

**EVENTS AND GENERATION OF ORAL LITERATURE: THE MURDER
AND BURIAL OF BISHOP JAMES HANNINGTON AS A CASE STUDY**

BY

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DECLARATION

I, WANKUMA ABEL KIBBEDI, declare that this dissertation has never been submitted for any degree in this or any other university or institution of higher learning. All the information in this dissertation save where acknowledged is based on my own findings.

Signed _____ Date _____

Supervisor _____ Date _____

DEDICATION

To the glory of God, who has sustained me throughout my struggles and toils with my education, I dedicate this book.

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ABSTRACT

This study focuses on two events, namely the death and burial of Bishop Hannington, in order to help us understand the generation and development of oral narratives. It follows the path that has been cleared by scholars in African Literature like Hofmeyr who combine multiple approaches to the study of Oral Literature, that is, History, Anthropology, and Sociology. It proves that much oral literature can be produced from a single event.

The study looks at the generation of oral literature from the death and burial of Bishop James Hannington the first Anglican bishop of the Equatorial Province. The researcher visited the sites of the murder and a place where the bishop's body was kept for a while before the first burial. He interviewed several informants from whom very insightful information was got. The conclusion is that much oral literature can be generated from an event as here reported and documented in this dissertation.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This study looks at the influence of events, incidents, or occurrences on the generation, production, and rejuvenation of oral literature. I looked at literature produced in the Region of Busoga and Busia District, an area that encompasses about eight districts in Eastern Uganda. These include: Kaliro, Bugiri, Iganga, Jinja, Mayuge, Kamuli, Busia and now Namutumba districts.

The local and main dialect in the Busoga region is *Lusoga – Olutenga* (Plain Lusoga); alongside it are other related dialects like *Lusigini*, *Lulamogi* and sometimes, the locals adopt the dialect from the neighbouring Pallisa district that is *Lugwere*, and those near Busia district adopt *Samia*.

In 1885, Bishop James Hannington was brutally murdered at Kyando, Bunya County, in the current Mayuge district. This was done by Chief Luuba, a subordinate chief to Kabaka Mwanga of Buganda Kingdom. It is believed that he was killed with his party of about forty-five and only two of the porters survived.

In a bid to carry the remains back to the coast after three years, the two porters found many hindrances including denial of entry into a palace in Budimo – Busia district where it is said that they spent several days resting as the villagers kept vigil with them. They were denied entry into the palace because it was against the Samia culture to put a corpse of a stranger into the house or courtyard. After keeping vigil from outside, they continued with their journey to the coast. However, they found it

practically hard to trace their way and decided to burry the remains at Bumiasi in Kenya. Three years later, the remains were exhumed and taken to Namirembe Cathedral in Kampala where they are buried.

From the time of his death, a lot of oral information has been generated. My concern therefore is: Has this literature been gathered and well recorded or documented? Can this study be used as a pilot study in research and studies in oral literature generation in Uganda? So I set out with the purpose of studying the influences that single events can have on the generation of oral literature, basing myself on the oral tradition around Bishop Hannington.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Studies in Oral African Literature have for a long time dwelt on collection of oral information in already existing forms in oral literature, like legends, myths, folk stories, proverbs, oral poems, riddles, tongue twisters, fables, anecdotes and sayings of a given tribe or group of people. They do not show or deal with the particular incidents, events or issues from which the said forms have been generated and how that oral literature has been preserved.

So my study sets out to show how one event constitutes a source of such oral literature. I shall do this through research about the event of the death (murder) and burial of Bishop James Hannington.

1.3 Definition of Terms

In this research report, the following are the meanings attached to the respective terms.

- (i) **Busoga** – A region in the southeastern part of Uganda. It is made up of six districts, that is, Iganga, Jinja, Mayuge, Kamuli, Kaliro and Bugiri
- (ii) **Basoga** – Inhabitants of Busoga.
- (iii) **Lusoga** – Is the Language spoken by the Basoga.
- (iv) **Lutenga** – Is the main dialect of Lusoga. It is the most widely used dialect in the region.
- (v) **Lulamogi** – Is another dialect in *Lusoga* used especially in the districts of Kamuli and Kaliro.
- (vi) **Samia** – Is a language used in the neighbouring Busia district.
- (vii) **Bunya** – Is a county in Mayuge district. It is in this place that Hannington was killed at a place called Kyando
- (viii) **Chief** – A royal ruler of a county or clan in Busoga
- (ix) **Kabaka** – The king of Buganda.
- (x) **The Bishop** – Bishop James Hannington.
- (xi) **Oral Literature** –corresponds in the sphere of the spoken (oral) word to literature as literature operates in the domain of the written word.
- (xii) **Generation** – To bring a narrative into existence.
- (xii) **Budimo** – A place in Busia District, Samia Region, where the remains of the Bishop were laid on a tree for some days before being carried to Kenya.
- (xiii) **Legend**: These are fragments of history. They teach morals as fables do

but are closer to life. They are partly true; they may tell about people who really lived and events, which really happened.

As a rule though, they are embellished to make them sound more romantic and fascinating.

1.4 Scope of the Study

Principally, this study was on oral forms and issues in African literature and Uganda in particular. It includes interviews with custodians of such information as approaches that are relevant to the research both in Mayuge and Busia districts of Uganda. So I dwelt mostly on primary sources of information about the death and burial of Bishop James Hannington.

Informants were selected from the old and middle aged who accepted that they were custodians of such information on the events surrounding the death and burial of the Bishop.

I have used two informants from Mayuge -Kyando, the place where Hannington was killed, and two major informants from Busia – Budimo, and an assistant or apprentice storyteller. Members of the community picked the storytellers in this inquiry upon recommendation and identification. There is one woman out of five informants. There is a male dominance in the Hannington narrative.

1.5 The Purpose of the Study.

The intention of this study was to show that there can be a generation of oral literature from an event. This is because orality in Africa is a form of life and so people keep

talking about events that take place in their day-to-day activities. For that reason, oral narratives, generated from events, are part of the people's life.

The researcher has shown that an event like birth, courtship, initiation, war, marriage, hunting, death and burial can be a source of much oral information. The study therefore has found out how this literature was generated, preserved and passed on.

The other was to establish whether it could be depended upon as factual information that could be used to inform the present about the past.

It aimed to show that oral literature is not limited to just the traditionally re-known forms but grows and is continuously generated and we should look out for such areas as where it is being cultivated, grown, harvested and preserved.

1.6 Hypothesis/Research questions

1.6.1 Hypothesis

- (a) Oral information generated from the event of the death and burial of Bishop James Hannington has not been properly gathered and documented.
- (b) Oral sources can be reliable sources for factual information.
- (c) Oral literature is not limited by time for as long as there are people to pass it on.

1.6.2 Research questions

- (a) Is generation of oral Literature influenced by an event, occurrence or incident?

- (b) Is there a possibility that there has been a generation of oral literature surrounding the death and burial of Bishop Hannington that has not been recorded?
- (c) Are oral sources in African Oral Literature studies reliable sources of factual information?
- (d) Is orality a way of preserving information and passing it on?

1.7 Literature review

We typically associate African oral literature with forms such as legends, fables and sayings of a particular tribe in Africa. This to some extent may be true but it may also be linked to the drive to globalize everything in the world including culture where all people will share a common culture and hence literature. The term “African oral literature” is too broad in my case because Africa includes such diverse backgrounds. To generalize it is a myopic way of looking at oral literature. That is why most researchers have only dwelt on just a few elements, which may touch the tops but not the roots of oral literature in Africa.

African Oral Literature edited by Russell H. Kaschula, examining oral literature solely for its function in the contemporary society but not what it actually is. This is true as portrayed in the sub-titles of papers in the book written by various authors: Orality and Music, Orality and Gender, Orality and Religion, Orality, Text, Texture and Content, Orality, Politics and History¹. In all the chapters, oral literature is only being looked at for its function and how it has been useful. However, I feel that this in

¹ Kaschula. H. Russell. (Ed.). *African Oral Literature*. South Africa: New Africa Books. (Pty) Ltd 2001. p ix

itself, though successfully done by renowned scholars in African Oral Literature, does not serve the purpose of seeing to it that oral literature in Africa is not lost to globalization. There should be a way in which to grow, propagate, facilitate, and help in the production of oral literature, which I refer to as generation. Instead of addressing it from an “archaeological” point of view, Oral Literature should be dynamically generated.

Endeavours by scholars like Harold Scheub should be appreciated because they go in-depth to study a particular form in African Oral Literature and bring out specific aspects in it that make the given aesthetic. His “The Poem in the Story” is such a work that labours to do so. At length, he labours to show the importance of not missing out on elements in a story that make it perfect, like:

“A story- teller guarding the Poem in her story.”

I keep wondering if we shall have anything to write about, or tell stories about, if we cannot focus our attention on events that are occurring now to be in a position to skilfully use the techniques researched by Scheub to tell the stories of the present time to benefit future generations.

Scheub in his book *‘The Tongue is Fire: South African Storyteller and Apartheid’* indicates, “The crucial generation unit of oral narrative performance is the image.” Though literature looks at making beautiful human experiences, here Scheub seems to be only mindful of the creation of images, but my question is “from what?” There must be an event from which the storyteller as a creator builds his material.² Scheub himself quotes Charles G. Boyd:

² Scheub, Harold *The tongue is on Fire: South African Storyteller and Apartheid*: Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1996. p49

“We must separate reality from image”

Though he seems to agree that oral forms depend on events, he does not concentrate on the relationship between forms and events.³

He offers sight into the consequences for the study of oral literature if we put the study of events into context. In *African Tales*, also by Harold Scheub, *The man who passed the night in the middle of the sea* begins with an anecdote of the event in which a clever man had shown his cleverness – and yet goes ahead to tell a story about that attribute.⁴

Research in Oral African Literature should move from the element of looking at just the existing forms to the roots of those forms. This, I feel makes it better to produce, preserve and pass on.

From a wider perspective, I would like to look at an almost similar inquiry into oral literature. Lord makes a study into the Yugoslavian oral poetry and I have observed the following in his study in comparison to mine: He compares the *Yugoslavian* oral poems to the Homeric poems. He looks at the oral process and makes several observations he makes about oral literature in general.

According to Lord, a full knowledge of the oral poetry process requires analysis of several elements besides style. Among them, he makes the major observations that I find of interest to my research. The first is that one must “consider the difficult

³ Ibid p57

⁴ Scheub, Harold. *African Tales*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2005.p249

sources of the material from which a given heroic circle is created.”⁵ Here my interest does not lie with the poetry circle of heroism- it lies with the fact that sources of the material in the oral form are to be put into consideration.

The next is “the factors that determine the creation, growth, and decline of the heroic circle.”⁶ Like in the first point for consideration still my interest lies with the factors that determine the creation, growth and decline of a character in oral poetry that has got to be understood.

The last and most important factor to my research is “the relation of the events of a historical cycle to the actual events. As stated earlier, oral literature develops from an event, occurrence and incident at a given time. Just as Lord finds Yugoslavian poetry ideal for collection in the *Singer of Tales*, I too find it important that oral literature surrounding the death and burial of Hannington is ideal for collection.

If this is not done, there is a risk in losing out on either all or obtaining poor material. The people who might have lived through the experience are long gone and it will do us good if we got informants who received from the original sources. As lord states:

The old life and the old ways of song and speech are quickly going. I have found by experience that I risk obtaining poor material, both from a literary point of view and for my own purpose of study of oral process, if I collect from anyone under fifty years of age. The old men are my best subjects and four of those from whom I collected songs last year have already died. It is likely that the collection, which I am making at present, will remain as the one great collection of south Slavic oral material.⁷

Lord, is in search of an Epic. However, I do not intend to look for a black cat in a dark room, well aware that it is not there. If I came across any in Busia or Busoga, I would

⁵ Lord, Alfred. *The Singer of Tales*. London: Harvard University Press, 2003.

⁶ Lord, Alfred. *The Singer of Tales*. London: Harvard University Press, 2003. pxxii

⁷ Parry Report on work in Yugoslavia., June 18-October 19 (1934). pxxiii

be shocked. I am focused on the oral narratives as generated from an event. Whether or not they become epic poems, is no the concern of this study.

