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ARTICLE



Busoga states amalgamation and ethnic formation, Uganda Protectorate, 1900 to 1950

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ABSTRACT

Contrary to the common perception of colonialism as an exercise of power within the context of 'divide and rule', this study foregrounds Ali Mazrui's concept of 'unite and rule' as another fundamental aspect of British colonial policy in East Africa. Unable to implement indirect rule in the multifarious Busoga states, the British colonialists were compelled to adopt the policy of unprecedented amalgamations, thereby creating a single ethnic identity at the beginning of the twentieth century. Overtime, Busoga came to be perceived as a territory of the Basoga: one of the major ethnic groups in modern Uganda. The rise of the Abataka Associations as opposition groups to the politics of states amalgamation enhanced the Basoga ethnic identity. However, the transition from the pre-colonial independent states to a single Basoga ethnic identity is hardly historicised in previous scholarship. This qualitative study therefore uses primary sources of archival materials in the Uganda National Archives and Jinja District Archives and five key informant interviews to historicise the primacy of agency in the process of Busoga ethnic formation between 1900 and 1950.

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1. Introduction

The advent, conquest, and consolidation of British colonialism at the turn of the nineteenth century significantly altered the structures of the indigenous African societies in what came to be known as Uganda. The central lacustrine kingdom of Buganda served as the nucleus of British colonial expansion as both the centralised and acephalous societies gradually fused together into one colonial state. Baganda agents, serving as administrators in different parts of Uganda, played a crucial role in promoting the British colonial agenda. However, unlike the kingdoms of Buganda, Bunyoro, Toro, and Nkore, which were highly centralised, the regions of Eastern and Northern Uganda constituted, in the colonial sense, 'congeries of ethnic entities' (Uzoigwe, 1973, p. 411). In the Eastern region, including Busoga, a number of small-scale states, often referred to as 'kingdoms', of varying strength and size had evolved and were involved in relations with the neighbouring kingdoms of Buganda and Bunyoro (Gartrell, 1983, p. 2). Most of the Eastern states were regarded by the colonial officials as inapt, without any form of organisation. For instance, according to Shane Doyle, 'The people beyond Lake Kyoga were Bakedi,

uncivilized, naked savages, Soga were quasi-slaves' (Doyle, 2009, p. 288). Shane is not alone in this view. According to Uzoigwe, 'Colonial historical philosophy and colonial education taught that decentralised societies were uncivilised and possibly lacking in authentic history' (Uzoigwe, 1973, p. 397). This view was explicit in Okalany's 2011 study of the Colonial invasion of Eastern Uganda, in which he notes that the occupants of the regions of Teso, Pallisa, and Tororo were often referred to, in Buganda perspective, as 'Bakedi, a term which meant the naked ones, the backward ones' (Okalany, 2011, p. 25).

It is quite clear that the colonial officials did not have confidence in the rulers of other societies and their policies were often influenced by Buganda narratives, something that was later bound to cause regret (Bakibinga, 2006, p. 13). For instance, Governor Sir Phillip Mitchell, who ruled Uganda between October 1935 and November 1940, regarded the 'analogies from Buganda' as 'false', and the colonial decision to adopt them as going 'sadly astray'.¹ Other than the Eastern region, the north constituted numerous acephalous states whose political and social landscapes did not survive the upsurge of colonial reconstruction and ethnicisation. For instance, Lango, which in the pre-colonial era formed an acephalous, egalitarian society with no hereditary leadership, was territorially and ethnically constituted into Lango district (Uzoigwe, 1973, p. 397). The districtisation and ethnicization of the people of Lango followed the collapse of Lango wars of resistance against the Pax Britannica forces commanded by a Muganda General Semei Kakungulu, in the service of the British colonialists at the close of the nineteenth century (Otunnu, 2016, p. 94). Equally significant in the history of colonial reconstruction were the Acholi in the northern neighbourhood of Lango. According to Amone and Muura (2014), the pre-colonial Acholi formed an acephalous society with different chiefs, the *rwot*, ruling the distinct states in an egalitarian relationship with each other. However, during the advent of colonial rule, the sixty independent Acholi states, having suffered botched wars of resistance, were reconstructed into East Acholi and West Acholi, with each coming under a District Commissioner (Amone & Muura, 2014, p. 251). Finally, in 1937, the two Acholi districts were amalgamated into the Gulu district for the Acholi as an ethnic entity (Amone & Muura, 2014, p. 251).

Driven by the primordial belief, the British colonialists held the view that 'every African belonged from birth to death to a particular tribe that was clearly distinct from neighbouring tribes in its physiological, linguistic and cultural features' (Lentz, 2006, p. 75). Tribalism was therefore regarded as 'a primordial carryover, an atavistic residue, unleashed in an earlier historical period, the era of state-sponsored slavery when the kinship corporation was the only safety net available for fleeing citizens' (Mamdani, 1996, pp. 187–188). Thus, in the colonial view, according to Lentz, 'ethnic boundaries were natural: one only needed to discover them in order to be able to transform them into the bases for the boundaries of the native states' (Lentz, 2006, p. 79). The primordial purview therefore became the spectrum through which colonial politicians and academics dealt with African societies. However, in the aftermath of the colonial exodus, the primordial view came under dire scrutiny, due to the perceived fluidity and fragility of pre-colonial African boundaries in which individuals were often conquered or freely moved and accepted in different states across time and space (Green, 2010, p. 13). Thus, Amone and Muura, in agreement with Mamdani contend that modern ethnicities are constructs of the colonial state (Amone & Muura, 2014, p. 239; Mamdani, 1996, p. 183). Mamdani regards ethnicity as 'not only the effect of colonialism but also the very form of it', an

instrument that colonialism employed to rule the local state (Mamdani, 1996, pp. 183–185). Mamdani's view corroborates with Elliot Green's perspective that 'ethnic groups were more specifically of colonial origin, constructed or invented during colonial rule through a variety of means including mapping regions, the work of missionaries, local colonial officials and anthropologists' (Green, 2008, p. 474). It is thus evident that ethnicity was not only constructed as a form of colonial rule but instrumentalised by both colonial officials and their African agents as well as the political elites outside the government structures in the pursuit of their specific interests. It is through these instrumentalist and constructivist arguments that this paper embraces Mazrui's concept of 'unite and rule' to untangle the Busoga ethnic puzzle.

