, a lounge and a small store-room. There was a semi-detached kitchen and a servant’s or helper’s room (sometimes referred to as boys’ quarters) as well. On completion the four families moved in. Since the new camp was much larger and had better facilities they were quickly joined by the eleven families they had left in Kitgum, Acholi.

7.17 Paulo Kiyingi gets a Helper

Changes do not always bring good welcome results; you gain here and lose there. So the new changes were greeted by PK with mixed feelings. With the many more people in the now much larger camp, PK found he was unable to maintain the cordial brotherly relationship he had previously enjoyed with the other members of the gang of four. Their units were scattered and no longer adjacent to each other. He found himself having to prepare meals for his two small children, a task he was uncomfortable with. So he asked to get a helper. He sent for his nephew Douglas Nkonge, the son of his older brother Daniel Kiguli Kijojje, to come in the category of a helper to help look after his younger “brothers” (cousins). His request was quickly granted since it was part of his entitlement to have a wife, two children and a helper, all paid for at the government’s expense. Soon after the request was granted Douglas Nkongé Kawesa, who was much older than his two brothers Kaggulire and Bbosa, arrived in Moroto and started helping PK with the household chores.

7.18 The Schooling of PK’s Children While in Captivity

PK did his best in educating his children and succeeded in giving them a strong foundation. With the arrival of Mr Henry Kanyike the former headmaster of nationalist school, Aggrey Memorial School Bunnamwaya, PK’s children were more than ready to continue with their primary schooling. Mr Kanyike started a makeshift school with several different grades and set about the task of educating all the children of these nationalists in captivity.

CHAPTER 8

LIFE AT MAKEERERE DURING THE CAPTIVITY OF PAULO KIYINGI

8.1 Sserunkuuma Bwaddene heads the Makeerere home

Sserunkuuma Bwaddene, the son of Erenesti Sserunkuuma Diiro, was born at Kakute, Ndejje. He spent most of his early childhood days with his uncle Nasanayiri Mukasa Luggya of Kyabbumba. He attended Nakikungube Infant School and Kabale Sub-Grade. Then he went to Masuulita Primary School where he completed the lower primary section in Primary 4. Because the village primary schools rarely went as far as upper primary in those days, Bwaddene left Kyabbumba and went to stay with his uncle Paulo Kiyingi at Makeerere in 1942. He did Primary 5 and 6 at Chwa II Memorial College, Namungoona and passed with flying colours. He then went on to Aggrey Memorial School, Bunnamwaya where he completed Junior Secondary 3 in 1947.

In 1945, when PK and ENK were taken into captivity, Bwaddene, the oldest boy in the home was left in charge of looking after his younger “brothers and sisters” (cousins) or “siblings” in the home at Makeerere. These were: Mary Namitala Bukayanirwa, Efulansi Nalugwa Lwalamukwano, Henry James Mpiima, David Kulumba Buzaabo, Edmund Kiwanuka Serwadda, Elizabeth Nakiyingi Banzigya, Esta Nabbosa and Janet Nalunkuuma. Sserunkuuma did his level best to look after his siblings, grooming them into the observance and practice of the descent Kiganda culture.

8.2 The Dark Period at Makeerere During PK’s Captivity

Much as Sserunkuuma Bwaddene did his best to hold the fort, without their parents those children still faced immense difficulties. These were often related to the procurement of food to put on the table, other daily necessities and school fees. Unlike other times when the relatives and friends would have openly stepped in and helped, there was an intense fear in the general population to be seen identifying with or helping the detainees or their families. There were government informers ready to tell on anyone seen doing so. The fear was that fingers could be pointed at them as having been possible collaborators of the detainees; the consequences were grave. It is said that even PK’s elder brother and mentor Aloni Bapere Sekkadde, never dared go to Makeerere to see how those children were faring. It was Bapere’s son, Eryazali Lwasi, who used to check on them and help in whatever way he could. It is also said that even the members of “Bweyagalire”, an association of the Ndiga clans people who used to hold monthly meetings in PK’s home at Makeerere once every month, never called during those dark days. The children had become “lepers, destitute and beggars”. But, as the Kiganda proverb says: “*Obwa Wankoko teububula mwasirizi*” (the orphaned chicks never fail to have an usher), those children were variously helped by some few trusted and more daring relatives and friends of their parents. They took pity on those children and helped them with procurement of some vital supplies of commodities. Some of those people were:

- 1 Damasiko Erieza Kawesa - their maternal uncle. He supplied them with various commodities as well as paying school fees for some.
- 2 Nekemeya Semandwa - a family friend who used to supply them with sugar, among other things.

- 3 Rev Dunstan Nsubuga - who was the priest at the Makeerere parish church. He supplied them with food and other utilities in the home. He later became the Bishop of Namirembe diocese.
- 4 Nusula Matovu of Kanyanya - their elder sister from Semyano Kiyingi's maternal family who used to provide them with food and other domestic utilities.
- 5 Anna Nabposa - their other elder sister who used to help them in all sorts of ways, as much as she could.
- 6 Samwiri Kaggulire of Namasinda - their elder brother who helped them in several ways, including paying Semyano's school fees while he was still studying at Buddo.
- 7 Erifazi Kaggwa Kirimuttu - their elder brother who called on them often, helped them in several ways including paying school fees for David Kulumba.
- 8 Eriazali Lwasi Buzaabo - their elder brother who helped them in several ways including paying school fees for Efulansi Miriam Nalugwa.
- 9 Tezira Nakiyingi - their paternal auntie who used to get them some food and other domestic utilities. She also helped marry off Efulansi Nalugwa by getting her a man, Kerementi Kyambadde Musoke of Namirembe, who Efulansi got married to at Namirembe Cathedral on 16 June 1947.

Several other people, not remembered here, who may have also helped in one way or other, are hereby duly acknowledged.

All those people who exhibited courage and determination in those risky, gloomy days to extend love and pity to the children of the nationalist Paulo Kiyingi are sincerely thanked.

With the return from Moroto of their mother Ezeza Kiyingi who was then pregnant (expecting Samuel Lutalo), life for the children left at Makeerere started normalising. Sserunkuuma Bbwaddene, who had by then come of age and finished school, left home and moved into some rented accommodation, got a job and started working. Although life started normalising, it is said that the family's financial situation and standard of living never reverted to what it had been before PK's banishment into exile. Even after PK's release the situation remained the same, for he never got back into his job. It appears he and his colleagues were never properly compensated for by the government for the losses they incurred. It is said that had it been in these days of litigation in defence of people's rights and freedom, those aggrieved would have sued the government in the appropriate law courts and would have won. Unfortunately this has never been done.

CHAPTER 9

RETURN FROM CAPTIVITY

9.1 The Release of Paulo Kiyingi

It was Government practice for people in detention to have their cases reviewed periodically. So it came to pass, after nearly two years, that the government felt it safe enough to start reviewing the cases against those political prisoners. It started releasing a few prisoners at a time, in groups of four every three months. Following the first group of four prisoners to be released, the second lot comprised Paulo Kiyingi, Daudi Mukubira, Semyoni Njuki and Temusewo Sserwadda. It was a big relief for PK to learn of the news of his impending release to return to motherland Buganda.

Predictably PK was very excited by the overall result for several reasons. First and foremost, although the issues that lead to his and his colleagues' arrest and deportation were never properly spelt out, for they were never tried, the land law which was passed by the Buganda Lukiiko at Mengo was never put into practice. Secondly, Buganda and Uganda's land, especially the land of the people at Makeerere was never expropriated. Thirdly, the Church of Uganda Makeerere parish church was never moved; it still occupies the top of the hill up to today. Makeerere University was never moved from Uganda, as some prophets of doom had feared; it still remains the most prestigious university in Uganda and the whole of East Africa. So PK had reasons to celebrate, that their struggle with the British colonialists had not been in vain. He was excited to be returning to motherland Buganda, except that his return was on condition that he was not allowed to return to his own home at Makeerere in the suburbs of Kampala. He had to resettle in a rural area away from Kampala, outside a radius of 40 miles from the city centre!! That was the only major blow to his excitement. But it never stopped him. He planned to go and settle in a place called Ziroobwe, where he owned a piece of land he had previously purchased. He and his family of three children (Douglas Nkongwe, Kaggulire and Bbosa) left Moroto around mid-June 1947 and passed through Soroti in Teso, Mbale in Bugisu, Tororo in Bukedi and Jjinja in Busoga on their way back to Buganda.

9.2 The Deportation of PK and Colleagues Revisited

It was the practice of the colonial administrators to arrest and deport from the land anybody they highly suspected of being a dissident or who challenged the status quo. In Uganda that practice started way back in 1899 when the colonialists, working through Baganda informers and puppet chiefs arrested *Kabaka* Mwanga of Buganda and *Omukama* Kabaleega of Bunyoro-Kitara and deported them to the Seychelles Islands, ostensibly for bad governance, failing to carry out the wishes of the European invaders, campaigning to evict them and actively waging war against them. New puppet leaders were installed on the thrones in those two kingdoms. Similarly, *Kabaka* Edward Muteesa II, the 36th King of Buganda, was also deposed and banished into exile in Britain in 1953 for resisting the inclusion of Buganda and Uganda in a planned East African Federation, a move that was aimed at further diluting the sovereignty of Buganda, if not totally annihilating the kingdom.

In the years preceding 1945 the workers or local civil servants within the protectorate government, the farmers and commoners (working outside the *Kabaka's* government at Mengo) were unhappy. They

had several grievances with the protectorate government, especially regarding the distribution of land contained in the 1900 Agreement as well as the conduct of trade. The workers were disputing the low wages and salaries. The farmers disputed the low prices paid them for their crops. All were unhappy with the local trade sector, largely dominated by the Asians to the total exclusion of the Africans. The Asians, mostly from India, owned most if not all local shops and stores in Buganda, traded in coffee and cotton in the rural areas and owned most if not all ginneries for cotton and coffee. Such grievances precipitated a number of strikes, boycotts and disturbances in Buganda. The most famous ones were the revolution of 1945 and its aftermaths in which several people including PK and his colleagues were deported, and the revolution of 1949 in which several other groups of people were also deported. Several historians in the past, especially those who wrote their accounts during the colonial days, branded all such people like PK and his colleagues as dissidents, agitators, rebels and destabilisers who never wished prosperity for their country Buganda. But in reality they were neither rebels nor destabilisers. They were patriots. They were martyrs and heroes who fought very hard to prevent their kingdom Buganda and country Uganda from being overrun and completely taken over by the British colonialists, as was the case in Kenya, Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and other countries outside Africa like Australia, New Zealand, Canada and America. All those people starting with the two kings Mwanga and Kabalega in 1899, the 1945 deportees - Paulo Kiyingi and his colleagues, the deportees of 1949, as well as several others who at different times protested against British occupation or rule and were deported or punished in one form or other, up to the late Kabaka Edward Muteesa II, who was deposed and deported in 1953, were true **political prisoners** or **prisoners of conscience** who were never tried or convicted of any crime by the colonial administration. Unfortunately they were never known as such at the time, simply because our history has usually been told and written by the British colonialists or their puppets.

9.3 The Names “Banadda” and “Bulituuka”

At the time of their release Paulo Kiyingi had nicknamed himself “Banadda” (lit. “they will return”). He gave himself this name from a Luganda saying, “*Abawanganguse banadda*” (the deportees will return). He also had a favourite rooster among his chickens, which he had named “Bulituuka” (lit. time will come). He did that as a psychic exercise to sharpen his determination to continue fighting for his eventual return to motherland Buganda. Unfortunately for PK, on their way back to Buganda from Karamojja, when they got to the swamps of River Apapi, between Teso and Karamojja, the rooster accidentally fell out of the vehicle into the river and was never seen again. PK was very disappointed at the loss for he had all along planned to slaughter and eat it after their safe return to Buganda from captivity.

Because they left Moroto a bit late in the day, they were forced to overnight in Soroti, Teso. The chief of the area was very happy to meet them and gave them accommodation for the night. The following morning they left for Jjinja, passing through Mbale in Bugisu for a brief stopover. They overnighted in Jjinja town, where they spent the night at the Bugembe inn. On the third day they got to Kampala and straightaway reported to the office of the Resident Buganda.

The four were then each allocated a vehicle to take them to the destinations they had chosen, more than 40 miles outside Kampala. They were allowed a very brief stopover at their homes that day, but not to overnight. So PK called briefly at his home at Makeerere to pick up his wife ENK on their way to Zirowe in Bulemeezi county. ENK had by then given birth to a baby boy who they had named Samuel

Kigwira Lutalo, once again very significant names with meanings as follows: Kigwira from a Luganda saying, “*Ekigwira omusajja, akimala*” (A real man will overcome whatever hurdles he encounters) and Lutalo, which means “war” - presumably an allusion to the war Paulo Kiyingi was fighting against the British at that time. They got to Ziobwe late that evening and reported to the Gombolola (sub-county) chief, who accommodated them for the night.

9.4 Paulo Kiyingi Banadda Leaves Ziobwe for Bukatira

Paulo Kiyingi was a bit disappointed with the Ziobwe reception. He did not take to it as much as he had anticipated and it is not clear why, since he already possessed a piece of land he had previously purchased there. He therefore decided to leave Ziobwe to go and live with his nephew Samuel Kaggulire (the son of his brother Daniel Kiguli Kijojje) at Bukatira, Namasinda in Bulemeezi. He sought and was granted permission for the relocation. So within three days of his arrival in Ziobwe, he was once again on the move. Another vehicle arrived to take him, his family and all his belongings to Bukatira. He and his family received a tumultuous warm welcome at Bukatira by the so many people who had gathered: family, friends and all the villagers who had been eagerly awaiting their arrival.

CHAPTER 10

LIFE AT MAKEERERE, KYADDONDO

It has often been asked: What was life like for the Kiyingi family at Makeerere? Experience of life at Makeerere can be categorised into two distinct periods - the period before the 1945 deportation of Paulo Kiyingi and the period after the deportation.

10.1 The Period Before the 1945 Deportation of Paulo Kiyingi

The period before the deportation of Paulo Kiyingi is said to have been one of financial prosperity, easy life and complacency, devoid of any major hassles. PK had a well-paying job with the government, which gave him access to sufficient funds to look after his family without lack or want. Some of the results of that were the following:

- (1) Paulo and Eseza Kiyingi had several friends in the neighbourhood and indeed the whole village/suburb of Makeerere. Within the local church they were regarded as strong pillars. They would welcome anybody to their home any time. On most Sundays they would hold feasts in their home and invite their Christian brotherhood and sisterhood to come to table with them. This made them very popular.
- (2) On the family front, they both managed to engage their respective original families of brothers and sisters and other relatives, bring them together and to further cooperation within their families. PK was influential in the initiation and sustenance of the Ndiga clan association called "BWEYAGALIRE". Many Ndiga clans people patronised the association and used to gather and hold meetings on a regular basis in the home of Paulo and Eseza Kiyingi at Makeerere to deliberate on clan matters and issues aimed at fostering unity within the clan members. One of the most significant issues discussed was to acquire a piece of land on which to build the clan office or headquarters. This was eventually effected and up to today the office is still located on that piece of land near the Kabaka's lake at Mengo.
- (3) PK was a staunch member of the Buganda Co-operative Society. This society owned a shop or store at Wandegeya, a small trading centre within the environs of Kampala. This store was operated by Daudi Musoke Mukubira of Makeerere on behalf of the society. The shop would purchase commodities at factory or wholesale prices and re-sale them to the members at reasonable affordable prices, hence avoiding the inflated high prices of the Asian shops.
- (4) PK always strived for freedom and justice, in defence of the rights of common people. In his locality of Makeerere this was once demonstrated when the Government, while preparing servicemen for the Second World War (1939-1945), camped those soldiers around Makeerere village for some long time. They became notorious among the local civilian population for harassing their wives and their daughters in seeking sexual favours from them. It is claimed that some of these libidinous harassments resulted into real encounters, which lead to the spread of and an epidemic of sexually transmitted diseases like scabies, gonorrhoea and syphilis within the local

civilian population. This went on undetected until PK reported the matter to his boss the Resident Buganda and asked for permission to fight this heinous crime. When permission was given PK and other residents formed a vigilante neighbourhood watch to patrol the village, especially at night. Any serviceman caught loitering outside their camp would be arrested and charged accordingly. This immediately curbed the number of such criminal activities. Subsequently the servicemen's camp was moved away from Makeerere and relocated to Kololo, another suburb of Kampala.

- (5) PK once acted as a news broadcaster. He was one of those relegated with the task of broadcasting news of the war on public loudspeakers, located at Wandegaya and other trading centres around Kampala, during the Second World War. There was no established government department in charge of disseminating war news to the public. So the office of the Resident took on that role and PK, as head of the clerical and administrative staff, was put in charge of the same.

10.2 The Period After the Deportation

It has always been said that any kind of change in life brings good and/or bad results. What came out of Paulo Kiyingi's stand against European expansionism, which resulted in his deportation was sour. For a start he did not regain his employment at the Resident's office. It is said that he was invited back at work but that he declined the offer, citing the Resident's earlier act of betrayal in not telling him that he was going to be arrested at the Police station on that fateful morning of 10th September 1945. PK therefore decided to retire from paid government employment on principle, something he paid for dearly for the rest of his life. He chose to stay in the rural area where he had been banished, albeit temporarily, as a condition of his release from deportation. He would then concentrate his energies on farming on the one hand. On the other hand he also wanted to educate the common people in the rural areas about the treacherous ways of the European, his tricks and hypocrisy. He owned a large piece of farm land, but he lacked the know-how of the modern methods of large scale farming of those days. He did not possess any farm tractors, harvesters or any implements that increase farm productivity by cutting down on costs. He even lacked the trucks or lorries to carry his crops to the market place. He relied on his own energies and the manual labour provided by paid casual migrant employees from other parts of Uganda and Rwanda. His farming methods were therefore pretty ordinary, not much different from subsistence farming. Consequently his financial stability began to plummet due to lack of sound financial planning for his early retirement from regular paid employment. The decision to become self-employed was in itself novel, but the timing and preparation for it was wanting. He therefore encountered severe financial difficulties in the life following the deportation, some of which were as follows:

- (1) Providing for the two homes, the Makeerere and Bukatira homes.

PK tried his best to look after the urban Makeerere home from the rural Bukatira home where he was based, but this proved difficult. He lacked the proper means of transport to get the plentiful of food crops he cultivated at Bukatira to Makeerere. The commuter bus service belonging to Suleiman Serwanga, which he regularly used had limits to the size of luggage one could send, being passenger not luggage buses. As for the cash crops like cotton and coffee, he would grow as much as his energies and those of his helpers would permit. The proceeds though, were not always enough to cater for the day to day needs of the two homes, paying poll tax and meeting the school fees and other requirements for the children he had in schools straight after returning from his deportation, let alone the others who were born afterwards.