Studies of Oral Literature in Uganda, do not differ from the broader African perspective – A.S.L Bukenya’s M.A Dissertation is on “*A comparative study of the Genus of English Literature and oral literature in Luganda*”, C.N Okumu’s is on “*The Oral Literature of Acholi*”, F.L. Barlow is on “*Lumasaba Oral Literature*”, M. Olum did one on “*Genres of Langi Oral Literature*” and the most recent one is that of L.Mbotana “*The Investigation of Educative features in Kisoga Oral Literature.*”⁸ In these, none of them addresses issues in oral literature like the events from which it is generated. They are to a large extent a collection of oral literature in the various forms from stated regions in Uganda and some are just a comparative study between the forms.

For that matter, the study into events that favour the generation of oral literature will take us a step further. In our case, by not only collecting data around the death and burial of Bishop Hannington, but also dealing with the generation of data from an event in general, we shall be addressing a serious question.

1.8 Justification

Although scholars in Ugandan literature have made some research attempts in oral literature, they have limited themselves to given areas, ethnic groups and forms. They have dwelt on oral forms from given tribes of Uganda and have not made an attempt

⁸ *Makerere Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Register FOR postgraduate Students Abstracts, 1969-1979. p3.*

to make new discoveries from events in the recent past or from history to be in a position to make concrete study of the importance of oral literature, its generation and production, as well as its role in informing the contemporary societies about the past. So, provision of record and proof that oral literature production and generation can be studied from that perspective will help researchers to expand their perception of oral literature.

The study has therefore made up for the gap by closing in on an event in the history of Busoga, Busia, Church of Uganda and Uganda as a whole. I have dwelt on it to show that oral literature is not only about forms as traditionally studied but also issues in society like the brutal murder of Bishop Hannington.

After an analysis of the data, I have drawn my conclusion using the following questions: Does oral literature on the death of bishop Hannington exist? Has it been well documented? If not well documentation, is further and proper documentation required?

1.9 Theoretical Framework

This research focuses on two events, namely the death and burial of Bishop Hannington, in order to help us understand the generation and development of oral narratives. It follows the path that has been cleared by scholars in African Literature like Hofmeyr who combine multiple approaches to the study of Oral Literature, that is, History, Anthropology, and Sociology. In my inquiry, I chose to investigate on a historical subject as well as address the oral issues that arise from the events. Like Hofmeyr, this study takes the path of Oral Historical Narrative. The phenomenon is

not so known to many and might in most cases be taken as just another study in History, Sociology or Anthropology. I rely on history books but aim to qualify the aspect of an oral historical narrative. There are so many traditional aspects of Oral Literature that would be studied in the same way but I decide to narrow down on the Oral Historical Narrative, which is the best way so far to make an inquiry into an event and how it helps in the generation of Oral Literature.⁹

The other aspect that Hofmeyr helps us to realise as we take studies in African Oral Literature is that it is not archaeological but it is dynamic in various ways and in this inquiry, I look at the way in which Oral Literature production, generation and preservation have also become dynamic given the changing social system. Custodians from the church, for example, largely keep Hannington's.

There are reservations about the oral narratives as literary forms, like there being no distinction between history and literature if it is all writing about events that occurred. However, we need to note that there are aspects in the Oral Historical Narratives that history cannot bring out clearly. A case in point is how the facts got from an incident are preserved aside from writing it down. How about the aspect of performance? Oral Historical Narratives are spontaneous in nature unlike the Historical Narratives, which are elicited.¹⁰ For that matter, I decided to take that rarely taken path in research about Oral Literature in Uganda.

⁹ Hofmeyr, Isabel. *"We Spend Our Years As A Tale That is Told."* *Oral Historical Narrative in South African Chieftdom*. Johannesburg. Witwatersrand University Press. 2001.pp1-22

¹⁰ Ibid, p3

1.10 Significance of the Study

This study has been useful because it is the first of its kind to address particular events in the generation of Oral Literature and since it is on the death and burial of Bishop Hannington, it is going to be a way in which to collect and document information about this personality in the history of Uganda, Church of Uganda, Busia and Busoga as regions.

Since it is the beginning of looking at events and oral literature production, other researchers can use it as a springboard to start oral research on other events whose records remain undocumented and not researched.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 METHODOLOGY

2.1 Material and Procedures

I focused on two events, that is the death and burial of Hannington in order to contribute to the analysis of oral literature generated from a single event and its documentation, I collected extensive data about the two events on which my investigation is focused through observation, interviews, documents, past records and audiovisual materials (for example photographs, videotapes, audiotapes).

I spent an extended period of time on sites at Mayuge and Majanji and interacted regularly with resourceful people about the death and burial of Bishop James Hannington. I consulted relevant journals and periodicals both print and electronic in collecting any information for further analysis. I also relied on note making, recording of voices, taking still photographs, video recording, photocopying and printouts.

Primarily, research done about oral literature in Busoga has never concerned itself with events which generate oral literature. The murder of Bishop Hannington is such an important event in the history of Busoga, and yet, apart from historical or religious sources revealing some factual aspects; there is not much that has been produced to cater for the oral literature as generated from the event.

Pilot studies, say in religious education indicate that Bishop Hannington was killed as a result of a misunderstanding between the missionaries in Buganda lead by Mackay

and Mwanga the King of Buganda. They portray the death of Hannington as “a Jesus” like death.

This data gained from four informants and one apprentice informant assisted in establishing whether a single event can be a source of oral literature and also takes an intensive study in the oral narratives surrounding the death and burial of Bishop Hannington for the purpose of proper documentation. I did this through gathering data from the following sources.

Mostly, I conducted interviews with informed resource persons. The interviews were mostly non-or semi structured, as I wanted to leave my informants to do the talking. I asked questions around the person of Bishop Hannington, what they had heard about him, - I emphasized not read about him. How did he die and possibly why, how and where he was buried? I also gave them opportunities to provide any additional information.

I was keen at listening to people of varying backgrounds and ages. I wanted to see how the story generated is developed and maintained. So I interviewed the old ones, and the relatively young.

I taped and had transcribed in-depth interviews to capture the details of in-depth interviews; in the transcription, I embedded my own comments as I reviewed it. I wrote down informal conversations as soon as possible and, when possible, wrote during the conversation according to the comfort level of the participants with note

taking. I used notebook and pen, which helped a great deal though it presents hardships in adding more details to the notes.

2.1 Observation

I conducted observations of the sites of the murder and burial of the Bishop. The observation took about eight hours per visit on both sites. I visited Budimo two times; the first on a pilot study and the second to carry out a detailed observation of the sites and informants. These helped me crosscheck facts given on the pilot tour and also what I had read from documents and the Internet.

I went to Mayuge – Kyando twice, first to meet with Mr. Gideon Lubega and then with Mr. Samwiri Wakitega. The interview with Mr. Lubega enabled me to examine closely and observe the sites of Hannington’s murder –there I took still photographs for further observation.

2.3 Document Review

At the very beginning of my study, I read about the life of Bishop Hannington, read history books from which I got what I could term as factual information. I also read an autobiography by the Bishop which he was writing back to his cousins in London as he traversed Africa right from Zanzibar to Kenya.¹¹

¹¹Hannington, James. *Peril and Adventure in Central Africa Being Illustrated Letters to the Youngsters at Home*. London: The Religious Tract Society, 1886.

In the beginning, I read general information about him that I could find, and then narrowed down to specific information about the two events on which my inquiry was based.

The in-depth interactions together with observations are included in the discussion and analysis of both informants and information given. These have helped me since I collected and analysed data from preliminary observations I found issues to explore, questions aroused that created a need for further interviews or observation. For example, I had to get back to Kyando to establish whether Mr. Wakitega's character was that of a traditionalist and cultural conservative. How then did this help in telling the narrative?

2.4 Exposing Researcher Values

During this research, I have continuously examined my expectations and values to be reminded of the role values have in inquiry. I had an ongoing reflection in memos and discussions with my supervisor and mentor throughout the course of the study. This helped me identify and account for the interferences of my assumptions in my study. For example, sometimes, I was tempted to disrupt my informants as I carried out the interviews and was only reminded through interaction with my mentor that we go to the field to inquire into or about something, not merely to prove our own assumptions.

Being a Christian, I expose my values in my narrative as playing a significant role in my study and inquiry. In sharing my values in the introduction, and further here, I have attempted to take them into account as I share my data and analysis. For example, I had assumed that in Christian oral literature, the best informants are those

people directly linked to the church; especially as regards oral narratives about Hannington. I had a particular prejudice against informants who had different beliefs from mine. A case in point is Mr. Wakitega: a very good storyteller who is proud about something evil having been committed. For something to be aesthetic, it must hold or have values. The value in Wakitega's perspective is that the clan's action of murder on the Bishop is more meaningful and beautiful than the life of the Bishop.

To counter this prejudice, I had to appreciate his perspective as that of one who is closer to the pre-Christian *Kisoga* values. His perspective actually tells us a great deal about why people commit atrocities and how the oral records come to justify them. So, I took his case as different from others.

So as I listened to my informants, I was aware of my own assumptions about the generation of Oral Literature and particularly that an event could be a source of much oral information and that there is a way in which this information can be tapped, recorded let alone generate it. For that matter, I kept my mind open, listened out for the oral narrative about the events under inquiry well aware that there are forms of Oral Literature, which do not necessarily arise from a particular event.

2.5 Leaving the Field

Though I did not have ample time, leaving the field was gradual. I was limited in several ways as my assignments were all rural-based. I had to operate between two places; the field and the trading centres, which had lodging facilities and power. The more time I spent in the field, the less I recorded on what I wanted especially in notes, or on my laptop. So, I had in most cases to spend only daytime with my informants in

the field and then rush to write down data collected to analyse it. The furthest an informant would allow me in terms of time was two days and at the end, they seemed to have said it all. They then introduced other subjects not relevant to my study and inquiry. I had therefore to excuse and ease my way out of the field. I however left my contact information behind with my informants with hope that we could stay in touch and or meet in the near future for further inquiry if need arises.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 SUBJECT AND INFORMANTS

3.1 Subject: Hannington, James 1847-1885.



This research focuses on two events, namely the death and burial of Bishop Hannington in order to understand the generation and development of oral narrative.

This requires a concrete understanding of Hannington's person and character as he was. To do this, I have had to treat him as a subject for my inquiry. Also I read secondary information about carrying out a research in Oral Literature, and then read Bishop Hannington's actual autobiographies; his character as a courageous individual, with total self-will to carry on with what he set his heart to do. I also learnt through his narrative that he was a jolly and humorous fellow as well as a good storyteller.¹²

To have a better view of my analysis, I took an excerpt from the *Peril and Adventure in Central Africa*. The instance is about a time he came face to face with lions but yet he remained unmoved.¹³

¹² Hannington, James. *Peril and Adventure in Central Africa Being Illustrated Letters to the youngsters at Home*. London: The Religious Tract Society, 1886.

¹³ I have included the text of this episode below in appendix I.

3.1.1 Biographical Summary

James Hannington was born at Hurst Pierpont, near Brighton. He left school young to join his father's counting house, but then went to study at St Mary Hall. He was ordained deacon in 1874, became curate for St George's at Hurst Pierpont the following year, and was ordained priest the year after that¹⁴. In 1882 he traveled to Uganda in the service of the Christian Missionary Society, but had to return early due to illness. Subsequently, in 1884, he was consecrated Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa, and visited Palestine en route to Africa. He led an expedition that reached Lake Nyanza in 1885, but as he was traveling toward Uganda, emissaries of King Mwanga apprehended him. He and his companions were brutally treated and, a week later, 29 October 1885, most of them were put to death. Hannington's last words, it is said, were:

"Go tell your master (Mwanga) that I have purchased the road to Uganda with my blood."

Knowing him thus, I took time to read history books and what they said about him, his life and death. Yet little or nothing has been produced in terms of oral literature about those events about a character now well known to me, I set out to Kyando – a place where he met his brutal death and Budimo – the location of his remains for three days as the porters rested before continuing the journey to Bunyasi.

This meant that I had to interact with primary sources that are my informants about the oral narratives on Bishop Hannington.

¹⁴ <http://anglicanhistory.org/Africa/hannington/peril/index.html>

3.2 INFORMANTS

There are four informants from whom I gathered this information.

1. Mama Agneta Opondo, a retired Lay Reader and a widow at the village of Budimo – Busia district. She was born in 1936 and is entrusted by the community with the custodianship of the information on the oral narratives on Bishop Hannington. I interviewed her on Saturday the 20th May 2006.



AGNETA OPONDO (1936) AT THE HANNINGTON MEMORIAL SHRINE – BUDIMO. Note in the back ground the fully grown trees which were mere poles on which the remains were laid.)

