

*MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED BY THE MUBENDE  
BANYORO COMMITTEE TO THE COMMISSION OF  
PRIVY COUNCILLORS APPOINTED TO INVESTIGATE  
THE ISSUE OF BUNYORO'S LOST COUNTIES OF  
BUYAGA, BUGANGAIZI, BUWEKULA, BUGERERE,  
BURULI AND PORTIONS OF THE COUNTIES OF  
SINGO AND BULEMEEZI (RUGONJO)*

The Right Honourable Sirs,

We, the signatories to this memorandum, for and on behalf of the Banyoro native and other non-Baganda residents of the Lost Counties, have the honour to lay before you our humble submissions for your favourable consideration in the manner most compatible with British justice and with the principles of the United Nations Charter of Human Rights.

We are the Banyoro native of this our homeland comprising the six Lost Counties which formed part of the largest Kingdom of Kitara in Central Africa. These six lost counties, transferred by British Officials from our natural Kingdom to Buganda, are the very core of Bunyoro-Kitara containing the traditions, royal hills and other regalia which we cherish to this day.

The territories we claim to be restored to Bunyoro Kingdom without any shadow of doubt or any hesitation about their boundaries are those declared by Mr. E. J. L. Berkeley in his despatch of 19th November, 1896, to the Marquis of Salisbury as follows:

“It is revealed in R.A. Omukama of Bunyoro's Petition to H.M. The Queen on the Lost Counties issue that on 19th November, 1896 Mr. E. J. L. Berkeley reported the following to the Marquis of Salisbury in a despatch numbered 113: “I proceeded to explain

the distribution of these territories between two religious parties as made by Col. Colvile, would be maintained, namely, the district (marked as South Unyoro) bounded to the North by Ngusi river, to the west by the south-east shore of Lake Albert, to the south by Muzizi river and to the east by Kitumbwi river, would go to the Catholics and the territory lying to the east thereof, viz bounded to the North by the Kafu River to the east by the Nile and to the south by Buganda (as therefore) would go to the Protestants."

The aforesaid was the despatch that sealed off the freedom of many hundreds of thousands of Banyoro, the inhabitants of the Lost Counties from year 1896 to the present date.

Such gross injustice did not escape the notice of Mr. Pulteny, the Banyoro District Commissioner of the time who tendered the following resignation to Mr. Berkeley:

"If you decide that South Unyoro is to be handed over to the Roman Catholics, particularly under Lwekula, I regret to be obliged under these circumstances to request you to accept my entire resignation of all civil administration in Unyoro and appoint some officer to relieve me of these duties."

The British administrators in Uganda further sealed off the freedom of Banyoro the inhabitants of the Lost Counties by concluding the 1900 Agreement with Buganda and inserting the lost counties within Buganda boundary without any special regard for the Banyoro.

Confirming our claim stated earlier in this memorandum, we wish to quote a statement by Mr. J. E. P. Postlethwaite, formerly Provincial Commissioner, Buganda, in his Book *I Look Back* which reads as follows:

"In any case, it seemed impossible to make up for the loss to the unfortunate Banyoro of what was in fact their Holy of Holies and the real centre of their Kingdom. It was only an accident, after all, at the time of agreement the Baganda were temporarily in the ascendancy. Incidentally, the caves of the rocky hills near Kakumiro had been standing place of the Banyoro from which, as far as I know, the Baganda had never successfully dislodged them, while in Buyaga, lie the graves of the Banyoro Bakama, where every creature, hill rock and blade of grass cries aloud to those interested that they are Banyoro and can never be anything else!"

It is the same author and Buganda Provincial Commissioner who points out the following in the same book:

“The inclusion of Mubende District in Buganda Kingdom is considered by many to have been one of the greatest blunders we committed in the past.”