(2) Education of their children after 1945

The financial prosperity which characterised life at the Makeerere home before PK's deportation in 1945 vanished for good, never to return even with his return from exile. PK decided to devote his life to farming in the village at Bukatira, while ENK stayed with the children at Makeerere. That decision not only demoted the standard of living at Makeerere, but also threatened the education of their children. Indeed if it wasn't for some ingenious plan hatched out by PK and ENK those children were doomed to some being expelled from schools, others to not being able to take up their rightful places in some of Uganda's most influential schools, for lack of the necessary school fees.

We have seen the strong cooperation between PK and his brothers in the extended families of Mpigi and Kyabbumba. As outlined above in Chapter 6, PK had helped pay the school fees of several of his brothers' children and grandchildren while he was earning good money. These were as follows: (i) Kosea Kalyesubula Senkayi, the son of his brother Fenekansi Nkonge; (ii) Alice Janet Nalunkuuma Bimbuze, the granddaughter of his brother Zakaliya Bbosa; (iii) Paulo Kiyingi and (iv) Edward Kiguli, the children of his brother Batulumayo Sserunkuuma Aliddeki Mbizzi and several others. In return PK and ENK received assistance from several relatives to enable their children's education. In some cases, especially for the younger members of the family, the older brothers or sisters chipped in here and there. While PK was away in captivity, Eriazali Lwasi (the son of PK's older brother Aloni Bapere Sekkadde) helped pay the school fees for Efulansi Miriam Nalugwa through primary school, before she was married off. Moses Semyano Kiyingi, while at King's College Buddo, had his school fees paid for him on several occasions by Samwiri Kaggulire of Namasinda. Damascus Kaggulire's education was apparently wholly paid for by PK himself. At some stage, while David Kulumba was studying at Aggrey Memorial School Bunnamwaya, his school fees were met by his older brother (cousin) Erifazi Kaggwa Kirimuttu. Athanus Bosa's education also seems to have been wholly paid for by PK, without assistance from anybody. As for Elizabeth Nakiyingi, her education through Gayaza High School was facilitated by the ingenuity of her mother ENK, who saved whatever coin she lay her fingers on and knew of ways to get PK to come up with the money one way or other. Esta Nabbosa's education through Gayaza High School and Ndejje Teacher Training College was met by her father PK, assisted from time to time by her older brother Damascus Kaggulire when he started working. Balubuuliza Kibuuka's school fees while he went through Makeerere College School and St Mary's College Kisubi were largely met by his older brother David Kulumba. Samuel Lutalo received assistance with his school fees from his older brother Damasiko Kaggulire while going through Lubiri Secondary School and King's College Buddo. Kikuttobudde Sekkadde's school fees were largely met by his older brother James Henry Mpiima while at Makeerere Primary School, until Mpiima died in 1966. In high school at King's College Buddo, David Kulumba met all of Sekkadde's school fees up to the end of lower senior school in 1969. In "higher" school (Senior 5 and 6) Sekkadde's fees were met by a government scholarship, although since he was in a boarding school he continued to get some stipend from David Kulumba from time to time. Margaret Naluggya, the youngest in the family, had her earlier education paid for by her elder brother James Mpiima, while the later education in high school was met by her elder sister Elizabeth Nakiyingi.

That spirit of family co-operativeness or helping one another, which enabled those children to continue their schooling up to respectable levels, under difficult circumstances, will always be publicly acclaimed. That same spirit is claimed to be one of the major holding pillars binding the Kiyingi extended family together in solidarity.

Most of PK's children went through either of the two well-known nationalist schools of the 1940s and 1950s, namely Aggrey Memorial School Bunnamwaya and Chwa II Memorial College Namungoona, as follows: Semyano, Kulumba, Nakiyingi, Kibuuka and Lutalo - all attended Aggrey Memorial School at one time or other. Bbosa attended Chwa II Memorial School. Curiously none of his two youngest children, Sekkadde or Naluggya, attended those schools. It is not known whether it was an issue of his nationalism wearing off or of his country Uganda having achieved independence from Britain in 1962, such that there were no more sentiments for separate nationalist schools. In any case, "*Kye baayagalizanga embazzi kibuyaga yali asudde*" - meaning: "What they had been fighting for had been delivered".

CHAPTER 11

LIFE AND NATIONALISM AT BUKATIRA, BULEMEEZI

11.1 PK and his Second Wife Susaana Nakitto at Bukatira

When PK left his son Samwiri Kaggulire's home to set up his own, also at Bukatira Namasinda, he found it difficult to run it on his own without a wife. Much as he wanted his wife Eseza to join him in the village, circumstances could not permit since that would essentially have meant closing down the Makeerere city home. So PK negotiated with Eseza until they both agreed that the best thing was for PK to take a second wife to look after their rural home, while Eseza looked after the urban home. He therefore took on Susaana Nakitto, the sister of Reuben Kalumba and the daughter of Mr and Mrs Yakobo Kacwano of Kiteredde, Kirema. They got married in a traditional wedding ceremony. Their happy marriage lasted approximately twenty years, before PK died in 1968. Unfortunately it was not blessed with a child between the two of them, although Susaana had had a child (Nagaddya) from her first marriage. Susanna's death was not properly recorded, but she is said to have died in the "Luwero Triangle" during the liberationist war Yoweri Kaguta Museveni was waging against Milton Obote's second regime, somewhere between 1981 and 1986.

When PK first got to Namasinda in 1947, there was a school which had already been set up by one Mr Buzza in the very home of his son (nephew) Samwiri Kaggulire. It was a small elementary school with only four primary grades. PK immediately put his two children Kaggulire and Bbosa into that school and then set about motivating other parents in the area to develop and expand it into a bigger school. They approached a prominent landowner Bulasiyo Buyisi who owned a large piece of land around Kalege. He agreed to lend them space on Kalege hill so they could build a bigger school. That school was built and in 1948 the school was moved from Samwiri Kaggulire's home to the new premises on Kalege hill. They called it "Muteesa I Memorial School, Kalege" in memory of the late King Ssekabaka Muteesa I who "brought light" to Buganda by inviting the first Europeans to come to Buganda with their formal educational school system. The school became famous for being the first privately built and owned school in the area and possessing highly qualified and modern teachers. In addition, unlike other schools in the area, which were largely missionary and not allowed to teach English, Muteesa I Memorial School taught English as a subject. The following year 1949, the school expanded to take in Primary 5 and 6 pupils. At the end of that year five pupils successfully completed Primary 6, ready to move on to Junior Secondary schools elsewhere. Such enthusiasm gave Muteesa I Memorial School a strong leverage in attracting students from surrounding missionary schools. Its popularity grew to unprecedented proportions within such a short time. Unfortunately that was its undoing, for the owners of those other schools felt very uneasy about the competition. They conspired with the local politicians and started undermining the school. For example, they approached the owner of the land on which the school stood, Mr Bulasiyo Buyisi, to ask him rescind his loan of the place. Many other false accusations were levelled against the school, which forced the administrators to relocate it from Kalege hill to somewhere else. Inevitably the school gradually lost momentum and with time eventually closed. There is no doubt that PK's involvement in the school, with his background in the nationalist movement was a major weapon used by his opponents in undermining the school. With the prevailing circumstances in the country at that time, it would have been very presumptuous to think that the school

would continue to thrive. Hence PK's plans and efforts to spread his nationalist sentiments through that school, if he had any, were thwarted.

PK then concentrated on farming, cultivating cotton and coffee in plenty. He had a good yield and used the proceeds of the sale to purchase 50 acres of land on which he built his second home on Bukatira village. He named his property Kibutamu. Up to today the property still stands, occupied and maintained by one of his sons, Damasiko Kaggulire, who went with him into captivity. Damasiko Kaggulire is caretaking the property on behalf of all the Kiyingi family to whom the property was bequeathed.

11.2 PK in Defence of the Common People Before the Law

PK used his wise counsel and knowledge of natural justice to assist many common people in their pleas before the law, especially people around the village of Bukatira in Namasinda. People would go to him for advice on how to put their defence, or sometimes for direct representation in the local courts. The charges would usually be between the government appointed chiefs, in the exercise of their duties, against the commoners; especially if PK detected any form of injustice being exercised against the commoner. From time to time the cases would be referred to the magistrate's court at Mengo in the city of Kampala. PK would not hesitate to accompany the accused, put him up in his own city home at Makeerere, from where they would follow up the case at Mengo. After the first mention in the court PK always preferred an adjournment to the following or another day, so he could frame their defence most appropriately. He had a popular saying to go with that wish: "*Ogusula, gwe gukuwa empoza*" (an adjourned case always gives you a better defence). He built himself a strong reputation as a people's pleader (*Pro Bono Advocate*), except that he was never paid for it. It was all in the spirit of nationalism.

11.3 PK Initiates a Co-operative Spirit in His Community

Paulo Kiyingi was the initiator of the co-operative spirit among the people of his area, when he persuaded them into building their own store or shop locally at the Kalege Trading Centre. They would then purchase commodities for the shop at wholesale prices, and sell the same commodities to themselves at reasonable prices.

11.4 The Struggle to Acquire Rights to Process Cotton and Coffee

Paulo Kiyingi was one of those who petitioned the protectorate government to give the Africans freedom to process their coffee and gin their cotton, if they so wished. This was a collaborative effort by all nationalists of the time, most notably Ignatius Musaazi and other nationalists who were applying pressure in the major cities, while PK and others applied pressure in the villages. The government finally acceded to the demands of the Africans by bringing in an expert, Mr Fenar Broakway, to look into the matter. His recommendation was unreservedly to allow the Africans to process their cash crops, in competition with the Asian traders. This was granted in 1949.

CHAPTER 12

THE 1949 REVOLUTION IN BUGANDA

12.1 The Second Revolution “Number 9” in Buganda

It could be said that the arrest and deportation of Paulo Kiyingi in 1945 did not subdue his trouble-making instincts; for he continued getting into trouble with the government authorities, mostly chiefs, in the villages or rural areas. At times they would be minor problems like not paying his tax levies on time or failing to do his turn in local road maintenance (*bulungi bwansi*). Other times he would get into conflict with the authorities with major problems, leading to imprisonment, like happened during the uprising of 1949.

Apart from the 1945 Revolution in Buganda, nicknamed “*Namba Munaana*” (Number Eight), in which Paulo Kiyingi and compatriots were sent into captivity, there was another uprising which took place in 1949, which was nicknamed “*Namba Mwenda*” (Number Nine). It started off with the recommendation to allow the Africans to process their coffee and gin their cotton. The Africans became anxious to get to the next step of acquiring their own ginneries. They refused to sell their cotton to the Asian middleman traders, who at that time owned virtually all the ginneries and coffee processing plants. The Asians felt done in and so turned to the chiefs to try and force the African farmers to sell their crops or else face prosecution. Many farmers in the villages were arrested, charged with inciting civil disobedience and punished in one form or other. Some were fined, others were imprisoned. There was general discontentment in the population.

On the morning of 25 April 1949, many farmers and elders in Buganda, Paulo Kiyingi included, travelled to Mengo to appeal to their *Kabaka*. They went as members of the **Bataka Uganda** party or the **African Farmers Union**. They grouped outside the palace and selected eight representatives among themselves to go in and present their petitions to the *Kabaka*. The petitions were as follows:

- (1) to sack the top three administrators of the *Kabaka*’s government - namely the Prime Minister (*Katikkiro*), the Treasurer (*Omuwanika*) and the Minister of Justice (*Omulamuzi*), together with their collaborators among the chiefs;
- (2) to open the rule of democracy by letting the people directly elect their leaders and chiefs;
- (3) to significantly increase the number of elected representatives to the Buganda parliament, the *Lukiiko*;
- (4) to facilitate an urgent transition to the African farmers ginning their own cotton;
- (5) to allow free trade, whereby anyone was free to sell their produce in outside countries.

The *Kabaka* was not able to meet their demands or give a positive reply to their petitions. So he asked their representatives to convey that message to them and ask them to return to their homes. The people refused. It is said that at that stage the treasurer, Hon Besweri Mulyanti, ordered the Police to step in. The policemen used tear gas and rifle fire to disperse the crowd. Some lives were lost and other people

sustained major injuries as they scattered in all sorts of directions. Arson and violence followed. As the people scattered, in their anger, they started setting fires to people's properties and committing acts of violence against others. That was the beginning of the 1949 uprising or revolution. The houses of Asians and collaborator chiefs were prime targets. It is said that the houses of Besweri Mulyanti, the urban one at Makeerere and the rural one at Kirema in Bulemeezi, were burnt down. Among the prominent people seriously injured in the violence was Mr JW Kiwanuka Aliddeki, the editor of a Luganda newspaper "**Matalisi**" and son of the former Finance Minister Serwano Kulubya. The people were not impressed by the articles printed in that newspaper, which sounded anti-people's aspirations and biased in favour of the protectorate government.

When Paulo Kiyingi and others returned to their homes in the country, they were hounded by security for fear that the people who had earlier refused to sell their cotton to the Asian traders in the rural areas were the same ones who had started the uprising at Mengo which spread all over Buganda and that they were the same characters going around terrorising lawful citizens and burning properties. This culminated into the arrest of Paulo Kiyingi, Samwiri Kaggulire his nephew, Israel Kalibbala and a few other suspects. They were flogged, taken to the *Gombolola* (sub-county) headquarters at Kapeeka and then on to the *Ssaza* (county) headquarters at Bbowa. They were then transferred to the Central Police headquarters at Kampala, where they were finally released after the suspicions for their arrest had been found baseless.

12.2 The Africans Start Ginning Cotton and Processing Coffee

When the situation normalised the co-operative movement got under way through the formation of Cooperative Societies and Farmers' Associations. The Government passed a legislation to allow transfer of some of the cotton ginneries run by Asians to the Africans. The Africans would be enabled to buy those ginneries through loans obtained from the Uganda Credit and Savings Bank, which later became the Uganda Commercial Bank. The Government undertook to guarantee those loans. In the same way the government also facilitated the Africans in buying coffee processing plants.

The farmers then started selling their cotton and coffee directly to para-statal bodies created specifically for the purpose: the Lint Marketing Board for cotton and the Coffee Marketing Board for coffee. Those para-statal bodies were entrusted with buying the processed cotton and coffee, ensuring they were of a very high standard, selling the same to outside markets albeit at fluctuating prices, but stabilising the price paid to the primary producers without unduly underpaying them.

CHAPTER 13

POST-REVOLUTION AND PRE-INDEPENDENCE POLITICS

13.1 PK's Involvement in Modern day Politics

It can be said that the first political party in Buganda was “*Baana ba Kintu*” (lit. Children of Kintu), which was formed in 1938. Mr Ignatius Musazi was its moderator or leader. Its principal objective was to unite and organise African farmers and traders so that they could maximise their performance and profits. Firstly, to collectively market their produce, especially cotton, in order to get better prices. Secondly, to reduce the spread and influence of the foreign traders who were mostly Asians, in the rural country areas (villages). In the later stages, with the ascension to *Katikkiro*-ship of Martin Nsibirwa, several of the **Baana ba Kintu** members developed bitterness against Nsibirwa and his treasurer Serwano Kulubya, both of whom they perceived as being too pro-colonialists sabotaging the progress of the citizens. So those members started campaigning for the removal of those two officials. Finally, **Baana ba Kintu** was transformed into a political party to fight for independence when the academics, teachers and workers joined its ranks and broadened its objectives. PK was not a registered member of this party due to his employment position. But it is said that he was a staunch supporter of its broad nationalistic objectives. It is said that even His Majesty, *Kabaka* Daudi Chwa II was a sympathiser if not a clandestine supporter of that organisation's objectives, a revelation that never impressed the colonial administration. The organisation was disbanded in the upheavals of 1945 in which the colonial administration arrested and exiled its leaders, close associates and advisers, like Paulo Kiyingi. The nationalist *Kabaka* Daudi Chwa is also said to have recruited Paulo Kiyingi as one of his private advisers, especially pertaining to matters between the then protectorate government and His Majesty's Government. Paulo Kiyingi, through his nationalistic sentiments, was well positioned for this role by virtue of his employment in the Provincial Commissioner's Office. This was further necessitated because the Kabaka had lost trust in his top officials: the *Katikkiro* - Martin Nsibirwa and the *Omuwanika* - Serwano Kulubya.

As the ancestral Kiganda proverb goes, “*Awakula ennume, tewakula emu*” (a herd never has one top bull, there is always another one in the offing to succeed it). So in 1946, while Paulo Kiyingi and his colleagues were still in exile, those who stayed behind formed another elders' party which they named **Bataka Union (BU)**. This was started by those elders who still felt for their country's liberation, with aspirations articulated along the same lines as the disbanded **Baana ba Kintu**. They campaigned strongly for the release of those exiled without proper cause, which eventually forced the Government to relent and release them. Since the main objectives of the Bataka party were very similar to what PK and his compatriots had been campaigning for all along and were possibly related to the reasons for their exile, PK had no reservation in joining that party as soon as he was released. The party embraced people of all sorts of backgrounds: commoners and chiefs, farmers and traders, teachers and other workers, Baganda as well as people from other parts of Uganda, people of all religions, men and women, all without discrimination. They were all united in one broad aspiration - to work towards the emancipation of the indigenous Ugandan, to end the exploitation of the Asian trader, to end the colonisation by the Europeans and work towards the country's Independence. The main thrust, support and membership of the party were largely drawn from Buganda, and so the Baganda had a big influence

in setting the agenda. For example, they were also fighting for the preservation of their cultural traditions and heritage, as promulgated in the 1900 Agreement.

They appointed Mr Ssemakula Mulumba, an ex-seminarian recently returned from London where he had just graduated in Bantu languages, to be the emissary of the Bataka party (BU) in Britain and the United Nations. His main mission was to present their case directly to the British Colonial Secretary and petition the United Nations assembly. This was because they could no longer trust the Governor, the British monarch's representative in Uganda. They used to contribute money towards the upkeep of Ssemakula Mulumba in Europe.

Ignatius Musaazi, who was the leader of another party "**Uganda African Farmers Union**", after his release from exile also joined arms with the Bataka party and intensified the struggle. They demanded the raising of prices for cotton and coffee so that the farmers could increase their income.

Paulo Kiyingi welcomed and fully supported this latter demand since he had concentrated his energies into farming in the village/country. His aim was to stay in the rural areas and fuel his nationalistic campaigns there. He wanted to educate the common people in the village/country so that they too could understand and become sensitive to the unfair, exploitative, hypocritical and crafty methods the Protectorate Government had introduced in Buganda and the whole of Uganda. He also aspired to increase the educational standard and financial prospects of the people there.