Unlike the northern-based Acholi and Lango societies in which the respective natives shared a common identity with no internal wars of conquest (Amone & Muura, 2014, p. 241; Tosh, 1978, p. 2), pre-colonial Busoga states were culturally and politically fragmented, characterised by continuous conflicts and secessionist tendencies throughout the nineteenth century (FitzSimons, 2018, pp. 50–52). Anthropologist Historian, David William Cohen notes that there were 68 independent states in Busoga by the advent of British colonialism at the close of the nineteenth century (Cohen, 1972, p. 63). Each of these states enjoyed its independence, with an aristocracy and a hierarchy of officials known as *Abakungu* who played advisory roles to a hereditary monarch. The British colonialists therefore made efforts to restructure Busoga in order to maximise administrative effectiveness and minimise costs.² Consequently, with the support of Baganda agents, the British colonialists amalgamated the Busoga states into one single ethno-political entity. Thus, in the Official Gazette of 1912, the British colonial government under Governor Sir Fredrick Jackson declared Busoga an island territory of the Basoga ethnic group, bounded by the Rivers: Nile and Mpologoma on the west and east, and Lakes: Victoria and Kyoga on the south and north, respectively.³ At the time, the British colonial officials were concerned with ensuring effective administrations through the use of minimal personnel and trifling financial resources. This scenario was not unique to Busoga. For instance, even the diverse states of Igara, Buhweju, Buzimba, Bunyaruguru, and Ibanda were integrated with the polities of Kashari, Isingiro, Nyabushozi, and Kabula to create modern Ankole kingdom at the turn of the nineteenth century (Kabwegyere, 1995, p. 27). Such was therefore, the colonial tendency of political fusion, boundary Gazetting, and ethnic creation that constitutes the policy of 'unite and rule' which manifested itself concurrently and simultaneously with the strategy of 'divide and rule', as Mazrui argues,

If the imperialists divided in order to rule, they also united in the very act of ruling. Whereas the intention was to divide people against people, administrative convenience frequently resulted in uniting territory with territory. The very momentum and logic of imperial expansion meant adding this piece to that piece of land. But the pieces of land were not empty, they had people on them. And so by putting two pieces of land together, they sometimes brought two tribes together in the process. (Mazrui, 1971, p. 351)

Busoga states, with different histories, languages, cultures, dynasties, and hierarchies of authority were therefore gradually and firmly integrated into one broader ethnic bloc at the inception of British colonial administration. The ultimate objective, as earlier noted, was to make the best use of the thin colonial personnel on the ground, facilitated by

insufficient financial resources at the time. This was categorically spelt out in the Eastern Provincial Commissioner's memo to the Chief Secretary, 1940:

amalgamation would mean a reduction in the excessive expenditure while making at the same time for more effective administrative efficiency. We consider amalgamation economically and administratively advantageous despite protests from certain sections of the inhabitants.⁴

Preserving the diverse independent states was thus perceived by the British Protectorate officials as risking the success of indirect rule. It was therefore appropriate that such multiple units be merged to form a single ethnic identity within whose perimeters indirect rule would be firmly entrenched. As Mamdani contends: 'ethnicity came to be simultaneously the form of colonial control over the natives', constituting the 'local apparatus of the colonial state' (Mamdani, 1996, p. 24). However, the idea of a single ethnic identity hardly sank within the psychic of the indigenous people whose different histories, origins, hierarchies of authority, regalia, customs, beliefs, and languages continued to influence their relations with the colonial-state during the colonial era.

Although the historical origins of Busoga as an identity are still contentious, there is a common belief that it formed one of the major nineteenth-century developments, occasioned by interactions between the indigenous Busoga states and Buganda kingdom. Social scientists have often attributed the process of identity formation to relations between an indigenous community and the outside groups. For instance, according to Glynis and Jaspal, long-standing intergroup relations form the precursor to identity construction (Glynis & Jaspal, 2014, p. XIX). This argument resonates with Fukuyama's analysis, which portrays the foundations for identity formation as an evolutionary process 'driven by changing conditions of a broader society' (Fukuyama, 2018, p. 31). In this regard, therefore, Nayenga (1976) offers a landmark analytical expression pertaining to the construction of the Busoga identity as a consequence of the interaction of the pre-colonial south-central Busoga state of Butembe and Buganda kingdom. He notes, for instance, that the identity of Busoga was in usage during the nineteenth century, derived from a hill in the south-central part of the country ruled by the lineage of the Ntembe of the Reedbuck clan. He further argues that Ntembe's involvement in socio-economic and political affairs with the neighbouring Baganda traders and rulers led to widespread popularity of Busoga hill in the interlacustrine region that when the British explorer, John Speke visited Buganda in 1862, he was informed of *Usoga* as the entire region east of the Nile (Nayenga, 1976, pp. 1–3). Nayenga's argument conforms with Cohen's study of 'The Cultural Topography of a Bantu Borderland, 1988', which portrays Busoga identity as a nineteenth-century aftermath of the contact between Busoga states and Buganda, which was later adapted by the British through the use of Baganda agents in the early twentieth-century colonisation process (Cohen, 1988, p. 60). It is therefore evident that the pre-colonial usage of the identity Busoga referred to the region east of the River Nile, rather than an ethnic group occupying a distinct political entity. Modern ethnic identities, according to MacGonagle, 'emerged out of the fluid ones which were manipulated and fixed under colonial rule' (MacGonagle, 2007, p. 2). Thus, the formation of the Basoga, as a collective ethnic identity, was a function and consequence of British colonial policy in collusion with the neo-traditional elites: the Young Basoga and Abataka Associations.

This qualitative study, therefore, analyzes archival materials, particularly written orders, memos, petitions, and letters from the Confidential series of the Uganda National Archives and Jinja District Archives to historicise the trajectories in the creation of Busoga ethnicity during the first half of the twentieth century. Archival materials are interrogated alternately with oral interviews and secondary sources in order to generate an impressive and informative historical account. Second, the triangulation of sources is also aimed at mitigating the limitations associated with colonial records, particularly; bias, Euro-centralism, incompleteness of information and distortion of records. Thus, five key informant interviewees were purposively selected to participate in this study. For instance, two members of Busoga 'Lukiko' Council, Patrick Kyemba and Martin Kiruube, were familiar with the debates that shaped the trajectories of Busoga Chieftaincy histories since the colonial times. Kiruube, being the son of a colonial-era chief, would also provide pertinent information regarding his father's insights about Busoga politics during the colonial era. The choice of Godfrey William Kibedi was underpinned by his sonship to Yekoniya Zirabamuzaale: Busoga's first Secretary-General between 1939 and 1949. Kibedi would therefore provide useful perceptions about his father's influence on the historical process of Busoga ethnic formation. Professor Paulo Wangoola and Dr Frank Nabwiso were identified for interviews because of their knowledgeability as authors on the diverse histories of Busoga Chiefdoms and the Paramount chieftaincy 'Kyabazingaship'. Data extracted from the said sources was then subjected to a thematically differentiated analysis from which subthemes and concepts were generated and interpreted accordingly.

Theoretically, all the data was interpreted through the instrumentalist and constructivist theoretical perspectives, which relate ethnic formation to 'the deliberate selection of particular cultural aspects to which new value and meaning is attached and used as symbols of group mobilisation in defence of perceived interests competing with other groups' (Shyamal, 2018, p. 133). According to Rukooko, Instrumentalists are constructivists in a wider sense because of their assumption of the mutational perspective of ethnicity (Byaruhanga, 2002a, p. 47). Constructivists attribute the process of ethnic formation to the group's reaction to change in specific social, economic, and political contexts. The use of the instrumentalist and constructivist theoretical framework is therefore underpinned by the argument that, the 'two theories go together and complement each other to give a more satisfactory explanation' (Byaruhanga, 2002b, p. 70). In Ssentongo (2015), for instance, it is postulated that 'no single theory has absolute explanatory prowess, though instrumentalism and constructionism embed opportunities for cross-fertilisation' (Ssentongo, 2015, p. 13). This paper therefore studies the Basoga as an ethnic identity that emerged as a handcraft of the British colonial rule specifically for political and administrative expediency. It analyzes the role of British colonial officials and African agency in influencing the process of Busoga ethnic formation.

