

KYAMBOGO UNIVERSITY

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF TORO KINGDOM 1830-1962

BY

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**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS IN HISTORY OF
KYAMBOGO UNIVERSITY**

JANUARY 2017

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DECLARATION

I, **Tumwine Jesse** hereby declare that, this is my own work and has never been submitted to any University for any award.

Sign.....

Tumwine Jesse

Date.....

APPROVAL

This dissertation has been submitted for examination with my approval as university supervisor.

Signed.....

Dr Nathan Sewanyana Senkomago

Supervisor

Date:

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my wife, Maureen Kajumba Abwooli, my parents, Mr. John Kinuge and Mrs. Violet Kinuge, My daughters Namanya Pretty, Kemigisa Miriam and my son Tumwine Praise

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

It would be quite injudicious to conclude that this piece of work was as a result of my own efforts. I am sincerely grateful to my supervisor Dr Nathan Sewanyana Senkomago for the parental and professional guidance. I am equally indebted to Dr Cyprian Adupa for the orientation in Research during the first year of study and for the guidance on the must read books.

In a special way, I extend my appreciation to Reverend Richard Baguma of the Voice of Toro Kingdom Fort Portal and Toro Kingdom for allowing me to have an interview with him, and enabling me to access his home library. Without your support, it would have been impossible for me to accomplish this work.

To other Members of the History department of Kyambogo University, for the counsel and constructive criticism during presentations, Dr Kyazike, John and Dr. Magezi James Head of department, to mention but a few.

To my dear wife Mrs. Maureen Tumwine who helped me in editing, and printing this work.

To my brothers, sisters and other relatives who missed my company as I concentrated on this piece of work but you remained so understanding.

Mr Kahwa, Mark of Mountains of the moon University for enabling me to use the University library and the management of the Rwenzori information Systems, for allowing me to access its archives.

May the almighty God bless you abundantly

ABSTRACT

This study attempted to investigate the Social and economic history of Toro Kingdom during the period 1830-1962.

Chapter one analyses the background of Toro Kingdom as a region in terms of geographic location and tribal composition. It also includes the statement of the Problem, objectives of the study, literature review, Significance and scope of the Study. The chapter also contains the Research questions, methodology, and equally discusses the challenges encountered during the course of the study.

The second chapter analyses the social organization of Toro Kingdom. It contains the social cultural beliefs and practices of the Batoro during the period 1830-1962 including traditional education, and traditional Religion.

Chapter three analyses the economic organization of Toro Kingdom during the period 1830-1962. The pre-colonial economic activities of Toro such as hunting, subsistence. Farming and pastoralism among others are examined.

The fourth chapter presents the effects of colonial rule on the social and economic life of Toro Kingdom by 1962. On the one hand, the researcher admits the positive effects of colonial rule which led to the introduction of new crops, and infrastructure development, some of the negative effects of colonial rule are also presented.

Chapter five handles conclusions and recommendations.

DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

BESPEAKING OF UNBORN CHILDREN:

This was a form of marriage in Toro Kingdom common in pre-colonial times. It involved booking of an unborn infant for marriage by the parents of a prospective husband who was still young (Kuswera enda). In case the infant happened to be a male after birth, it would be postponed till a female was produced.

BAHUMA:

The privileged class of people in Toro Kingdom's social stratification that usually involved the well to do cattle owners who usually dominated the political life of Toro Kingdom on account of their wealth.

BAIRU :(Slaves), these were the lowest in ranking in as far as the Toro Kingdom's social ladder was concerned. They were mainly peasants who worked for the Bahuma on their farms, owned no land, and did not have the opportunity to participate in politics.

CAPITALIST ECONOMY: This is an economic system based on private control of the means of production. A capitalist economy is characterized by a free competitive market, motivated by profit and exchange is by means of money. Before the integration of Toro Kingdom into the Capitalist economy, the means of production were owned communally, there was no competition and exchange was by means of Barter as money was yet to be introduced.

DIVINATION: This involved seeking knowledge by super natural means. It also involved foretelling the future and discovering the unknown through Omen, Oracles, or supernatural powers and was always done by doctor diviners as specialists.

EMBANDWA: This is a word which was used in Toro Kingdom referring to the traditional way of worship in which they showed respect and allegiance to ancestral spirits in form of sacrifices, and visiting traditional shrines.

KUBUKARA: A ritual pertaining marriage in Toro Kingdom conducted before traditional marriage early morning before the bride leaves her parents' house. The bride could sit on the laps of the father and the mother as a sign of bidding them farewell.

KARUZIKA: A separate apartment in Toro Kingdom palace in which sacred objects as royal spears, beads calabashes, inter alia were kept. It was a strictly controlled place whose entry was only limited to high profile officials in Toro Kingdom.

TOTEM: An important object, animal or plant or any other natural phenomenon which was revered as a symbol of a clan or society and often used in rituals among some people in Toro Kingdom. It was a taboo for a Mutoro in Toro Kingdom to eat or harm his or her own Totem. If a person ate his/her own Totem, they would face negative repercussions as disease, or even death.

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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the background to the study, the statement of the problem, specific objectives, research questions, and significance of the study are given. In addition, literature review and study methodology are presented.