2. David Ouma Olinga is a special assistant to Mama Agneta and an apprentice in telling the oral narrative about Hannington. He is about fifty-six years old and is in charge of visitors at the Hannington Memorial Chapel – Budimo. He is son of the late Lastus Olinga, another source of information by then about the events surrounding Hannington's burial – he was a Lay reader at Budimo till 1975. I interviewed him on Saturday the 20th May 2006.



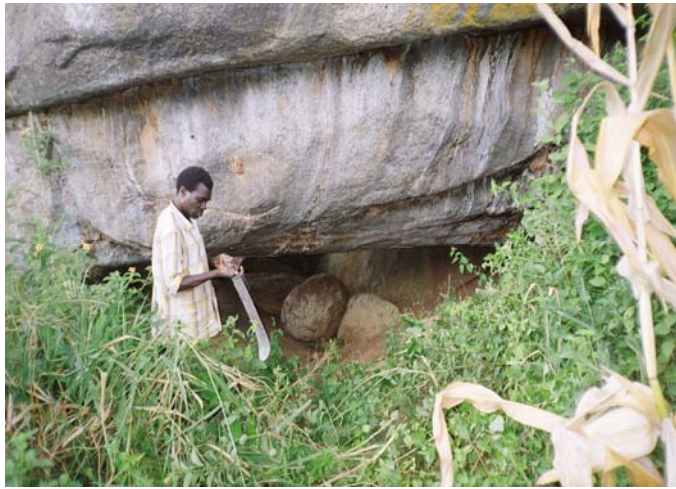
MR. DAVID OUMA OLINGA – STANDING AT THE SITE OF THE HAMLET OUTSIDE, WHICH HANNINGTONS REMAINS WERE KEPT

3. Mr. Mukudi Omuka Paul of Budibya village was born in 1926 and his father was an eyewitness and a participant in the event of carrying the remains of Hannington to Bumyasi in Kenya. I interviewed him on 20th June 2006.



MZEE MUKUDI OF BUDIBYA VILLAGE – BUDIMO, HIS FATHER WAS AMONG THE PEOPLE WHO CARRIED HANNINGTON'S REMAINS TO KENYA

4. Mr. Lubega Gideon the current Lay Reader at Kyando became my first informant and guide. He is about forty-eight – I had an interview with him on the 22nd June 2006.



Mr. Lubega clears the bush around the "Hannington Library"

5. Mr. Wakitega Samwiri – about forty-six and a clan member to Luba – the chief who carried out the execution of Hannington. He is considered by Mr. Lubega Gideon to be the main custodian of the information concerning the murder of Bishop Hannington. I carried out an interview with him on the 27th June 2006.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 THE OFFICIAL VERSIONS THE NARRATIVE

4.0.1 King Mwanga and the Christian Martyrs



Kabaka Mwanga

There are several official versions of the same story. Below are two stories from which I will later on pick mysteries for further analysis.

King Mutesa I died in 1884 and was succeeded by his eighteen year-old son, Mwanga, who had no interest in Christianity and who in the following year burnt to

death three of the Christian followers. Fletcher described the reign of Mwanga as a very dark period for Christian missionaries in Uganda.

On 25th June 1884, Rev. James Hannington was consecrated in London as Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa. In October 1885, he visited Uganda via Busoga, a route not open to foreigners. Chief Luba on behalf of the Kabaka of Buganda ruled Busoga. On 29 October 1885, Bishop Hannington was murdered at Bungoma in Busoga on the orders of King Mwanga. His diary showed that he had read some verses from the Bible and prayed before Chief Luba's soldiers murdered him. Louise Pirouet reports the manner of Bishop Hannington's death as follows.

In the afternoon he was taken out of the hut and when he and his Goan cook, Pinto, were led off, he realised that they were being led to their death. In the valley some little way from Chief Luba's Headquarters he was stripped of his clothes, which the soldiers took and as he knelt to pray, two men speared him, one on each side. Pinto was also stripped and speared. His men who had been taken prisoner in the morning were led farther on and many of them were speared too. A few were not killed because they could be useful to the Basoga and one left for dead, recovered to tell the story of what had happened.

There was a good deal of uncertainty about the Bishop's last word but one report says that when Hannington realised that he was being led to his death, he told his captors: Tell the King that I die for Buganda, I have bought this road with my life.¹⁵

4.0.2 Another of the official versions

W.M.J Roome was another missionary who traversed the land while writing down in detail what missionary work was being carried out in Africa. When it comes to

Busoga, Roome writes:

It was in these very lands of Busoga that the lion-hearted Bishop Hannington purchased the road to Uganda with his life. May we not as surely say that our big-hearted Brother Brewer purchased the road to the hearts of the young men

¹⁵ Tiberondwa K. Ado. *Missionary Teachers as agents of Colonialism – a Study of their activities in Uganda, 1877 – 1925*, Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 1998 pp15-22.

of Busoga with his life. His long years of service for them in the mosquito-infested lowlands of that same land made him a victim to malarious fever.

There are some stories that it is well to repeat, in these days when memories of the past so quickly fade. The generation of Hannington's day has long since gone. Few of the present generation have any clear idea of the purchase price that was paid for the opening of the road from the Indian Ocean, over a route thronged with danger, both from nature and from man, he at last saw the waters of the great lake and the Nile, beyond which lay his destination and his diocese.

What followed is best told in the Bishop's own words: "I asked my headman, Brahim, to come with to the point close at hand whence I had seen the Nile, as our men had begun to doubt its existence; several followed up, and one, pretending to show me another view, led me further away, when suddenly all twenty ruffians set upon us. They violently threw me to the ground, and proceeded to strip me of all valuables. Thinking they were robbers, I shouted for help, when they forced me up and hurried me away, as I thought to throw me down a precise close at hand. I shouted again, in spite of one threatening to kill me with a club. Twice I nearly broke away from them, and then grew faint with struggling, and was dragged by the legs over the ground. I said, "Lord I put myself in Thy hands, I look to Thee alone.' Then another struggle and I got to my feet, and was thus dashed along. More than once I was violently brought into contact with banana trees, some trying in their haste to force me one way, others the other, and the exertion and struggling strained me in the most agonizing manner. In spite of all, and feeling I was being dragged away to be murdered at a distance, I sang "Safe in the arms of Jesus," and then laughed at the very agony of my situation. My clothes torn to pieces so that I was exposed; wet through with being dragged along the ground; strained in every limb, and for a whole hour expecting instant death, hurried along until we came to a hut, into the court of which I was forced. Now I thought, I am to be murdered, as they released one hand, I drew my finger across my throat, and understood them to say decidedly, "No!"

Hannington was informed that he had been seized by order of Luba and that he was to be kept prisoner until the pleasure of Mwanga should be known. Meanwhile he was tormented with dismal apprehensions concerning the fate of his men. Were they all murdered? After two or three hours of suspense, during which he remained bound and shivering with cold, Hannington was relieved by the arrival of his Portuguese cook and a boy, with his bed and bedding. The men, like their leader, were likewise robbed, seized, and detained as prisoners.

The sorrows and suffering in the days that followed tell something of the agony and the price that had to be paid. His health and spirits were rapidly sinking. He feared that Uganda was going to be forbidden ground to him— forbidden by disease, not by spear—thrust, nor musket shot. "The next day," he says, "only a few ladies came to see the wild beast. I felt so low and wretched that I retired within my den, whither they, some of them, followed me; but as it is too dark to see me, and I refused to speak, they soon left."

Word came on October 28th that Mwanga had sent three soldiers, but with what purpose they had come, or what news they brought, Hannington did not know. He had passed a terrible night with a noisy, drunken guard, and with vermin swarming over him. Fever was fast developing. “O Lord do have mercy upon me, and release me,” he cried. “I am quite broken down, and brought low.”

He records, under date October 29th, 1885, that a hyena howled near me last night, smelling a sick man, but I hope it is not to have me yet.” That same day he was murdered!

The manner of the end was in this wise: “On Wednesday, the 28th,” says Mr. Dawson, “there had been much drumming and shouting among the natives. When Hannington’s men asked the meaning of the demonstration they were told that Mwanga had sent word that the European should be allowed to proceed to Buganda. Mr. Dawson very reasonably conjectured that the same story was told to the Bishop on the following day as an excuse for hurrying him out of his prison – out to the place of execution. When, therefore, he was conducted to an open space without the village, and found himself surrounded once more by his own men, he was over and that he was now going to enter on the last stage of his journey to Uganda.

“But in a moment he was undeceived. With a wild shout Lubwa’s (Luba) savage warriors fell upon Hannington’s disarmed and helpless caravan men. Their flashing spears soon covered the ground with the dead and dying. As soon as the natives who were told to murder the Bishop closed round him, pausing for a moment with their poised weapons, Hannington drew himself up in that majestic manner which, when he employed it, was so impressive, and bade them tell the king that he was about to die for the people of Uganda, and that he had purchased the road to their country with his life. Then as they still hesitated, he pointed to his own gun, which one of them discharged, and Hannington fell dead.¹⁶

4.1 The Mysteries as revealed in the official version.

Written historical and religious sources omit certain mysteries in the life and death of Bishop Hannington. Oral narratives on the death of the Bishop begin with the language mystery; as to whether the order that came from Buganda was to kill – “*Mugende mumutte*”, or to set free – “*mugende mumute*”. People claim that since there had been a long understanding between the kingdoms of Busoga and Buganda,

¹⁶ Roome, WM. J. *Through the Lands of Nyanza*. London: Marshall Moran and Scott limited, 1930.pp 94-98

the King of Buganda upon advice from the Arabs believed that the person who would overthrow him would come from the east. So Mwanga had to secure a good relationship with chief Luba of the Munha clan that dwelt in Bunya near the lakeshores of Lake Victoria. Luba became like a subordinate chief to Mwanga and they exchanged “ambassadors” who would take missives from the chief to the King and vice versa.

Another mystery is the Baganda belief that the enemy usually uses the back door of the kingdom which is Busoga. So any person who came from Busoga was considered dangerous. Actually, it is said that the Baganda, before the coming of the whites were most afraid of the Basoga whom they actually named Basoga meaning, “the men can really spear” – “*Abasajja basooga*.” So that is why Mutesa and Mwanga were always on the alert about anything that came from Busoga. They formed alliances based on mutual distrust. Mwanga’s chief executioner, Mukajanga, apparently plied the route from Busoga to make sure that nothing went wrong.¹⁷

4.2 TRADITIONALIST BUSOGA VERSION

4.2.1 THE CASE OF SAMWIRI WAKITEGA AND THE PERILS OF BISHOP HANNINGTON

In an interview carried out on the 26th June 2006 (excerpt)

Abel Wankuma Kibbedi (AWK):

Wakitega Samuel (Waki):

AWK: When were you born?

Waki: Is that important? Here we don’t count children and years.

¹⁷ Wakitega, Samwiri. Personal Interview 27th June 2006

AWK: I suspect you were born long after the death of Hannington

Waki: Obviously.

Asked how he came to know all that he does about Hannington, Wakitega with a lot of pride and airs says:

“We, the *Baise Munha* killed him”

(*Ife Abaise- Munha, n’ife aba’mwita*).

This perspective was most captivating in the narrative because it shows for the perception of the Basoga before the coming of the whites. Wakitega justifies the killing of Bishop Hannington and attitude and view in telling the story seeks to justify the act of Luba.

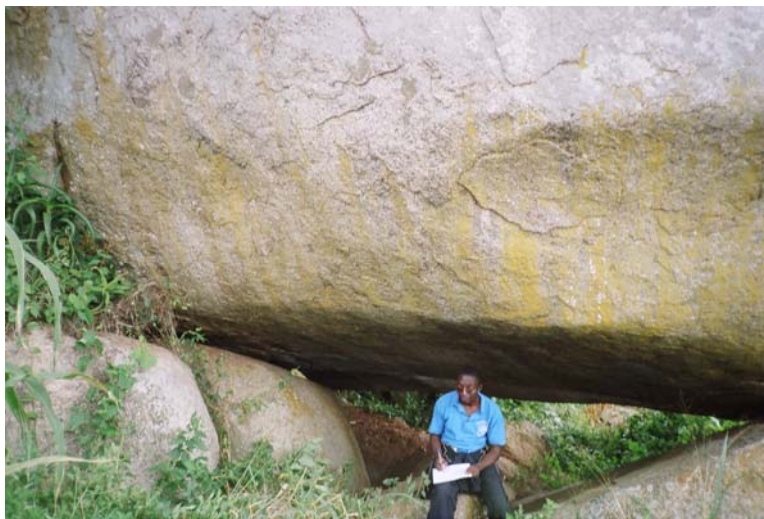
The narrative below is as told by both Wakitega and Lubega. Mr. Lubega had quite a lot to do with guiding me around the sites and telling bits of the story which Mr. Wakitega fills in later on. I have made indications where need be, of who is telling the story or who is narrating.