We wish to show the Commission here some of our history and traditions, maintained to this day, traditions which will continue to exist even in future, as confirmed in the new Constitution of Uganda which safeguards the traditions and customs of each and every kingdom including the Kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara. The following are a few notes on each of the six Lost Counties:

#### *BUGANGAIZI:*

This was a county of Bunyoro ruled (at the coming of the first Europeans) by Kikukule living at Kasaka (at present Bukumi R.C.H.). This County contains: Bunyoro's royal tombs of our former Kings and Princes: 2 tombs of King Duhaga I at Irangarra in Sabagabo sub-county, one tomb of Queen Masamba d/o Winyi at Rwembuba in Sabaddu sub-county, and another place of Bunyoro's royal drum: Kanumi. At the said former county headquarters (Bukumi R.C.M.) we still find the drum of office presented to Chief Kikukule of Bugangaizi by the Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara. There is also an important cave, Semwema, near Kakumiro which was Bunyoro's army's stronghold as confirmed by Mr. Postlethwaite formerly Provincial Commissioner, Buganda, as quoted above.

#### *BUHEKURA:*

This was Bunyoro's most important territory where all coronation functions were performed. In this county is situated the Coronation Hill of MUBENDE where Queen Nyakahuma resided and was in charge of Bunyoro's ancient palace of King Ndahura. Traditional coronation functions were always performed there throughout our long history down to the coronation of King Cwa II Kabalega. On the same spot are the royal fountain and the coronation tree known today as the Witch Tree (which we always call Nyakahuma's Tree) that can still be seen near the Protectorate Agent's house. Queen Nyakahuma, the said keeper of Bunyoro's ancient coronation palace, was dismissed from her official residence on Mubende hill in 1907 by the British so as to build the present District Headquarters. With the kind permission of R. A. Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara, Sir Tito Winyi IV, K.B.C., C.B.E., some of Bunyoro's regalia, formerly kept by Nyakahuma on Mubende hill, were taken to the Uganda Museum

where a fine portrait and display of Nyakahuma may be seen. When the Protectorate Government officials dismissed Nyakahuma from Mubende, they destroyed Bunyoro's royal residence, filled up the royal fountain, and left only the Coronation Tree which is the only sign left of our cherished traditional site.

When Nyakahuma died, after she had been dismissed from her official residence on Mubende hill, she was buried at Kyakatabarwa near Mubende where members of her family still live looking after some of Bunyoro's regalia and still hoping for the day when they will be permitted to return to their residence up the hill and to resume their traditional functions of the Kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara.

### *EBUURU*

After the opening coronation ceremonies at Mubende, the new Omukama is then taken to *Habuuru* at the northern side of Butoroogo hills, in Sabaddu sub-county of Buwekula, where the coronation ceremonies are continued. This site is in fact the ancient palace of King Rukidi Mpuuga the ancestor of Bunyoro's Babiito Kings who have ruled the Kingdom to this day. In the same area, the British built Fort Grant when they invaded our Kingdom and fought with Chief Kikukule who ruled the district.

### *BUYAGA*

The importance of this county to the Kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara cannot be overstressed. The county Chief at that time was Rusebe s/o Rukumba Rukirabanyoro grandson of Omukama Kyebambe Nyamutukura. The County headquarters were at Nkeirwe (Kitemba), Pachwa in Sabaawali sub-county. This county contains very many of the royal tombs of our former kings, namely: Kyebambe IV Kamurasi at Ngangi, Nyabongo at Bukonda and Kinogozi, Olimi IV Rwakabale at Kitoonya, Winyi I at Kicunda near Mugalama, Kyabambe III Nyamutukura at Kibeedi and Bujogoro, Isansa III at Kiguhyo, Kabagonza at Kasimbi, Olimi Kabagungu at Buziba, and many other of Bunyoro's princes and princesses.

There are in this county several important people, who were heads of our traditions in this area, such as Mihinga/Kyanku of Rucoma (Buyaga), Mutuba first sub-county, and Bwemi who live at Bwema, Sabaddu sub-county in the extreme west of Buyaga.