1.1 Background to the study

The study was conducted in Toro Kingdom whose heartland is the present day Kabarole district which in the pre-colonial period was a wide area comprising of the current districts of Kabarole, Kyenjojo, Kamwenge, Kasese, Bundibugyo, Kyegegwa, and Ntoroko. However with time Kasese broke away and became an independent political and of recent also cultural kingdom under Obusinga bwa Rwenzururu. Though Kyegegwa, Kyenjojo, Kamwenge, and Ntoroko are currently independent political Districts, they remain culturally under Toro Kingdom because they are united by Toro Kingdom and did pay allegiance to the King of Toro , *Oyo Nyimba Kabamba Iguru Rukidi IV*. Toro Kingdom lies at the foot of Ruwenzori Mountain along the hilly plateau running east from western most limits of the lacustrine region towards Mubende, according to Steinhart ¹. The kingdom of Toro Kingdom, the mother of Toro Kingdom sub region is said to have been formed around 1830 when the first son of Omukama (King) Kyebambe Nyamutukura of Bunyoro by the name Olimi Kaboyo split the southern part of his father's kingdom and formed his own which came to be known as Toro Kingdom.² The people of Toro Kingdom are known as Batoro and they constitute 3.5% of Uganda's total population according to the 2012 census.

(UBOS)³ .the language spoken in Toro Kingdom is called Rutoro Kingdom and the people of Toro Kingdom were divided into a number of clans which are distinguished by their respective totems.

However, there other ethnic groups such as the Bakonjo most of whom live at the hills of Rwenzori Mountains; the others include the Bakiga, the Banyarwanda among others.

This study was conducted in Toro Kingdom palace, Western Uganda Field headquarters of the Seventh Day Adventist, Virika Cathedral, Fort portal Diocese, Kabarole Research and resource center, Mountains of the moon University and pioneer schools such as Nyakasura, Kyebambe among others.

Economically, the Batoro in Toro Kingdom just like other Uganda communities before colonial rule practiced subsistence agriculture. They grew crops such as bananas, yams, beans and maize on small scale. Traditional methods had been based upon subsistence economy with payment in kind and trade through barter.⁴ Hunting was also an important economic activity.

Toro Kingdom also had contacts with other communities in Uganda because of the need to access those items which were not produced in Toro due to differences in climate or soil. In addition, other communities like the Baganda and the Acholi depended on Toro Kingdom for salt which was a scarce commodity in pre-colonial Uganda but could only be obtained from Katwe and Kasenyi which became part of Toro Kingdom in about 1830.

Toro Kingdom like other parts of Uganda did not survive colonial rule. The 1900 Toro agreement integrated Toro into the rest of the protectorate and as a result, the British introduced exploitative policies such as taxation which integrated Toro Kingdom into colonial economy. Also the British promoted agriculture in Toro Kingdom by trying a number of crops like ground nuts, Simsim, and coffee, among others but of all these, coffee and cotton proved to be more successful.

The settler farmers were not successful in Toro Kingdom as the case was in other parts of Uganda due to unfavorable conditions such as several restrictions on the buying of land as land alienation was very difficult. Any allocation of land exceeding 1000 acres had to be approved by the secretary of state in London and the settlers had to buy it at high prices. The demand for cash crops had therefore to be fulfilled through local farmers as opposed to large settler plantations.⁵

Socially, Religion played an important role in the day to day life of the Batoro Kingdom just as it was among other Western Bantu tribes. The Batoro in the Kingdom practiced ancestral worship which was punctuated by a cultural ceremony called *Embandwa* (traditional worship). This practice united the Batoro in the Kingdom as people from different backgrounds converged for this ceremony. The whole basis of this religion was the strong belief in the continuity of human life.⁶ the arrival of Christianity in Toro Kingdom due to the work of Christian missionaries led to the decline of Toro Kingdom's traditional religion. The Christian revolution in Uganda and Toro in particular, was due to largely the work of British colonialists from Buganda to South Western Uganda after 1894.⁷ In Toro Kingdom, Christianity was

associated with king Kasagama an ally of Buganda and Britain against Bunyoro.⁸ The first religion to be established in Toro Kingdom was Islam. According to Sheik Habib Monday, Islam was introduced by the first Arab who came to trade in Toro Kingdom. They established shops in what came to be known as Fort Portal town but since they lacked Mosques initially, they used their verandas for worship. Islam was followed by Christianity particularly the Protestant missionaries who were assisted by Omukama Kasagama to spread the Protestant faith in Toro Kingdom according to John Kinuge a respondent⁹. Thereafter, the Catholic missionaries arrived in Toro Kingdom and built Virika Cathedral as their headquarter. The Seventh day Adventist missionaries arrived latter in 1947 under the leadership of an American missionary called Lindi who bought land in Mitandi and Kazingo in Kabrole where he built the first Adventist churches according to Reverend Richard Baguma a respondent.¹⁰

The Toro Kingdom society like other western Bantu societies was made up of a number of clans that had totems. The Toro Kingdom clans played different roles in the palace for example the Babito clan produced the kings to rule Toro Kingdom, while the Baisanza clan produced the speakers to the Toro Kingdom Parliament. Toro Kingdom also has a number of fascinating tourist features some of which were of great historical importance in as far as the social organization of Toro Kingdom was concerned. The most important of these were the stalactites and stalagmites or *Amabere ganyinamwiiru* as they were referred to in Rutoro local language. It also has mountain Rwenzori with its highest peak margarita among others. All these have endeared Toro Kingdom to the rest of Uganda and the world at large. Many holiday

makers from Uganda and abroad visited and still visit Toro Kingdom to have a glance at these attractive features.