4.2.1 THE LEGEND -THE ARRIVAL



THE LIBRARY is the place where the local people first sighted Hannington.

Bishop Hannington arrived in Bunya with a large number of people – Kyando being a rocky area, the Bishop and his friends soon found caves in which they found shelter. He was always in the habit of studying and writing. On the day the locals sighted him, he was seated on rocks in a cave reading and writing.



The researcher seated in the same place where the local people sighted “Magulu Meeru” while he was writing.

This cave may have been the site of sacrifices, as people of the area believe that such carvings in rocks are not there by mistake. People met the gods at the rock at certain

hours of the day to ask for blessings, children, vengeance, and all sorts of things. It is said that the moment, they sighted “*Magulu Meeru*” (which directly translated means “White legs”) they mistook him for a ghost. This epithet could have either been used in reference to his socks or his actual white legs. From then on, that was the nickname they gave the Bishop. By this time, almost all his men had been captured. He had a gun but he said he was going to join his friends preaching the word of God as he pointed to the big book, knelt and prayed.

4.3 Reporting to Luba

The guards reported the incident to Luba who ordered them to bring forth the Bishop and his party. Luba dispatched emissaries to Kabaka Mwanga to inform him about the arrival of *Magulu Meeru*. When they observed him closely, they found out that he was not dangerous at all. Luba and his men started making fun particularly of the Bishop as they waited for the emissaries to return from Buganda. They separated him from others and kept him in a prison where he was mocked and tortured. They offered him local brew but he furiously rejected it as they hilariously laughed at him.

4.3.1 THE PRISON



Mr. Lubega Gideon in the cave that was used as prison for Hannington

This is a cave 200 meters away from the library. Here the chief's guards who were under alcoholic influence constantly tortured him. For three to four days, they would only bring him to the courts of Luba for interrogation – every gesture that he made as a white man, was funny to them. Even the movement of his index finger over his nose sent the crowd roaring in laughter.

Finally, the emissaries from Buganda arrived escorted by Mukajanga – the chief executioner. After reporting to Luba, it was clear by the reaction of the chief that the Bishop was to be killed.

4.3.2 FROM THE PRISON

War drums were sounded, villagers gathered from near and far. Every man reported with his spear, and some carried both spear and shield. They all came to the converging place in the valley.

Now surrounded by more hostile guards, Hannington intensified his prayers; he was removed from the prison and taken down to the valley where crowds of villagers were gathering near a steep stone.

4.3.2 THE MYSTERY OF THE ALL-SEASON WELL

As he was being led down towards the slippery stone, it is said that he was tripped by a stone, fell down and cried. On the very spot where he fell, appeared an all-weather well, which never runs dry since then. That is according to Lubega; but Wakitega disputes it and says it was Luba's well.



LUBA'S ROYAL WELL (According to Wakitega)

4.3.3 TORTURE



THE STEEP, SLIPPERY STONE SURROUNDED BY WATER.

This was a renowned place; almost everyone that had been executed in the chiefdom had been there. It was and is surrounded by water and mud. It is called “the riddle of death”. No one had ever gone to the top of the stone, which is about 1.5 meters from the ground. It became more impossible to climb especially after stepping in the water and mud surrounding it. After the crowds gathered, the Bishop was told to climb the stone. He still had his shoes on but even those would not help him.¹⁸

¹⁸ Lubega Gideon. Personal Interview 26th June 2006.

4.3.4 THE NICKNAME CHANGES

The chief announced that he would spare Magulu Meeru's life if he successfully climbed the stone.



Mr. Lubega points at the water at the foot of the stone.

After several attempts, and being tired and worn out, the Bishop gasped: “*What shall I do?*” And bystanders told the crowd that he had said that he is called *Waiswa Baidhu*

Guard: *Bana, akobye*

Crowd: *Eeh!*

Guard: *Mbu – ni Waiswa Bhaidu.*

Crowd: *Aah! ha!ha!ha! “Magulu Meeru” Mbu ni Waiswa Baidhu!*

Guard: Friends he has said

Crowd: Yes!

Guard: That he is called *Waiswa Baidhu*

Crowd: *Aah! ha!ha!ha! “White legs is called Waiswa Baidhu!”*

Waiswa is a name for the first twin in Busoga; however a slave to the king or chief is called *Omwidu*, so a twin who doubled as a slave and twin was called *Waiswa-Baidhu* or the foreman for the slaves is *Ssabaidhu*. So when the Bishop gasped, *What*

shall I do?, the Basoga who could not make any sense of the phrase took it for a name, *Waiswa-Baidhu!*

By the time the Bishop said that, he was crying and bleeding all over, he spoke many things in reference to the people and Mwanga but these were unintelligible to the crowds. As this was going on, the chief ordered the people to kill the rest of the Bishop's party – the whole valley was full of screams and a frenzy of activity as spears found their way in the flesh of the Bishop's men, fresh wounds were made every second and as blood gashed out of the bodies, and filled the valley. Satisfaction filled the faces of their murderers, and immediate silence fell in the valley and the chief announced that the Bishop was next was walked off from the steep, slippery stone scene to another flat stone – the death bed. It is flat and like a four by six bed.



THE BISHOP'S DEATH BED

On the way to this place, the Bishop was pushed, caned and mocked. They say he continued praying and sometimes broke into song – he was stripped naked, forced on to the rock and speared dead. A pit was dug beside this rock and his body was buried here.

4.4 WHAT HAPPENED THEREAFTER?

4.4.1 THE SCOURGE AND THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

For a period of three years, there was no problem. Chief Luba and his people lived happily again, there were no intruders, and the chiefdom was once again at peace. Then there was an outbreak of sleeping sickness; an epidemic that claimed many lives. Luba summoned seers, diviners, and witches in the chiefdom to consult about this strange disease that would make one sleepy even during broad daylight. In fact they suspected the culprits to be night dancers at first but later as it started affecting even the cattle, (*Nagana*), there was cause for alarm.

The diviners did not reveal much to the desperate chief until one seer proclaimed that there was a curse on the land. Shortly after the outbreak of sleeping sickness, came a long drought and famine. The seer proclaimed the cause of the curse to be the killing of the *Magulu Meeru*– the Bishop. A day was set aside so that the land would be cleansed by killing animals and asking the ancestral spirits to banish the foreign spirit and its influences from the land.

All the cleansing and divination would not free the land from the vermin. The tsetse flies were increasing in number. Day by day people were dying. Every homestead was hit by burials and mourning. One of the chief's advisors told him that it is because of the stranger who had been killed and was never given a decent burial.

The chief ordered for the remains of Hannington to be unburied – he requested anybody who knew of the direction from which these strangers had come to volunteer

and take this bad omen away from the land. The mystery was beyond comprehension. All that the people knew was that he had probably come from lands beyond the lake.



The Land Beyond The Lake Where The People Suspect The Bishop Came From.

4.4.2 THE SURVIVORS SURFACE

Two of Hannington's men had escaped during the killing frenzy and for three years, they stayed among people of neighbouring villages. They had learnt how to speak the language and feared to return to their former places of origin. These are only referred to as *Abakesi* – spies. These two men told the chief that they could try to return the remains.

Traditional cleansing ceremonies were carried out on the remains of Hannington that were unearthed and wrapped in bark cloth, and the men, as was the custom, set out very early in the morning. Leaving the villages of Busoga with only little sacks of millet and a white cock tied onto the 'body,' the two men set off.

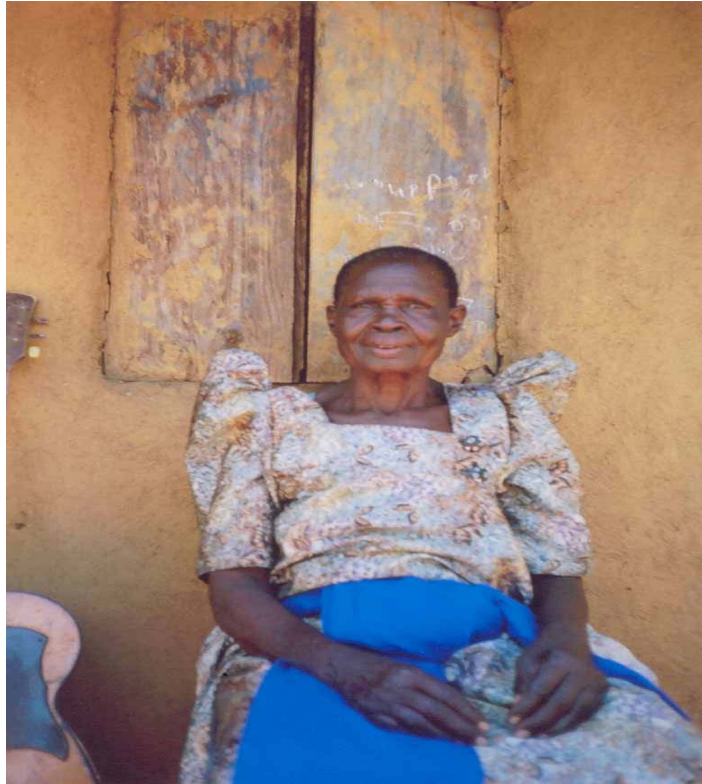
4.4.3 CONTINUITY OF THE NARRATIVE

Sleeping sickness still killed people in large numbers; many were forced out of the area; but the Baise-Munha persisted since this was their ancestral home. Other clans moved to the location of the Baise-Munha clan to which Luba belonged. This clan is not remorseful about their responsibility for the murder of Hannington. Mr. Wakitega who is also a Mwise-Munha told me it was an order from above. And, he was quick to add, “Maybe God wanted it like that. Would you be here asking me questions?” there being no other questions, I thanked him and ended the interview.¹⁹

¹⁹ Wakitega, Samwiri. Personal Interview 27th June 2006

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 THE WOMAN WITH A BURNING STORY: MAAMA AGNETA OPONDO 1944



On the Friday 19th May 2006, I arrived at Busia town, at around 10:00 pm so I could not proceed to my destination-Budimo where I was set to find my first informant. I not at all knew her. I had heard about her from Dr. Grant Lilford who had visited the place a year before. Since I could not move on, I spent the night in a lodge. Before sleeping, I wanted to make sure that I knew exactly which direction I would take in the morning. So I asked one young man for directions.

“Do you know a place called Budimo?”

With a brightened face, he leaped from his seat, shook my hand firmly and declared,

“That is where I come from.” After exchanging greetings, I told him why I was inquiring about Budimo. No sooner had I said that I was a student than he said – *“So you are going to Maama Agneta’s place?”*

I was more than delighted to hear the name. He told me that I would be in Budimo by 10:00am if I woke up early and that any motorcyclist would know Maama Agneta *“She is known for her story about Hannington.”*

This now was proof to me that my first source is sure, but there remained one burning question– did she have the story?

So on the 20th of May 2006 I set foot at Lumino trading centre and to my further delight, the first cyclist that I talked to knew Maama Agneta. We went talking about Maama Agneta, her story-telling skills and how many people flock Budimo to hear the story.

I arrived at Maama Agneta’s compound at around 10:30 am, and her son Mr. Moses Muwanguzi, a Lay Reader at Lumino Church of Uganda Parish, welcomed me. He made it easy for me to create rapport with his mother. Maama Agneta has a very likeable character. She beams with happiness at my sight and starts preparing straight away for the interview. She is as ready as a cocked gun – to fire the story burning in her.

5.1 The Version from Budimo

She begins by giving me an introduction of who Bishop Hannington was. Where and when he was born, how he came to decide to come to Africa. She tells me of how his first attempt was not successful and how his determination could not waver despite

his wife's plea not to come. Here she brings in another story of a young man who wants to go further in his studies but his mother and aunties advise him to marry first but his father gives him what he thought was the right advice. "Go and study." Here she breaks into song, a Kiswahili song connected to the story. As Scheub explains it, the storyteller works with music as raw material in telling and developing a narrative; Maama Agneta also uses this narrative tradition of marrying the music with the story. "These ingredients, and most particularly rhythm and melody, are part of the material of the artisan who creates the story."²⁰ The song she brings in here has a symbolic significance to the Hannington legend. She sings of a man who wants to go for studies abroad but when he seeks advice from various people; his mother, auntie, sisters, all but the father say he should marry first. He sacrifices the pleasure of marriage and goes for studies, which yield much fruit later on.

