

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, Nakiyingi, Senga Esta Nakagulire Mukasa, Kulumba, Maama Eseza Nabwami Kiyingi, Nalugwa, Nabbosa and Naluggya. Absentees: Semyano, Namitala, Kaggulire.



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



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



Paulo and Eseza 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.



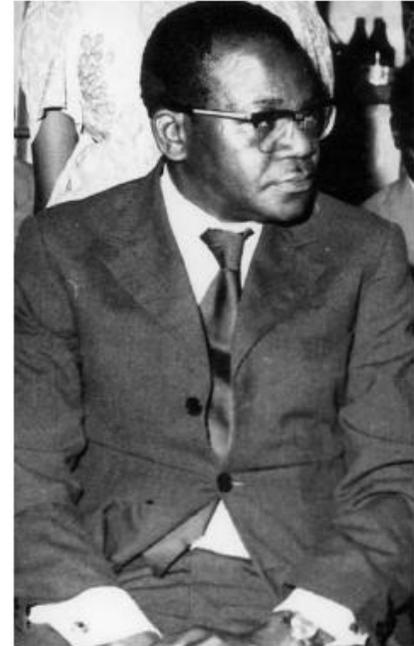
Present at the Introductory ceremony (Okwanjula) of Harriet Nangonzi in 1992, were: (from left to right) Paulo Kiyingi Saalongo, Damasko Kaggulire Kiyingi, Ezekiel Bapere Luggya and Lieutenant Kaggulire.



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 Ssinga 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 secreta 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:

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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.