In as far as education was concerned, Toro Kingdom had its own system of education through which instructions were given to the young to enable them grow up into disciplined people. Before the advent of colonial rule, the clans of Toro Kingdom through the clan leaders had various mechanisms through which their young were oriented into adulthood.

Communities in Toro Kingdom both the young and old were given skills on how to survive based on the environment. The absence of missionary schools in Uganda as Tiberondwa puts it did not mean the absence of education. In Uganda, traditional forms of education existed based on tribes and clans.¹¹ Units of clans covered both the theoretical and practical fields of education. One did not have to go to school to be educated. The whole process of living was a process of learning.¹² This education prepared the young members of the community for specific responsibilities they were going to shoulder in maturity. It was education for life with all its complexities aimed at satisfying personnel needs, promoting the growth of personnel talents and serving the community in which the recipients of that education lived. The skills given to young people depended on their specific environments. Those near forests were taught how to hunt, and those near rivers how to fish such that unemployment was unheard-of.

Although Toro Kingdom was predominantly occupied by the Batoro, it was a multi-ethnic sub region with many other tribes such as the Bakonjo who dominate the Ruwenzori hills then the Bakiga in parts of Kyenjojo, and Bunyangabu County, and

some Banyarwanda in Kijura Sub County. These found their way in Toro Kingdom due to social economic and political factors. The Bamba were brought under the subjugation of Toro Kingdom a situation which continued during colonial rule. Like the Bakonjo the Bamba struggled against this domination by Toro Kingdom.¹³

In May 1891 the after the defeat of the Muslims in Bugangaize County which bordered Bunyoro Kingdom under Kabalega, Captain, Fredric Luggard fought in Toro Kingdom kingdom, defeated Kabalega and helped prince Kasagama the heir to the Toro Kingdom throne to assume leadership. This was because king Kabalega and the Muslims were a threat to the British occupation of Uganda and so he had to defeat them in order to overcome this threat.¹⁴

1.2 Statement of the Problem.

According to Were, the history of western Bantu is still incomplete despite the enormous amount of research already accomplished or already in progress. Much emphasis among scholars has been put on the political history of Toro Kingdom which is also not comprehensively handled. This means that most aspects in the social and economic aspects of Toro Kingdom remain unknown.

This study is therefore an attempt to bridge the gap that exists by reconstructing the social and economic history of Toro Kingdom during the period 1830-1962. Toro Kingdom as a region had a very serious connections with the rest of Uganda in pre-colonial times due to the fact that salt, a principal commodity upon which pre-colonial trade rotated in Uganda was found in Toro Kingdom at Katwe and Kibiro. The BaToro Kingdom also engaged in other economic activities as hunting, brewing, basket

weaving, inter alia all of which need special in depth study. Mention has been made here and there by a number of writers about Toro Kingdom but no comprehensive study has been undertaken on the social and economic history of Toro Kingdom.

Socially, the Batoro Kingdom had practices which kept intact the Toro Kingdom social cohesion to the extent that they could not be eclipsed by the western cultural practices that came with colonial rule. For example child naming rituals, traditional marriage, inter alia, hence such are worth of studying in detail thus further justifying this study. It is this historic gap that this study attempted to bridge.

1.3 Specific Objectives of the Study

The study was guided by the following objectives;

1. To investigate the Social organization of Toro Kingdom during the period 1830-1962.
2. To examine the economic organization of Toro Kingdom during the period 1830-1962
3. To assess the effects of colonial rule o Toro Kingdom's social and economic history.

1.4 Research Questions.

In undertaking this study, the researcher was guided by the following questions:

1. How was Toro Kingdom organized socially during the period 1830-1962?

2. What were the main economic activities of the people of Toro Kingdom during the period 1830-1962?
3. How did the establishment of colonial rule affect Toro Kingdom's social and economic organization?

1.6 Significance of the Study.

.The study will:

1. Guide the policy makers by identifying further Toro Kingdom's economic potential.
2. The study will be used as basis for future researchers in social and economic history.
3. This study will contribute to the growing body of literature on social and economic history of Uganda.

1.7 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine the social and economic history of Toro Kingdom during the period 1830-1962.

1.8 Scope of the Study

Geographically scope: The study was carried out in the major Sub counties of Toro Kingdom region which were selected from the three major counties of the greater Toro Kingdom such as Mwenge, Kyenjojo, and Bunyangabu. The area is blessed with fertile soils and favorable climate receiving two rain seasons a year. This area was chosen because of its rich history and connection with the greater Bunyoro Kitara

Empire from which it split around 1830. It was from this time that the foundation for the social and economic History of Toro Kingdom was made. Toro Kingdom is also blessed with the Ruwenzori Forest and the associated national park which has made it pivotal in Uganda's Tourist sector. The study covered Historic sites such as Amabere Ganyinamwiiru, Saaka Crater Lake, and Religious places such as Virika cathedral in Fort Portal, Kagote Seventh, day Adventist church, and St John cathedral, Education institutions as Nyakasura School, Kyebambe Girls School, Kibiito Secondary, School, St Adolf Tibeeyalirwa Secondary School, and Toro Kingdom royal palace.