2. Boundary-making and the construction of a Busoga ethnicity

The British colonial strategy of ruling the diverse identities of the indigenous African populations entailed the practice of homogenising and equating them within 'the boundaries of the tribe' (Mamdani, 1996, p. 184). The 'protected' societies came to be defined within specific boundaries, often under the control of a Paramount chief serving

in the agency of the colonial state. Mamdani contends that 'the prerogative to define the boundaries' lay with the coloniser whose 'power and the list of those to be protected was determined politically' (Mamdani, 2012, p. 27). African ethnicities were thus constructed and instrumentalised for the purpose of political control. For instance, the colonial policy of redefining the natives of Bunyoro's 'lost counties' of Buyaga and Bugangaizi, as 'Baganda', and integrating them within the newly drawn boundaries of Buganda was deliberately intended to incise the might of Bunyoro and make it governable while at the same time rewarding Buganda for its political collaboration (Peterson, 2015, p. 53). The British colonialists also intended to integrate Busoga into Buganda and possibly define the Basoga as Baganda. This intention was only dropped after the compensation of the latter with Bunyoro territories, as noted by the Governor Sir Charles Dundas (October 1899-April 1902): 'when the political organization of the whole Protectorate was under review it was decided to exclude the district of Busoga from the territories allotted to the Kingdom of Buganda, especially as compensation was given to Buganda in other directions'.⁵ As a result, Busoga states were integrated into the British protectorate as a distinct district of the people who came to be ethnically defined as Basoga. Captain William Grant, serving as the British administrator in charge of Busoga, emphasised the ethnic distinction between Busoga and Buganda by remarking: *Uganda* (Buganda) for *Waganda*, and *Usoga* (Busoga) for the *Wasoga*' (Twaddle, 1993, p. 126).

Grant had earlier served as the *Aide de Camp* of General Lord Frederick Lugard between 1890 and 1892 before his appointment in September 1893, as Commissioner for Busoga by Major Macdonald (Lugard's successor) (Low, 2009, p. 172). His (Grant's) obligations entailed safeguarding the line of communication with the coast, resolving inter-state conflicts, establishing friendly relations with the Busoga chiefs, handling all land cases and matters of the *Wabaka*⁶ seeking to enter Busoga (Low, 2009, pp. 170–173). Grant set up his headquarters at Luba's *embuga*,⁷ of Bukaleba, Bunha state in southern Busoga and obliged all Busoga chiefs to relocate from their royal *mbuga* and establish their bases at the imperial capital.⁸ However, the process of imperial establishment was affected by the scourge of famines and sleeping sickness pandemic that hit southern Busoga at the close of the nineteenth century (Nayenga, 2011, p. 160). These catastrophes were further worsened by the outbreak of the Nubian revolt of 1897, in which a number of British colonial officials and Christian Missionaries perished (Twaddle, 1993, p. 125). The mutineers were only defeated and forced to flee north after 3 months of heavy fighting (Low, 2009, pp. 201–202). The prevailing socio-political calamities therefore compelled the British administrators to relocate the capital from Bukaleba to Iganga in 1900, and later Bugembe, Jinja, in 1903.⁹ Even the Busoga chiefs who resisted the advent of British colonial rule faced the brunt of the Pax Britannica forces constituting of British soldiers, and Baganda agents. For instance, Grant, acting as Busoga's Paramount chief, deposed Naika of Bugabula and deported him to Entebbe in 1899, though he was later allowed to resettle in Jinja as a common man (Bakibinga, 2006, p. 2). Acting on the recommendation of the Christian missionaries and a Muganda Clergyman, Yoswa Kiwavu, Grant appointed Yosiya Nadiope, a young brother of Naika to replace the latter as ruler 'Gabula' of Bugabula chiefdom (Bakibinga, 2006, pp. 2–3).

Yosiya's chieftainship marked the inception of a new royal cadreship in a neo-traditional style. Despite being the son of the late *Gabula* Mutibwa and thus a brother of the deposed Naika (Bakibinga, 2006, pp. 2–3), Yosiya was construed by the natives of

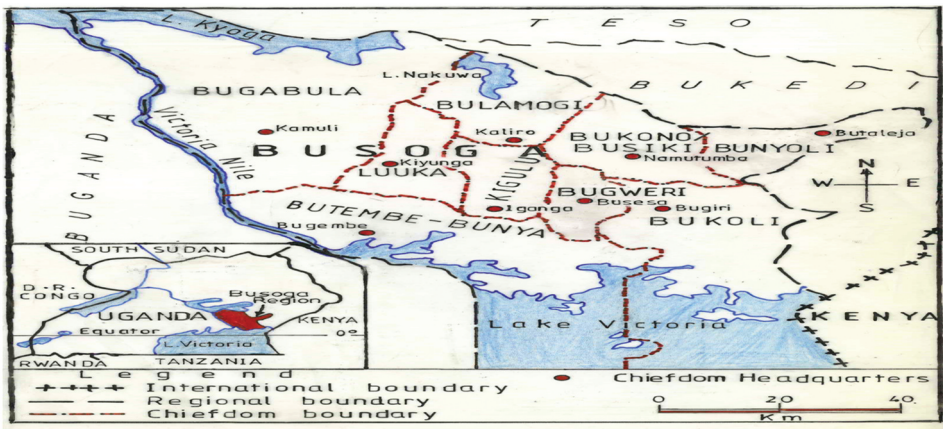
Bugabula as a British colonial appointee who lacked traditional legitimacy to the Bugabula Chieftainship. Yosiya's stay in power therefore had to largely depend on the British support and enforcement. According to Spear (2003), 'these traditional authorities were not as traditional as they seemed, they were often freshly imposed or somehow reconstituted to create a new local hierarchy' (Spear, 2003, p. 3). A new hierarchy of chieftainship was therefore instituted in Bugabula, in the line of Yosiya Nadiope and has remained in power up to date. Colonial officials preferred Yosiya because of his friendliness to the Christian missionaries and acceptance of Protestant Christianity under the tutorage of the Reverend S.R. Skeens of the Church Missionary Society.¹⁰ Rev Skeens commended Yosiya as the 'most intelligent and observing chief despite his young age of about nine years'.¹¹ The Protestant Christian Missionaries generally regarded Yosiya's 'ability to read the Gospels, going to Church every day and asking for special lessons from his teacher in his own house' as attributes of his 'cleverness and steadfastness', a commendable mark for political effectiveness at the time.¹² As a loyal Christian cadre, Yosiya ordered for a six hundred member-church to be built close to his *embuga* at Kamuli. He thereafter led a campaign of dismantling African religious objects, particularly the so-called idols and the cessation of what the European Christian Missionaries perceived as spirit worship.¹³ In addition, Yosiya ordered for the destruction of sacred spears, shields, charms, and sorcerers' sticks, no smoking of hemp, no drinking of native beer, much to the chagrin of the majority of his subordinate chiefs.¹⁴