Confining himself to the village though, had its drawbacks for PK. He missed out on participating fully in the modern political parties which commenced in the 1950s. These were largely run and prospered in the big cities of Kampala and Ntebe. PK remained in the Bataka Union party, even when it started losing momentum, right up to the very end. The reason for that stance is not very clear, but it is presumed that he preferred working in a political framework which preserved the cultural traditions and institutions of Buganda. And if so, that may be why in the 1962 Mengo parliamentary elections PK had contested in the primaries or pre-selections for the "**Kabaka Yekka**" (the King Only) party candidature, to represent Kapeeka- Bulemeezi, pitching himself against another Kabaka Yekka candidate Settimba who was a favourite of the Mengo establishment headed by the Katikkiro Michael Kintu. When PK lost out in the pre-selections he quit politics for good. He was aged 66 years at the time, possibly getting weaker and frail.

CHAPTER 14

PAULO KIYINGI IN LATER LIFE

14.1 PK and ENK Rear Their Children to Adulthood

Rearing children to maturity and getting them out of one's home to start their own homes is one of the ambitions and aspirations of every parent; when it transpires the parents become very proud of themselves. PK and ENK went through thick and thin to bring up their children; for the boys - to become men, get married and get their homes; for the girls - to marry them off. Mary Namitala got married to Mr Kezekiya Ntambaazi in 1947. Efulansi Miriam Nalugwa got married to Mr Kerementi Musoke, also in 1947. Moses Semyano Kiyingi married Miss Mary Nakubulwa Kibebbere in 1956. Damascus Kaggulire married Miss Robina Joyce Nakiryowa in 1963. When Robina Nakiryowa died he then married Robina Nabawanuka Lunkuse. David Kulumba married Miss Harriet Nakalanzi Musoke in 1969. Asanath Lule Bbosa married Miss Milly Nalubega in 1973. Elizabeth Nakiyingi first got married to Dr David Kyegombe in 1969. When the marriage dissolved she then got married to Dr Paulo Wamala in 1972. When Paulo Wamala died during Idi Amin's terror regime Elizabeth later got married to Mr George Byekwaso in 1977. Esta Lillian Nabbosa got married to Mr Samuel Muleme in 1971. Balubuuliza Kibuuka married Miss Florence Hadudu Wasibi in 1979. Samuel Lutalo married Miss Angela Namyalo Ssali in 1977. Kikuttobudde Sekkadde married Miss Beatrice Birabwa in 1980. Margaret Naluggya got married to Mr Charles Musoke in a traditional wedding in 1981; then formalised their wedding in the church in 1999. And so what was written in the Bible, in the book of Jeremiah Chapter 29 came true of Paulo Kiyingi and his wife Eseza: "The Lord Almighty God told the children of Israel - 'Build houses and settle down. Plant gardens and eat what you grow in them. Marry and have children. Then let your children get married, so that they also may have children. You must increase in numbers and not decrease ...'" Likewise the Kiyingi family took off and started expanding.

14.2 Paulo Kiyingi's Service to the Ndiga Clan

1. He was the secretary at the Ndiga clan meetings from 1937 to 1945, following in the footsteps of Yonasani Ddamulira who had retired in 1937.
2. There used to be an association called "Bweyagalire" within the Ndiga clan membership. That association used to hold regular monthly meetings aimed at promoting cultural and social interactions within the brotherhood of the Ndiga clan. The meetings used to be held at Paulo Kiyingi's home at Makeerere and were chaired by him. Nowadays, instead of Bweyagalire, the Ndiga clan holds regular meetings every first Saturday of the month at the clan office at Mengo near the Kabaka's lake (*ku Kayanja ka Kabaka*).
3. In 1943, when it looked as if the clan needed a neutral place of its own to hold its regular meetings, Paulo Kiyingi, together with Josef Sserunkuuma Nkalubo of Kamuli, Tito Kyobe Ziryawulawo of Wampewo and Erenesti Z. Kibuuka (EZ) of Kabowa Kyaddondo, organised to buy a piece of land on which to build a clan office. Initially they tried to mobilise the clan membership to come up with Shs 600 to buy a plot. When the clan failed to come up with the money, the four contributed

the money out of their pockets and bought the plot measuring 50 decimals in area, on the shores of the Kabaka's lake (*Kayanja ka Kabaka*) at Mengo. They will always be remembered as heroes in the history of the clan.

4. Among the people who investigated the misappropriation and subsequent retrieval of the headship of the clan division of Luwanga (*okuwoza Essiga Iya Luwanga*), from the lineage leader (*ow'Olunyiriri*) Sejuuko of Gomba, were Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi Banadda and his elder brother Aloni Bapere Sekkadde. The headship of Luwanga was restored to the rightful person. In the process of doing so, they also uncovered another truth about the inheritance of the Mpiima sub-division headship (*Omutuba gwa Mpiima*). They discovered that Samwiri Kaggulire of Namasinda, Bukatira was supposed to be the rightful head of the sub-division (*Omukulu w'Omutuba gwa Mpiima*) and that his headship was hereditary.
5. Paulo Kiyingi served and promoted his clan in many other respects and so became a pillar for the clan to stand on. He was insistent on preserving clan traditions. One of the last stands he held within the clan before he died, was the correction of an anomaly which was creeping into the succession protocol for the next head of the Ndiga clan on the death of an incumbent. PK was very instrumental in the selection of *Omutaka* Paulo Bbosa to head the Ndiga clan, succeeding the late Rev Cannon Kezekiya Ssekubunga Kaggwa. There were people within the clan who had the impression that the clan headship was hereditary in that on the death of a Lwomwa his heir within the family must also become the new clan head, Lwomwa. Not so, according to clan traditions, said PK. He laboured this point extensively to remind and convince the assembled body of the clan to follow the proper traditions of selecting the new Lwomwa from the four "princely" clan divisions (*amasiga amalangira*), namely: Serunkuuma, Luwanga, Namusota and Semiti, in rotation. Then followed the actual selection process, which was filled with moments of tension. In *Omutaka* Paulo Bbosa Lwomwa's own words, during the launch of the Luganda version of this book at Makeerere on 29 December 2002, he related the following account of those tense moments leading to his selection in 1967:

"When Kezekiya Ssekubunga Kaggwa Lwomwa died, the clan had to select a new Lwomwa from the four princely *Masiga*, comprising the nomination committee. So the clan presiding officer (*Katikkiro w'ekika*), Amoni Bazira, asked the nomination committee to go to Mbaale Mawokota, the clan headquarters, to select a nominee for a new Lwomwa. I, as the Secretary to the clan meetings, was invited by the Katikkiro to attend the meeting as an observer of the selection process. The *Ssiga* which had just been in office (to which the late Kezekiya Kaggwa belonged) was that of Sserunkuuma. That *Ssiga* was to attend only but not to participate in the selections. The next Lwomwa was to come from either Namusota or Maziba or Luwanga of Mpami or Ssemiti of Buyanga. The selections were held at Maziba ancestral grounds. Namusota was about to put forward his candidates when Paulo Kiyingi Banadda objected, arguing that for a long time Luwanga had been cheated out of leadership for the clan. That ever since Ssekabaka Ssuuna II (the 29th King of Buganda) when Kiddugavu Luggya from Luwanga's *Ssiga* was a Lwomwa, Luwanga had not presented another Lwomwa. With that insight, those in the selection committee quickly accented to Luwanga providing the next Lwomwa. So Luwanga's group was asked to go out of the room and come up with a name for the next Lwomwa. When they cast the vote it fell on Paulo Kiyingi Banadda. They told him that they were going to forward his name for consideration by the selection committee, but he asked them to wait a little. He reminded them that the secretary to the clan meetings Paulo Bbosa, he too a descendant of Luwanga, had been left behind and hadn't joined them as a member of the Luwanga team. So they sent for me. When I got there Banadda already had me in a noose. He thanked the Luwanga group for

voting him in and proceeded to declare that the authority they had entrusted in him, he was passing it on to me (Paulo Bbosa) his 'grandchild'. I tried to appeal, saying that I would not manage such a huge responsibility. But Paulo Kiyingi Banadda urged me to accept, that whatever I fail in he would advise me. So I accepted and the rest of the Luwanga group approved. I was presented to the selection committee, which ratified my nomination. The clan meeting also ratified my nomination and I was therefore crowned the new Lwomwa. So I am the ruling Lwomwa, but I should point out that Paulo Kiyingi gave me this office. They had not voted for me, they had voted for him."

Omutaka Paulo Bbosa was crowned Lwomwa in 1967, one year before Paulo Kiyingi Banadda died, and he reigns up to today.

14.3 Paulo Kiyingi's Service to Makeerere Church

In between his government employment and clan commitments, PK would find time for church activities as well. He and his wife Eseza were staunch Christians and regular church goers who rarely missed a service. They were both "elders" (*Bakebezi*) in the church on several occasions, at different times in their life. So their children were brought up in the knowledge and fear of God and the ten commandments, as outlined in the Bible. For it is the same Bible which proclaims in Psalm 111, verse 10, that, "The way to become wise is to honour the Lord ... (*Mu kutya Mukama amagezi mwe gasookera ...*).

PK was one of the spearheads in the fight to keep the Makeerere parish church, God's house of worship, on top of the hill and resist its removal to the valley or anywhere else; citing the popular belief then that God cannot be relegated to a lesser position than above everything else, on top of the hill. PK did this from way back in the 1940s when he and several compatriots were deported into exile in connection with that issue, up to the 1960s before he died. He was an alert listener and upright speaker in meetings, who would not allow anybody to befuddle him with glamorous arguments which turned out to be false, not even a church minister. There was one occasion during a church general meeting in the 1960s when PK took on a rather controversial parish priest at Makeerere, Reverend Nekemeya Wampamba. It is said that the Reverend wanted to carry out what the British colonists failed to do in the 1940s, which was to move God's house of worship from the top of the hill to some other place and sell the Land on which the church stood to the University. The meeting was in progress and everybody was dead silent when the good Reverend introduced the motion thus: "Now we the Christians of Makeerere parish, what we want and what we are asking for is this - if the University can get us a piece of land at another location and build a new church, much bigger than this one and with modern facilities for us to use, we would give them this site. Not so?" PK quickly and emphatically answered him "No, not so!" In the quietness that followed, everyone marvelled at the courage PK had shown, to challenge a priest who was trying to get the congregation to acquiesce with such a controversial suggestion by throwing words in their mouths in such a manner. That motion was defeated, the church stayed put on its hill. When time came for Wampamba to leave the parish at the end of his posting, he left the church where he found it. But this should not have come as a surprise to anyone, with a good knowledge of the church's history which had Paulo Kiyingi on record for having been sent into exile in the 1940s, partly for the same stand on the church's location.

14.4 PK a Man of Culture

The relationship between his two wives, Susaana of Bukatira in the village home and Eseza of Makeerere in the city home could be described as having been cordial or one of peaceful co-existence.

There was no reason for antagonism or animosity between the two (apart from the usual petty rivalry between co-wives), since PK's taking on Susaana in marriage was sanctioned by Ezeza herself. Ezeza had considered her husband's need for a "helper" in the village home he had been banished to by his former captors. Ezeza had to stay and look after the family home at Makeerere, especially the education of their children through the good schools at that time. Susaana took care of their village or country home.

PK did not limit his beliefs or religious practices to Christianity alone. He was a casual follower of the traditional and cultural religious beliefs of the Baganda, like any Muganda of good culture. He would seek the guidance of God the creator (*Katonda we Butonda*) through His intermediaries (*Balubaale*) and the guidance of his ancestors (*Bajjajja*) in some of his nationalistic struggles, as well as for his spiritual revival. But always not forgetting the common saying of the ancestral Kiganda worship (*Okusamira*), "*Lubaale mbeera, nga ne mbiro kwotadde*" (you invoke the ancestors to help you, while making a dash for it, OR that God helps those who help themselves). Such double-pronged approach helped PK broaden and deepen his philosophical outlook to life. It must have helped him to not over-rely on the new wisdom and belief system brought by the Europeans only, but to also draw on the wisdom and beliefs of his ancestors. It must have further increased his determination to fight the colonial administration, which was threatening to stealthily usurp the land of the Baganda and decimate their glory and cultural heritage.

People say that PK was very stern, but he had a good sense of humour. In his jocular moods he had a habit of giving names to people derived from their appearances or behavioural traits. To his children he gave spiritual names derived from Kiganda ancestral proverbs or common sayings, like: **Lwalamukwano** - *oluganda* (Kiganda relationships are cemented through friendship), **eKigwiromusajja** - *akimala* (A real man will overcome whatever hurdles he encounters), **Balubuuliza** - *mbazzi nga lwo luli ku muddo lulya - oluliga* (It is being sought for the axe or for slaughter; but it is still busy grazing - the sheep), **eKikwanguyira** - *nawe okyanguyira; ekikajjo olya kibisi* (What you find easy should always be given priority; a sugar cane is always eaten raw), **eKikuttobudde** - *kiributa Muteesa bwalidda* (The dark cloud over the country will be lifted when Muteesa returns), **Kuumekyoto** - *kireme kuwola* (Keep the fireplace hot). But to other people he gave names derived from their appearances or behaviour; jocular names like: **Mufuweto**, **Vuvuvu**, **Kagodo**, **Katako**, **Zinzimiya**, **Kulubeyo**, **Sebirikundi**, **Mawale**, **Kibutinti**, **Bulagokkeke**, **Mugode**, **Mitwebiri**, **Munaaningo**, **Basammula** (*ekkere, asanze lyabuse*) and many more. PK usually gave those names to people within his sphere of influence in a jocular mood, but the names would often stick.

14.5 Paulo Kiyingi Land Properties

Like any Muganda man of stature, Paulo Kiyingi was a land-owner with several pieces of properties which he counted as his riches, as follows:

- (1) The piece of land at Makeerere where his city home was, was given to him by Church of Uganda Makeerere parish to settle on in 1931. The land title has recently been drawn up and properly transferred. Up to today the Kiyingi family ancestral house still stands in that plot of land at Makeerere.

- (2) PK bought a large acreage of land at Ziobwe in Bulemeezi county while still in active Government employment. That was the place he first settled in after his captivity. But later he sold this property and bought another piece of land.
- (3) PK bought another large acreage of land at Bukatira, Namasinda again in Bulemeezi county where he built his second home when he left Ziobwe on return from captivity. This became his country or village home. He named it Kibutamu, settled there and went into farming.
- (4) PK bought about 105 acres of land at Ggoli in the county of Bulemeezi, with the intention of going into large-scale farming. Unfortunately he never managed to develop this piece of land before he died and it is believed that the land was lost to usurpers during the 5-year long guerrilla war that liberated Uganda from ex-president Milton Obote's second dictatorship.
- (5) PK bought a piece of land, approximately 3 acres, at Bwayise in the environs of Kampala city, three miles from the city centre, where ENK used to cultivate the famous "Bwayise Taro" (*Amayuuni ge Bwayise*). They also built a few rental houses as investment property on that land.
- (6) PK acquired 5 acres of land at Mpigi, Nakaseeta in Bulemeezi county. It was given to him by his older brother Aloni Bapere Sekkadde.
- (7) Lastly, there is a piece of land reserved as our ancestral burial ground or family cemetery, also at Mpigi Nakaseeta. That is where Samwiri Lwasi Buzaabo, Semyoni Kaddu Nansambu, Paulo Kiyingi, Zeveriyo Kateetemera, were all laid to rest. Aloni Bapere Sekkadde was not buried far from there. The departed members of the Kiyingi family tend to be buried on those grounds.

14.6 The Government Pension

Paulo Kiyingi had served his country in government employment for nearly twenty years before he retired. He therefore applied for a Government Pension. This was granted and in 1962 he started receiving some money from the government on a monthly basis. It was not sufficient to satisfy all his needs, but certainly it helped. His son Semyano Kiyingi used to top that up and in addition, went as far as building him a new house at Bukatira. That is where investing in one's children comes in handy!!

CHAPTER 15

THE LAST DAYS OF PAULO KIKWANGUYIRA KIYINGI

In March 1966 James Henry Mpiima suddenly passed away at a very youthful age of 33 years at his home in Masaka, Buddu. PK got this chilling piece of news of the death of his second son while in his country home at Bukatira, Bulemeezi. The editor-author of this book was the one entrusted with the task of conveying this shocking news to the old man. When news got to the Makeerere home from Masaka I was in class at school. I was quickly summoned home and told to get on the next bus to Bukatira. I got there in the afternoon hours, somewhere between 3 and 4 pm. My old man was out in the field picking cotton. When he saw me he shook in his pants for he knew there had to be something very wrong. He quickly asked me in a firm voice but which was filled with fear: “Sse-kka-dde, what’s the matter?” I broke the news to him! In all my upbringing I had always been told that real men don’t cry and indeed up until then I had never seen or heard a grown up man cry. But on that day my father cried out aloud, tears rolling down his cheeks, saying: “Wowe-eh, my son Mpiima has died, what a tragedy; I am dead, who will bury me”!

In 1967, about a year after Mpiima’s death, PK was diagnosed with a medical condition “high blood pressure” or “hypertension”. It is presumed that the stress and depression associated with the death of his son Mpiima combined with a number of other factors to precipitate this dreaded disease - factors like: (i) the nationalist struggles of his entire life such as the confrontations with the colonial government in the 1940s which lead to his deportation into captivity and after his release the further confrontations with local government representatives, which at times lead to severe punishment in the form of flogging and/or imprisonment; (ii) the hard-working life of a farmer; (iii) the relatively meagre income he was forced to live on after his release from captivity compared to the period before; (iv) the frequent journeys by foot, to plead for the defenceless common people in the village as the unpaid people’s advocate and (v) all the unfairness and injustice of the colonial administration within the country. To add to the problem of hypertension, PK was also diagnosed with a groin hernia soon after. The hernia got complicated by irreducibility to the point of near strangulation. It required a surgical operation to correct the problem. Many top doctors at Mulago, the national referral hospital, as well as the private hospital at Namirembe, all attended to PK in an effort to save his life. The head surgeon in the country Mr Sebastian Kyalwazi (FRCS) worked with several physicians to try and get PK’s blood pressure under control so he could safely operate on his hernia, but to no avail. The strangulation of the hernia caused PK a great deal of pain. He would spend the whole night wailing in pain, so loud as to nearly wake up the entire neighbourhood. This pain further increased the blood pressure, making it ever more difficult to bring down. The elevated blood pressure in turn put a big strain on his heart, weakening the heart muscles, leading to what in medical parlance is termed “congestive heart failure”. Strong analgesic medications for the relief of severe pains of that nature were in short supply during those days, unlike today.