The time scope ranged from 1830 -1962. The year 1830 was chosen as the starting point of this study because it was the year when Toro Kingdom kingdom was established having broken away from Bunyoro. The year 1962 was also chosen because it was the year that marked the achievement of independence in Uganda hence transition from pre-colonial and colonial Uganda to independent Uganda.

1.9 Literature Review

Literature on the social and economic history of Toro Kingdom is available but no attempt has been made to put together an in depth analysis of the social and economic history of Toro Kingdom during the period 1830-1962. A lot of gaps have been realized in the analysis below and at the same time attempt has been made to bridge them.

Tiberondwa writing on education an aspect of the social organization of Toro Kingdom gave an account of the availability of traditional forms of education in many

parts of Uganda based on tribal and clan units covering both theoretical and practical skills.¹⁵ Whereas his observation is vital to this study, it does not go into the details of how the traditional education was imparted in Uganda and Toro Kingdom in particular thus a justification for this study.

Commenting on the composition of the people of western Uganda, Were Gideon's noted that, the term western Bantu refers to the Bantu speaking communities of East Africa to the West of the Rift Valley. In Uganda this group comprises of the Banyoro, Batoro Kingdom, Baganda, Basoga, Banyole and Bagisu.¹⁶ since the Batoro Kingdom are part of the Western Bantu community, Gideon's comment is relevant to this study though to a very small extent since he does not go into the specific details of each community in terms of social and economic organization. By concentrating on the social and economic history of Toro Kingdom, this study is an attempt to bridge this imbalance.

Highlighting on the economic organization of Toro Kingdom, Karugire noted that, in the South West in the present Toro Kingdom district, important trade connections developed around the salt mines of Katwe and Kasenyi and this trade fanned out in many directions. This observation though vital to this study, does not bring out a true picture of Toro Kingdom's economic organization. There is also no mention of the factors which facilitated this trade, mode of exchange, and means of transport. This study has bridged such an imbalance.

In march 1899, Stephen Bagge, the new British officer in charge of Toro Kingdom assured King Kasagama through a missionary interpreter that in the future, the king

was to have full power in his hands and Mr Bagge would act with him and do what he could to establish him in his country .¹⁷ He goes further to explain how Toro Kingdom seceded from Bunyoro and became an independent Kingdom. However, Steinhart makes no further attempt to delve into the social and economic organization of Toro Kingdom after its final secession from Bunyoro which is the cardinal aim of this study.

Advancing further the need for this study, Gideon's noted that, the History of Western Bantu is still incomplete despite the enormous amount of research already accomplished or already in progress. Even where the research has been done, there many important gaps which no individual researcher can be expected to solve within a short time.¹⁸The assertion by Gideon further proves how justifiable this study is. By fostering research in the social and economic history of Toro Kingdom this study is just an attempt towards the bridging of this historic gap as noted above. Deliberating on the spread of Christianity in Toro Kingdom, Tidy observed that,

*In Toro Kingdom Christianity became associated with Kasagama an ally of Buganda and Britain against Bunyoro which had dominated Toro Kingdom for centuries.*¹⁹

Michael does not explain in detail the circumstances under which foreign religions were introduced in Toro Kingdom and the impact they had on traditional religion a gap which this study sought to address.

Were described how religion played an important role in the day today life of Western Bantu peoples to whom Toro Kingdom belongs. According to him religion was at

family level and ancestral worship was common.²⁰ He also hinted on beliefs in life after death and the importance of ancestral spirits

On the same subject above, Kinuge a respondent noted that the pre-colonial Batoro Kingdom had a number of gods whom they worshiped as representatives of God (Ruhanga). He gave mention of gods such as Ndyoka, Karubanga, Rwakaikara among others who performed different roles²¹. It's therefore clear from both Were and Kinuge the respondent that the Batoro Kingdom were religious people even before the arrival of Western religions. From this study, it can rightly be argued that the spread of Western religions in Toro Kingdom did not mark the introduction of religion in Toro Kingdom since the Batoro Kingdom already practiced their own traditional religion. In this study the researcher has dug deep into other traditional religious beliefs of the Batoro Kingdom and the impact of Western Religions on Toro Kingdom traditional religion.

Ssekamwa highlighted on the origins of Toro Kingdom and showed how Toro Kingdom was carved out of the Kingdom of Bunyoro in 1830 by prince Kaboyo an elder son of the ruling Omukama then Kyebambe Nyamutukura.²² Ssekamwa however concentrated on the origin of Toro Kingdom and didn't give any mention on the social and economic organization of Toro Kingdom. This study made an attempt of bridging this gap.

Sogay gave a brief account of how Toro Kingdom was colonized by the British. He went further to assert that the rulers' of Toro Kingdom and Ankole accepted British

colonial rule because the agreements left them with considerable powers and because the British helped them against their enemies.²³ Although this observation holds relevance, it does not address the gist of this study since no attempt is made by Sogay to analyze the social and economic history of Toro Kingdom thus giving further justification for this study.