Although Yosiya's reforms served the motives of the Christian Missionaries' work in Busoga, many of his subordinate chiefs and subjects remained allegiant to the deposed monarch and opposed the newly imposed chief whom they construed as lacking traditional legitimacy.¹⁵ Thus, on several occasions, Yosiya had to report to Grant that 'my people would not obey me'.¹⁶ The British colonialists regarded his dependency as a sign of the desired loyalty and courage required of an African chief. Grant thus noted that 'for a *Musoga*¹⁷ to go before the commanding officer of the District and accuse his own leading and powerful chiefs, shows inherent qualities of moral courage which augur well for the success of his reign in the future'.¹⁸ Yosiya's loyalty and dependency on a British colonial officialdom therefore set the pace for the abolition of hereditary politics, which had been dominant in most of the Busoga states for the last 500 years. Instead, a neo-traditional order of colonial chieftainship was entrenched, based on education, Christianity, and loyalty to the colonial authority. Neo-traditional chiefs were eager to carry out the colonial orders and functions without hesitation since their stay in power was now dependent on the pleasure of the colonial state. Even in instances where the traditional chiefs remained in power, they were co-opted within the neo-traditional order and were subjected to the colonial ruler. As Ssemakula Kiwanuka notes: 'Kings and Chiefs, whether traditional or not, were all nominees of the colonial power which would make or unmake them at will' (Kiwanuka, 1971, p. 316). In Acholi, for instance, chiefs who defied the colonial authority were out rightly turned out of office. Ogenga Otunnu show-cases the chief of an Acholi state of Pajule, who was removed for refusing to put into action 'the colonial policy of providing coerced forced and unpaid labour' (Otunnu, 2016, p. 122). In Teso, Buganda forces acting in the service of the colonial state deposed Chief Omoding of Pigire and replaced him with his brother Epola in the aftermath of a bloody native war of resistance (Okalany, 2011, p. 27). The British held the notion that pre-colonial Teso lacked men of chiefly calibre, and thus, new appointments had to be sought (Gartrell, 1983, p. 6).

However, the creation of non-traditional chiefs was bound to create a cascade of contestations, which defined most of the Afro-colonial relations throughout the colonial period. In Busoga, for instance, neo-traditionalism sparked a series of contestations between the politically deprived, yet conscious royal members of the *Abaise Ngobi* lineage,¹⁹ the Abataka groups,²⁰ against the colonial officialdom throughout the 1930s and 1940s. It was through those Afro-colonial contestations that the spirit of Busoga ethnic consciousness was shaped and enhanced.

It did not take the British colonialists much time to defeat all pockets of anti-colonial resistance in Busoga. The Chiefs, who refused to pay tribute, were subsequently turned out of office. For instance, the Kigulu anti-colonial factions that had threatened to drive their Chief 'Ngobi'²¹ Miro and his British patrons into Lake Victoria were fast defeated by the Buganda expedition under Kakungulu on the directives of Grant (Low, 2009, p. 176; Twaddle, 1993, p. 221). Bulamogi, which had collaborated with the British since the early days of imperial penetration, revolted after the death of Chief, 'Zibondo'²² Kisira Wambuzi on NaN Invalid Date (Lubogo, 2020, p. 31). Kisira's successor, Mukunya Wambuzi Namubongo II, who took the throne on 5th October 1898, was assertive of his royal authority, and consequently staged an open resistance against the British colonialists. He was, however, deposed and deported to Bukedi on 7 August²³ from where he died of gonorrhoea in 1908 (Lubogo, 2020, p. 32). After the deportation of Wambuzi, the colonial officials appointed a Muganda agent, Serwano Twasenga, to rule Bulamogi on behalf of Wambuzi's toddler son, Ezekiel Tenywa Wako.²⁴ The institution of Baganda agents was not unique to Busoga. Driven by the conviction of the Buganda superiority, the British colonialists undertook to appoint a number of Baganda administrators in different parts of the Uganda Protectorate. For instance, Gartrell remarks that 'Baganda agents were appointed chiefs in Lango after the British colonialists got disillusioned with the inability of the local chiefs to enforce orders especially the mobilization of labour' (Gartrell, 1983, p. 4). Baganda agents were also employed in Bunyoro's disputed counties of Buyaga and Bugangaizi following their incorporation into Buganda by the 1900 Buganda Agreement (Peterson, 2015, p. 53). However, the use of Baganda administrators created internal tension as the natives defined themselves in the context of their respective ethnic identities while opposing the Baganda agents. In Busoga, for instance, the natives urged the colonial government to respect the River Nile as the gazetted boundary between 'us' the Basoga and 'them' the Baganda.²⁵ Barth contends that this 'dichotomization of others as strangers, as members of another ethnic group, implies a recognition of limitation on shared understandings, and a restriction of interaction to sector of assumed common understanding to mutual interest' (Barth, 1969, p. 15). Ssentongo (2015) resonates with Barth, postulating the social categorisation of populations as 'us' and 'them' as fundamental to 'group binding' and ethnic 'solidification' (Ssentongo, 2015, p. 24).

The British colonial takeover of the states of Bugabula and Bulamogi marked a major progressive phase in the construction of the Basoga ethnic entity. The two states were the most powerful in pre-colonial Busoga, controlling the trade on the northern route connecting Bunyoro with Bukedi and Teso (Cohen, 1988, p. 60). Their imperial takeover therefore signaled the imminent collapse of any other possible anti-colonial resistance in other states of Busoga. For instance, Chief Kayanga of Igombe, while attempting to oppose colonialism, was arrested, deposed replaced by Chief Mukoba, who was willing to



Map I. The sixty-eight pre-colonial Busoga states as amalgamated chiefdoms by 1950. Source: Researcher. Drawn by Cartographer G.W. Magawa, Geography Department, Makerere University.

obey the colonial orders (Low, 2009, p. 176). However, in the course of states amalgamation, the state of Igombe was demoted to a sub-county 'Gombolola' status under the county 'Saza' of Bunha (Lubogo, 1960, p. 4).

In Bukono, Chief 'Nkono'²⁶ Kitambwa resented paying tribute to the Imperial crown and gathered his forces for a military show-down with the British. Historian Anthony Low cites Grant's remarks over Kitambwa's resistance in the following terms:

When he tests his strength with the Europeans, if beaten, he will submit to the inevitable, but if successful he will do as he at present does i.e. pay no tribute. It is high time something were done to him, as the example which he shows, tends to make others feel as if they might do likewise, and go unpunished. (Low, 2009, p. 182)

Grant mobilised a contingent of troops from Bulamogi, Kigulu, Luuka, Busiki, and Bunya and marched against Bukono between March and April 1897, resulting in the defeat and deposition of Kitambwa (Low, 2009, p. 182). Consequently, the long-preserved independence that Bukono had enjoyed since its evolution as a state during the sixteenth century was dismantled. Under the new political dispensation, Bukono became a *Gombolola* under the *Saza* of Bulamogi (Lubogo, 1960, p. 4).

In addition to direct military conquest, the British colonialists devised the policy of supporting one party of the conflicting states in return for its acceptance of colonial rule. For instance, during the Bukooli-Bukyemante conflict, the British officials were instrumental in supporting the collaborative chief 'Wakooli'²⁷ Kaunhe of Bukooli to defeat Kalende of Bukyemante in return for pledged loyalty to the British crown (Kayaga & Nabwiso, 2016, p. 64). Bukyemante was eventually reduced to a *Gombolola* status under Bukooli in the process of states amalgamation (Lubogo, 1960, p. 4). However, according to Kayaga and Nabwiso, Kaunhe died of an incidental bullet shot by an African *aide* to British officials in 1892 (Kayaga & Nabwiso, 2016, p. 64). Kayaga and Nabwiso's account resonates with F.P., Batala-Nayenga who notes that 'in 1891, one of the porters of the Anglican Missionary, F. Smith accidentally shot Wakooli through his thigh' (Nayenga, 1976, p. 123). However, Kaunhe's

death brought to power a defiant Wakooli: Mutanda who resisted the colonial authority by conducting an anti-tribute campaign (Kayaga & Nabwiso, 2016, p. 65). Nevertheless, he was deposed and deported to Entebbe, where he died in prison (Kayaga & Nabwiso, 2016, p. 65). Grant also summoned and deposed Chief Mbekirwa of Buyende for objecting to the tribute obligation. Consequently, Mbekirwa's rival: Mbabani was installed on the Buyende throne (Low, 2009, p. 176). However, in the subsequent amalgamations, Buyende was integrated as a parish 'Muluka' in the *Saza* of Bugweri (Lubogo, 1960, p. 4).