It was in such severe pain that PK’s life came to an end. On 18th September 1968, at approximately 8 o’clock in the evening, Paulo Kiyingi passed away at Namirembe Hospital, in the presence of his wife Eseza Nabwami and his daughter Efulansi Miriam Nalugwa Musoke. The same year 1968 saw the

staging and conclusion of the 19th Olympic games in Mexico City, Mexico. PK was aged 72 years at the time of his death.

After a moving funeral service at St John's church Makeerere, the church he so fervently fought for, PK was buried with great honour by so many people, close family, extended relations, friends, colleagues and acquaintances. People travelled from far and wide to farewell and lay to rest the hero of all heroes into his final resting place; a hero who struggled for his country until his death - the unsung hero. He was buried at the ancestral burial grounds at Mpigi Nakaseeta in Bulemeezi county adjacent to where his fathers, Samwiri Lwasi Buzaabo and Semyoni Kaddu Nansambu, had been laid to rest. David Kulumba Kiyingi was installed as the heir to PK, as is the custom in the country, to be the new head of the Kiyingi family and estate. Kulumba is now a successful practicing lawyer with one of the more promising private law firms in Kampala city.

CHAPTER 16

ESEZA NABWAMI KIYINGI

16.1 Eseza Nabwami Kiyingi The Widow Who Never Despaired

At the time of Paulo Kiyingi's death, his two youngest children were still at school. Sekkadde was in Senior 2 at Kings College Buddo, while Naluggya was in Primary 6 at Makeerere Primary School. Their mother Eseza (ENK) shouldered the responsibility of seeing these two children complete school and go on to pursue their chosen careers. As documented earlier on in this book, the older siblings in the family helped the younger ones with their school fees. There were several other children at home. Some of these were nephews and nieces, others were grandchildren, the children of her children, as well as children of her other relatives. ENK looked after all of them on the one hand. They, on the other hand, gave her the much needed company to survive the loneliness and depression she would have otherwise suffered following the passing of her husband.

ENK strived for the education of her children, her husband's children and those of her brothers, sisters and other relatives. She had that rare talent of forward planning when it came to the children's education, in that despite her own limited education she would always find ways to facilitate and advance the schooling of any child interested in schooling by getting them places in schools, pleading with the headmasters regarding the payment of school fees and offering to look after some of them in her own home. Unlike many women of her generation she believed in giving girls a good education. In particular she worked hard to get her daughters educated to very high levels. Indeed when the time was right she too engaged herself in some adult education classes at the Salvation Army Adult Literacy School, located on the Kampala to Bombo road, 2 miles from the city centre. She had lessons in English and home economics among other subjects.

ENK was very active in her *Ffumbe* clan meetings. She was very influential in the fight to rectify some anomalies within her clan sub-division (*Omutuba gwa Kalumba*). She therefore came to be regarded as one of the main pillars within her clan.

She served the parish of Makeerere church in several capacities. She was one of the church elders (*Abakebezi*). She was a member of the church choir, singing the Alto voice. She was a member of the church council on several occasions, sometimes serving as its chairman. Sometimes she would be required to represent the Makeerere parish church in the diocesan meetings, including the synod council at the Namirembe Bishopric. Whenever there were big functions involving holding receptions at the church, for example hosting the Bishop for confirmation ceremonies, ENK would be busy in her multiple roles. She would participate in the food preparations, cleaning and decorating the church the evening before. She would then be one of the elders to welcome and seat the invited guests, sing in the choir during the service and after the service serve the guests and visitors at the reception with food and other refreshments. Indeed it would be a busy time, full of intense activity for her. Since her home was very close to the church, within half a kilometre, many times she would look after some of the more treasured church property as well as keep a remote eye and ear on the church building, guarding it. ENK used to visit the elderly and the sick in the parish and pray for them. She also used to counsel

young or newly married couples in how to nourish their relationships and maintain happy Christian homes. She would counsel those in de-facto relationships or “improper marriages” (according to the church) to cleanse or straighten their relationships by converting them into proper church marriages. She was a prominent member of the Christian Mothers’ Union.

ENK’s involvement with church work did not prevent her from looking after her home and her children’s needs. She would wake up early in the morning before sunrise, go cultivate the garden and from there prepare food for lunch (her children used to go home for lunch, rarely having lunch at school since their school was very close to home). She used to grow a lot of taro (*amayuuni*), sweet potatoes, cassava, bananas, plantain and other vegetables. She was one of those who popularised a variety of firm purplish taro imported from Tanganyika, which was very tasty and came to be very much liked and preferred to the soft white variety abundant until then. She used to cultivate it in her garden at Bwayise, so the variety came to be referred to as the “Bwayise taro” (*Amayuuni ge Bwayise*).

ENK was one of the main pillars and promoters of the local church-cum-government school, Makeerere Primary School, where most of her children started their primary education. Most of the school’s administrators would seek the advice of Mrs Kiyingi before introducing any major changes in the school. She used to sit on several school parents’ committees, sometimes as a member, other times as a chairman for most of her active life. She was an extremely resourceful, upright and straightforward person during meetings. She only stopped when she started ailing with age and illness. As an appreciation of her contributions to Makeerere Primary School, Mrs Ezeza Nabwami Kiyingi was posthumously honoured when one of the student’s houses was named “Ezeza Kiyingi House”, after her.

ENK was always full of life. She enjoyed partying, whether in her home or among her relatives and friends, wherever she was invited. She was renowned for her elegance and style in wearing the Kiganda *busuuti* or *gomesi* (a women’s formal maxi wrap-around robe) and gracefully walking in it, without stepping on its long flowing bottom. She kept up-to-date with the fashions, especially the hair fashion changes in Uganda at the time. She quickly embraced the women’s hair fashion of straightening hair with a hot comb, very early on in its inception - one of the pioneers at Makeerere. The husbands at first feared that their wives’ hair was catching fire when they saw smoke emanating from their wives’ heads, but ENK managed to allay their anxieties when she “got her hair done” and survived the ordeal. Similarly, women in Buganda for a long time were not allowed to eat chicken or eggs by custom. ENK was one of those who quickly overcame that taboo and started eating eggs. Although she could not bring herself to start eating chicken, she allowed her daughters to eat it openly. In short she did not keep herself backwards, she always moved with the times and at times she herself shaped it. For a long time in her earlier life she did not touch alcohol, but as she matured and felt more liberated she started drinking a beer or two. She would justify her drinking a beer with a joke that beer promoted good health or that, “beer was food for the children!!” (*bbiya mmere y’abaana*). She would limit herself to two beers, no more. She never advocated nor indulged in the stronger alcohols like wines or spirits, which she regarded as brain de-stabilisers. It is not known for certain what she thought of the local brew (*omwenge omuganda*). She was a woman of substance who, if she had lived in the present times, I am sure would have been a prominent advocate of the women’s liberation movement.

16.2 The Last Days of Eseza Nabwami Kiyingi

ENK was diagnosed with sugar diabetes in 1982, at 73 years of age. She wrestled with the disease for nearly five years, receiving treatment from doctors at Mulago Hospital and other hospitals around Kampala. When I last saw her in July and early August 1987 she had lost so much weight and was down to bare bones. I had taken my newly born daughter and possibly her youngest grandchild then, Makula Nabbosa, barely six months of age at the time, for my mother to bless. As it turned out Makula was the last child ENK blessed before she departed this world, as if she had been waiting to see that child, for it was not long after that ENK expired. That reminded me of some verses in the Bible (although no parallels drawn) about a very old man called Simeon, who had been promised that he would not die before he had seen the Lord's promised Messiah. It was written like so: "Simeon took the child in his arms and gave thanks to God, saying 'Now, my Lord, you have kept your promise, and you may let your servant go in peace. For with my own eyes I have seen your salvation, which you have prepared in the presence of all peoples. A light to reveal your will to the Gentiles and bring glory to your people...'" (Luke; 2: 29-32).

Eseza Nabwami Kiyingi died on 23rd August 1987, aged 78 years. She was laid to rest with great honour in the ancestral burial grounds at Nakaseeta, Mpigi Bulemeezi, besides her husband's grave. Many Christian clerics, parishioners, friends and family travelled long distances to go and farewell God's child, the beloved mother of all mothers, on the last journey to her final resting place. She was succeeded by her younger sister, Agnes Nabbumba from Asanasiyo Lule Mujugumbya, as her chosen heir. When that one too died she was succeeded by Regina Nabaggala from their paternal uncle (our great uncle) Nekemeya Mulinsike of Buwaya.

CHAPTER 17

CONCLUDING REMARKS

17.1 Lessons From The Life of Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi

Paulo Kiyingi was a sharp, hard-working, determined, quiet achiever. He served his country the best way he could. He was prepared to do whatever it took to keep his job by passing whatever examination and hurdles set before him. If only the colonial administrators had not interrupted his career by falsely arresting, deporting and keeping him in captivity for nearly two years, he could have turned out a real great man. He was a servant, worker and struggler.

He was a valiant fighter who, when enlisted in the national service, fought for the propagation and survival of the British Empire in the First World War. He survived the war and returned a celebrated *Kawonawo* (World War 1 veteran). He was a fighter.

He was a true nationalist who dearly loved his nation Buganda/Uganda, fought for the preservation of its territorial integrity and emancipation from colonial subjugation to the point of being arrested, detained without trial and eventually deported into captivity so that its land may not be stealthily expropriated by the British. He was a clever pursuant of the principle of natural justice, who helped the common people understand the laws of the country and assisted them in defending their rights before the law, but never asked for payment for his services. He was a nationalist.

He was a traditionalist who espoused the customs of his nation and helped strengthen the bonds of cooperation within the *Ndiga* clan. He helped straighten an anomaly which was creeping into the clan's method of selecting a new clan head Lwomwa, after the death of one. He negotiated and helped in the acquisition of a plot of land on which the clan's headquarters and office is located up to today. He had roots.

He was a man of God who fought for his local church to retain its prestige and place on top of Makeerere hill where it still is up to today. He was a vigilant negotiator and conciliator in meetings, who the church sometimes needed for its survival. He was a pillar.

He was a nationalist. But like all nationalists the whole world over, they always spend most of their time in the pursuit of fairness and justice for all the people of their nation, over and above their immediate needs and the needs of their families. They tend to forget a Kiganda proverb, which says, "*Enkoko etakula ezza eri bwana bwayo*" (The hen will always scrape in the direction of its young ones). Consequently many nationalists die poor. Likewise, although Paulo Kiyingi's earlier days were easy and lavish while earning a good salary from his employment, the moment he got addicted to the pursuit of nationalistic goals, his life changed. Many people would say that Paulo Kiyingi died a poor man, in the earthly material possessions. But I think he himself would have said that he died a rich man spiritually, in the love and defence of his nation. He was himself.

Several books and accounts have been written about the history of Buganda and Uganda, but up until recently there has been hardly any mention of Paulo Kiyingi's name among those heroes who played any significant role in the shaping of the country's history. Why? Could it be because PK was a hard-working but slightly reserved, quiet achiever, who was short on leadership qualities and on putting himself in the limelight? If so, could this have curtailed his fame and influence and so relegated his name to obscurity, unlike some of his compatriots who embraced leadership? If that were so, all children, grandchildren and descendants of Paulo and Eseza Kiyingi should know and fully comprehend that in this world no body speaks for you or fights for you. You should always avail yourself of whatever leadership opportunity comes your way if you are ever to make a mark on history and be remembered by future generations. You should always be forthcoming and willing to speak out in public, not keeping yourself backward (*okwefebya*); but projecting yourself into the limelight and fighting for your own (*okwevujjirira*). That should be a very important first lesson.

The second important lesson is this: Anybody who is employed, or even before they start employment, should start making preparations for their future as early as possible, by saving, setting aside some money and investing the same in money-generating ventures. This becomes more imperative for the worker as one gets closer to retirement, since no body grows younger with time. When their income and expenses for their daily living gets counted on the profits their investments make and not on their salary or wages, then they can call themselves wealthy. That person can throw parties, spend lavishly in entertaining friends and relatives without anybody complaining. Why - because they are drawing on their profits, not their capital. They are using their money to make more money for them. At the time Paulo Kiyingi was arrested, detained and deported into captivity, he had not reached that state of wealth. Although he had purchased several pieces of land while in Government employment and later built some rental houses on some of that land, to choose to retire from a job in which he had training and experience, at an early age of 51 years, was improper retirement planning. He did not stop at that, but he proceeded to have more children (the late Kasalina Nalumu, myself and Margaret Naluggya), built a second home and married a second wife, although the marriage never produced a child. The Baganda have a saying, "*N'omulungi, tabulako kamogo*" (No one is perfect). He was human.

With all the above attributes taken into consideration, Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi Banadda was a HERO.

17.2 Lessons From The Life of Eseza Nabwami Kiyingi

ENK was an outspoken, outright negotiator and home-maker, who made her Makeerere home into a respectable home, which warmly welcomed visitors and accommodated relatives of all descriptions without discrimination. She loved, understood, influenced, supported and remained faithful to her husband Paulo Kiyingi, with whom she spent a total of 40 years in marriage (1928-1968), until death did them apart, without ever abandoning him. She was a true wife.

She was a conciliator with a very mature approach to issues, especially within her family of birth, in the house of her father Mujugumbya, with all her sisters and one only brother. She was a traditionalist who fought for the preservation of her culture, not only within her *Ffumbe* clan, but also within her husband and children's *Ndiga* clan. She was a pillar.

She had a knack with children, understanding the thinking and behaviour of children. She used to quote a verse from the Bible found in St Paul's First Letter to the Corinthians, chapter 13: verse 11, which says, "When I was a child, I spoke like a child, I felt like a child and I thought like a child; now that I am a grown up, I have no more use for childish ways". So her children grew up with contentment, in the background of that understanding. She was a mother.

She had a rare talent of forward thinking when it came to the education of her children, her husband's children and the children of her sister's and brothers. Since she stayed in the city when her husband Paulo Kiyingi built a second home in the country, she took on the task of paving ways for the education of all those children. She would look for their placement in good schools, approaching headmasters and negotiating suitable arrangements for the payment of their school fees. She was an educator.

She lived and enjoyed life, for what there was of it to enjoy. She was full of life.

She was a leader, who never shunned leadership opportunities whenever they presented themselves. She had a determination, which never allowed her efforts to ever be frustrated by anything other than sound reason. Whatever she put her head to she would not rest until she saw it through. Because of her relentless efforts in the service of Makeerere Primary School during her active life, the school posthumously named one of the student's houses after her, calling it: "Eseza Kiyingi House". She was a leader and our nation needed her.

All those good qualities should be a lesson to learn and put into practice by the children, grandchildren and successive generations.

APPENDICES

The following are brief accounts about the children of Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi and their families, as each one has preferred to write about themselves. For those who have already departed this world, brief accounts have been contributed by the living as much as could be remembered. Here below please find accounts about the departed: Semyano, Namitala, Mpiima and Nakiyingi - all of whom have had other people write about them. Then also find accounts about Nalugwa, Kaggulire, Kulumba, Bbosa, Kibuuka, Nabbosa, Lutalo, Sekkadde and Naluggya - as each one has presented themselves.

APPENDIX 1: Moses Semyano Kiyingi

Semyano was born in 1926 at Mulago hospital, Kampala. His father Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi had just returned from Kenya where he had sought his first employment straight after coming out of school. PK was then in Ugandan Government employment as a clerk interpreter. PK was married to his first lovely wife, Ayisa Nakku, the mother of Semyano. Semyano's parents' marriage did not last long, due to differences in religious backgrounds. Unlike today, in those days differences in religious backgrounds made it very difficult for two people to last long in marriage. So when the marriage dissolved Semyano stayed with his father, and was brought up by his second mother or step-mother, Eseza Nabwami (ENK), whom his father married in a Christian church wedding. He was brought up together with his siblings, as if all belonged to the same mother and father. Semyano was baptised into the Christian church and given the name Moses, which joins both religions, Christianity (his father's) and Islam (his mother's). He was confirmed into the church in 1940.

Semyano spent his early childhood days at Makeerere with his parents. He started schooling at Makeerere Sub-grade Primary School. Later he went to complete his primary schooling at Mengo Primary School, from where his father took him to attend the nationalists' school - Aggrey Memorial School at Bunamwaya. With her forward planning for the children's education, ENK figured out that Semyano being the first born in the family, should change schools and be taken to the best school in the country, Kings' College Buddo. It wasn't easy getting PK to go along with that idea, but ENK argued her case convincingly. So Semyano started at Buddo in 1943. At Buddo Semyano gained fame in music and choral singing. He would sing the male voice "bass" with a gusto, which would leave any listener mesmerised. He was also good at sports, playing games like cricket and football. Semyano's academic record too was impeccable. He excelled in his chosen vocational commercial subjects, usually gathering up nearly all class prizes at the end of the year. That course led to the internationally recognised London Chamber of Commerce certificate. Unfortunately though, on finishing high school at Buddo Semyano could not continue with his academics straightaway since his father was still in captivity. In the meantime, he looked for casual work to earn some money for his upkeep as well as helping out with the financial requirements at the Makeerere home. Semyano got a job as an accounts clerk at Namirembe or Mengo Hospital, where he started working in 1947.

Later on Semyano went to England to pursue further studies at the Belham and Tooting College, London. He qualified as an Associate of the Institute of Chartered Secretaries and Administrators (ACIS) of London. He was one of the very first few to achieve such a qualification in the whole of East Africa.

Semyano's employment career spanned a wide field; both within the government and outside the government of Uganda. He started off by joining the Uganda Civil Service in 1957 as a Trade Development Officer. In 1959 he was appointed a Parliamentary Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. He demonstrated the honesty instilled in him by his father Paulo Kiyingi when he refused to be bribed. Semyano was the one in charge of issuing trade licences for operating cotton ginneries and coffee processing plants at the time. He helped and facilitated the indigenous Ugandan traders in the acquisition of those licences, to the disappointment of Asian traders who were prepared to bribe him big time. This was one important issue his father PK and his compatriots had fought for all along since the 1940s and which had contributed to the 1949 uprising. That was the issue of removing the dominance by Asian traders in the ownership of those ginneries and processing plants. The Asian traders tried all tricks to discourage Semyano from issuing licences to the indigenes. It is said that they even tried to bribe him with a brand new "Humber", a lucrative car of status in those days. But he declined all those offers, thus bringing him fame and influence among the local farmers and indigenous traders. In 1963 Semyano was promoted to the level of Permanent Secretary in the same ministry. He worked one year in this position before he left for America. Between 1964 and 1966 he worked as Executive Director of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for English speaking Africa, based in the United States of America. On his return to Uganda in 1966 he was appointed a Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He worked as Chairman of the National Insurance Corporation for two years (1967-1968) and of the Produce Marketing Board (1969-1971), before becoming Governor of the Bank of Uganda (the country's central or reserve bank) between 1971 and 1973. Semyano was the Governor of the bank when President Idi Amin Dada declared his "economic war" in which Amin expelled all the non-Ugandan and dual citizen Asian traders from Uganda in 1972. He was a Finance Minister in Amin's government for four years, between 1973 and 1977. Semyano Kiyingi made history in the eyes of people who tend to look far into the future, when he announced in his Budget Speech of 1974 that:

"Uganda's economy has registered a negative growth, especially since the declaration of the economic war; the cumulative deficit has long passed a tolerable level; the inflationary tendencies are acute, and the balance of payments position calls for special care; and the need to concentrate on commodity producing sectors has never been greater."