She links this story to the sacrifice that was made by Bishop Hannington in coming to win the souls of many²¹ and his determination to come and evangelize Africa. She goes on to tell me how he went back after a short illness but then decided to "study" to become Bishop, and then was consecrated as first Bishop of Equatorial Province.

His destination was Buganda but he decided to use a route that had not been previously used by others. He had so many people following him because he was a good man- these helped him carry his belongings. Whichever village he would come to, more people joined his party. He faced a lot of trouble but they moved on. There were wild animals that attacked and sometimes killed some of them so did diseases but his heart was set to reach Buganda.

²⁰ Scheub, Harold. *The Poem in the Story: Music, Poetry and Narrative*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2002.p200

²¹ Opondo, Agneta. Personal interview 19 May 2006.

On his way, however, at a place called Bunya, he was arrested and killed by a certain Chief called Luba. We are told that when the people saw the white man, they reported to the chief who later on sent emissaries to Mwanga – the Kabaka of Buganda. Mwanga had been advised by his Arab friends to be watchful about any person who would use the Eastern route. This happens to concur with the Kiganda belief that, whoever uses the “back door”, is an enemy. So after receiving the message about Hannington’s approach via the eastern, concluded that Hannington was the enemy he had been warned about. He therefore sent back a message saying.

“Mugende mumute” translated as “Go and kill him”

It is however claimed that the order was,

“Mugende mumutte” translated as “Go and release him.”

For the chief in Bunya, that meant “mumute” “Go and kill him” hence the execution of the Bishop.

5.2 THE EXECUTION AND MOVEMENT OF THE BODY

The next part of Maama Agneta’s narrative echoes the story of pestilence he heard in Busoga. After about three years, there was a long drought, which was followed by famine. This prompted the chief to order for a commission of inquiry into the cause of the drought. It was not long before his diviners and advisors informed him that it was because of the foreigner that was killed and buried in an indecent manner.

So the chief asked whether anyone who knew where the Bishop had come from or even the route he used. Two people who had survived the murder and had hidden among the locals and adapted themselves as Basoga surfaced and said they would

volunteer to try and trace for the route and carry the remains. One of them was a man from Budimu whose name I can't remember but we will inquire about it later and the other was a Kenyan. I will tell you the name later also.

So it is these people that carried the remains of Hannington from Bunya but when they reached here, they were tired, did not have water and had run out of food. The people of Budimo were good to them. They welcomed them, gave them food, water and shelter. However, they could not allow them to enter with the body into the communal homestead because according to our culture, it is abominable for a body of a person who is not a member of the family to be put into the house. So they took four sizable poles in form of a bed and laid the body there to prevent wild animals from eating it. For three days, the villagers kept vigil with the porters.



The tree upon which Hannington's remains rested at Budimo. (The four poles merged into one big one with the passing years.)

5.3 THE BURIAL

After they had rested, the one from Budimo opted to remain since he had reached his place, so Omuka decided to give the other man three of his sons whose names I cannot remember very well to escort him. He also gave them a white cow, as is the custom of the Samias to cleanse the homestead after a death has occurred. These went with the Kenyan man to Bumyasi, which was his birthplace, and since he had also joined the Bishop's party from here, he could not go any further. So they buried him at Bumyasi in Kenya from where the body was exhumed again for burial at Namirembe.

5.4 Where did you get all this information?

The answer to this question was most disturbing – when I asked Maama Agneta for her source, she said at first that she had read all that she had told me from a book²². I almost started on another project. After reading the said book, I noted that she knew details that were absent from it. To her, she thought that all she had told me must have been written somewhere and I, being a scholar, could probably have come to just confirm her knowledge. So I asked her about the several things she told me that were not contained in the book. That is when she revealed that other informants had told most of the information about Hannington's burial to her. One was dead but the other alive so we made arrangements to meet the other informant. The two supplemented the memory of each other to tell a clear oral narrative about the events that preceded the Bishop's second burial at Mumyasi in Kenya.

²² Nsibambi, Simeon. et al, *Okuda Obugya mu East Africa*. Kampala: Uganda Bookshop, 1997.pp 27-35

5.5 MAAMA AGNETA’S APPRENTICE – DAVID OUMA OLINGA “WE KEPT THEM IN OUR HEARTS”

In the oral tradition, when a story is created, it is told and nurtured by its creator who passes it on to others. As these listen to the narration, they too will tell others the same story but with new dimensions to it. To perfect the art of storytelling, usually the artisan trains another to maintain the flow of the story from one storyteller to another. This is true for the Hannington legend in Budimo. It has gone through hands of several church workers, especially lay readers, for decades now.²³



Ouma standing inside the trench used to guard the Hamlet.

In maintaining the African oral narrative, the skilled and expert narrator who in most cases is older, tells the story and apprentices a younger one in the art. The apprentice listens and assists where possible. In the case of Maama Agneta Opondo, Mr. Ouma is the special assistant and apprentice. David speaks good English and his explanations are informed. He supplements Maama Agneta in case she gets a memory lapse. He too knows the story as Maama Agneta tells it. He works at the Hannington memorial chapel as a hospitality co-ordinator – so he is in charge of visitors. This position helps

²³ Ouma, David Olunga. Personal Interview. 20th May 2006.

him to stay constantly in touch with Maama Agneta and probably hear the story often as she tells it to various visitors that pay visits to the sites. David makes an observation that is crucial for answering one of my research questions. In the statement “these were kept in our hearts,” he answers a salient question: “Does oral literature have a future? Can we rely on it to inform the present of things that happened in the far past?”

He claims that he too heard the story numerous times from his father Elastus Olinga who passed away in 1975 but was a lay reader at Budimo. An important point to note here is that seemingly, the oral narratives about Bishop Hannington are being kept in the religious circles. This is observed largely because it is the people within the Anglican Church of Uganda that are most interested in the legend. It resembles the Biblical line of the Levites in maintaining the narrative and traditions. This is particularly true in the case of Budimo because Elastus Olunga, the father to David Ouma was the chief custodian of the oral narratives about Hannington then. The current chief informant is Maama Agneta Opondo who is a retired lay reader at the same place. This shows that oral literature is dynamic in that it incorporates new structures in society.

5.6 MR. LUBEGA GIDEON

THE PHYSICAL FEATURES, THE STORY AND THE NARRATOR

Mr. Lubega is the lay reader at Kyando Parish Church, which also doubles as the seat for the Archdeacon, Kyando Archdeaconry. Being at the site where the Bishop was killed, and by the nature of his work, he has acquainted himself with the history of the

place. The church here is built right at the site where the events surrounding the Bishop's death occurred.

Lubega's job description is to act as a guide to the various visitors that go to Kyando to see the site where the Bishop was killed. The archdeacon of the place, Venerable Ezekiel Nyende, is a resourceful person in that line identifies him, however, when I approach him, he tells me that there is Samwiri Wakitega whose blend in the story might give the narrative a traditional touch. However, he grants me an interview on the 27th June 2006.

Mr. Gideon Lubega does not tell the story away from the site of an event, so he is both a tour guide and a narrator. First he walks in silence and in a contemplative mood, and then he says, "Hannington went through a lot of troubles." He all of a sudden stops and goes straight on top of a flat rock; it is about four by six feet – he announces to me:

"This is where he was speared from. Some say he was killed by his gun, but I doubt whether by that time, there were skilled people to use the Bishop's gun – He had one."

He goes further to support his case by an argument that it never required one to be laid down in order for him to be shot. "Probably, they shot him once and then finished him off." So he was speared from here and buried right there – next to this very rock I am standing on. It is widely believed and said that he was speared and not shot.



Mr. Lubega Gideon standing on the rock on which Bishop Hannington was laid and speared to death.

Mr. Lubega takes me from one site to another, beginning with the Luba's well, then to the Hannington library, to the prison and finally to the slippery rock. The story he tells strengthens Mr. Wakitega's.

5.6 MR. SAMWIRI WAKITEGA – THE TRADITIONALIST WITH THE SKILL IN ORAL NARRATIVES

Samwiri Wakitega does not reveal his actual age – he tells me in his culture, children and age are not counted. It brings ill luck. However, confident with the trust that Mr. Lubega can call on him as a resourceful person – he beams with the story. He tells the story from another perspective. Despite his age, which I just guess from his appearance to be around forty-four to forty-eight years, he is well informed. He does not want to blend the story with the Christian perspective. He is in fact proud that his people, the Baise-Munha, killed the Bishop.

He got to hear the story from his grandmother on an almost daily basis. He says that he never listened to other stories apart from the narratives about Hannington.

“Abandi, babakobelanga enfumo dha Wakaima ne Ekibe, aye nze dada omukazi yankobelanga nfumo dha Bantu baiife”

“As others listened to stories about the hare and hyena, my grandmother told me stories about our society.”

He says that it is the love for his grandmother that helped him remember the stories. He admits having been very inquisitive at times, and this would help him fill gaps in the story by himself.

Wakitega seems unaware that he has a gift in storytelling. As I observe him, he relates the events in the present to the past. He can start telling the story about an event from any point. He gives time to his listeners to comprehend what he is saying before he moves on to another bit of the story.

He does not assume that this is his own knowledge, he is always quick to say, “Well that is what I heard, they say, I was told.... Or it is known.”

One aspect that I learnt from him is that if the pictures of the sites are drawn properly in the reader’s mind using local proverbs, sayings or idioms, the listener might not necessarily need to visit the actual sites.

“Bamusindika mu’mpuku oti mpube”

“They pushed him into the cave like a rat.”

Then he goes ahead to describe what the cave looks like, how one must enter it crawling on his knees and belly like a snake. He calls for your imagination as he asks,

“Oba buti kizibu inho eli ife bebatali kukuba migo okuingila mu mpuku, tebenkerezamu bwekyali nga balikumulindhibula emizibu bwe basanba!”

“If it is hard for us to enter the cave with ease, imagine how difficult it was for him. He was being caned and pushed in at the same time.”

This makes it more appealing and interesting to listen to.

Personal pride in telling the story flavours up Mr. Wakitega’s narrative. He is proud of not only the story itself but also, of the fact that it belongs to his clan and ancestors. “They did a memorable thing,” he claims. “Otherwise, people like you would have never known Bunya, Kyando and us the Baise-Munha.”

This is a reflection of what Maama Agneta had told me about the events preceding the second burial of Hannington in Bumyasi. She said:

“Budimo is a small place – but because of what took place here long ago, we are known to the whole world – it is like Bethlehem.”

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 AN EVENT, OCCURRENCE OR INCIDENT AND GENERATION OF ORAL LITERATURE

In this research, I wanted to establish whether an event could influence generation and production of oral literature. I set myself to looking at two events – the death and burial of Bishop James Hannington. A single event can be a source of much oral information. This is because in both areas that I visited, that is, Mayuge and Busia, there are stories that have been developed surrounding the two events.

6.0.1 SITE OF KILLING VERSUS HOSPITALITY

Hannington is now held as a legend and oral narratives have been developed since his death. A case in point was that of Wakitega, of Kyando in Mayuge, of about fifty-nine years of age, born long after the murder of Hannington, but yet he is aflame with the story as if it happened yesterday. He tells it with elements of pride and social acclaim. It has been a story passed on from the generation of his grandmother to date.

His claim is that the death of Hannington caused the whole world to know about Bunya and brought small places like Kyando onto the map. He asks what I would be doing there if Hannington had not died. “It is because he died that you are here to study.” That is the event I was most interested in.

Agneta Opondo also makes almost the same remark,

“Budimo, has been put on the map, the Archbishop of Canterbury was also here, why? Because Hannington’s remains rested on those trees and the people who dwelt here were good to allow strangers keep a vigil here.”

“This small place Budimo and a poor woman like me would have not been known.”

Unlike Wakitega who is proud of the death, Agneta is proud of the people who carried the Bishop’s remains and their hosts at Budimo.

The two are proud bearers of a story of two separate events in the history of Busoga and Busia. They tell the story about the death and preparation for burial of the Bishop as part of the societal knowledge and they as custodians.

Interestingly, either of the two claims to know all that there is about the events. They are aware of others possessing such information and refer to them in case they are not right or so sure. The narrative hence becomes a societal property.”

Budimo’s case was rather unique, when I told a “boda-boda” cyclist that I was in Busia to do a research on Hannington’s burial, the guardian of the information was straight away identified as Mama Agneta Opondo. In Mayuge, I found many informants where everybody claims to know most of the story. In Budimo, Agneta is the first; then others follow as assistants and even an apprentice as she called him. The guardianship of the story is assured, as there is one to refer to in case Maama Agneta is not available.