### *RUGONJO (NORTH SINGO/BULEMEEZI)*

This is another territory of Bunyoro Kingdom which was ruled

(at the time of the arrival of the British) by Chief Mutengesa. His Headquarters were at Kicucu. This county also contains traditional places of importance to the kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara, namely: The royal tombs of King Winyi I at Kiburara, Mutuba four sub-county (Bukomero), Singo; King Olimi Rwitamahanga at Kalimbi, Mutuba II sub-county (Kadoma), and other burial grounds of our princes. This district was allotted by the Omukama to several princes who owned private estates here and there. One of Bunyoro's most important heads of our royal traditions, *Omukonda* lived at *Kikonda* in the same Mutuba II sub-county, and whenever the Coronation (Empango) ceremonies took place at the palace headquarters, the royal drummers and other regalia heads and all people used to travel to the Omukonda's residence in North Singo (Kikonda) to continue the ceremonies there according to tradition.

### **BURULI**

This county of Bunyoro Kingdom was ruled by an important traditional royal Chief, Princess Nyangoma, whose headquarters were at Kyaruhweza, (Mumyoka sub-county, Buruli).

Today, the successor of Princess Nyangoma, Chief of Buruli, *Warwo* by name, lives at Nyakatoma, Sabaddu sub-county. The actual administration of the territory was the responsibility of Chief *Kadyebo* who lived at Kamuniina, Kigweri (sub-county of Sabaddu). There was also in this county Bunyoro's admiral *Rubanga rwa Kyagwire* who was in charge of the Omukama's canoes and boats on Lake Kioga and River Nile. In the same area is the burial ground of Prince Jaasi Nyakimoso (son of Kabaleega) who died shortly after the capture of his father. Kabaleega's mother, Queen Nyamutahingurwa was buried also in this county at Kaguhyo village. Kabagambe rwa-Iteera and Ibanda were important sub-chiefs who ruled the area.

### **BUGERERE (Bunyara)**

This is again an important county of Bunyoro-Kitara, ruled by royal hereditary chief, *Nyamunyonjo*, first hereditary chieftainship was maintained up to the time of the transfer of the said counties to Buganda, but the successor of Nyamuyongo still lives in the area.

Prince Yusufu Rwadeba of Bunyoro was buried in this county at Galilaya. There is a Muniyoro notable, Kibandwa Ntimba who lived at Kizinga, Kalenge, Bugerere. Nyamunyonjo was responsible for the Omukama's canoes on Rivers Sezibwa and Nile. This was witnessed by Speke the explorer who was told by Nyamunyonjo that he could not

use Bunyoro's boats to travel northward into Kitara until the Omukama gave orders.

All the named six counties belonged definitely to Bunyoro, but were simply transferred to Buganda by the early British for reasons as yet unknown to all the Banyoro race.

At the present time, the following Baganda Chiefs are ruling the said six counties:

<i>County</i>	<i>Chief's name</i>
Buyaga	Emmanuel Kayemba
Bugangaizi	Simon Kiruruta
Buhekura	Joseph Kiggundu
Buruli	Marko Lwanga
Bugerere	Mr. Kigozi
North Singo	James Lutaya
North Bulemeezi	Latima Sebanakitta.

And all the Gombolola Chiefs administering the six lost counties are Baganda and their Banyoro subordinates who accepted to *become* Baganda in pursuance of Mr. J. L. Berkeley's instructions, as contained in his despatch to the Marquis of Salisbury, dated 19th November, 1896:

"At the same time, however, that these Provinces became part of the Kingdom of Uganda so would their native inhabitants become *Waganda* . . ."

All the Magistrates in the Lost Counties are Baganda, and for the past sixty-one years, all the Chiefs who administer the Lost Counties have always been sent here from Buganda.

### *VIRTUAL ENSLAVEMENT*

Despite the established fact that "slavery" long before the discussion and eventual signing of "The Atlantic Charter" by the great Nations of the world after the last War, it is to be deplored to find that Buganda Kingdom alone appears to be the only country among the many British Dependencies, that still cherishes and revives the vestiges of "slavery" and "exploitation".