It is said that the idea the Honourable Minister Semyano Kiyingi wanted to portray in a diplomatic language was that owing to the preoccupation with solving problems arising from the transfer of the economy into the direct control of the citizens of Uganda, the Government had little time to formulate a more realistic developmental plan that could have stimulated economic growth in the period since the declaration of the Economic War. But his speech was too frank and honest to be taken easily by Idi Amin, who would have preferred a less honest statement like: *"The economic war has been won; and that Uganda is now travelling at a supersonic speed"*. That was the last budget speech Semyano read to parliament. The following year, although he was still Minister of Finance, the Budget Speech of 1975 was read by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Hon. Oboth Ofumbi. In an effort to please the President, Oboth Ofumbi publicly announced that the country had moved forward, among many other niceties. Based on these more palatable declarations by Oboth Ofumbi, Idi Amin bragged over those who he termed saboteurs and "prophets of doom", who did not wish Uganda well. He did not name names, but there was no doubt in anyone's mind that among the prophets of doom he was referring to, Hon. Semyano Kiyingi was one. To add insult to injury, Semyano tried to curb the excessive wasting of Uganda's foreign reserves through inappropriate allocations of foreign exchange; something that again did not please the lavish president. That sealed his fate.

Not long after that, Semyano heard an announcement over the wireless that Amin had sacked him from his ministerial post. What followed was quite dramatic, in that instead of commiserating with himself, Semyano just quietly celebrated his exit from Amin's brutal regime. Unfortunately for him, that was not the end of the story. Amin was quickly advised by reliable sources that he had lost a very capable man. So Semyano was quickly recalled to resume his duties. Possibly he would have refused, if it was not for fear for his life in the prevailing terror situation in the country at that time. He therefore reluctantly agreed to go back but on condition that he was to be made a Minister of State for Finance, who does not prepare budgets or regulates foreign currency transactions. Semyano's remaining term in Amin's government was very stressful for him. He became sick and was hospitalised several times from perpetual worries for his life, that any time Amin could extinguish it. It was possibly by the grace of God and the blessings of his Ancestors that Amin released him from Government to go seek treatment from outside the country in 1977.

Fortunately, on leaving Amin's government and exiting Uganda, Semyano's condition, which was largely due to stress and worries for his life, improved. He was quickly spotted by people at the International Monetary Fund (IMF) who did not hesitate to re-employ him in a similar capacity he had served in the 1960s. He went back to America in 1978 and served the IMF for another four years. At the time Idi Amin's regime was toppled in 1979, Semyano was in America. Amin's overthrow did not affect Semyano's job since he hadn't been appointed by the Uganda Government.

Following his term at the IMF, Semyano was appointed the first Secretary General of the East, Central and Southern Africa Preferential Trade Area (PTA), at its inception in 1983. Semyano's wide experience in financial affairs at a national and international level was tailor made for such a position. Unfortunately, his time with this body was short-lived, due to misunderstandings which developed between him and some of the region's political leaders in the fine details of running that body. Hence, he made an early exit in 1984. He returned to Uganda and decided to retire into farming, out in the country. He started a dairy farm at Bukatira- Ssemuto in Bulemeezi county, Luwero district.

With Yoweri Kaguta Museveni's government retrieving the leadership of Uganda from the OboteOkello-Okello clique in 1986, Semyano decided to try out his luck in a second political life. In 1989 he contested a seat in the National Resistance Council, the supreme legislative body in the country at the time, representing Nakaseke constituency, and won comfortably. He served as Minister of Marketing and Co-operatives in Museveni's government for about a year. Then he went back to fulltime farming and part-time politics, still representing his people of Nakaseke in the NRC. He did this for the remaining part of his life on earth.

Semyano Kiyingi died on the 4th February 1992. As he was travelling from his farm in Bukatira to Kampala with his driver, they came across a road block manned by some dubious characters who tried to stop them. It is said that they managed to escape from them, but that in doing so Semyano got a terrible fright and shock, which destabilised him. By the time his driver got him to Mulago Hospital he was unconscious. He never regained consciousness. He was given a State Funeral as a person of high status who had served in two governments and served his country at many different levels. He was buried at his farm in Bukatira, Bulemeezi.

Semyano was a sports enthusiast, especially for cricket. He was a member and keen promoter of the Old Budonians association. All the time he was in Uganda he would not miss the annual Old Budonians re-unions at the school (Kings' College Buddo) without a very good reason.

He was a married man. He married Miss Mary Nakubulwa, the daughter of Mr and Mrs Kibebbere of Bulange, in a Christian wedding ceremony held at Namirembe Cathedral in 1956. They begot three children, as follows:

1. Kiyingi Paulo
2. Mukasa Stephen
3. Nakiyingi Elizabeth

All three children belong to the *Ndiga* clan, with the alternative totem of the Lion (*Mpologoma*). They are grandchildren of Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi.

APPENDIX 2: Mary Namitala Bukayanirwa Ntambaazi

Mary Namitala Ntambaazi was born in 1928, following the birth of Moses Semyano Kiyingi, with whom she shared the same mother, Ayisa Nakku. By the time Namitala was born, her father and mother had already separated due to differences in religious backgrounds and her mother had already been married off to a man of her religion. She initially stayed with her mum, until she was returned to her father when her mother became very ill with plague. Not long after, the sad news came that Namitala's mother had died in 1930. She was baptised Mary (Maliyam), a name which is given by the two faiths, Christian and Islam, in exactly the same fashion her older brother Moses Semyano Kiyingi had been named. She was also given another name Bukayanirwa, from a common saying, "*Obukulu bukayanirwa*" (Leadership is contestable).

She spent her early days at Makeerere in the home of her father and her second mother (step-mother) Eseza Nabwami (ENK), who looked after her in all ways that toddlers and growing little girls are looked after. Namitala studied at Mengo Primary School, starting from Primary One up to Junior Secondary One. At the age of 19 years, while her father was away in captivity, Namitala was betrothed in marriage. She was married to Mr Kezekiya Ntambaazi, a Muganda man of the Bird (*Nnyonyi*) clan, on the 14th February 1947. They went through rough and tumble to keep their marriage intact for nearly twenty years, before they separated in 1968. When they did, Namitala became self-employed as a wholesale and retail trader at the Nakasero market in Kampala. She was then able to look after their children. They had six children in all, as follows:

1. Nakamya Nora
2. Lubanga James
3. Nakabo Mary
4. Wamala Samuel
5. Nambi Tabisa
6. Namuddu Joyce

All those children were born into the Bird (*Nnyonyi*) clan. They are grandchildren of Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi, who is buried at Mpigi- Nakaseeta, Bulemeezi.

Namitala died on the 23rd February 1977. The illness which claimed her life was never known with certainty, but was a febrile illness of sudden onset. She was buried at the family cemetery at Mpigi Nakaseeta, Bulemeezi. Her remains are there up to now.

APPENDIX 3: Efulansi Miriam Lwalamukwano Nalugwa Musoke

Efulansi Nalugwa Musoke was born on the 16th March 1931 at Mulago Hospital, Kampala. She was given a clan name, Nalugwa, and another one Lwalamukwano (*oluganda*), an ancestral proverbial name. At her baptism on 3rd May 1931, the names Efulansi Miriam were added to the list. Later on when she matured a bit more she was confirmed into the church in 1943, hence assuming full membership of the Christian church.

Nalugwa spent her first couple of years at Makeerere with her mother and father. But at the early age of 3 years she was taken to spend some time in the home of her great uncle Asanasiyo Lule Kalumba Mujugumbya at Kassanda, Ssinga. She left Kassanda in 1938 at the age of seven, ready to start school. Nalugwa attended Mengo Girls School, where she completed Primary 6. On the whole those were times of turbulence in Buganda, which led to the arrest, detention and deportation into exile of her father. Her studies therefore were interrupted quite a lot, especially when both her parents went into captivity and the children were left to fend for themselves. In the uncertainty and confusion that surrounded the children's education when PK and ENK went into exile, Nalugwa found herself unable to pursue higher education, despite her exceptionally bright performance at end of Primary 6. What followed was that one of her aunts, Tezira Nakiyingi, looked for a man for Nalugwa to marry. A handsome young man was in the offing, in the shadow of Kerementi Kyambadde Musoke of the Bird (*Nnyonyi*) clan. Nalugwa introduced him to her paternal uncle, Nasanayiri Mukasa (of Kyabbumba), and the whole family at the Makeerere home on 4th April 1947. At that time Nalugwa was at a very tender age of 16 years. A very colourful wedding was held on the 16th June 1947. Unfortunately, unknown to the organisers was the fact that at the time of the wedding Nalugwa's father was being released from captivity. He arrived back in Buganda just three days after the wedding ceremony. Otherwise it would have been a huge celebration for Paulo Kiyingi, welcoming him from captivity while at the same time celebrating his maturity in marrying off a second daughter. Efulansi Miriam Nalugwa and Kerementi Kyambadde Musoke were joined in Holy Matrimony by Rev Zaake at St Paul's Cathedral, Namirembe. The reception was held at Mengo Secondary School assembly hall. Thereafter they went out of town, to Bulika, Kyaggwe for the more traditional reception of drums, songs and dances.

God blessed their marriage with fourteen children, as follows:

1. Namirimu Eseza
2. Kyambadde Paul
3. Ddiba Samuel Kanamwangi
4. Nambi Sarah Christine
5. Ssenyange James Henry
6. Lubowa Michael Namungi
7. Nalule Sophie
8. Ssemukuye Stephen Bakumpe
9. Nyombi Richard Bamweyana
10. Nan'gonzi Harriet Evelyn
11. Ssenkandwa David Musoke
12. Nantanda Mable Betty
13. Ssenyonjo Allan Dan
14. Ssenyonga Philip Harrison

All those children belong to their father's clan - the Bird (*Nnyonyi nyange*), with the alternative totem (*akabbiro*) being another type of bird (*Kkunguvvu*). They are all grandchildren of Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi, the hero.

Nalugwa and her husband Kerementi were married for nearly 39 years, before her husband died following an operation on his bladder. She remained to look after their children in their family home at Namirembe, Kampala.

By the time of her husband's death, Nalugwa had long ago acquired some vocational skills in sewing and tailoring. She had also undertaken some English lessons for about one year in 1964. She had therefore become a very experienced seamstress and went into self-employment. Nalugwa was thus able to look after their children with the income from her job and her husband's lifetime investments. Her seamstress career only came to an end when her home commitments overtook her. She then concentrated on looking after her home and attending to church activities. Her work with the church intensified with time, following in the footsteps of her parents, especially her mother Eseza, who served the church at Makeerere for a very long time. Up to the time of writing, Efulansi Miriam is still serving the cathedral at Namirembe as an elder (*mukebezi*). She counsels marriage aspirants, cleans and decorates the church. Nalugwa is a member of the Mother's Union club in Namirembe parish. She is the treasurer for the fund which helps those in dire straights. She became born again (*yalokoka*) in the church in September 1990 and, as she puts it, handed her heavy load of problems to Jesus Christ. Since then she praises the Lord, who saved her, ever singing of him: "*Yansumuulula nze, Yesu, ku lujegere; Omulabe Sitaani, kweyali ansibye. Nebaza Mukama, n'omusaayi gwe...*" (Jesus released me from bondage with His blood. I thank the Lord ...). Nalugwa helps many people in need. She forgives those who wrong or displease her, for she believes that our father in heaven cannot forgive her if she herself does not forgive those who do wrong unto her. That's how easy she makes her life. She is still doing a lot of good things for her children.

Within her family of birth, the Kiyingi family at Makeerere, Nalugwa is a pillar, serving as a rallying support for her brothers and sisters.

APPENDIX 4: Henry James Basajjanswa Mpiima Kiyingi

James Mpiima was born 25th February 1933 at Mulago Hospital. He was given a clan name, Mpiima, and an ancestral proverbial name, Basajjanswa. At his baptism he was christened the names: Henry James. He was confirmed into the Makeerere parish church. He spent his early childhood days mostly at home at Makeerere, except for two years which he spent with one of his older brothers, Erifaazi Kaggwa at Najjanankumbi when his parents were away in exile.

Mpiima had the first four years of his primary education at Makeerere Primary School. From there he went to Nkwanga, Mubende in a boarding school, which was run by the Orthodox Church and headed by Mr Spartus Sebbanja. He was there together with his other brother, Douglas Nkonge Kaweesa. Being a church school, there were no school fees charged. That in a way scared his mother ENK, who suspected a hidden agenda to convert the children to orthodoxy. So the children were later withdrawn from that school. Mpiima was then taken to Aggrey Memorial School, the school for nationalists' children. He completed primary schooling and went on to senior secondary studies in the same school at Bunnamwaya. After Bunnamwaya, Mpiima joined a Commercial School at Wandegeya, where he did a course leading to a Diploma in Accounting. With that qualification he was able to look for a job and start working.

His first employment was in Mubende Hospital where he worked as a bookkeeper or accounting assistant in 1960. In 1961 he was transferred to Ntebe hospital, again working in the same category of bookkeeping. While at Ntebe he married his first wife, Amina Nansubuga, and had a child with her whom they named Christine Deborah Nakiguli in 1962. From Ntebe he was posted to Masaka, where again he first worked in a hospital up to 1965 when he left. He then became the school accountant of Masaka High School, Kijjabwemi. By then Mpiima had separated with his first wife and married his second one, Nusula Nakimera. Mpiima was a diligent worker in all his employment history.

For a big part of his life Mpiima battled with a form of post-traumatic seizure disorder, following a head injury he sustained early in life when another boy struck him with a big log on the head. He had gone into coma and had to be operated on to remove some congealed blood from his brain, in order to regain consciousness. Mpiima remained with a scar on his brain which became the focus of his epileptic seizures. Some people used to confuse his form of epilepsy with another hereditary form of epilepsy of unknown cause, which is sometimes associated with emotional or psychotic features. When he was well, Mpiima was as normal as any other person. He was very social, outgoing and a good conversationalist with a high sense of humour. He was quite generous to little children. I remember him very well whenever he was returning to Masaka after a visit to Makeerere, he used to dish out coins of money to each of us children at home to go and buy ourselves some lollies or buns.

James Henry Basajjanswa Mpiima died on 25th March 1966, while at Masaka, from an illness related to complications from his epileptic attacks. He was aged 33 years at the time. He left two beautiful girls who were already born, and a boy who was still in his mother's womb. The boy was born on the 4th July the same year and was given a special name "Najjalwambi" to signify that he was born after his father's death. He was the one who was installed as Mpiima's heir during the Ceremony of inheritance (*Okwabya olumbe*) held on 10th December 1966. Mpiima therefore had three children from his two wives; and those children were:

1. Christine Deborah Nakiguli
2. Eva Naluggya
3. Henry James Mpiima

All those children belong to the *Ndiga* clan, with the alternative totem being *Mpologoma*. They are all grandchildren of Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi, whose remains are entombed at Mpigi- Nakaseeta, Bulemeezi. Their father left them when they were still so young that he did not bequeath them anything. He left them in the care of their grandparents, Paulo and Eseza Kiyingi, to bring them up.

APPENDIX 5: Damasko Erieza Kikwanguyira Kaggulire Kiyingi

Damasko Kaggulire was born 28th February 1935, at Mulago Hospital. He was given the name Kaggulire as his clan name, and Kikwanguyira as the spiritual proverbial name from his father. He was later that year baptised and christened with the names: Damasko Erieza. In 1953 he was confirmed into the church at Makerere by the Rt Rev Leslie Brown, bishop of Namirembe Diocese.

Kaggulire spent his early childhood days in several places: Kassanda Ssinga (1936-1940), Makeerere (1941-1945), Kitgum and Moroto (1945-1947 during the exile of his father) and Bukatira- Bulemeezi (1947-1949), before he returned to Makerere. He started his schooling at Makerere Primary School, where he spent a very brief period before being transferred to the nationalists' Aggrey Memorial School. Between 1945 and 1947, while in exile in Moroto, he and his younger brother Asanasiyo Lule Bbosa were initially educated in a "home school" by their father PK. Later on, when Mr Henry Kanyike the former headmaster of Aggrey Memorial School also arrived as a prisoner in Moroto, he took over the education of those and several other children in the detention camp. On their return to Buganda, Kaggulire was quickly enrolled into Kalege Primary School, Bukatira in 1947. He completed his primary schooling in 1949, having topped his class in academic performance. Not only was he good at academics, but his leadership qualities were quickly realised through his appointment to the head prefect-ship of that school in his final year.

Kaggulire went on to Mityana Junior Secondary School, where he did his junior schooling between 1950 and 1952. He graduated from there with a Junior Secondary Leaving Certificate. While at Mityana he revealed his musical talent and was appointed Music Prefect. He was a lead singer in the school choir. He was good at sports, especially football (soccer), swimming, wrestling, playing "ring" and *Omweso Omuganda*. He was quite tall for his age. Because of that, and the fact that he had been in captivity with his father fighting the nationalist war, his peers nicknamed him "*Omujjashi*", meaning "soldier".

When he left Mityana Junior School Kaggulire joined the African Commercial School at Mulago, to study accountancy. He completed his studies at that school in 1955. He later furthered his education through distance education with the London School of Accountancy, while working between 1957 and 1960. On completion of all those studies he was awarded the London Chamber of Commerce School Certificate (L.C.C) and a Diploma in Accountancy (A.L.S.A).

Kaggulire has worked in a number of places. Straight out of the African Commercial School, he got a job and started working as an assistant audit clerk with Oliver S Keble Auditors between 1956 and 1957. He obtained a good reference from Mr Keble which enabled him to secure another job at the Mengo Blue Gardens Nightclub as an Assistant Manager and Financial Controller between 1957 and 1959. He then moved on to become an accountant and later senior accountant of the Uganda Growers Co-operative Union Ltd from 1960 up to 1970. He continued to exercise his accounting skills in a job with Kazamiti Trunk & Glasses Ltd as an Accountant and Financial Controller from 1971 up to 1977. He then retired into farming on the Kiyingi family estate at Bukatira, Bulemeezi.