Much oral information is generated from a single event: death and burial of Hannington.

6.1 THE GENERATION OF ORAL NARRATIVES

As previously seen at, indeed much oral literature information has been generated from the events of the death and burial of the Bishop. However, there has not been a thorough recording of this information. I asked Maama Agneta at our first session in the interviews where she had got all the information from and she said:

“I read it from a book I bought from Namirembe.”

I was disappointed, so this almost marked the end of my research because what I thought was, if this trusted custodian of oral narratives also “just” read what she is telling me, then all is already well recorded. I sent for the book *Okudda Obugya mu East Africa* (The East Africa Revival)²⁴ that she had read. It is written in Luganda. As I read through, I discovered that there were gaps in the written story. I stopped and posed a question especially about how the remains came to Budimo. Here is where the actual retrieval of information as she remembered it began. She started narrating as she was told and I took to recording. In all the material I had read concerning Bishop Hannington, I had not come across much that was being revealed to me by my informants. There are mysteries say of Luba’s well which they say appeared in the rocks after Hannington fell to the ground in agony and cried out “What shall I do?” To now, Lubega says, it has never dried.

There is another mystery not recorded. “While in Kyando, the Bishop was given several tests – trials. One of the commonest in Luba’s territory was that of climbing a slippery stone – a small rock. Whoever was given this test and failed would be speared dead. No one had ever passed the test. The rock is surrounded by water and

²⁴ Nsibambi, Simeon. et al, *Okuda Obugya mu East Africa*. Kampala: Uganda Bookshop, 1997.pp 27-35

mud, so after being flogged, the weary individual would not be in position to hold the “stomach” of the rock in a bid to climb. The Bishop tried it three times and the people laughed and pointed to where he had come from and told him to climb and see properly.

There is still mystery of the survivors, how they had stayed on for three years before they came out to identify Hannington’s grave and dig out the remains to remove the ill-luck, from the land of Busoga. Agneta says, they hid among the people and pretended that they were citizens. So when the chief, disgusted with the vermin and plague, requested for help from any person who knew where Hannington had come from, the two survivors, Osore and Ochola, showed up, and the chief was only too glad to let them take the remains. In Busoga, however, it is not known how the remains were taken back to Kenya.

The other little known fact is the track through which the two porters passed; moreover, a place like Budimo is not mentioned anywhere in the process of finding the proper place of the burial of the Bishop’s remains. There is no documentation about the vigil kept by the people of the citadel in Budimo, how they laid the remains on trees to prevent wild animals from eating them, and why they did not allow them inside the courtyard.

When the elders carried the body back into Kenya, they had to escort the body with a white cow. Mzee Mukudi and Maama Agneta readily explain the link to customs and culture. They informed me that the white cow is a symbol of purification of a home

after death has occurred and the body has to be buried in a different place. It helps to take and keep the ghost of the deceased peacefully away.

The debate on the instruction given by Mwanga to chief Luba of Busoga is another mystical one. The Baganda, to exonerate themselves of the burden of having killed the Bishop, claim that the instruction was “Let the man free” -“*mugende mu mute*” However, the Basoga stick to their guns that the instruction was “*mugende mumutte*”- “Go and kill him,” which order was taken.

Since all these have not been properly documented and researched they require further investigation through oral narratives. I went ahead to document and verify facts in my transcription. The truth is that the Baganda wanted to exonerate themselves through the pun- *mumutte* and *mumute*; however, this comes in later as people write commemoration plays about the event of the murder of the Bishop²⁵.

6.2 NARRATIVES AS RELIABLE ORAL SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Though there might be some forgotten fact here and there as the storyteller weaves the story, this study shows that oral sources are a reliable source of factual information. A case in point here is Mama Agneta and Mzee Mukudi. Mama Agneta could not remember the names of the people who carried the remains of the Bishop clearly. She hesitated, and then remembered only one of the four, and said, “Well, there is somebody who knows them but he is also very old – I don’t think he will be of help.” When pursued further, she agrees to take me to Mzee Mukudi. When interviewed, he

²⁵ Wagira Moses P’Ado. *The Living Dead*. Nottinghamshire The Playwright Publishing Company, 2005. p 45

could remember all of them easily because his own father was among them and the rest were his uncles.

Therefore, since the story belongs to the general society, though entrusted to custodians like in the case of Budimo, still the custodian can refer back for verification of facts to the community. The community also recognises the custodian as the keeper of the narrative.

The story relies on physical features like trees, rocks, stones, caves and topographical features (artificial or natural). So if the story does not flow in terms of facts, these will help the narrator locate the event according to the action that occurred there to maintain the factual aspect of the oral narrative.

At both Budimo and Kyando, facts are engraved in the features. As the narrators told me the Bishop's legend at first, they would say, *"You will see when we get there,"* referring to the sites of the events. The physical location proved that it is not a merely made-up story but one that actually happened. Any additions "flavour" the story and the narrator informs you of this in the wording:

"They say..."

This implies that the statement requires verification. The storyteller is at liberty to enhance the story. It is not merely about giving the facts as they are but the skill of presenting this information in a palatable manner.

Mama Agneta, while telling me Bishop Hannington's difficulty in convincing his wife that he had to come to Africa, sang for me a Kiswahili song. This livened up the rest

of the story so the facts are embedded in the story while other elements may vary slightly from one narrator to another.

6.3 THE FUTURE OF ORALITY

Orality seems to have a grim future because of various factors I observed while in the field. First, is the threat of literacy; like in the case of my first informant at Budimo who at first claimed that she had got the entire story from a written source and yet further inquiry revealed gaps that were missing in the written version.

Is Oral Literature therefore limited by time? The answer is yes, but as the aspirations of the people in a given community change, so does the mode also change to suit these aspirations. The storyteller becomes more of a moneymaker than a mere teacher, entertainer and custodian of the oral narrative. They too guard jealously their art against being overrun by competitors.

Mama Agneta at the beginning seemed to be very happy to authoritatively tell the story to me without hesitation; however, as we moved on, first she introduced in her personal needs, and aside she whispered into my ear of her failing eyes. However, not to tamper with the remaining part, I had to inform her that we would talk about that later so we should to go on with the interview.

The other complication was the feeling that another person would not be of any help – Mama Agneta for example was not very comfortable with the suggestion that I pay a visit to Mzee Mukudi but after some persuasion, she became more relaxed about the idea and agreed to take me there. What I discovered later that she had fears of being

taken to be un-independent with her knowledge and, though not confirmed, there was a little fear of competition from other informants. This, however, is not entirely, true for it so happened that even in Mayuge, Mr.Lubega was very willing to take me to Mr.Wakitega whom he had identified as another resourceful person.

Though in the case of Mayuge, the middle-aged Wakitega was not only hard to find but also very reluctant to tell the story, he seemed unaware that he is a gifted storyteller.

In the present society, which is so money-controlled that the art of storytelling which does not pay at all will die out if nothing is done about it, the artist, or the narrator, is so reluctant even to improve on his narrative skills or even to preserve and make better the narrative itself. Though none of my informants asked for any money, I think they would do well with some financial assistance, I think they would improve on their skills further.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7.0 DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

7.0.1 Review of findings

The art of oral narrative generation is still alive but requires reformation. I found out that even though the oral legend about Hannington exists, the custodians of this information do not necessarily take it as important, or even of an art worth developing and maintaining.

Apart from Maama Agneta, the rest of my informants had to be dragged into telling the story; Mr Lubega Gideon who would have been another good narrator, has got to do it as part of his duty since he is stationed at the place where the events in the narrative took place. Though this is not to say that he lacks the art of storytelling, like the praise poets who do the praise out of duty I feel that the same enthusiasm should be incorporated while telling any story.

Though the legend may be alive in the hearts of people like David Ouma puts it, it is not being properly preserved. No particular artisan is held responsible in all areas visited. Still, on this point, Maama Agneta is renowned for maintaining the narrative, it is also the case with Mukudi, and there are counterparts in Mayuge-Kyando. Wakitega, for example, has the narrative intact, has the skills of telling it but is relaxed, and is not aware that he has an important art needed by the community for preservation.

It is worth noting here that according to my findings about the events and generation of oral literature, any event, observable and memorable to people can be preserved for as long as it holds significance to them.

Maama Agneta relates the events that occurred at Budimo around 1888, as being a gateway that opened Budimo to the rest of the world. She said she was thankful that the two men Osore and Ochola were good hearted and especially Ochola who is a native of Budimo for having accepted the task of carrying the remains.

She goes on to say that the goodness of the residents of the hamlet of Agulu has also borne fruit because of their hospitality, even the Archbishop of Canterbury has visited Budimo – a small place is now known to the whole world, “it is like Bethlehem”.



A FOUNDATION STONE FOR THE ANGLICAN INSTITUTE FOR MISSION AND DEVELOPMENT BUDIMO LAID BY THE BISHOP OF CANTEBURY – DR GEORGE LEONARD CAREY

Informed personnel require training to develop the narrative as well as use it to foster the development of such places as these where important events have taken place.

According to the informants, the narratives portray people's aspirations in specific ways. Listening to Maama Agneta and Mr. Lubega, one could not fail to hear this echo through their speech and the modifications fixed in the legend to make it more appealing. Mr. Lubega says all Christians should go and visit such places as Kyando so as to know what it means to be a true saint and a dedicated servant of God.

Mr. Wakitega on the other hand has got his own agenda to maintain and promote the pre-Christian values. His wish is to have people stick to tradition rather than adopt new ways of life and education. His identity is reflected in the support for the killing of the Bishop just to side with his clansmen whom he believes were acting rightly to protect the land from intruders and their ways which he says were dangerous to the people and hence required resistance while strengthening our own cultural values.

7.1 Other findings

There are so many anthropological issues in oral literature. In Budimo-Busia, I found out that there was a hamlet by the time the two porters carried Hannington's remains. Around this home, there was a "security trench" dug around the homestead and then a perimeter wall raised above the trench, to date; there is a clear trench line on the surface marking where the wall and trench divided..

There are also social-anthropological issues like culture and change in social systems. Presently it is true that people live in scattered hamlets but previously, they lived in concentrated protected hamlets- the farming fields were found on the outskirts and a distance from the hamlets today, people live closer to their farms.

In Mayuge, like in Budimo's, I found items which could be of anthropological interest. First I was told that the people who found Hannington could have gone to the caves to perform rituals early in the morning as they went through the fields around the cave; I found pieces of broken pots which are usually used for burning incense, preparation and administration of medicine. When I asked my guide and informant-Mr. Lubega Gideon, he informed me that it is true that to date, people still use these caves for sacrifices and other cultural rituals.

7.2 Limitations

I found quite a number of challenges and limitations during my inquiry. First is that despite the existence of an oral culture, there are no people trained in the art of story telling. It would have been a little easier with well-trained people in the art. This accounts for the narrative freedom in contrast to the drive to globalisation through literacy, which would make storytelling the same world over. Despite this the informants were receptive enough and this helped me fill the gap.

Most of the information I wanted in my inquiry was to be found in rural areas. This had its own challenges, though it may be easy to create rapport with people in the rural places because they are more hospitable. It comes at a cost and risk in terms of keeping research ethics. They do expect a lot in terms of monetary gains from people from the urban area. I manoeuvred this hurdle by reminding my informants and guides whenever possible that I was just a student. I prepared tokens for them but I did not reveal it to them. I would hand them over at my discretion.

The other challenge and limitation was the location of the places and informants. Some of the places could not be easily accessed even on a bicycle. A case in point is the Kyando site where the lay reader had to go with a *panga* to clear bushes around so as to access the caves and rocks on which the setting of the narrative is constructed. Both places I went to do not have electricity to run electronic equipment like the laptop and video camera.

Let alone the places lacking electric power, equipment for use in the research presented to me the greatest challenge. Despite the fact that I had submitted a budget for financing my research and it was approved, by the time I left for the field, to the end, I had not been financed. So, I had to use a very outdated computer at the beginning, a manual camera I had borrowed from a friend, fell on the rocks in Kyando so I was not in a position to take pictures of the last informant, Mr. Wakitega Samuel, and I did not have a video camera for recording the various sites and interviews as I had anticipated. I managed to overcome these constraints by taking detailed notes while in the field and during the interviews or conversations. For the photographs, I took the vital sites only and left out other details though they would have been important in this inquiry.

The other challenge was that of language. In Budimo, they speak Samia and most translators I found use Lugwe. Though I could follow the interviews and conversations, I found it rather challenging in doing the transcription of the interviews. However, I did my best to reconcile these two by getting people who use both dialects during the translation and transcription period.