Thus, by 1906, the British colonialists had established their political control over Busoga. Baganda agents played a fundamental role of reinforcing the military conquest and deposition of resistant rulers as well as the invention of new lineages of chieftainship. Busoga states were thus gradually amalgamated and reduced from the pre-colonial 68 to nine as counties 'Saza' under the Paramount chieftainship of Grant and later, from 1905, Alexander Boyle (Twaddle, 1993, pp. 225–226). This newly invented political structure, comprised of the *Saza* of Kigulu, Luuka, Bugabula, Bulamogi, Bunyuli, Bunya, Bugweri, Bukooli, and Butembe, became operational effective 1 April 1906 (Twaddle, 1993, pp. 225–226).

The colonial establishment strategy involved reworking the pre-existing structure of African states in order to meet the colonial expectations and demands. Local agents played key roles in the political shaping of African colonial-states. Ethnic boundaries were created with new political and social identities thrust upon the local individuals. According to Ssentongo (2015), the African people who once shared a common identity came to identify themselves as fundamentally different from others (Ssentongo, 2015, p. 66). Constructivist scholars argue that the practice of 'boundary making', 'increased encapsulation' territorialization was a fundamental aspect of 'ethnicization' (Aitken, 2010, p. 246). This argument is anchored on the view that colonial policies stimulated 'claims to specific area and exclusion of others, reinforced ethnic identity and distinction from other groups' (Aitken, 2010, p. 237).

The state amalgamation policy constituted a comprehensive structural plan, which reduced the pre-existing states to the number of counties deemed 'sufficient and acceptable',²⁸ 'reduced excessive expenditure',²⁹ while at the same time fostered 'administrative efficiency'.³⁰ However, the Provincial Commissioner's perception of sufficiency, acceptability, and expenditure was in the interest of the colonial administration. The local Basoga did not accept the amalgamation of their counties since it rendered the indigenous rulers jobless and thus affected their source of livelihood and access to the government resources, as noted by the Young Basoga and Abataka Association to the Governor Sir Phillip Mitchel in 1941:

Your Excellency, it is alarming to our ears that the Government is determined to join all the Sazas which are now eight and leave only three which will be styled as 'divisions'! It spoils the jobs of most people now because they will no longer be 'under employment' leading to poverty, amounting to confusion and discontent.³¹

It is not therefore surprising that the Provincial Commissioner of Eastern Province noted:

one of the main reasons for amalgamating certain areas in Busoga was in order to improve efficiency. But our conception of efficiency and that of the Africans differs materially and is sometimes necessary to go slow especially when there is a hard core of resistance to break down.³²

The British colonialists were further confident that after the defeat of all pockets of earlier resistances, there would be no strong opposition against the amalgamation programme. The District Commissioner of Busoga, Mr Noel, for instance, argued in a report to the Chief Secretary: 'Whatever course is adopted, no serious opposition need be anticipated'.³³ According to Noel, the only serious challenge arising out of Busoga was 'its desire for political fragmentation, whose cure lies in the opposite direction'.³⁴ Thus, despite the internal resistance within Busoga, the colonial government was bent to its uncompromising stance of amalgamation and ethnicisation. Other than Kooki, this policy was characteristic with most of the acephalous states in Uganda. Located in the current Rakai District, south-west of Buganda kingdom, Kooki seceded from Bunyoro in the eighteenth century to become an independent kingdom, with close alliance to Buganda (Stonehouse, 2012, p. 530). Despite its distinct royal class 'the Ababito' and language 'Rukooki', Kooki was harmoniously fused into Buganda ethnic identity following the 1896 Agreement in which the ruling monarch 'the Kamuswaga' declared;

I kamuswaga, hitherto independent king of Kooki, am desirous on behalf of myself, my chiefs and people, that our country of Kooki shall become part of the kingdom of Uganda, and thereby enjoy and profit by the advantages secured to that kingdom through the presence of British officials. (Stonehouse, 2012, p. 538)

Notwithstanding the harmonious integration as earlier noted, still there was a visible British colonial hand in the ethnicisation of Kooki as part of the Ganda identity. For instance, besides being privy to the Agreement of integration, Stonehouse notes that Kooki was 'homogenised and addressed as Ganda by the British officials, Buganda historians and Western scholars' (Stonehouse, 2012, p. 528).

Unlike Kooki, where the process of identity integration took a more amenable course, with indigenous consent both at the peripheral and centre, states amalgamation in Busoga was adopted without regard to the popular wish of the local people.³⁵ For instance, the abolition of the state of Butembe was occasioned simply because its Chief 'Ntembe',³⁶ Lusoboya omitted to prepare a camp for the British colonial official on a bicycle tour.³⁷ He was consequently dismissed and his state distributed between the counties of Bugabula, Luuka, and Kigulu.³⁸ Although the British colonialists successfully enforced the process of Busoga states amalgamation, it sparked the rise of Abataka groups notably the Young Basoga and the Abataka Association.

3. The Bataka resistance to amalgamation and the corroboration with Busoga ethnic formation

Although the introduction of western education produced a batch of local chiefs who submitted to the British colonialists, it at the same time planted the seeds of anti-colonial resistance in Uganda Protectorate. The kingdom of Buganda, which had earlier served as the nucleus of colonial expansion, witnessed the rise of the National Federation of Bataka (NFB) in 1920, led by a Westernised *élite*; Daudi Basudde (Lwanga-Lunyiigo, 2013, p. 156). Along with other activists, particularly Joshua Kate: the keeper of the royal tombs 'Mugema' of Busiro and James Miti Kabazi, Basudde sought to force the colonial government to annul the 1900 Buganda Agreement which not only introduced private landlordism in Buganda but had also emasculated the Kabakaship (Lwanga-Lunyiigo, 2013, p. 156). The NFB activism

inspired the Banyoro who were already enraged with the incorporation of part of their territory 'the Lost counties' into Buganda kingdom to enter the arena of political activism. They founded the Mubende-Bunyoro Committee (MBC) in 1921 to agitate for the return of Bunyoro counties, the end of Buganda ethnic hegemony, and the re-institution of Bunyoro culture (Karugire, 2010, p. 174). As earlier noted, seven of Bunyoro counties including Buyaga and Bugangaizi, which contained the royal tombs of the former kings 'Abakama' of Bunyoro were incorporated into Buganda kingdom after the wars of imperialistic aggression and defeat of Bunyoro between 1890 and 1899 (Karugire, 2010, p. 174).