Damascus Kaggulire is a married man. He initially got married to Miss Robina Joyce Nakiryowa in Holy matrimony at a ceremony held at Namirembe Cathedral in 1963. Sadly his wife passed away in March 1987. He later re-married when he took the hand of Miss Robina Naabawanuka Lunkuse.

Kaggulire has been blessed with a few children, from both his first wife and his current wife, as well as from several women who fancied him and wished to have children by him along the way. These are all the children:

1. Lumu Damasiko
2. Nkonge Frederick
3. Serunkuuma Godfrey
4. Luggya Frederick
5. Kiyingi Moses
6. Bbosa James
7. Kulumba Paul
8. Kalyesubula Samwiri
9. Kaggwe Peter
10. Naluggya Sarah
11. Nalugwa Florence
12. Nakiyingi Margaret
13. Nakatudde Rose
14. Nakiguli Allen
15. Nakibuuka Betty
16. Nakagulire Ester
17. Nabbosa Alice
18. Nalunkuuma Robina
19. Nalumu Annet
20. Nakkadde Ester
21. Namitala Eseza
22. Lutalo James
23. Nakaggwe Dorothy

All the above children belong to the Ndiga clan, with the alternative totem (*akabbiro*) being the Lion (*Mpologoma*). They are all grandchildren of Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi, who is laid to rest at Mpigi-Nakaseeta, Bulemeezi. Kaggulire wishes all of them peace and prosperity in the future, with God's help.

In his life Damasiko Kaggulire has been and is still witnessing a lot. He remembers the following to be some of the most memorable moments of his life: (1) The deportation of a people's king, the late King of Buganda Sir Edward Frederick Luwangula Muteesa II, by a foreign occupying power Britain in 1953; as well as his triumphant return in 1955. (2) The Uganda Independence celebrations of 1962. (3) The ferocious war which removed Idi Amin from power in 1979. (4) The guerrilla liberation war which deprived Apollo Milton Obote of a second opportunity to entrench himself as a perpetual leader of Uganda in 1985, and also finally expelled Obote's remnants from authority in 1986. Damasiko Kaggulire has performed and is still doing a lot of useful things for his country Uganda. Among his most cherished achievements is the assistance he has extended to some of his younger brothers and sisters in one way or another, especially in facilitating their education through schools. This has enabled them to reach higher levels in their careers, and subsequently enabled them in turn to assist him in the education of some of his children as well as serve their nation in many other useful ways. Indeed our

ancestors mused in a proverb: “*Akuwererera omwana, akira akuwa*” (One who pays for your child’s education is better than one who gives you cash).

APPENDIX 6: David Buzaabo Kulumba Kiyingi

David Kulumba was born on the 9th November 1936 at Mulago Hospital. He was given the clan name Kulumba, and a second name Buzaabo, after his grandfather Samwiri Lwasi Buzaabo. Because of that second name his father Paulo Kiyingi used to refer to him as “grandfather of the home” (*Jjajja w’awaka*). At Christening he was given the name David (*Daudi*).

Kulumba spent his early childhood days with his parents at Makeerere. He started his schooling at the local school, Makeerere Primary School, in the lower grades. He later went to the nationalistic school, Aggrey Memorial School, Bunamwaya, where he completed primary and went on to do his junior and senior studies at the same school. He was an intelligent, astute and hardworking boy.

During the “dark period” at the Makeerere home between 1945 and 1947 when his parents were away in captivity Kulumba was very badly traumatised. Young as he was at the age of 9 years, first, he could not figure out why both his parents were taken away. Secondly, he could not comprehend why his older brother Kaggulire and younger brother Bbosa accompanied his parents and he in the middle was left at home. Thirdly, he could not rationalise the change in attitude, whereby the hordes of people who had been frequenting his home were now avoiding it. Fourthly, the care and provisions they were getting from friends and relatives during the dark period were not enough to give them the standard of living they had been accustomed to before his parents were taken away. Kulumba therefore commiserated and blamed himself, convinced that he had wronged somewhere. In that void and period of uncertainty he found himself in, he moved around and spent time with a number of people in the family. He spent some time with his older brothers and sisters, like Nusula Matovu, Dorothy Nalunkuuma, Mary Namitala, Moses Semyano Kiyingi and Efulansi Miriam Nalugwa.

During the dark period Kulumba attended the nationalist school, Aggrey Memorial School, free of charge. He and his siblings were exempted from paying school fees at that school since they were regarded as children of a nationalist, who was sacrificing himself for his country Uganda. For his other school requirements he was assisted by relatives, like Erifaazi Kaggwa Kirimuttu, Kulumba’s older “brother”. He was a diligent student, but like all school children he also enjoyed play time and sports like football (soccer), which he played to near perfection. Surprisingly, as soon as his father was released from captivity in 1947, Kulumba’s fee-free paying status ended. He was from then on required to pay the full fee like all other pupils in the school. But because his father had by then lost his well-paying job, Kulumba at times failed to get the school fees in. He took off time to raise money for his school fees. He taught at Namasinda Parents Primary School for one year. At the same time he also cultivated maize and beans to sell and get money. He did the Junior Leaving Certificate examinations and passed with flying colours. He proceeded to senior school and did the Cambridge School certificate examinations, which he also passed in 1957. All along during his senior school years, Kulumba had continued to be troubled by school fees and other school monetary demands. Thus he teamed up with three of his close school friends: Christopher Mayega, Paul Walugembe and Byron Kawadwa, to form a casual employment enterprise. They contracted a number of casual jobs (*emirimu gya lejja-lejja*), which earned them enough money for school textbooks, uniforms and other school requirements. They used to build mud and wattle houses at Nakulabye and Makeerere Kivvulu. They also built the toilets at Mengo Social Centre.

On finishing Senior 4 in 1957 Kulumba quickly got a job in a Government Lands and Surveys department, as an office clerk. Later, with further training he was promoted through the ranks to eventually become the Assistant Registrar of Titles, a post he held up to the time he decided to take study leave and undergo further formal education as a mature age student. Since his job in the land office involved a lot of court representations involving people's land disputes, Kulumba decided to formally pursue legal studies at higher levels.

He started off at the Makerere Law Development Centre, where he undertook a one year's course leading to a Diploma in Law. Following that he and a diplomate friend, Francis Wazarwaki Bwengye, decided to have a crack at the Makerere University mature age entrance examinations. They both passed the examinations and got enrolled into a Bachelor of Laws degree programme in the Faculty of Law in 1974. As the ancestral Kiganda saying goes: "*Zoolaga omulungi zidduka, ennaku embale tezeekunya*" (When expecting a loved one to visit you in days to come, time flies). His time at university passed very quickly like a sparrow flying past. Before long, Kulumba was writing his final examinations for the degree. He passed, again with flying colours. He was crowned one of the best three students that year in a class of sixty or so finalists, who included both the straight-out-of-school students and mature-age students. He was conferred the degree Bachelor of Laws with honours (LLB Hons) in March 1977. That same year and same graduation ceremony also saw his younger brother (the author) complete his medical training and conferred the double degree of Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery (MB ChB) of Makerere University. There was a very big and fitting celebration at the Makerere home, where their mother ENK was joined by their uncle Dunstan Kasolo Serunyiigo and maternal aunt Yunia Nandawula Lwanga, brothers and sisters, other relatives and friends, to congratulate the two Paulo Kiyingi descendants on their successful completion of their University courses. Paulo Kiyingi should have been around to give them his blessings. Those were the days of Idi Amin, ex-president of Uganda, who presided over the graduation ceremony as Chancellor of the University.

After the law degree Kulumba went back to the Law Development Centre (LDC) where he had earlier completed his Diploma in Law. This time he went back to do his articles or articulated clerkship to enable him to become a practicing solicitor. He completed the nine months course and obtained the Postgraduate Diploma in Legal Practice in 1978, having topped his class. Following the graduation ceremony there was an official reception at the LDC. The day ended with more celebrations in the form of an informal impromptu party at his younger brother's (the author's) residence, in a flat at Kittante courts, where Kulumba, his wife Harriet together with a few of his close friends and relatives celebrated into the early hours of the following morning. He returned to the Lands and Surveys Department in 1978, where he was promoted to the level of Registrar of Titles and Conveyancer.

After serving 23 years as a Government civil servant, Kulumba left and went into private practice. He started off by working with Mugerwa & Matovu Advocates in their law firm in 1981. After working with them for two years he went solo and opened his own practice, which he named Kulumba-Kiyingi & Co. Advocates. Up to this day, he is still running his private law firm, specialising in land law. With all the vast experience he has amassed, Kulumba has become the best land and property lawyer in Kampala.

Kulumba is a married man. In 1969 he married Miss Harriet Nakalanzi of the *Nseenene* (grasshopper) clan, the daughter of Mr Erisa Musoke of Kyebando. So far they have been blessed with eight children.

In addition, Kulumba had three children before meeting Harriet, hence making a total of eleven children, as follows:

1. Kalyesubula Richard Frederick
2. Nalumu Catherine
3. Sekkadde Aloni Bapere
4. Nakkadde Sarah Rosette
5. Kiyingi Banadda Paulo
6. Lutalo Samuel
7. Lwasi Eriazali
8. Nalugwa Esther
9. Nalunkuuma Alice
10. Nakibuuka Elizabeth
11. Nabbosa Ssanyu

All those children belong to the *Ndiga* clan, with the alternative totem (*akabbiro*) being the Lion (*Mpologoma*). They are all grandchildren of Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi, who is entombed at MpigiNakaseeta, Bulemeezi.

Daudi Kulumba's main wish for his children's future is this: Work hard so as to be able to sustain yourselves at very high standards in this ever changing global village.

APPENDIX 7: Athanus Lule Bbosa Kiyingi

Asanasiyo Bbosa was born in February 1939. He was given the name Bbosa as his clan name, and Asanasiyo Lule, after his granduncle Asanasiyo Lule Mujugumbya. When Bbosa was just over a year old, he was taken to Kassanda Ssinga to spend sometime with his grandmother Eresi Ssanyu Nabukeera in Mujugumbya's household, because his mother had just had a premature birth to Elizabeth Nakiyingi. In 1945, when Bbosa was just over six years old, his father was taken into captivity. He together with his older brother Kaggulire accompanied their father to Kitgum in Acholi, and later to Moroto in Karamojja. By the time they returned Bbosa was eight years and ready for school. He started off in Kalege Primary School, run by his father and a few other parents. He completed Primary 6 at Chwa II Memorial School, Namungoona near Kampala and then went on to Junior Secondary at the same school. From there he went to a commercial school to study accounts and book-keeping. On graduation he got a job with Kasawo Cooperative Union, where he worked for a few years, before joining an international conglomerate - British American Tobacco (BAT) in 1969 as a cigarette salesman. He was later promoted to the position of Sales Manager, which he occupied until he left the company in 1989.

Bbosa is a married man. He married Miss Milly Nalubega of the Bushback Antelope (*Engabi*) clan, the daughter of the late Paulo Matovu of Kakuyu Busiro, on the 29th September 1973. They have been blessed with nine children. In addition Bbosa has had children from another lady, to make the total number of his children up to 13, as follows:

1. Nakiguli Eva Kyolaba
2. Nalumu Betty
3. Nakiyingi Samali Naalongo
4. Nalunkuuma Janet
5. Kiyingi Paulo Banadda
6. Luggya Nathan
7. Naluggya Margaret Juliet
8. Bbosa Hannington
9. Kalyesubula David
10. Lumu Henry James
11. Lutalo Simon
12. Nabbosa Irene
13. Nalugwa Susan

All the above children belong to the *Ndiga* clan, with the alternative totem (*akabbiro*) being the Lion (*Mpologoma*). They are all grandchildren of Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi Banadda, who is entombed at Mpigi- Nakaseeta, Bulemeezi.

Asanasio Bbosa wishes his children success in all their endeavours, through determination, hard work and sacrifice; especially if there is money available. That way, their future will be bright.

APPENDIX 8: Elizabeth Rosette Banzigya Nakiyingi Wamala

Elizabeth Nakiyingi Wamala was born 27th December 1940 at Mulago Hospital, Kampala. She was given the name Nakiyingi as her clan name and another one Banzigya after her paternal grandmother. She was later baptised into the Christian church and given more names, Elizabeth (Betty) and Rosette.

When Nakiyingi was still quite small she was sent to spend some time with her paternal auntie (*Senga*) Esta Nakagulire Mukasa at Kabasanda, Butambala. Her auntie's husband, Matiya Mukasa Gaanya, was working as the chief administrative officer at the Ssaza headquarters. She was at Kabasanda when her parents were sent into captivity. When her mother ENK returned from captivity in 1946, Nakiyingi was brought back to Makerere to be with the rest of the family and start schooling.

Nakiyingi started schooling at Makerere Infant School in 1947. She then went to Aggrey Memorial School, Bunnamwaya, where she spent two years before moving on to Mengo Primary School. She did her Primary 6 Leaving examinations and passed with flying colours. Thus, she secured a place in the prestigious all girls' school, Gayaza Junior, where she continued with her junior schooling. Nakiyingi completed Junior 3, passed the relevant examinations, which enabled her to be admitted into the senior section of the same school, Gayaza High School. Nakiyingi studied from Senior 1 up to Senior 4 and sat for the Cambridge School Certificate Ordinary Level examinations, which she again passed with flying colours. She could not pursue any further studies at that school, much as she wanted to, since Gayaza High School only went as far as Senior 4 then. However, Nakiyingi did not let that deter her pursuit for higher education. So she applied and was admitted into the best and most prestigious school in the country, King's College Budo, which catered for both boys and girls. That is where she did her "higher" or senior 5 and 6 studies.

At Gayaza High School, Elizabeth had been appointed the Head girl or Head Prefect. Similarly, in her final year at Kings' College Budo Elizabeth was appointed Head girl, who together with the Head boy formed the two head prefects for the school. She was a prominent member of the singing club Buddo Nightingales. She was a keen thespian as well, starring in two stage plays: "Antigone" and "St Joan of Arc" as the leading actress.

Nakiyingi joined Makerere University in 1963 to study for an Arts degree. She continued with her interest in student politics and welfare. Nakiyingi held an official position within the Makerere Students' Union in 1964. When she completed her studies at Makerere University she was honoured with a degree of Bachelor of Arts, majoring in English Literature. Following a brief period of employment she decided to pursue a post graduate specialist qualification. As a result, Nakiyingi went to the United Kingdom to study to become a librarian. She obtained the highest qualification for librarians in the UK in those days. She was awarded the "Associate of the Libraries Association (ALA)" title.

Elizabeth Nakiyingi was still in the UK when she got married to her first husband, Dr David Kyegombe, a fine young Makerere University trained medical doctor whom she had known for quite some time while still in Uganda. Unfortunately their marriage was very short-lived, for they soon separated following some ill-understood differences that developed between the two. Their marriage had not been blessed with a child. On her return to Uganda, Betty secured employment with the Makerere University Library in 1970. She later remarried Dr Paul Wamala, a trained surgical

chiropract and chiropractor as well as successful businessman. Wamala owned the City Pharmacy on Kampala Road and a City Pharmacy in Nairobi. He owned and operated Gomba Marina (later renamed Jjajja Marina) - a sailing club resort at Munyonyo, Ggaba on the shores of Lake Victoria (*Ennyanja Nalubaale*). It is believed that Dr Paul Wamala was murdered by Idi Amin's henchmen, on the orders of Idi Amin who wanted to take over the lucrative resort at Munyonyo. That devastated Betty greatly and made her restless for some time until she regathered herself to find a new love in Mr George Byekwaso, a lawyer by profession, whom she married in 1977. Mr Byekwaso was then working as a Company Secretary for the Uganda Sugar Factory at Lugazi. In Byekwaso, Betty found a perfect match, just like the ideal couple mused about in the Kiganda proverbial mythology: "*Ontuuse; Nnalunga yatuuka Jjuuko*" (We are a perfect match; just like Nnalunga and Jjuuko). Their love was greatly rewarded with the birth of two beautiful children, both girls, who Elizabeth had longed to have. She named them as follows:

1. Elizabeth Mirembe Naibhati
2. Georgina Naigaga

Both those children are grandchildren of Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi who was laid to rest at Nakaseeta- Mpigi Bulemeezi. They are both Basoga, taking on their father's ethnicity. It will be remembered that Betty's paternal grandmother Banzigya, from whom she acquired that name, was also a Musoga. Sadly for Betty, for a third time yet, her happiness were again to be interrupted. This time it was the murder, in cold blood by unknown assailants, of her dear husband George Byekwaso on 31st August 1980 while Betty was still pregnant with baby Georgina. At the time of her husband's death Betty was out of the country on a work-related visit to Europe. From then on her life became difficult. She greatly feared for her life, having already lost two husbands in violence-related deaths. She feared for what may be in stall for her. Betty therefore decided to leave the country soon after the baby was born in 1981. She initially went to neighbouring Kenya, where she stayed for some time and got a makeshift job in one school. Later on she obtained a job befitting her line of speciality in Swaziland, where she worked as librarian in the Swaziland National Archives. In 1989 she decided to migrate to Canada with her two children, Elizabeth Naibhati Mirembe and Georgina Naigaga and her niece Sarah Naluggya, who was then helping her with the children. Betty wanted to bring up her children in Canada and give them Canadian citizenship. The newly arrived family was settled in the federal capital Ottawa, which Betty soon grew to love so much. She and her budding young family quickly adjusted to the beautiful Canadian summers and long cold winters. Betty got herself a job and started raising her family. She involved herself extensively in the activities of the Ugandan community in Ottawa and her local church, where she became a chorister.

It was in Ottawa that Elizabeth Nakiyingi's chapter on earth came to a close. She contracted a lung disease which drastically cut her life short. Elizabeth Rosette Banzigya Nakiyingi Wamala died on 11th August 1995. Her remains were returned to Uganda for burial. A funeral service was held at St Paul's Cathedral Namirembe, following which her remains were interred in the family cemetery at NakaseetaMpigi, Bulemeezi by family, friends and old acquaintances from far and wide. The author travelled from Australia to Uganda for the burial. She was and is still sadly missed by many.

APPENDIX 9: Ester Lillian Nabbosa Muleme

Ester Nabbosa Muleme was born 8th May 1942 at Mulago hospital. She was given a clan name Nabbosa and later at baptism was christened Ester Lillian. She was confirmed into the Christian church on 18th October 1955.

Nabbosa spent her early childhood days at the Makeerere home with her parents. When her parents were taken captive in 1945, Ester was taken to stay with her elder cousin/sister Anna Nabbosa Tegubikkulwa who was married to Mr Mulangira and resided at Kyebando. In her early childhood Ester was intolerant or allergic to meat, as was Mr Mulangira. So the two of them used to enjoy fish dishes, especially the tasty “*Nningu*” fish, for which Ester has very fond memories.