Finally, the time within which to do the research was so limited. Though I am thankful that I was given leave from work, it was necessary that I spend more time with my informants to be in position to get more information. However, I utilised the limited time allotted to me by creating rapport with my informants quickly. It was easy to do as people in the rural area and especially the lot that I met were practicing Christian, were very hospitable.

7.3 Educational implications

My inquiry into the influence of an event on the production and generation of oral literature anticipates further research in oral literature based on historical events. Hofmeyr's *We Spend Our Lives as a Tale That Is Told* is an already set precedent in this field of inquiry.²⁶

Future researchers at both post-graduate and under-graduate levels can take on tasks of inquiring into oral literature generated from particular events in Africa and especially Uganda, so that we can be in a position to do a recording of this literature.

7.4 Future Research

This research is not conclusive in any way. For that matter, it is merely a beginning into the inquiry of the importance of an event in oral literature production. In this research, I only covered two events about a single individual in the history of the church of Uganda, politics of Uganda, East Africa as a region and the world as a

²⁶ Hofmeyr, Isabel. "*We Spend Our Years As A Tale That is Told.*" *Oral Historical Narrative in South African Chieftdom*. Johannesburg. Witwatersrand University Press. 2001.

whole. Many such events whether in the distant past or the present, generate oral literature, which requires recording and research.

If the limitation I faced in terms of time and other facilities are worked upon, I believe this topic merits further inquiry.

7.5 Summary and conclusion

In conclusion, this inquiry has been an eye opener to me and should be to many scholars who have not put into consideration an event as being a source from which oral literature can be generated. The two events covered in this study should therefore be taken as cases from which other cases can arise and be researched.

Through oral literature research we can demystify so many historical ‘facts’ or bring to light what lies untouched by other studies. Through this inquiry, I have been in position to isolate some of these gaps and to fill them.

The inquiry also reveals the importance of how the story is told. Based on the techniques portrayed by the storytellers I came into contact with, one needs to employ a given style and techniques in storytelling. They need to be gifted, talented and where possible trained.

The need for documentation of the badly needed information on historical events and occurrences can be addressed through research of this kind. I have been in a position to record though not fully some of the events that took place in Busia and Busoga on the death and burial of Bishop James Hannington.

Like most contemporary studies in literature, this inquiry sought to reconcile two elements in research in Oral Literature, that is, its dynamic aspect of production and generation versus the archaeological one. Then the other is the production of oral literature from an event, its preservation and documentation.

From that point of view and my case study, it is proved that oral literature is dynamic, it grows, changes shape and so should not be fossilised. We should be in a position to do more study and inquiry into areas of its production and generation alongside historical records. Uganda in particular is rich in Oral tradition and yet not much research and documentation has been done to account for and tally this richness of resource.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Hannington the subject of my inquiry was a storyteller too. The excerpt below is from his story: ²⁷ **It gives us a glimpse into his character and his travel.**

Presently, while hunting for insects in short mimosa tangle up to the knee, I disturbed a strange-looking animal, about the size of a sheep, brownish colour, long tail, short legs, feline in aspect and movement, but quite strange to me. I took my gun and shot it dead-- yes, quite dead. Away tore my boy as fast as his legs would carry him, terrified beyond measure at what I had done! What, indeed? You may well ask. I had killed the cub of a lioness! Terror was written on every line and feature of the lad, and dank beads of perspiration stood on his face. I saw it as he passed me in his flight, and his fear for the moment communicated itself to me. I turned to flee, and had gone a few paces, when I heard a savage growl and a tremendous lioness--I say advisedly a tremendous one bounded straight for me.

In spite of the loaded gun in my hand, it seemed to me that I was lost. The boy knew more about lions than I did, and his fear knew no bounds. I began to realise that I was in a dangerous situation, for a lioness robbed of her whelp is not the most gentle creature to deal with. I retreated hastily. No; I will out with it, children, in plain language--I ran five or six steps; every step she gained on me, and the growls grew fiercer and louder. Do I say she gained? They gained, for the lion was close behind her, and both were making straight for me. They will pause at the dead cub? No; they take no notice of it; they come at me. What is to be done?

²⁷ Hannington, James. *Peril and Adventure in Central Africa Being Illustrated Letters to the youngsters at Home*. London: The Religious Tract Society, 1886.

It now struck me that retreat was altogether wrong. Like a cat with a mouse, it induced them to follow. Escape in this manner was impossible. I halted, and just at that moment came a parting yell from my boy, "Hakuna! Kimbia!" I thought he had seen and heard the lion and lioness, and that, speaking as he does bad Kiswahili, he had said, "Hakuna Kimbia!" which might be roughly, though wrongly, translated, "Don't run away!" instead of which he meant to say--in fact, did say--"No! Run away!"

I have no hesitation in saying that a stop wrongly read but rightly made saved my life. I had in the second or two that had elapsed determined to face it out; and now strengthened as I thought by his advice, I made a full stop and turned sharply on them. This new policy on my part caused them to cheek instantly. They now stood lashing their tails and growling, and displaying unfeigned wrath, but a few paces from me.

I then had time to inspect them. They were a right royal pair of the pale sandy variety, a species which is noted for its fierceness, the knowledge of which by no means made my situation more pleasant. There we stood; both parties feeling that there was no direct solution to the matter in hand. I cannot tell you exactly what passed through their minds, but they evidently thought that it was unsafe to advance upon this strange and new being, the like of which they had never seen before. I cannot tell you either how long a time we stood face to face. Minutes seemed hours, and perhaps the minutes were only seconds; but this I know, my boy was out of hearing when the drama was concluded.

And this is how it ended: --After an interval I decided not to fire at them, but to try instead what a little noise would do. So I suddenly threw up my arms in the air, set up a yell, and danced and shouted like a madman. Do you know, the lions were so astonished to see your sober old uncle acting in such a strange way that they both bounded into the bushes as if they had been shot, and I saw them no more! As the coast was now clear, I thought I might as well secure my prize, a real little beauty. So I seized it by its hind legs and dragged it as quickly as I could along the ground, the bushes quite keeping it out of sight. When I had gone what I had deemed a sufficient distance I took it up and swung it over my back, and beat a hasty retreat, keeping a sharp eye open in case the parents should lay claim to the body, for I should not have been dishonest enough not to let them have it had they really come to ask for it.

I then had time to inspect them. They were a right royal pair of the pale sandy variety, a species which is noted for its fierceness, the knowledge of which by no means made my situation more pleasant. There we stood; both parties feeling that there was no direct solution to the matter in hand. I cannot tell you exactly what passed through their minds, but they evidently thought that it was unsafe to advance upon this strange and new being, the like of which they had never seen before. I cannot tell you either how long a time we stood face to face. Minutes seemed hours, and perhaps the minutes were only seconds; but this I know, my boy was out of hearing when the drama was concluded.

Appendix 2

Appendix 3

Transcription of the interview with mzee Mukudi Omuka Paul (1926) at Budibya – Budimo at his home on the 20th May 2006.

AWK – Abel Wankuma Kibbedi.

AM – Anna Mukudi

MP – Mukudi Paul

LUSAMIA

ENGLISH

AWK: Omwami Mukudi Paulo nende mama Anna abe Budibu bafukirira ohutulomera nu nusihwa nwa Hannington.

Mr. Mukudi Paul and mama Anna of Budibu village accepted me to interview them on Hannington's burial

MP: Omulambo kwaye nikwola ebudibu mumwaka kukamanyire. Kwakona ewanahasi, omulambo nikwali nibakumerekesa kuka Agulu kakuva engombe endafu nabana baye bakuwerekese.

When his body arrived from Budibu, I don't know the real year he arrived. He slept at Wanahasi and when he was leaving, grandfather Agulu gave him a white cow and gave his sons i.e. Samuel, Oyubu, Obuka and others don't know are the ones who carried and his things to escort him

Nibamala ohukumerekesa ba'kowoola, simanyire ebya kya mumoni Kuka engulu nje owotulomerenga olukano luno.

Then they came back after escorting him but whatever followed I don't know. It is grandfather Agulu who used to tell us this as a legendary story.

AWK: Hulwasi kamuwerekese nende engombe endafu?

Why did he send him with a white cow?

MP: Mubagwe nabasamia mulambo nikukwola musiriwa syao nga sikwa anga awo oli muhukuwerekese nengombe endafu.

Because in Samia culture, when a dead body enters your compound and it is not of your family member, you are supposed to say farewell to it with a white cow. They say farewell with something that has blood

Omuzimu/esihenyo sihane ohubawa ebiroto bibi.

To avoid ghosts and bad dreams.

AWK: Hulwasi sibafukirira omulambo kwingeri anga?

I was told they don't allow the body into the house, is it true?

MP: Omulambo kutali kwango sibakufukirira hwingira musiriwa era omulambo kwa Hannington kwakona ku omutali.

Yes. The body is not supposed to be put in the house. It was put under a tree called 'Omutali' on the compound and it had to spend a night there.

MP: Nende omulambo kube kwango balinoku ohuwakasa nesisolo esirimu omusayi? Omubasamia, omulambo

Why wasn't the body put in the house? In Samia land, if the body is not of a family member, you cannot put it in

*bakuwerekeresa
Kukugoba nende esisolo esirimu
omusayi esihenya sikane ohusumbuwa
neebirot ebibi. Nsakakira omulambo
kwa Hannington sibakufukirira
ohwingira ku munyumba ya'kuka
Auguru.*

your house. Even if it is your family member's body, you first have to slaughter either a cow or any animal to bring the body in the house. If the body is not yours, it is not supposed to be put in the house. And when they are leaving with their body, you give them an animal ie a goat, a cow etc. the purpose of this animal is to send his spirits from your home. If this is not done, his spirit gives you and your family bad dreams. That is why Hannington's body was not put in grandfather Agulu's house?

*AWK: Wawulira ho sina hubahulutu
nebidirana hu Hannington?*

What did you hear about Hannington from some elders?

*MP: Hwahulira nti Hannigton bawitira
ebuganda omulambo kwecha ebutula ni
kwatula eyo khwecha Ebudibu nje kuka
Agulu yikanera abasyani baye
bakumerekesa naye ebya kowolaho
sibimanyire.*

I heard that he died from your side (Buganda) when he came, he reached Butula, from Butula, he reached Budimu and was given a cow and his children escorted the body. But what happened later was not told.

*AWK: Daudi owuma kohinga kamboleya
nti engombe yali ndafu hulwasi?
Engombe/racharu nje eyiwerekesa
ebihenyo (emizimu) mubasamia.*

Daudi Owuma told me that the cow was white. Is it true? Why was the cow white but not any other?
It is the one that sends the ghosts or spirits.

*AWK: Mama Anna tubolereho
byomanyire?*

Mama Anna, is there anything you can tell us?

*AM: Simanyire ebihira owungi naye sesi
mbiwulira wuwulira.*

I don't know anything but I just hear.

AWK: Omuhulutu wedala kali nje nanu?

Who was the leader of that house when the body of Hannington was being brought?

*MP: Kali kuka Agulu ate nje mulambo
yikwaletewa.*

Agulu was the eldest grandfather so it is where the body was brought and he is the one who gave in his sons to escort Hannington's body.

*AWK: Abana ba Agulu bawelekesa
omulambo kwa Hannington nje bananu?*

What were the names of Agulu's sons who escorted Hannington?

*MP: Oyuba Agulu, Masuna Agulu,
Omuka Agulu, Maswete Agulu. Nje
ababangaba menya nende baba wame
Agulu.*

Oyuba Agulu, Masuna Agulu, Omuka Agulu. Maswete Agulu. They were the ones staying with Agulu.

AWK: Hulwasi batamba olukaba ango?

What is the use of digging around

	homesteads big and deep holes?
<i>MP: Ohwawula ebiha.</i>	Used to divide different clans from the other.
<i>AWK: mahuluta sina akalilululeta omulambo kwa Hannington ebudibu?</i>	What was the significance of bringing Hannington's body to Budimu?
<i>Simanyire hulwohiba fesi batulomera</i>	We were just told this story and even those who told us were also told so I am not sure.
<i>AWK: Mukudi bahwiwula lina?</i>	Mzee Mukudi when were you born?
<i>MP: Mumwaka kwa 1926.</i>	In 1926.
<i>AWK: Babawawo kali nanu?</i>	Who is your father?
<i>MP: Omuka Agulu</i>	Omuka Agulu
<i>AWK: Babawawo kali hubamerekesa omulambo kwa Hannington?</i>	Was your father among those who took Hannington's body?
<i>MP: Kaliho</i>	Yes
<i>AWK: Kahuboreraho ebidirana nende Hannington kali?</i>	Did he ever tell you about those stories
<i>MP: Ye, esidenyu sikali nikasoma ate sikali mu kristayo.</i>	Yes. But the only problem is that he was not educated and not even a Christian
<i>Webale muno</i>	Thank you very much.