According to Olive R, during colonial rule, education on one hand and economic developments were put in the hands of private enterprises of Christian Missionaries and commercial companies. This led to the rise of private schools. He indicated that, the basic question in the social and religious history of any society at the beginning of the colonial period was whether it was swimming with the tide of advancing colonialism or against it ²⁴. This observation is general to the entire Uganda protectorate and Africa in general but relevant to this study as many respondents hinted on the fact that Christian Missionaries pioneered Western type of education in Toro Kingdom. Bahemuka J, a respondent reported that Bagaaya Primary School, Nyakasura School, in Toro Kingdom among others were built by protestant Missionaries.

There was escalation of violence in Toro Kingdom by 1895 as noted by Steinhart. On the 16th of January 1895, Mwenge was invaded by Nyoro military force and Byakweyamba

Kasagama's arch rival was forced to flee and the church at Butiiti his capital destroyed. The purpose of this expedition was to meet an approaching arms caravan

and it was led by Rwabudongo the commander of the then Barusuura Royal regiment.²⁶ This was however more of a political part of Toro Kingdom's evolutionary process. No mention is made by Steinhart regarding the Social and economic history of Toro Kingdom the cornerstone of this study. In this, study an attempt has been made to bridge these gaps.

Captain Fredrich Luggard played a significant role in the maintenance of Toro Kingdom which was seriously challenged by Kabarega of Bunyoro who wanted to recover it .Steinhart reported that Luggard used a force of Sudanese garrisons who came to be known as Abanubi to fight against Kabareega and safeguard Kasagama. He further noted that as long as the Sudanese garrisons guarded the fledging kingdom from being overrun by the most powerful Nyoro armies, Kasagama was bound to be beholden to the British policies.²⁷ Though this statement by Steinhart is of a political nature it's important to this study in a sense that the Sudanese troops who were used by Luggard to save Kasagama formed part of the Toro Kingdom Nubian community.

Nabudere observed that, Toro Kingdom never managed to break away from Bunyoro until the British colonialists moved in to establish a separate kingdom out of the squabbles of the claimant to leadership.²⁸ Nabudere equally gives a brief account of how Toro Kingdom seceded from Bunyoro but does not go into the aspects of Toro Kingdom's social and economic organization, which gap this study attempted to bridge.

Nabudere further noted that Toro Kingdom was a communal society organized on clan basis. Each clan had its own elected head that settled its own disputes. He further

showed how the Bamba were later brought under Toro Kingdom's subjugation which continued even under British colonialism. Like the Bakonjo, the Bamba struggled against this dominion. The Bakonjo who were later brought under Toro Kingdom during colonial rule were also an agricultural community inhabiting the Eastern slopes of Ruwenzori²⁹

Nabudere therefore brought out the gist of this study which has made an attempt to analyze further the social and economic organization of Toro Kingdom with some detail.

1.10 Research Methodology

Mostly, the qualitative method was employed in collecting data for this study though occasionally quantitative data was also interpreted. Data was collected from selected sub counties in the three major counties of Toro Kingdom. The information was sourced from a wide collection of text books, journals and the internet. Libraries of Kyambogo University, Makerere University, Kabarole research and Resource center, Kabarole public library, and the national archives of the Republic of Uganda provided most of the written literature. Qualitative research approach is a method of inquiry employed in many different academic disciplines especially the social sciences. It is explorative in nature and involves understanding phenomena and answering questions by analyzing and making sense of unstructured data. The qualitative research design was used because it is the most appropriate method of collecting historical data since it gives an opportunity for the respondents to build on each other's comments or ideas and in the process more information can be obtained. It also enables the researcher an

opportunity to probe further hence going beyond the initial responses thus its relevance to a historic study of this nature.

A descriptive Research design on the other hand is a method of collecting information by interviewing or administering questionnaire to a sample of individuals according to Orhodo ³⁰. The major purpose of the descriptive design is to describe the state of affairs as it exists hence it was deemed important to this study which aimed at describing the social and economic organization of Toro Kingdom as it was during the period 1830-1962. According to Orodho and Kombo ³¹, it can be used when collecting information on people's attitudes, habits or social issues hence it was inevitable to use it in this study. It also enabled the researcher to use checklists and interview guides to get data.

The primary respondents to this study were the elderly people of Toro kingdom in the age brackets of fifty to eighty years. These included retired and active civil servants, religious leaders, and former or active leaders of Toro kingdom. The elderly people were mostly used because they could provide primary information of the events in Toro kingdom before and during colonial rule as many of them existed during the time of colonial rule. Fourteen people were selected from each of the seven sub counties of Toro kingdom using the snowball sampling technique. Snowball is supported by Amin ³² and it is usually ideal for locating individuals for the study where the researcher begins with a few individuals who are knowledgeable about the problem being investigated. Snowball method of sampling was used to select elders who lived during the time of colonial rule and the few who were existing in the pre-colonial period. This

was done by presenting an introduction letter from Kyambogo University to the relevant authorities in each of these sub counties who would then direct me to the potential respondents. In all, one hundred people participated in the study. These included twenty eight retired civil servants, fourteen religious leaders, fourteen serving head teachers, fourteen retired head teachers, fourteen serving Toro kingdom officials, two retired Toro kingdom officials, and sixteen lay elderly people of eighty years of age. The description of the total population and sample size is illustrated as follows:

Table 1.1 Description of respondents.