The growing wave of local activism in Buganda and Bunyoro influenced the rise of local contestations in Busoga. Already by 1920, a considerable number of Basoga youths had attained education from the newly founded schools in neighboring Buganda. Schools such as Budo and Mengo played a salient role in raising Busoga's elite class.³⁹ Both young chiefs and distinguished commoners fundamentally benefited from this Western education provision, with the first batch including Yosiya Nadiope (Bugabula), Ezekiel Tenywa Wako (Bulamogi), Gideon George Obodha (Kigulu), Samwiri Mugoya (Bukooli), and Gideon Wambuzi (Luuka) (Mudoola, 1978, p. 23). Some of these elites were appointed in the colonial administration as interpreters, clerks, and chiefs of various *Saza* and *Gombolola* under colonial supervision. However, the inability of the Protectorate Government to employ all the *élite* returnees compelled the latter to carve out for themselves positions of authority outside the established ethnic and class hierarchies (Taylor, 2016, p. 37). Esibo concurs with this narrative, arguing: 'native elites, the products of colonial education demanded

recognition in terms of enjoyment of equal rights with the colonialists and the creation of autonomous space since they had acquired colonial education and culture. When the colonial governments failed to grant their demands, these elites responded by mobilising their ethnic identities as bases for pushing for their demands

(Esibo, August 2016, p. 98). For the Basoga, one of the ways of ethnic identity mobilisation was the formation of the Young Basoga Association.

3.1. The Young Basoga Association and the consolidation of Busoga ethnic formation

The introduction of political institutions became one fundamental aspect through which the process of ethnic formation was perpetuated in British colonial Africa. Contending parties, for instance, stressed those identities that 'lay at the core of people's collective historical consciousness as they strove for power, meaning and access to resources' (Spear, 2003, p. 24). As such, the YBA was formed in 1922 under the leadership of newly *élite-returnees* including Yekoniya K. Lubogo, Musa Kaduyu, Tomas Geme, Zedekiya Wambi, Gideon Mayengo, Benjamin Menya, Yosiya Tibyasa, and Zefaniya Nabikamba (Mudoola, 1976b, p. 34). The YBA capitalized on the popular grievances associated with the politics of amalgamation, decimation of counties and deprivation of identity to spread its influence throughout Busoga (Mudoola, 1976b, p. 34). Thus, for the first time, the Basoga were held together by a unison political force despite their pre-colonial political fragmentations. The YBA was, however, conscious to avoid colonial government reprisals by eluding subversive anti-colonial engagements. It therefore restricted its activities, only

agitating for the maintenance of Busoga's counties in which each respective chief would retain his position and loyally promote government policy. Thus, with the sanction of the colonial government, the YBA reorganised itself into a formidable political force that aimed at 'channeling people's grievances to the Protectorate Government, promote unity and general interests regarding land allocation in Busoga'.⁴⁰

The deposed chiefs and princes, the *élites* and commoners from all parts of Busoga embraced YBA as a tool of championing their interests against the colonial policy, particularly the amalgamation program. Many chiefs had been deprived of their chieftainships because of the amalgamation of *Sazas*, *Gombololas*, and *Miruka* (Mudoola, 1976b, p. 48). Moreover, the amalgamation scheme was undertaken without close study of the diverse histories of the different states, and nor were there any consultations regarding the wishes of the people.⁴¹ As the Provincial Commissioner of Eastern Province, Dauncey Tongue put it, 'if we had to make sub-divisions of a district, we made as many as we wished and that was entirely our affair and had nothing to do with the people'.⁴² Tongue was not alone in that view. The Chief Secretary also noted that the process of 'amalgamation was enforced in the interest of colonial efficiency without any popular demand for such changes',⁴³ although at times, it was claimed that the interests of the commoners 'Abakopi' dictated the policy (Mudoola, 1976b, p. 49). These expressions therefore reveal that the policy of amalgamation, as a precursor to the creation of Busoga ethnic identity, was undertaken in the interest of colonial political expedience rather than the wellbeing of the Basoga.

The 'amalgamation of Busoga states resulted into the substitution of local paternalism with a regional bureaucracy operating increasingly by means of written orders rather than personal contacts'.⁴⁴ The YBA leadership took advantage of the correspondence system to 'pen' letters of protest and petitions as a representation of local grievances arising out of the amalgamation policy. It, for instance, drew on perceived local histories to remind the Protectorate Government of the support rendered by the chiefs towards the establishment of colonial rule in Busoga. By articulating the powers and independence enjoyed by the Busoga Chiefs before the amalgamation program, the YBA urged for the maintenance of Busoga's counties. The maintenance of counties would, according to the Y.B.A 'speed up official work and improve the wellbeing of the peasants who were paying their taxes to finance the chiefs'.⁴⁵ The YBA's tendency of fronting the promotion of colonial interests while instrumentalising the peasants' grievances helps to illuminate the salience of political instrumentalism in the Busoga ethnic construction.

Rather than succumbing to the YBA demands, the Protectorate Government tried to deflate its growing influence of the YBA by co-opting its members into colonial agency. As a result, some of the latter's leading members including Y.K. Lubogo, Zedekiya Wambi, and Zefaniya Nabikamba were appointed to chieftainship positions in the service of the colonial-state. These *élites* served in various counties on a rotational basis as appointed chiefs and were thus salient in the consolidation of the newly formed federation of Busoga counties. The Protectorate Government castigated the YBA remaining members as 'men who merely seek personal advantages or who have neither the intelligence or the education to conduct affairs in an orderly manner'.⁴⁶ Although the Protectorate Government's attacks sounded political in nature, they were premised on the internal weaknesses within the YBA itself as observed by the Chief Secretary:

So far as is known, the association has neither any written constitution, articles of association or statement of objectives, accounts are never presented, membership is ill-defined, office bearers constantly change; everything is typically African, fluid and unregulated. Nevertheless, the surprising thing is that the Association continued to function for many years.

It is, however, possible that the colonial tendency to castigate the YBA as a disorganised organisation was only aimed at denying the latter its due legitimacy. For instance, according to Mudoola, the YBA membership was predominantly made up of the politically entrenched and *élite* Baisengobi royalists who 'influenced the flood of petitions to the colonial Secretariat' (Mudoola, 1976a, p. 213). The colonial authorities were thus conscious of the formidable strength of the YBA and were determined not to allow the latter undermine their authority (Mudoola, 1976b, p. 33).

Despite the alleged weaknesses, the Protectorate Government recognised the YBA as 'a traditionally and still important class in close economic and administrative relation with the peasantry'.⁴⁷ As a result, Governor Sir Charles Dundas wished to co-opt the YBA as a political instrument of policy implementation at the grassroot level and, thus advised its leadership to 'cleanse itself, if its object was to represent and to care for the interests of the young generation of the Basoga, and to see that its leaders were honest men with progressive ideas and good education'. He further noted that 'there was much work to be done by an honest association of young men; if they really desired to improve the education, health, housing and general social conditions of their people'.⁴⁸

The YBA therefore had a two-fold influence on Busoga ethnic formation. First, its identity as an all-round Busoga agency. Second, its tendency to articulate general grievances arising out of the amalgamation policy acted as a binding thread for the different chiefdoms that constituted a united Busoga. Precisely, both the Protectorate Government and the YBA acted as agents in the formation of Busoga ethnic consciousness.