Appendix 4: Transcription of excerpts of the Interview between Wankuma Abel Kibbedi (AWK) and Samwiri Wakitega (Waki) at Kyando village, Bunya, Mayuge District On the 27th/June/2006.

LUSOGA

ENGLISH

AWK: *Buti, bino byoli kutukobela, waidha otya okubitegera?*

Now how did you come to know all this that you say you know?

Waki: *abandi babakoberanga ngero dha Wakaima, ife tukobelanga dha Waiswa-Baidhu.*

Others were being told stories about the Hare; for us we were told about Waiswa-Bhaidha.

AWK: *Eehm*

Eehm

Waki: *Buti nze, nasoma katono. Kubalizibwa, na paka mukyakuna. Aye nga nail nhumilwa ino engero. Okusingila ilala dhala omukazi azala Baaba dheyatu-kobelanga. Yali Mukazi musanufu ino, ino. Ela nga Yetyamyekumumikiza, nga oseke, wahla waseka nokunampa wa'nampa. (nsoniwa, aye nga n'amazima).*

Now, I had little education, I studied for baptism up to primary four. But I used to enjoy the stories especially that my grandmother on my father's side (paternal grandma) used to tell. She was quite a jolly woman, actually very jolly. She would tell stories that would make one cry, laugh to the extent of farting. (Sorry for the crude language but that is the truth).

AWK: & Lubega: *Eeh*

Eeh (I suppress laughter and embarrassment.)

Waki: *nga atukobela engero edha bazila Muntalo, edhe endhwaile, edha Abaganda, nedhe nsolo.*

She used to tell us stories about heroes, diseases, stories for baganda and animals.

AWK: *buti edhentalo, ntalo ki?*

Now those stories about wars, which wars?

Waki: *edha Muwanga, bika ne enombo Mumuka.*

Tribal wars, clan wars and family conflicts

AWK: *buti, tukobeleku ebya Hannington.*

Now tell us about Hannington.

Waki: *oh- magulu Meeru. Olibona ere, (Twayemelela okulingu yasonse) Yolengela enandha ere, neyo, gyeYavita, atyo m'paka bweyatukaWano e'kyando. Kiboneka oti, ewaife wano, Yegombewo empuka dhino eningidhamusikiliza, okubawo mpaka bwe bamugema. Mbu, abasoka omubona, balowoza nti muzimu, kubanga, bweyali mumpuku,*

Oh. White legs. Now do you see there, (we stand up to look at the point in a distance where he has pointed). Where you sight the lake over there. That is where he came from, like that up to here Kyando. It seems that he admired the caves that are large in number here in our place, that is what attracted him here until his arrest.

*babonaku bwa magulu gonka ate nga
melu bwetuku! Kyova ba muwa elina elyo
kudonda,*

*“magulu meru” lye bamulipaku mpaka
Bwe bamubonyabonya ino kyava
Akoba elinalye eitufu Waiswa-Baidhu*

The say that those who first saw him, thought he was a ghost because, when he was in the cave (library), they only saw white! That is why he was nicknamed “Magulu Meru” which only lasted to his torture when he revealed his “real” name – Waiswa Baidhu.

AWK: buti bamugema batya?

Now, how was he arrested?

***Waki:** Mbu waliyo abakesi ba mbuga-
bwe Bawulira abantu nga ba gulumba*

*Mumpuku mulimu omuzimu ogulina
amagulu ameru, tiyababona. Yali –
alikuwandika, kyoka nibeyalinabo,*

*bali, nga babazinzeku ila. Kale bano
abasadha ba Luba, bafunaobubaka okuva
mu mbuga nti bamugeme nga bamaze
okumwe kahlisa nga muntu, ti muzimu.
Wuyo bekubye mu mpuku,*

*Bakuluile, basambye, bawituilemu –
bayuzizaengoye dhe bamutwaile
mumbuga ya Luba. Luba bweyabona nga
nibale abantu Kabaka owe Buganda beya
mukobelaku, yakobanti bamutwale
mwikomela, basibileyo nga’ tumila
Mwanga abantu okwebuzaku, ky’abe
Akole ni Magulu Meru.*

That there were spies for the royal courts. When they heard people grumbling that in the cave there is a ghost that has little white legs. They came and took a close look, with their spears poised but “White legs” did not see them. He was writing but even those he was with had already been rounded up long before.

So Luba’s men got word from the chief that the bishop should be taken to the courts as prisoner. After ascertaining that he was not a ghost but a person, they arrested him.

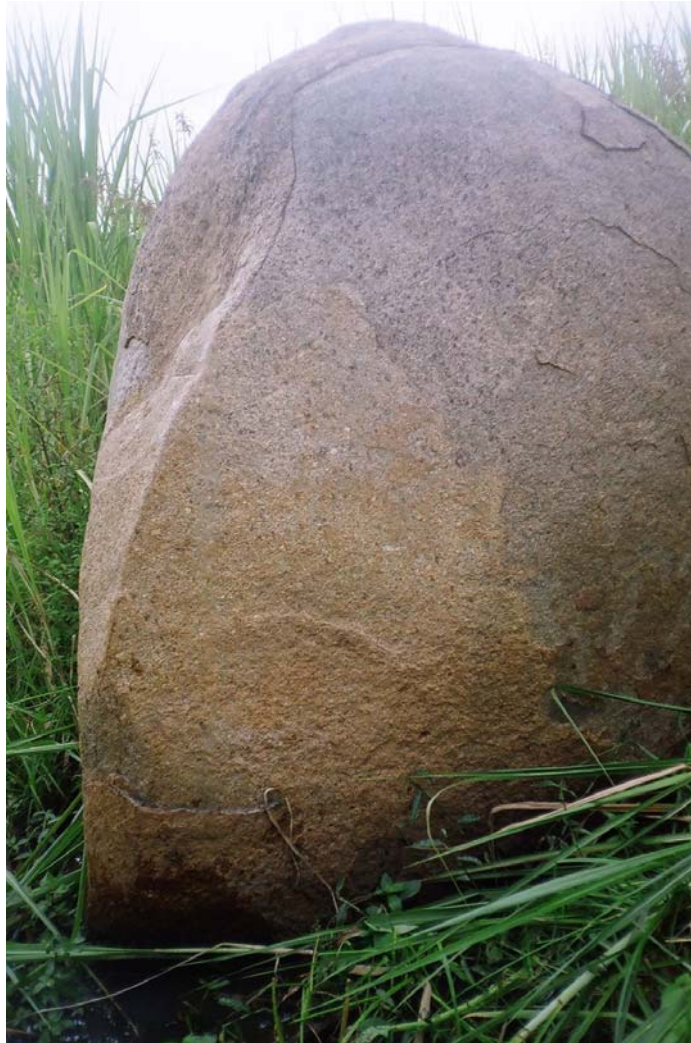
Now they beat him, dragged him from the cave (library), kick him. Slapped him here and there, tore his clothes and up to the courts of Luba this is what he did.

When Luba saw that the Bishop was the kind of person that the Kabaka had warned him about, and called him to stay on the outlook for, he gave orders for him to be thrown into prison – (Another narrower cave which can only be entered crawling). They imprisoned him there as the chief sent messengers to Kakaka Mwanga, inquiring on what he should do with white legs.

Appendix 5: Supplementary Pictures



Kyando is a rocky place and has so many caves, this could be the reason as to why the Bishop found it fit to rest there for a while. Right inside these rocks is the cave in which he was imprisoned while awaiting Mwanga's decision.



The slippery rock which the Bishop was required to climb if he was to redeem his life. Mark the sharpness of the edge and the mud below.



Maama Agneta Opondo in her mud walled house in which she welcomes visitor to listen to her stories. Women in her culture sit down on a mat while telling a story.



Maama Agneta, Mzee Mukudi and Maama Anna Mukudi at Budibya village. Note the rural setting. The cows, dogs, and the grass thatched hut which make up Mr. Mukudu's home. Most of my informants were found in such places.

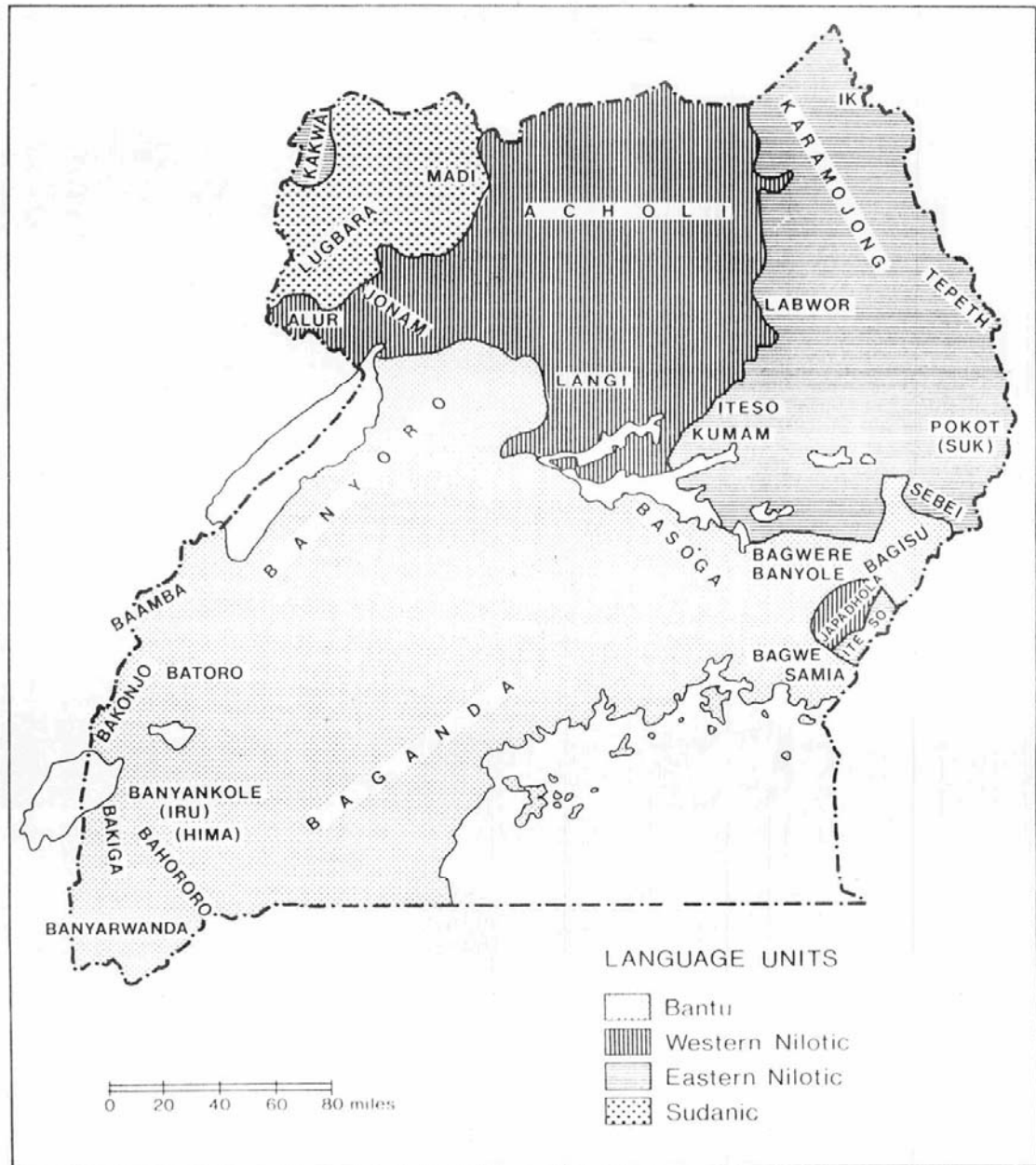


Hanningtons remains were laid on this tree to prevent wild animals from eating it as well as give opportunity to the people of Budimo keep vigil as the porter who carried the remains took rest for three days. They were four poles but have grown in one big tree over the years.



A memorial stone laid at the point next to the trees where Hannington's remains were laid. This view shows the divide in the tree which if not looked at closely, one can not tell they were four medium sized poles that have grown into one tree.

Map of places



Ethnic and language units in Uganda