At the time when the terms of the 1900 Agreement was signed, after careful mutual friendly discussions, residents in these 6 counties, were not informed, much less officially represented. This is 61 years ago. We were similarly left out of all consideration quite recently at the time of the discussion and signing of the 1955 Buganda Agreement. Our cable to the Secretary of State for the Colonies copied to His Excellency the Governor of Uganda, on this subject, refers.

Our continual bitter experience of "virtual enslavement" under the Buganda Government even at the present stage of our vaunted advancement in modern civilisation has, certainly, to some extent, caused us to revise our hitherto high opinion about the principles and implications of "British Justice".

As a direct result of the amalgamation of these six counties with Buganda Kingdom some forty-seven original Bunyoro local chiefs were after being got rid of by the new foreign ruling power, replaced by six County and 42 Gombolola Chiefs brought over from among the Baganda. As if not satisfied with such unjustified denial of the hereditary natural rights of the children of the soil over the government of our own undisputed land, these newly imported "alien" rulers soon after resorted to a gradual eviction of a considerable number of our own Banyoro Princes and Princesses from their hereditary estates in these six odd areas.

In pointing out all these matters, however, we would like to make it clear beyond any doubt to your Lordships that it is not our intention to request the Kabaka of Buganda to appoint Banyoro Chiefs and Judges to administer the Lost Counties. We do not ask the Commission to recommend such measures of redress, appointing us Chiefs within the Lost Counties, or asking the Kabaka's Government to remove any causes of our grievances. Our greatest fundamental grievance (which can be redressed in only one way) is to return us and our mother country to our rightful Ruler the Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara who has our full reverence and trust in every way. We wish to add that the Omukama of Bunyoro is the only one we recognise to be the head and centre of our Clan System, our customs and traditions, our land, our language, and all our culture that distinguishes us from the Baganda and their Kabaka. We would like Commission to know that our patience and tolerance has been taxed for over sixty years and therefore we naturally feel that we can no longer put up with this moral suffering and loss of our rights as subjects of the Omukama Bunyoro-Kitara.

The transfer of these counties from Bunyoro to Buganda (a foreign administration) has retarded the development of our territories in many ways:

1. *Roads*: The whole road system, under the Kabaka's Government, is extremely poor. Most of the roads are quite impassable during the wet seasons. Some roads that lead to Bunyoro Kingdom have been neglected by the Baganda Chiefs for political reasons.

2. *Education and Languages*: The Missionaries deserve a word of thanks for opening and running a good number of primary and Junior Secondary Schools. We have been neglected by both Buganda and the Protectorate Governments for over fifty years, we have not been given bursaries and scholarships which have enabled the Baganda to receive higher education. At present the Buganda Government awards bursaries and scholarships only when our children have renounced their own tribe.

The suppression of our mother tongue, Runyoro, hurts us beyond imagination. Our children are taught in a foreign language in the very first years of their education, and this is, no doubt, a violation and mockery of the Universally established principles of education. Our language has been banned in Court, Offices, Churches in addition to Schools. Quite recently, a Munyoro old woman, Eyengonzi, wife of Isingoma of Bugangazzi, one of the lost counties, failed to give evidence in Luganda and was therefore remanded and later, fined.

3. *Land*: After the British Government annexed our counties to Buganda, the Baganda became the Land Lords with supreme powers in our country, we the Banyoro natives have been overlooked. Some of us have bought land from those favoured Baganda, who in most cases have refused us to buy the land where our grandfathers and fathers lived and even where we were born. This really hurts us beyond imagination, for we have been ill-treated on our own soil which was given to foreigners without our knowledge and acceptance.

4. *Taxation*: In this connection, even the British Government treats us differently from the Baganda. For the Arms Licence Tax, we pay ten Shillings whereas the Baganda pay four shillings. This is a proof beyond doubt that we are classified as foreigners in our own country. Even the present graduated taxation does not take into account our poor conditions of living. We are made to pay relatively higher taxes than the Baganda.