Nabbosa returned to the Makeerere home when she was ready to start school in 1948. She had by then already mastered the Luganda alphabet, which put her at an advantage over her classmates. Ester was very fond of babies and children younger than her, looking after them, carrying them on her back, soothing them to sleep. She never wanted any baby to cry, always doing her best to soothe them to quietness or sleep. One day this obsession inadvertently got her into trouble, when she tried to quieten her younger baby sister Kasalina Nalumu using unconventional means. It is said that one day baby Nalumu cried a lot to a point Ester could not quieten the baby with her usual gentle tricks. Her mother ENK came home to find Ester trying desperately to quieten the baby using unconventional methods. Her mother reprimanded her with a slap Ester will never forget. She was aged only ten at the time.

Ester commenced her schooling at Makeerere Infant School close to the parish church, where classes were mostly held under the shade of a tree. Because Ester had already mastered the Luganda alphabet, she used to help her Infant teacher Mr Abednego Okwalinnga in teaching the alphabet to the other pupils who hadn't mastered it. She now believes that her interest in teaching was first roused at that early stage, citing the ancestral Luganda proverb “*Akaliba akendo, okalabira ku mukonda*” (You tell what will become a gourd by the shapely long handle of the Cucurbitaceous fruit). She completed Primary 4 at Makeerere Primary School and went on to Mengo Primary School where she completed Primary 6, having successfully passed the examinations for the award of the Primary School Leaving Certificate in 1956. She remembers Miss Joan Cox, the headmistress of Gayaza High School, coming to Mengo Primary School to interview prospective entrants into Gayaza Junior School. Ester was interviewed and quickly accepted into that prestigious all girls school. She was an excellent student in Junior school, with grades in single digit positions in overall class performance at the end of term. The main setback to her studies was the inability of her father Paulo Kiyingi to raise school fees in good time at the beginning of each academic term. Her father, then a “farmer”, was not earning enough to afford the lot in one go. She is therefore proud of her mother's diplomacy and assertiveness, when she negotiated with the headmistress to allow Ester's fees to be paid in instalments. The headmistress agreed. When Ester completed junior school in 1959, she had passed so well as to be promoted to the high school, but for the school fees. Her father informed her that much as he would have wanted her to continue with her academic pursuits, he simply could not afford it with his level of income then. She therefore went into vocational training, which was heavily subsidised. Ester joined Lady Irene Teacher Training College, Ndejje, to train as an early childhood teacher. This was a career she never minded since she had already picked up interest and shown her talent in teaching, early on in her own infant schooling. She was very talented in making excellent visual teaching aids, such that her college mates would often ask her for assistance. She would oblige and in return, they would help her with her

laundry. She performed well in her teaching practice and in her final examination achieved a “Distinction” to become a Grade 2 certified teacher.

Ester started working as a teacher in 1964 at Budo Primary and Junior School, Kabinja. This was a prestigious boarding primary and junior school located at the foothills of Buddo hill, the seat of the all famous Kings’ College Budo. Ester was allocated to teach Primary 1, the grade with the little ones who had just left their mothers to be thrown into boarding school. Ester was like a mother to them. She loved them so much and they too loved her in return. She was given a lot of responsibilities, which kept her quite busy. These included taking charge of the school choir, girls’ sports, gardening and sewing. At the same time Ester was privately studying senior school subjects, in preparation to sit the Senior 4 Cambridge School Certificate examinations. She laments the fact that the school administration did not facilitate her studies by lessening her work load, much as she had informed them of her ambitions. But because she was still young and energetic, she found that she managed to do all her school duties as well as do her studies. Within three years Ester appeared for her Cambridge School Certificate examinations, which she passed in 1967. She is grateful to her younger brother Sam Kiyingi Lutalo for helping and encouraging her all the way, thus enabling her to be ready to take those exams in such record time. The Buddo Junior School Headmaster Mr Kibirige, in a speech to the school after her results, praised Ester for having studied privately in her own time without neglecting her school responsibilities and managing to pass those difficult exams in such a short space of time.

With her new academic achievement, Ester applied to upgrade as a teacher. She was admitted into Shimoni Teachers’ College in 1969, where she started training for a Grade 3 Teachers’ Certificate. She again passed with “distinction” grades in 1971 and therefore became deeply entrenched in the teaching profession, to which she still belongs to today.

Ester performed so well at Shimoni College that her instructors seconded her appointment as a model teacher at the Shimoni Demonstration Primary School, where she worked from 1971 up to 1980. She then transferred to Old Kampala Primary School, where she taught from 1981 up to 1998 when she retired from Government public service. All along she concentrated on teaching the infant and lower primary classes and so became quite experienced in Infant Education and Early Childhood learning methods. She now runs her own school, called “Joy Infant School”, at Maganjo as the Headmistress. She has three teachers who help her teach the three classes: Nursery, Primary 1 and 2.

She is a married woman. She married Mr Samuel Muleme of the *Ngo* (leopard) clan in August 1971. Their marriage is based on love and trust. They have so far been blessed with six children, as follows:

1. Paul Andrew Muleme Gasuza
2. James Luyirika Wango
3. Eric Semwanje Sekisaka
4. Christine Joy Nalubowa
5. Simon Peter Kavuma Balirwana
6. Joel Godfrey Serubanja

All those children belong to the *Ngo* (leopard) clan, with the alternative totem being *Kasimba* (genet). They are all grandchildren of Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi, who is interred at Nakaseeta- Mpigi, Bulemeezi. Ester would like her children to be hard-working, patient and trustworthy. She prays that

they reach far in their academic pursuits, to get to Universities, acquire first degrees, second degrees and Doctorates of Philosophy (PhD), where possible. She wishes them success and would like them to always love one another and be helpful to each other as a family.

Ester Nabbosa's other main interest in life apart from teaching has always been singing, especially church hymns. Although her formal singing involvement was limited to belonging to the Makerere Church choir early in her life as well as a variety of school choirs, wherever she studied and taught, she has always been a singer in many informal settings.

APPENDIX 10: Balubuuliza Kibuuka Kiyingi

Balubuuliza Kibuuka was born 10th October 1944 at Mulago Hospital. When he was only one year old his parents were taken away into captivity leaving him under the care of his maternal grandmother Eresi Ssanyu, in the household of Asanasiyo Lule Mujugumbya at Kassanda Ssinga. He stayed with his grandparents until he was about five and ready for school, in 1949. The following year he started school at Makerere Sub grade Primary School. Then in 1952 he was taken to the village home in Bukatira where he continued with his primary studies at Namasinda Primary School up to 1955. Kibuuka completed his primary education in the nationalists' school, Aggrey Memorial in 1957. He was good and keen at playing football in his primary school days.

Kibuuka performed excellently in his Primary School Leaving examinations, which earned him a place at Makerere College School for his junior and senior secondary studies. After six years in this school, 1958-1963, he had obtained his Junior Leaving Certificate as well as the more coveted Cambridge School Certificate at the end of Senior 4. In his senior school days Kibuuka became famous for perusing past examination papers, in preparation for coming exams, hence, his friends nick-named him "Past papers".

Kibuuka spent a year and half at St Mary's College Kisubi, a boarding school, after which he left for West Germany to continue with his higher education in 1966. He had a very brief stint as Cameraman for Uganda Television in 1965, between leaving St Mary's College Kisubi and going to Germany for further studies. He underwent practical training at Offenbach (M) and theoretical training at the Fachhochschule Heilbronn, at the end of which he graduated as a Physics Engineer (Ing. grad.) in 1971. He briefly returned to Uganda and worked as a technical instructor in Mechanical Engineering at the Uganda Technical College, Kyambogo. His five year stay in Germany seems to have instilled in him a strong feeling for his nation Buganda. Straight on his return Kibuuka developed an interest in the Luganda language and started his rudimentary work on developing it into a language of scientific communication. He would do this in his spare time though.

Kibuuka went back to Germany on a one year UNESCO fellowship to study technical education at the University of Aachen in 1972. He resumed teaching at Kyambogo in 1973 and stayed there until 1975 when he decided to pursue further studies in the foundations of mathematics, logic and the philosophy of science. He therefore went back to Germany in 1975 and joined the Universities of Heidelberg and Bonn. In the interim Kibuuka also did some external studies with the University of London in the United Kingdom and in 1976 he was awarded a Bachelor of Arts (B.A.) degree in Philosophy, with emphasis on Formal Logic and the Philosophy of Science. In 1979 he qualified with a Magister Artium (M.A.) from the University of Bonn.

Between 1979 and 1982 Kibuuka worked as a research associate in the Department of Philosophy, University of Nairobi. He also worked as a part-time teacher of German at the Goethe Institute, Nairobi. This is where his interest and obsession in the intricacies of languages intensified. So in 1983 he started leaning more towards languages and linguistics than the pure science and mathematics he had started off with. That year he started work on a doctoral thesis in linguistics. The following year he was confirmed a Lecturer in German Skills and Linguistics at the University of Nairobi. At the same time he formally embarked on the major landmark of his academic career, the systematic modernisation of the Luganda language by making it science compatible. Kibuuka spent a semester at the Institute of

African Studies, University of Cologne and another semester at the University of Bielefeld in Germany. His landmark publication, “An Introduction to Scientific Luganda” came out in 1988. In 1989 he was awarded the degree “Doktor der Philosophie” in Linguistics from the University of Bielefeld. Kibuuka then transferred to Kenyatta University, Nairobi, where he again worked as lecturer in German Skills and Linguistics between 1990 and 1998. He continued with his research studies in linguistics and wrote several publications in the form of papers and books. In 1998 he successfully defended the higher doctorate D.Litt. thesis at the Kenyatta University, titled “A Theory of Scientific Terminologies”. When his thesis was passed and the D.Litt. awarded, Kibuuka became the first academic to achieve that accolade at that University.

Kibuuka returned to Uganda in 1999 and took up a position as Senior Lecturer in Linguistics at the prestigious Makerere University. He has helped develop the Luganda language into a medium of scientific discourse. He is the leader of a team of academics currently working on the Languages Dictionary Project (Luganda, Lunyolo-Lutoolo, Lunyankole-Lukiga and Lucooli) at the Makerere Institute of Languages. They are in the process of finalising the Luganda-Luganda dictionary.

Kibuuka is a married man. He married Miss Florence “Kimulisa” Hadudu, the daughter of Mr Charles Oundo Wasibi and Mrs Merab Agutu Oundo of the *Ngabi* (Bushback antelope) clan. The good Lord has so far blessed them with two children, as follows:

1. Kiyingi Banadda Balubuuliza
2. Naluggya Nambubi Namatimba

Both children belong to the *Ndiga* (sheep) clan, with the alternative totem (*akabbiro*) being *Mpologoma*. They are both grandchildren of Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi, whose remains are at MpigiNakaseeta, Bulemeezi. Kibuuka wishes them a very bright future, academically and socially.

APPENDIX 11: Samuel Kigwira Kiyingi Lutalo

Sam Lutalo was born 3rd September 1946 at Mulago Hospital, Kampala. At that time his father Paulo Kiyingi was being held in captivity in Kitgum and Moroto for fighting against colonial expansionism in Buganda and Uganda. His mother Eseza too had accompanied his father into captivity. That is where she fell pregnant, later on to be repatriated to Buganda for the eventual birth of the baby. The baby was given the name “Lutalo” (literary meaning “war”) to reflect the war his father was waging against the colonialists. Later his father gave him another name, Kigwira, from an ancestral saying, “*eKigwira omusajja, akimala*” (A real man overcomes whatever huddles he encounters). He was baptised into the Christian church and given a Jewish name “Samuel” in December 1946.

Lutalo spent most of his early childhood days with his parents at Makeerere, apart from a brief period he spent at Mawokota and Kanaaba with his maternal aunt Yunia Nandawula Lwanga. He later spent a bit of time with his older brother Damasiko Kaggulire at Ndeeba near Kampala, while attending primary school at Aggrey Memorial, Bunamwaya and Nabagereka Primary School in the King’s palace at Mengo. He completed his primary education in 1959, having topped his class with Grade A and went on to junior secondary at Lubiri Secondary School in 1960 and 1961. Lutalo was a Class Monitor while at Nabagereka Primary School. He was a keen sportsman who mostly enjoyed playing football, from which he later developed the hobby of following various football leagues all over the world. Lutalo had a particular liking for the English Football league and was a keen supporter of Tottenham Hotspur. He also enjoyed exploring the city of Kampala in order to know all the ins and outs of the city.

From Lubiri Secondary School Lutalo performed excellently. This earned him a place at King’s College Budo to pursue his senior studies from Senior 1 up to 6 between 1962 and 1967. He continued to study diligently and shoulder responsibilities, as appropriate. In his last year at Buddo Lutalo was appointed Senior Monitor of his house, Nigeria house. He participated in various sporting activities, like basketball, football, cricket, swimming, hockey, and athletics. At the completion of his senior schooling Lutalo passed with flying colours. His chosen career was human medicine, which he pursued at the prestigious Makerere University Medical School.

While at Makerere University, Lutalo resided in Livingstone Hall. He made a lot of friends in that hall. He participated in student politics and greatly enjoyed discussing current affairs. Lutalo was at one time a member of the Livingstone Hall Student Executive Committee. One of his most memorable moments in Livingstone Hall was the sound of machine-gun fire during the military coup in which Dr Milton Obote was removed from the office of President in 1971. It was shortly after 1:00 AM. Lutalo was still at his books studying or “eating fire” (*okulya omuliro*) as it was colloquially referred to in those days. Heavy machine-gun fire started pelting, tearing through the quiet of the night. Lutalo climbed the window and tried to look through the small room ventilators, just in case he could see what was going on, to no avail. He froze, his heart pounding out of his chest. Idi Amin’s soldiers were in the process of overthrowing Milton Obote.

Lutalo graduated with the double degree of Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery in 1973. In the process, he became the first medical doctor in the Kiyingi family. He did a one year internship at the national referral hospital Mulago. Following this term, he worked in an upcountry hospital in Mbale, for a year before embarking on postgraduate training at Mulago Hospital to become a specialist physician. Lutalo qualified with a Master of Medicine (M.Med) from Makerere University in 1978. He

sub-specialised in Rheumatology through an attachment with the Bone and Joint Research Unit of the Royal London Hospital in 1982. From London, the political environment in Uganda was not conducive for his early return. So Lutalo was offered a position of Consultant Physician of the Midlands Province in Zimbabwe, based at Gweru Hospital, which he accepted. He performed his duties with diligence and aptitude. During the six years he spent in the Midlands Province Lutalo streamlined the delivery of medical clinical services and extended his research interests in rheumatic diseases, malaria and other medical conditions.

In 1988, Lutalo was transferred to the capital city Harare to take up a position as Consultant Physician at Harare Central Hospital. At the same time he was appointed Honorary Lecturer at the University of Zimbabwe's Medical School. Since 1997 Lutalo has been self-employed in private practice where he works as a consultant physician and rheumatologist. He maintains a part-time appointment with the Government hospital and the honorary lectureship with the Medical School.

Lutalo is a married man. He married Miss Angela Mereci Namyalo, the daughter of Mr Lodoviko Ssali Ssaalongo and the late Rose Ssali Naalongo of Kasekende, Mubende on 13th February 1977. The good Lord has so far blessed them with four daughters, as follows:

1. Nakatudde Pamela Margaret Mirembe
2. Nakiyingi Priscilla Esther Nkwagala
3. Naluggya Patricia Roslyn Birungi
4. Nalugwa Proscovia Ssanyu

All these children belong to the *Ndiga* (sheep) clan, with the alternative clan (*akabbiro*) being the lion (*Mpologoma*). They are all grandchildren of Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi, who is interred at Mpigi-Nakaseeta Bulemeezi. Lutalo wishes his children all the best in their future, bequeathing them the following words of wisdom: "Determination and perseverance will somehow make a difference" (*Ogutateganya, teguzza nvuma*). He urges his children to take up professions with a high potential for employment, especially self-employment, in countries where they intend to live. That way they should be able to make an impact on the global village. In addition, Lutalo also urges all the descendants of Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi, to start their own businesses to employ themselves instead of being employed by other people or organisations as salaried employees all their life. That way their businesses would generate income to look after them after deducting the mandatory business tax.

Lutalo has done and is still doing a lot of work for his country of birth Uganda, his adopted country Zimbabwe and many other African countries in the field of health, especially with regard to rheumatic diseases and malaria.

APPENDIX 12: Kikuttobudde Sekkadde Kiyingi

I was born on the 8th August 1951 at Mulago Hospital in Kampala. I was given the clan name Sekkadde, after my paternal uncle Bapere Sekkadde. I was baptised into the Christian church by Rev Jeremiah Jjemba on 23rd December 1951 at St John's Church Makeerere. At baptism I was given a second name Shadrack, after the biblical Jewish valiant character who was threatened with death by being thrown into a lion's den. My Godparents were Mr Musa Mukasa, Mr Nicholas Musoke and my maternal auntie Yunia Nandawula Lwanga. Later on, in the darkness that befell Buganda following the deportation of King Muteesa II in 1953, my father PK gave me a prophetic name "Kikuttobudde" after a prophetic saying of hope, popular in Buganda at that time: "*Ekikutte obudde kiributa Muteesa bw'alidda*" (the dark cloud over the country will be lifted when Muteesa returns). I was confirmed a full member of the church, as was the custom in those days, on 6th November 1966 at St John's church Makeerere by Bishop Dunstan Nsubuga of Namirembe diocese, with the words: "*Beeranga mwesigwa okutuusa okufa, nange ndikuwa engule ey'obulamu*" (Be trustworthy all your life and I will give you the crown of life). In 1969 another name "Franklin" joined the already long list of names that defined me. But later on my eyes were opened to the large variety of indigenous names we have in Buganda, many of them with meanings easy to relate to. That fact compounded with another revelation that foreigners, especially Europeans and Jews, in those days rarely (if ever) gave themselves our Kiganda names. Therefore, I decided to silence the foreign names that defined me, and instead promote my more meaningful traditional and cultural Kiganda names.

I spent my early childhood days mostly in my parents' home at Makeerere, Kyaddondo. However, I spent some time at Kassanda Ssingo with my maternal auntie Sophia Nanteza Nakibuuka, who I came to love so much to the point of forgetting and denying that my mother Eseza was my real mother. I have no other memories of what happened when I was still very little. Nevertheless I have this vivid, albeit weird memory, of the wheels of a bus running over my fingers when I was kneeling down with my parents beside a road at Bwayise, waiting for the motorcade of King Muteesa II. He was being driven from his Bamunanika palace to the Mengo palace, greeting his people during the 1955 jubilant celebrations of his return from exile. My other recollection is being nicknamed Munialo, a name I initially mistook to be derogatory, whereas it was given to me after a famous Kenyan left wing football player called Munialo. He was left footed, just like me.