Category of respondents	Total population	Sample Size
Retired civil servants	80	14
Religious leaders	28	14
Serving head teachers	70	14
Retired head teachers	60	14
Serving District L.C.5 Chairpersons	03	2
Lay Elders	28	20
Bakonjo Clan leaders	10	8
Toro kingdom officials	30	14
Total	302	100

Interview Guide

Different interview guides were formulated to capture information from different targeted respondents as retired civil servants, active and retired religious leaders. Toro Kingdom officers, the serving district local government officers, as well as Toro Kingdom elderly people of 80 years of age and above. The use of the interview guide was because it helped to generate data through probing. In -depth interviews also

guarantee an immediate feedback. Using this instrument, information on the social and economic History of Toro Kingdom during the period 1830 to 1962 was generated. In addition the information about the effects of colonial on Toro Kingdom's social cultural organization was also generated using this method.

The researcher also employed the purposive sampling which is defined by Creswell³³ as a sampling method where the researcher uses his/her common sense or personal judgment to select participants from whom to collect information. This was mainly used to select respondents who were not necessarily elders but young people who for one reason or another, were expected by the researcher to have relevant information to this study.

During the study, a number of problems were encountered:

Literature on the social and economic history of Toro Kingdom was not easily accessible in public libraries. To address this problem, the researcher had to visit the archives of Toro Kingdom and Kabarole research and resource center.

Ethnic bias between the Batoro in the Kingdom and the Bakiga in Kyenjojo and Kamwenge districts which were also within the same Kingdom. It was difficult to induce the Bakiga to cooperate especially after realizing that the researcher was a Mutoro owing to the land conflicts in areas of Kyenjojo between the Bakiga and the Batoro Kingdom. The researcher solved this problem by educating them about the need to be united since both the Batoro and the Bakiga were in the same Kingdom.

Some of the people interviewed like retired officials of Toro Kingdom were too old to remember factual information. This was solved by cross checking the information provided by different respondents.

Some people were unwilling to be interviewed due to suspicion owing to the history of political instability in this area in relation to the Allied Democratic force rebels. This was reduced by showing to them the introduction letter from Kyambogo University and seeking guidance from the local authorities.

1.11 Conclusion

In this chapter, the introduction, literature review, and the research Methodology of study have been presented. The chapter has also analyzed the problems encountered during the Study, objectives, Significance of the study, scope and methodology. A total of a hundred respondents were consulted and are the basis of study findings to be presented in the next chapter.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF BATORO KINGDOM