5. *Medical Health Services*: There is only one Hospital in the six lost counties. Whereas there is a reasonable number of dispensaries and Maternity units, we are faced with great difficulties since no Government Ambulances are available to carry the sick to the Central Hospitals, and medicine stocks are extremely small.



### *Differences in Political Outlook*

We should like to point out, however, that we are different not only traditionally, customarily but also politically to this day. On many occasions when there have been strikes, revolution, boycotts and all sorts of uprisings, namely: the 1945 revolt, the 1948/49 strike, the 1953 state of disturbance due to the Kabaka's exile and the 1959 trade boycott of non-African shops and goods we never united with the Baganda to do anything as such because we do not trust them. Their acts are always very rash and unestimated. Just as the Baganda cannot change their mind to owe their allegiance to Rukirabasaija Agutamba, the Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara at the expense of their own Kabaka so shall the Banyoro never betray their own Kingdom. Our loyalty is still vested, as it were, in Rukirabasaija Agutamba Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara to the very end of time.

### *Representation in the National Assembly*

From the creation of Uganda's Legislature up to 1961 we were not represented on that Council until there were direct elections last year, and the people in the Lost Counties elected 4 representatives.

Now we feel greatly perturbed to see that we are still forced to remain under Buganda whose constitution allows a possibility of indirect elections to the National Assembly through the Buganda Lukiiko. Such undemocratic elections automatically deprive us of our right to elect representatives of our own choice, as the rest of Uganda will do. The government of Buganda has proved to be extremely unstable and there is not, as there has never been, any justification for further stay in Buganda. Hence our strong demand for the restoration of our land to Bunyoro Kingdom where we are sure to exercise our democratic rights without fear.

### *Disturbed Areas in the Lost Counties*

It has already been stated in Government reports that the Lost Counties' issue has grown to the extent of causing considerable acts of violence and intimidation in the disputed areas. What is surprising is that instead of expediting the removal of the root cause of the said violence, Government chose to send large Police forces in the areas concerned. We would like the Commission to know that Buganda rule in the Lost Counties has been enforced only by the Protecting power. Once that protection is removed, so would the Buganda administration, automatically and without any question. The Banyoro have never

accepted the loss of our legitimate rights, and we shall use all possible means to regain those basic rights.

*Resolution and Declaration  
of the Bunyoro, Rukurato (Legislative Assembly)*

In October, 1961, shortly after the London Constitutional Conference, the Rukurato of Bunyoro-Kitara passed a declaration that the Lost Counties had reverted to Bunyoro as from mid-night on the day of October 18, 1961.

We all supported this move, since Her Majesty's Government had failed to effect any decision to settle our claims. Later in November, another measure was decided that Bunyoro should take the necessary steps to appoint Banyoro Chiefs to rule the Lost Counties with powers to collect the 1962 taxes. As a matter of fact we are only waiting for the appointment of those Chiefs to whom we shall pay our taxes of this year 1962. We are not prepared to pay our taxes to Buganda this year.

*Self-Government and Independence for Uganda*

Uganda is moving steadily towards selfgovernment and complete Independence. In our new Constitution every tribe is given an opportunity to run its own Government and to preserve all its traditions. We are sure that Your Lordships will appreciate the view that the Lost Counties should be no exception in this matter.

We ought to be given the same rights, the same privileges, and the same duties under our natural Ruler, the Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara. What would happen if self-government and independence found us under Buganda rule is everyone's guess, but beyond our imagination, with the exception of one fact that we would then return to the slave trade age to suffer the greatest of cruelties in our history. Lastly, however, we still hope in British justice, freedom, peace, and democracy.

For a brief account of our endless suffering and struggle to free ourselves from the foreign rule of Anglo-Baganda Colonialism in the Lost Counties, we refer Your Lordships to Appendices A and B to this memorandum.