3.2. The Abataka Association and the nexus with Busoga ethnic formation

The continued amalgamation programme created a dearth for employment among the growing number of Busoga *élites*. While the Protectorate Government perceived the amalgamation process as a precursor to the diminution of the so-called unnecessary counties, retention of only the important chiefs and reduction of the costs of administration, the local elites viewed it as a colonial affront to their employment opportunities. The outcome was the incessant rise of anti-colonial protest groups, typical of which included the Abataka Association at the close of the global economic depression in 1933. The Abataka Association leader: Azaliya Wycliff Nviiri Mutekanga had attained formal education at the prestigious Trent College in the United Kingdom. Upon his return from England, he distinguished himself as a prolific Secretary-General of the Abataka, and often 'penned' incendiary petitions, attacking the Paramount Chieftaincy 'Kyabazingaship', the Busoga Council 'Lukiko', the Baisengobi Chiefs as well as the British Colonial bureaucracy. Under Mutekanga's influence, the Abataka Association emerged as a vibrant representation of local interests, capitalising on the grievances of the defunct chiefs who had lost their positions in the aftermath of the amalgamation programme (Mudoola, 1976b, p. 48). Even the serving chiefs, trekking long distances for tax collection and the peasants who suffered the same fate to report their complaints found solace in the Abataka Association as

the ultimate champion of their grievances.⁴⁹ The Abataka Association attacked the Protectorate Government for amalgamating the Busoga 'Sazas' counties contending that such 'Sazas had existed since times immemorial and were therefore touchy and sensitive in the minds of the Basoga as a whole'.⁵⁰ By focusing its campaign for the entire Busoga while articulating its perceived grievances, the Abataka Association added to the solidification of Busoga ethnic consciousness.

The Protectorate Government took a defensive and dismissive stance against the Abataka Association, contending that Busoga had never been a united entity, and that every institution therein was a colonial creation and that its 'flood of petitions was unrepresentative of the general mass of the Basoga' (Mudoola, 1976a, p. 213). According to the Governor, Sir Charles Dundas, the process of amalgamation would even be appreciated as an act of kindness, to which 'the Basoga owed a very large debt of gratitude'.⁵¹ However, much to the colonial chagrin, more petitions rather than gratitude continued to trickle in from the Abataka Association contesting the amalgamation policy. Instead of accepting the Abataka demands, the British colonial officials under took neutralisation efforts and attempted to co-opt the 'dangerous' Mutekanga into Protectorate employment.

For instance, the Eastern Province Commissioner urged the Kyabazinga, E.T. Wako to engage Mutekanga's father, the aged Daudi Mutekanga,⁵² and 'tame' the energetic writer and leader of the Abataka Association. He thus directed in a memo to the Busoga District Commissioner: 'I am still of the opinion that if Mr Mutekanga is handled the right way he will prove a potential leader in Busoga . . . Please have a talk to Wako and his father about him and do all you can to stop him making a fool of himself'.⁵³ However, contrary to the Protectorate Government's expectations, all efforts to lure Mutekanga into a comfortable social life ended in futility. Mutekanga was conscious of the colonial intentions to curtail his political potency and thus turned down every opportunity availed to him. Consequently, the District Commissioner expressed his disappointment, asserting:

Omw. Nviiri's (Mutekanga) methods which took me completely when I first dealt with him. I tried to gain his confidence and thought that I had done so, but I realized definitely that he was only play-acting, when at his father's request, I offered him work in this office and he accepted it, only to refuse it when the day to begin duty had arrived. Later on, he also refused to come to tea with Mr. Switzer on the grounds that it did not pay him in his work to be seen with Europeans.⁵⁴

Mutekanga declined all offers to dine and wine with the Protectorate Government officials in order to not compromise his position as the champion of indigenous anti-colonial grievances. The Abataka Association, therefore, remained a firebrand movement, rallying all sections of the Basoga contesting the amalgamation program up to the Kyabazingaship of William Wilberforce Nadiope when Mutekanga joined government as Secretary-General of Busoga, from 1949 to 1955.⁵⁵ It is therefore evident that although the Protectorate Government and the Abataka Association were opposed to each other, they 'played the same card' of Busoga ethnic formation. The Protectorate Government policy of amalgamation led to contestations that solidified the ethnic identity of the Basoga. Moreover, the Abataka Association's efforts of rallying the diverse sections of the Basoga to contest the amalgamation policy gradually helped to create a single ethnic identity.

4. Conclusion

This paper analyzes the fundamentality of the British colonialists and the indigenous African agency in the creation of ethnicity in the twentieth-century East Africa. By adopting Mazrui's concept of 'unite and rule', this study contributes to Mamdani's view of the colonial responsibility for the creation of ethnicity as a tool of ruling the fluid multifarious African identities. The British colonialists instrumentalised ethnicity in order to control the natives in the aftermath of a successful but coerced amalgamation of Busoga states 'counties'. However, the same colonial initiatives shaped the rise of the anti-colonial forces, particularly the neo-traditional African *élites* and the Abataka Associations. These agencies viewed amalgamation as a threat to their socio-economic livelihood, curtailing their access to the resources and opportunities of leadership availed by the colonial situation. Nonetheless, in their attempt to resist and revert the process of amalgamations, through mass mobilisation, political debates, and documentary petitioning, they ultimately instrumentalised the Basoga identity and consequently accelerated the process of ethnicity building.

Notes

1. His Excellence Sir Phillip Mitchell; Governor of the Uganda Protectorate, memo to the Provincial Commissioner of Eastern Province, 3 April 1940, C-Series, Box 23, A-58, U.N.A.
2. Patrick Kyemba; Interview, 8 February 2021, Jinja.
3. B.F.C, Childs-Clarke; Amalgamation of Counties in Busoga; Memo to the Provincial Commissioner of Eastern Province, 24 November 1944, C-Series, Box 22, A-58, U.N.A.
4. Provincial Commissioner of Eastern Province; Reorganisation of Bugabula County, Busoga District; Memo to the Honourable Chief Secretary, Entebbe, Uganda Protectorate, 15 October 1940, C-Series, Box 23, A-58, U.N.A.
5. Sir Charles Dundas; Governor of the Uganda Protectorate (November 1940-December 1944); Memo; An excerpt from 'The Uganda Protectorate' by Sir Harry Johnston, G.C.M.G.K.C.B, Box 22, A58, C-Series.
6. *Wabaka* was the term used by the early British colonial officials to refer to the King's messengers in Busoga.
7. Luba was the royal title for the ruler of Bunya, a southern Busoga state since the precolonial times until the abolition of Kingdoms and Cultural institutions by the Ugandan Post-colonial government under Apollo Milton Obote in 1967. *Embuga* was the term used to refer to the ruler's Royal capital or court. Due to the political fragmentation, each Busoga ruler had his *embuga*.
8. Eridadi Wandira, Zefaniya Munaba, Amos Kaduyu; YBA memo to Sir Alfred Labe Beit of the Colonial Office, London, Visiting the Uganda Protectorate, 1944, C-Series, Box 22, A-58, U.N.A.
9. C.I.J Hastie; Welfare Officer's Report on the Work in Busoga, Uganda Protectorate, 19 December 1947, File 5, Box 1, J.D.A.
10. The Rev. S.R. Skeens; Little Nadiopé of North Busoga; The Church Missionary Gleaner, 1 July 1901, East Africana Library Periodicals, Makerere University.
11. The Rev. S.R. Skeens; *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. Musoga; Singular identity for a person hailing from the Basoga tribe.
18. *Ibid.*