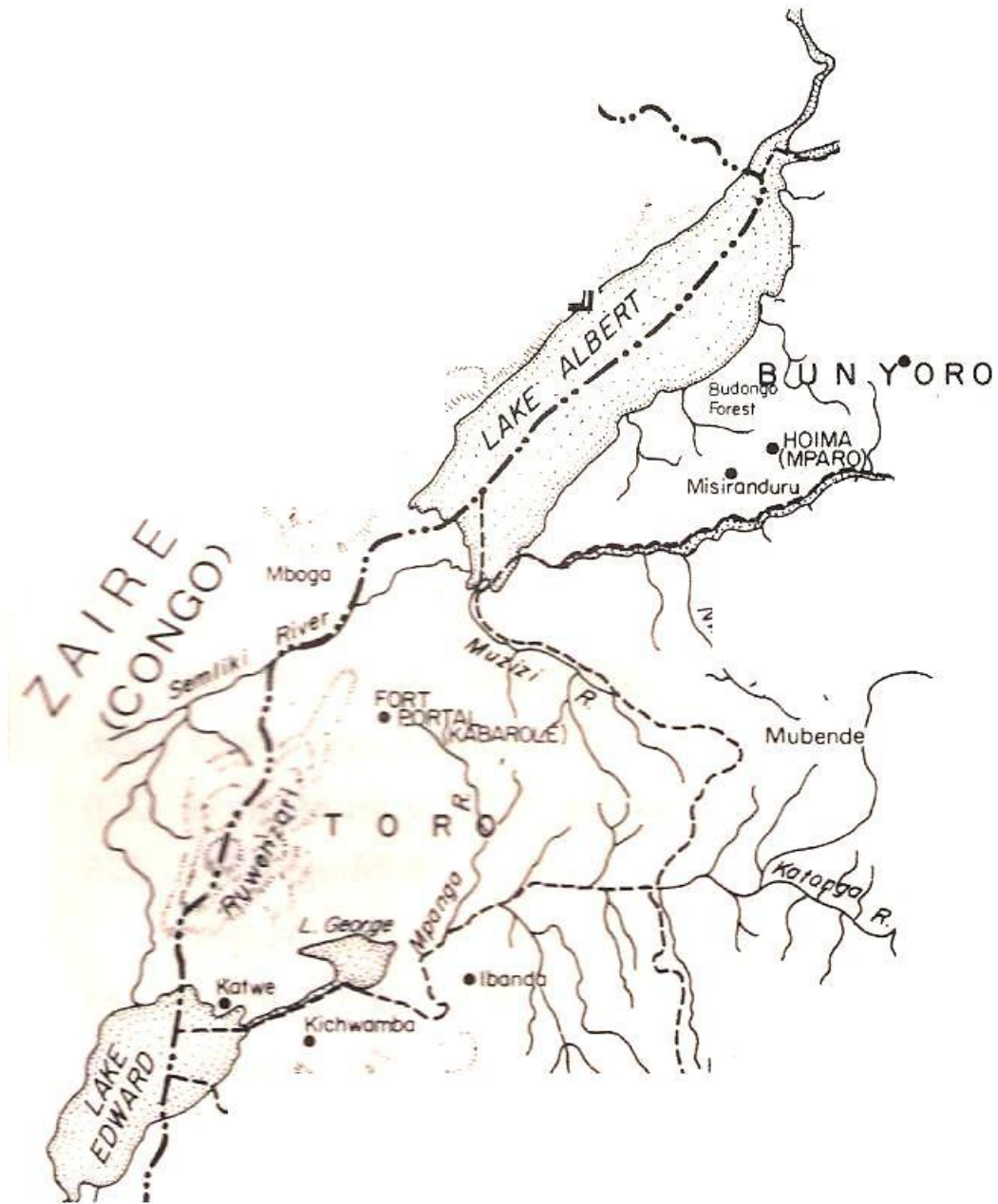
2.0 Introduction

This chapter reconstructs the history of Toro Kingdom in terms of social organization during the period 1830 to 1962. It is an attempt to answer the research question about Toro Kingdom's social organization during the period 1830 to 1962. It also highlights on the geographical location of Toro Kingdom, impact of Western religions on Toro Kingdom's Social organization, it reconstructs the customs of the Batoro in the Kingdom, naming rituals, marriage and traditional religion, among others during the period 1830-1962.

2.1 Area of Study

Toro Kingdom is found in Western Uganda at the foot of Mountain Rwenzori. The language spoken in Toro Kingdom is Rutoro and was the language used during the local Parliament known as Rukurato. The Batoro are predominantly agriculturalists growing a number of crops such as Matooke, beans, Cassav, among others. They also reared animals on both small and large scale basis. The Batoro in the Present day Ntoroko district were exclusively cattle keepers because of the Semi-arid nature of the climate and poor soils. There are some minority ethnic groups that found their way in Toro Kingdom either for economic or social and political factors. These include the Bakiga, the Banyarwanda, and the Indians who inhabit Fort Portal town mainly for trading purposes.

THE MAP OF TORO KINGDOM AS IN 1952



Source: Steinhart E. (1977), Conflict and collaboration in the Kingdoms of Western Uganda, P.14

2.2 The History of Social Customs and Institutions of Toro Kingdom.

This section sought to provide an answer to the research question about the social organization of the Toro Kingdom during the period 1830-1962. Most of the Batoro lived in the plateau counties of Burahya, Mwenge, Kyaka, Bunyangabu Bwamba, Kamwenge and Busongora . All these territories were under Toro Kingdom by 1830 when prince Kaboyo the favorite son of Nyamutukura the first son of Kyebambe took the south western part of his father's kingdom and formed his own. Toro Kingdom was and is not a homogenous sub region inhabited by the Batoro Kingdom only. It is inhabited by a number of non Rutoro Kingdom speaking people.

The Bamba for example lived and do still live in Bwamba county to the North West, most Bakonjo live in Burahya along the slopes of the Ruwenzori in the counties of Burahya, Karugutu and some in Bwamba county to the North. The Bamba, Batoro and Bakonjo differ significantly in physic, language, and culture although some are conversant with Rutoro language.

Ethnic interaction in Toro

According to Carole Buchanaan, there was a general feeling among the Batoro in the Kingdom that they were same people. Despite the fact that there existed many clans in the Kingdom, all of them perceived each other as being one. He quotes an elderly man of Toro Kingdom called Mzeei Zeerisire who observed that:

In Mwenge county, the Gahi are also known as the Bwijwa clan. In central Toro we are known as the Gahe. The Nvubu(Hipo) clan of Buganda are also the same as our clan.¹

According to Tailor, Toro Kingdom comprised two distinct ethnic groups these were the light skinned sharp-featured slender Bahuma who were a very small minority and the dark skinned Negroid were more heavily built Bairu.”²The Bahuma who traditionally were pastoralists and who did not engage in cultivation are said to have lived on the Semlik valley and Busongora plains and parts of the plateau especially Mwenge and Kibaale where extensive grazing was available. The Bairu were traditionally cultivators mainly and lived on the plateau. Tailor emphasized that it was difficult to find people of the traditional appearance of the Bahuma and who claim to be Bahuma by birth. These are to be found on the Semlik plain and here and there on the plateau. This area is also commonly known as Butuku in the present day Toro Kingdom. Most Batoro believed that most Bahuma left Toro Kingdom when they lost their cattle to various epidemics. This is repeatedly mentioned with reference to Busongora where there is almost no single cow and parts of Mwenge which is now thickly covered with bush and devoid of stock.

A mention was made of some Batoro in the Kingdom many of whom may not possess the traditional Bahuma features and own no cattle but claim to be Bahuma by descent. This is understandable as intermarriages between the Bairu and the Bahama were allowed.

2.3 Marriage institution in Toro Kingdom.

This is further attempt to provide an answer to the first research question, about how Toro Kingdom was organized socially during the period 1830-1962.