I commenced my studies by learning to read and write the Luganda alphabet and a few simple words of Luganda while at home, with my mother ENK as the teacher. This enabled me to skip the first few classes and go straight into Primary 2 at Makerere Primary School at the beginning of 1960 at 8 years of age. I completed Primary 6 and was awarded the Primary School Leaving Certificate in 1964. I continued on at the same school in what would have been called Junior 1 and 2, but for some unknown reason junior school had been abolished. It had been transformed into an extension of primary schooling and renamed Primary 7 and 8. I was awarded a second Primary School Leaving Certificate at the end of Primary 8 in 1966. Coming from a musical family, with a very musical mother, I had a keen interest in music, although for financial reasons my music was mostly limited to choral singing. I sang in the parish church choir at Makeerere, which I joined at the age of 12 years. I was a one-time participant in the Combined Churches Choir of Kampala, put together and conducted by the celebrated George William Kakoma who had become famous, among other things, for composing the Uganda National Anthem. At Makerere Primary School I was appointed Prefect of Music for a couple of years. My other hobby was bush-walking. I remember on one of my solitary walks one day stumbling over a

huge snake. I would not say what type of snake it was, but because of its size and demeanour it must have been a python. It never even moved to harass me. I guess it must have just had a big feed before I stumbled over it. That incident did not stop me from my bush-walking adventures, although I did not go back to that part of the bush for a very long time. I enjoyed playing football, which I mostly played with a team of other children in the suburb on a school football field right next to our house. I also played in the school football team in the later years of my primary schooling. My Primary 4 school days are notoriously remembered for spreading cattle droppings on the floor of our classroom to harden it and minimise dust. The teachers would allot us turns on which we would bring the cattle droppings. Since some of us did not have cattle in our homes like other pupils, it would sometimes be difficult for us to collect the goodies on our allocated days, but the teachers would never understand that. So we had to beg or bribe those blessed with having cattle in their homes to bring us “loads of droppings” for us to hand in. I do not remember any student contracting any illness similar to tetanus, which tends to be associated with handling animal excreta. Perhaps the whole class had been properly immunised against tetanus! My Primary 7 school days are fondly remembered, for the scarcity of teachers. Some of my friends and I would bolt from school to go and play slides (*okukuba gogolo*), do the rounds of the Asian shops in Kampala and finally end up in the sugarcane field or small plantation at the west end of Makerere University campus. We would then have “our share” of the sugar cane as refreshments, before moving back to school. At times the university security patrol men would surprise us and threaten us with arrest. But we would speedily run, climb and jump over the university perimeter fence in a tick and then challenge those men to do the same if they wanted to get us. Surprisingly, when I was finishing Primary 8, I passed with flying colours topping the class and winning a place in the highly coveted senior secondary school, King’s College Budo.

In 1967 I started at King’s College Budo, a boarding school of academic and social excellence. I went through Senior 1 up to 6, with the exception of Senior 4, which I skipped together with other students from two “express classes” who were selected on merit and drilled to complete our O-Levels in 3 instead of 4 years. I participated in a wide variety of activities apart from classroom work. I sang in the school chapel choir and the world famous Buddo Nightingales music club. I was a member of the Scottish Country Dancing club, formed and mostly run by the Scottish teachers in our school to promote Scottish culture in Uganda. Unfortunately I did not get much opportunity to learn Kiganda music, drumming or dances at Buddo, as a promotion of my own culture. It was assumed we would acquire these skills in our own homes. My interest in bush-walking continued. In 1970 I went bush-walking in a tropical rainforest called Kashoha-Kitomi in Ankole western Uganda, in the company of my Biology teachers, John White and Harry Boston, together with two other students James Mukasa Ntambi, a close friend also from Buddo and Henry (whose last name unfortunately escapes me) from Kibuli Secondary School. I was keen at sports. I played hockey for my house Ghana in the inter-house competitions and represented the school in the inter-school competitions for 4 of the five years I spent at Buddo. Other sports included football, cricket and athletics, in which I represented my house in the inter-house competitions; swimming, tennis, badminton, basketball and volley ball, which I never excelled in but got the gist of. I was a member of various clubs like the science club, geography club and history club, for which I was an elected official at one time although my interest in and aptitude for history at the time was next to nothing, unlike now. I was Senior Monitor of Ghana house in my last year at Buddo. By the end of 1971, I had completed my time at Buddo, having acquired the East African Certificate of Education (equivalent to the Cambridge School Certificate, Ordinary level) at the end of Senior 3 and the East African Advanced Certificate of Education at the end of Senior 6.

While waiting to join university I wrote and broadcast two educational talks to the general public over the national radio (Radio Uganda) about Human Heredity. Apparently they were very well received for they were broadcast repeatedly over the radio for a long time, because of their innovative educational content at the time. I did a bit of work with my older brother Balubuuliza Kibuuka Kiyingi, in his rudimentary work on developing the Luganda language into a language of scientific communication, some time in 1972. That same year I was admitted to Makerere University to study human medicine at Mulago Medical School. I left no stone unturned in my approach to the study of medicine, devoting my entire life to it in the process. I only took off time during the holidays to do a bit of vocational employment, most of it in upcountry hospitals gaining practical experience. In 1975 I spent one vacation working with a prolific Luganda language promoter and author of several Luganda language books, Mr Michael Bazzebulala Nsimbi. He was revising his book "*Amannya Amaganda N'ennono Zaago*" (the cultural aspects of Kiganda names). One other vacation which I devoted to work in a field other than medicine was when I taught two of the three science subjects (chemistry and biology) to Senior 1 and 2 students at Kampala Grammar School, which was run by my uncle Kojja Sserunyiigo Kasolo as the headmaster.

In March 1977 I graduated from Makerere University Medical School with a Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery (MB ChB) combined degree. In the process I became the second member of the Kiyingi extended family to qualify in the field of Human Medicine. Two years later I sat for and passed the American foreign medical graduates' examination, called the "Educational Commission for Foreign Medical Graduates or ECFMG". This allowed me to register and practice human medicine in the United States of America, if I so wanted. At that time I chose not to, though.

After working for three years in my home country Uganda, one of which was an internship year, I decided to pursue post-graduate training in a speciality. In 1979 I applied to several international universities for postgraduate training in pharmacology, a field of medicine specialising in the science of drugs. I got accepted at Chelsea College of the University of London in UK to do a one-year's course leading to a Master's degree. At the same time The University of Sydney in Australia also accepted me for either a Master's or PhD degree course. The Kiganda ancestral proverb goes like this, "*Atannayitayita; y'atenda nnyina okufumba/obufumbi*" or "A person who has not travelled widely thinks his or her mother is the best cook (the only cook)". I was determined not to be counted among the many Ugandans who praise their mothers to be the best cooks. Curiosity to travel and explore the less known made me decide to take up the Australian offer more than the UK offer. Many Ugandans had been to America, Europe and Britain in particular, for studies and many other activities and therefore a lot was known about those regions. Not so much about Australia, though. At high school we had an Australian teacher who introduced us to Australia. One of my sisters, Elizabeth Nakiyingi Kiyingi was one of the very few people I knew who had been to Australia. She had come here in the late 1960s for a visit from the UK, where she was doing her post-graduate studies in librarianship. I had therefore heard a fair bit about the merino sheep and Australia's fascinating fauna of marsupials.

When I first landed at Sydney's Sir Kingsford Smith international airport on 10th March 1980, I expected to see some kangaroos hopping about just outside the airport terminal. I have never overcome the disappointment I felt when I did not see any. To make it worse, it took me nearly six weeks before I sighted a real live kangaroo at Sydney's Taronga zoo. I enrolled into the pharmacology course at The University of Sydney and settled down to some serious studies. After the first Master's qualifying year, I enrolled into the PhD program. My research studies centred on the patho-physiological mechanisms

of a chest condition called asthma, using chemicals and agents that provoke asthma and the drugs that treat it. Extra-curricularly I was involved in international students' affairs on University campuses around Sydney. In 1982 I spear-headed a petition by the Commonwealth Government sponsored foreign students, to get our living allowances substantially increased to a level above the official Australian Poverty Line. As the main signatory and convenor of the petitioners I sent the petition to the Prime Minister, Mr Malcolm Fraser and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hon Anthony Street. The reply was favourable and the allowances were increased the following year.

On completing my studies in 1985, I was awarded a Doctorate of Philosophy degree in Pharmacology. After a brief holiday in Zimbabwe I took up an appointment in Papua New Guinea, where I spent six good years working in several categories. Between 1985 and 1988 I was working at the National Cancer Treatment and Radiotherapy Centre, Angau Memorial Hospital, Lae. I was in charge of coordinating the chemotherapy of cancer. Thereafter I spent the next three years lecturing in Pharmacology at the Medical Faculty of the University of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby. As part of my clinical attachment, I worked in the Asthma Clinic of the Port Moresby General Hospital, where I continued my research interests on *asthma*, in the Papua New Guinea population. Specifically, I established a relationship between the condition asthma and the chewing of *betel nut*, which the people of Papua New Guinea use for recreation, like a Muganda chews coffee berries (*empokota*) and an Australian male quaffs his beer.

In Port Moresby, we had an organisation called the Pan-African Association (PAA), which brought together all those with roots in Africa. I served as Secretary General during the 1989/1990 financial year. In 1990 we hosted a delegation of finance ministers from Africa and the Caribbean countries, who were attending the Africa, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) finance ministers' conference, held in Papua New Guinea that year. I vividly remember that at the time Mr Nelson Mandela in South Africa had just been released from prison after 27 years behind bars. Similarly South West Africa had just acquired independence and been formerly renamed "Namibia". These were major historical landmarks, worthy of celebration by every true African. Consequently, we held a big party, to which we invited the aforementioned ministerial delegation from the African and Caribbean countries to join us.

My family and I left Papua New Guinea at the end of 1990 and returned to Australia. After receiving my registration to practice clinical medicine, I decided to specialise in Family Medicine by studying for and doing examinations leading to an award of a Fellowship of the Royal Australian College of General Practitioners (FRACGP). I now work as a human mechanic in private practice in the city of Townsville, Australia.

I am a married man. I married Miss Beatrice Nabanoba Birabwa, a Muganda woman of the *Kkobe* (above-ground purple yam) clan, the daughter of the late Mr Cornelius Ssewakiryanga Busuulwa and the late Mrs Agnes Naava Busuulwa of Masaka Buddu, on the 12th January 1980 at St Augustine Chapel, Makerere University. We have been blessed with three children, plus one other child from another lady, to make the total number of children four, as follows:

1. Kulumba Kivebulaaya
2. Nabbosa Makula Namuswe
3. Lutalo Kikwanguyira
4. Nakkadde Ssanyu

All those children belong to the *Ndiga* clan, with the alternative totem (*akabbiro*) being the Lion (*Mpologoma*). They are all grandchildren of the late Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi, who was laid to rest at Mpigi- Nakaseeta, Bulemeezi.

Some of the philosophical beliefs I bequeath my children are as follows: Nothing precious comes without a sweat. If you set yourself realistic and achievable goals, you will always be rewarded more than a person who sets himself unrealistic goals beyond his reach. That is why my main aim in life is to bring up my children and educate them to the highest achievable levels in whatever field of their choice, always emphasising to them that: money is not all there is to happiness, although it often comes in handy.

APPENDIX 13: Margaret Kuumekyoto Naluggya Musoke

Margaret Naluggya was born on new-year's eve, 31st December 1955, at Mulago Hospital. Her father was already back from captivity, a free man who was no longer restricted in his movements; who could live wherever he wanted within Uganda. She was given a clan name "Naluggya", to which was later added another name "Kuumekyoto" from a wise saying, "*Kuuma ekyoto kireme kuwola*" (keep the fireplace hot), when she was finally confirmed the last born. Her mother ENK used to refer to her as "the child who came late", since ENK thought she had already had her last child, only to find she was pregnant again at an advanced age of 46 years. Naluggya was baptised in 1956 and given another name "Margaret". She was later confirmed into the church in 1970.

Naluggya spent her early childhood days at Makeerere with her parents, except for about one year which she spent at Mubende with her older brother James Mpiima, while he was working for the government. In fact she started her education while at Mubende, where she attended nursery school. On her return to Makeerere the following year, she went to Makeerere Primary School, where she studied from Primary One to Seven. She was a refined singer at school. Even in her later life she pursued her interest in singing, at one time singing in the Makeerere church choir as a soprano. Naluggya used to sing soprano and descant with a vigour which would threaten to blow the roof off the church. She enjoyed playing netball too. After obtaining her Primary School Leaving Certificate from Makeerere she proceeded on to Senior Secondary at Kampala Grammar School. She sat for her Senior 4 examinations and passed them, obtaining the East African Certificate of Education.

Naluggya decided to follow in the footsteps of her late father then, by pursuing a course in typing and office practice at the College of Business Studies, Kampala, from 1976 through to 1978. On completion of that course Naluggya obtained a job at Makeerere Law Development Centre, where she became well liked. Up to now, she is still employed by the same institution. She did some further training in Office Management at the Uganda Management Institute in 1997. Currently she is at the rank of Personal Secretary at the Law Development Centre.

Naluggya is a married woman. She got married to Mr Charles Kamyia Nsubuga Musoke, a Muganda man of the *Mamba* (Lung fish) clan, the son of Mr Wassuikirawa Nsubuga of Buwaya. They have so far been blessed with five children, as follows:

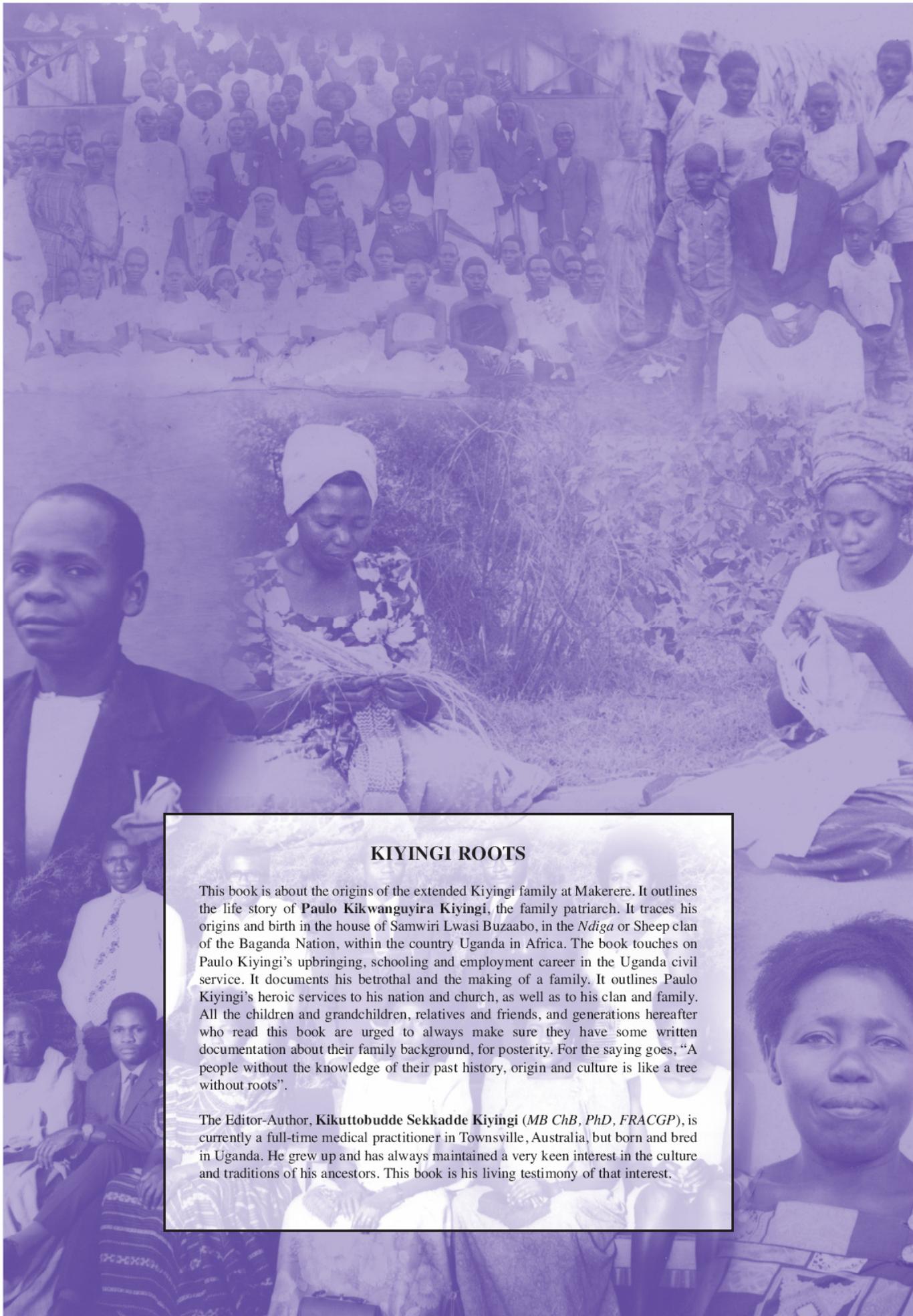
1. Nansubuga Reste
2. Nakkazi Irene
3. Mubiru Edward
4. Ndagire Dorothy
5. Nampewo Elizabeth

All the above children belong to the *Mamba* (Lung fish) clan, with the alternative totem being *Muguya* (young lung fish). They are all grandchildren of Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi, who is interred at Mpigi Nakaseeta, Bulemezi.

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4. **Omutaka Paulo Bbosa Lwomwa** (Head of the Ndiga clan) - gave me important documents outlining the history of our clan.
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KIYINGI ROOTS

This book is about the origins of the extended Kiyingi family at Makerere. It outlines the life story of **Paulo Kikwanguyira Kiyingi**, the family patriarch. It traces his origins and birth in the house of Samwiri Lwasi Buzaabo, in the *Ndiga* or Sheep clan of the Baganda Nation, within the country Uganda in Africa. The book touches on Paulo Kiyingi's upbringing, schooling and employment career in the Uganda civil service. It documents his betrothal and the making of a family. It outlines Paulo Kiyingi's heroic services to his nation and church, as well as to his clan and family. All the children and grandchildren, relatives and friends, and generations hereafter who read this book are urged to always make sure they have some written documentation about their family background, for posterity. For the saying goes, "A people without the knowledge of their past history, origin and culture is like a tree without roots".

The Editor-Author, **Kikutubobde Sekkadde Kiyingi** (*MB ChB, PhD, FRACGP*), is currently a full-time medical practitioner in Townsville, Australia, but born and bred in Uganda. He grew up and has always maintained a very keen interest in the culture and traditions of his ancestors. This book is his living testimony of that interest.