19. Abaise Ngobi; Members of the Royal Houses in especially northern Busoga states claiming origin to the royal house of the Abakama of Bunyoro Kingdom.
20. Abataka; Elite political groups that contested the British colonial policy in Busoga.
21. Ngobi; Royal title for the ruler of Kigulu state in central Busoga.
22. *Zibondo*; Royal title for the ruler of Bulamogi, one of the prominent states in north eastern Busoga.
23. Abataka Abalamogi (Natives of Bulamogi); Petition to the Governor over the Transfer of Zefaniya Nabeta, n.d, C-Series, Box 26, A-56, U.N.A.
24. Abataka Abalamogi (Natives of Bulamogi); Petition to the Governor over the Transfer of Zefaniya Nabeta, n.d, C-Series, Box 26, A-56, U.N.A.
25. Godfrey William Kibedi; Interview by the Researcher, 2 February 2021, Bufuula, Jinja.
26. *Nkono*; Royal title for a ruler of Bukono state in north-central Busoga
27. *Wakooli*; Royal title for a ruler of Bukooli state in southern Busoga.
28. Provincial Commissioner of Eastern Province; Busoga Native Administration; 20 September 1944, C-Series, Box 22, A-58, U.N.A.
29. Provincial Commissioner of Eastern Province; Reorganisation of Bugabula County, Busoga District; Memo to the Honourable Chief Secretary, Entebbe, Uganda Protectorate, 15 October 1940, C-Series, Box 23, A-58, U.N.A.
30. Provincial Commissioner of Eastern Province; Ibid.
31. Young Basoga and Abataka Association; Letter to His Excellency, the Governor of Uganda Protectorate, 25 August 1941, C-Series, Box 22, A-58, U.N.A.
32. B.C.F Childs-Clarke; District Commissioner of Busoga; Amalgamation of Counties in Busoga; Memo to the Provincial Commissioner of Eastern Province, 24 November 1944, C-Series, Box 22, A-58, U.N.A.
33. O.C Noel; District Commissioner of Busoga, Report on the Reorganisation of Bugabula, 7 October 1940, C-Series, Box 23, A-58, U.N.A.
34. O.C Noel; D.C, Busoga; Ibid.
35. Provincial Commissioner of Eastern Province; Memo to the Governor, Uganda Protectorate, Entebbe, 11 December 1944, C-Series, Box 22, A-58, U.N.A.
36. Ntembe; Royal title for a ruler of Butembe state in south-central Busoga.
37. B.C.F Childs-Clarke; District Commissioner of Busoga; Amalgamation of Counties in Busoga; Memo to the Provincial Commissioner of Eastern Province, 24 November 1944, C-Series, Box 22, A-58, U.N.A.
38. B. C. F Childs-Clarke; Ibid.
39. Frank Wilberforce Nabwiso, Interview, 25 January 2021, Jinja, Busoga.
40. Eridadi Wandira, Zefaniya Munaba, Amos Kaduyu; Y.B.A memo to Sir Alfred Labe Beit of the Colonial Office, London, Visiting the Uganda Protectorate, 1944, C-Series, Box 22, A-58, U.N.A.
41. Provincial Commissioner of Eastern Province; Busoga Native Administration; 20 September 1944, C-Series, Box 22, A-58, U.N.A.
42. Dauncey E. Tongue; Provincial Commissioner of Eastern Province; Memo; 26 October 1942, C-Series, Box 22, A-58, U.N.A.
43. The Chief Secretary; Uganda Protectorate; possibly addressed to the Provincial Commissioner of Eastern Province due to the established colonial bureaucracy and communication protocol, probably at a certain date in 1944 as it seems to be a response to the previous Y.B.A and Abataka Association petition in protest against the proposed Eastern provincial Conference addressed to the Honourable Secretary of State for Colonies on 6 June 1944, C-Series, Box 22, A-58, U.N.A.
44. The Chief Secretary; Uganda Protectorate; n.d, Ibid.
45. Eridadi Wandira, Zefaniya Munaba, Amos Kaduyu; YBA memo to Sir Alfred Lane Beit of the Colonial Office, London, Visiting the Uganda Protectorate, 1944, C-Series, Box 22, A-58, U.N.A.
46. His Excellency the Governor; Uganda Protectorate; Record of the speech to the Busoga District Council, 14 September 1944, C-Series, Box 22, A-58, U.N.A.
47. The Chief Secretary; Uganda Protectorate; 1944, C-Series, Box 22, A-58, U.N.A.
48. His Excellency the Governor; Uganda Protectorate; Address to the Y.B.A and Abataka Association Deputations, 8 September 1944, C-Series, Box 22, A-58, U.N.A.

49. Abataka of Namasiga, Bunya-Butembe County; Petition to the Governor, 6 September 1942, C-Series, Box 22, A-58, U.N.A.
50. Y.B.A and Abataka Association; Petition to the Governor, 25 August 1941, C-Series, Box 22, A-58, U.N.A.
51. His Excellency the Governor; Uganda Protectorate; Address to the Y.B.A and Abataka Association Deputations, 8 September 1944, C-Series, Box 22, A-58, U.N.A.
52. Daudi Mutekanga: Born to Igaga Mutekanga of the Abaisemusuubo clan who migrated from Bugweri to Bugabula during the reign of Gabula Mutibwa in the 1880s. The young Mutekanga got raised and tutored in public administration at Gabula's court, at a time when British colonialism was making its inroads into Busoga. After his conversion and baptism into Protestant Christianity, Mutekanga was appointed Sub-county 'Gombolola' Chief in 1906 and, later in 1911, Prime Minister 'Katuukiro' of Bugabula. When the Gabula Yosiya Nadiope died suddenly in 1913 after a quarrel with the Eastern Province Commissioner, Fredrick Spire, the British colonial government appointed Mutekanga regent Saza Chief 'Gabula' of Bugabula on behalf of Nadiope's toddler-son, William Wilberforce Nadiope Kadhumbula. Mutekanga served in that capacity up to 20 January 1933, the same year his son, the young Azaliya Mutekanga joined political activism as Secretary-General of the Abataka Association (D.J Bakibinga, 2016: 15–18, Martin Kiruube; Interviewed by Researcher, 1 March 2021, Wakitaka, Jinja)
53. Provincial Commissioner of Eastern Province; Memo to the District Commissioner of Busoga, 9 January 1937, C-Series, Box 20, A-58, U.N.A.
54. District Commissioner of Busoga; Response to the Y.B.A and Abataka Association Petition to the Provincial Commissioner Eastern Province, 10 October 1939, C-Series, Box 22, A-58, U.N.A.
55. District Commissioner; memo, 9 August 1955, File 17, Box 1, Jinja District Archives.

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Appendix

Interview Guide

- (1) What was the origin of the different royal clans of Busoga and how are their origins reflected in the ethno-cultural and political conflicts?
- (2) Why did not Busoga evolve into a single ethnic entity before colonial rule?
- (3) How did Busoga evolve from multiple ethnic units, political states, and principalities into one ethnic entity?
- (4) Why did the British decide on the amalgamation policy as the way forward for Busoga?
- (5) Who were some of the first Busoga elites?
- (6) Which schools were fundamental in the creation of these elites?
- (7) What role did the Busoga elites play in the Basoga ethnic formation?
- (8) How did the YBA and Abataka Association influence the process of the Basoga ethnic formation?