Marriage was a very important institution among the Batoro. Parents played a vital role in the marriage of their children. Polygamy was allowed as long as someone had the potential to take care of many wives. Most Batoro Kingdom who had a lot of wealth in form of land and cows were forced to marry many wives who would take care of their wealth. They advised their sons to marry as early as possible to avoid temptations. Parents also searched marriage partners for their children. Parental involvement in the search for marriage partners for their children according to most interviewees enabled their children to get disciplined girls since they knew better their backgrounds. Bahemuka, a respondent indicated that his father in law rejected all men who wanted to marry his daughter and opted for him because he knew his background so well.

Having identified the potential marriage partner, the next important step was payment of dowry. This was in form of goats, and cows. Some Batoro Kingdom according to some informants would accept food such as bananas especially during famine as dowry. According to Tailor, in the pre European period dowry was contributed by parents and relatives of the family.⁴

The marriage ceremony in the case of normal first marriages involved lengthy preliminaries at the home of the bride between her father and relatives of the groom and representatives of the groom. A number of visits were undertaken to the home of

the girl before final marriage. Significant of these visits was Okweranga or introduction one of the ceremonies in Toro Kingdom that survived being eroded by the onslaught of western cultural values as a result of colonialism. A group of elders would be sent from the groom's home to negotiate and agree on the actual amount and property to be paid as dowry and after which specific date would be fixed for the payment of bride price. The payment of bride price was a big ceremony punctuated with dancing (Orunyege), singing and eating according to Kafuruguta James a respondent.⁵

A party of groom's people would then journey to the home of the bride to collect her at night allowing themselves time to carry her to her new home so as to arrive early morning. The collection of the bride was accompanied by the singing of songs and a tear full farewell to her parents who did not attend any of the subsequent ceremonies. She was carried away by her future brother in law and attended by her paternal aunt. The evening before the traditional marriage, a ceremony called Kimwa Isoke would be conducted. By this, the boy's family would send an elder to the home of the girl. This elder would find a young boy lying at the door as if to block the entry of the elder from entering the house. The visitor would then give some prize to the boy who cleared the way for him to enter the house. A meal would be prepared for the elder. It was believed that without this ceremony, the bride would not be allowed to leave her home the next day.

Virginity was highly respected among the Batoro Kingdom, Mrs. Bahemuka Regina a respondent, made mention of a ceremony in which the paternal aunt of the bride

accompanied her to her bed, after the first sexual encounter the aunt would carry the bed sheets which she checked thoroughly for blood sports as evidence that the girl was virgin. These bed sheets were taken to the groom's family who in turn would give a present to the bride in form of a cow in case the girl was found a virgin.⁶

Another ceremony that was vital in Marriage according to Regina one of the respondents was Kubukara.⁷ this was mandatory to any newly married wife. It was a ritual in which the father in-law would sit and hold the daughter in law on his laps as he sat on the chair. The mother in-law would sit and hold the bride on her laps as she sat on an animal hide .It was a way of welcoming the bride in the home as their own child. After this ceremony, they would accompany the girl to her room. A meal would be prepared as time came for the bride and the groom to go to bed. This was called Kutemba ekitababu (climbing the bed) and was accompanied with dancing, and joyful sounds. Later there was a ritual washing of bride and groom and the instruction of the bride by the women of the groom's people. After several days of the display of the brides' dowry and addresses by representatives of both sides preceded the departure of the bride's aunt. Gradually thereafter, the young bride would begin to perform the normal duties of a wife. This would lead to another short ceremony called (Kuturukya Omukazi) or bringing out the new wife from the house. This was when the groom accompanied his bride from the room out of the house to start her normal duties as a wife amidst dancing and singing. After some months, the couple would go to the bride's home with presents, the father in law and the mother in law would also carry out the ceremony or ritual of Kubukara (welcoming the boy in their home) the same as performed on the bride. This implied that from that day, the groom was part of the

bride's family. Apart from the normal form of Marriage which involved direct payment of bride price, there were other forms of marriage which were common in Toro Kingdom during the pre-colonial period. Tailor, noted the existence of widow inheritance by the brother of the deceased or clans man, and infant betrothal especially among the pastoralists and the bespeaking of unborn children (known as Kusweera Enda) ⁸ However the latter are not common today among the Batoro Kingdom according to most respondents. The teaching of Christian missionaries undermined such forms of marriage. It was a taboo among the Batoro Kingdom to marry from the same clan, neither was marriage from the clan of one's mother allowed, however this was not the case for members of the royal clans. Marriage was equally prohibited among members of the same clan, children of blood brothers, and if one is a twin with other twins. If these conditions were not observed, serious repercussions awaited the offenders ranging from death of children, producing children with deformities, and bad luck for the couple.

Divorce was not common among the Batoro in the Kingdom. According to Kinuge⁹ Marriage was meant to be a permanent union between a man and his wife. A number of measures were therefore, undertaken to avert the possibility of divorce. For example after marriage the family members representing the bride would leave behind someone responsible for mediating their daughter with the husband in case of misunderstandings so that divorce would not take place. In case the misunderstanding was big culminating in divorce, the husband was summoned by the father in law for a meeting with elders to resolve the impasse, he would be asked to pay fine in form of beer or a goat, and the wife would also be warned in case she had a weakness, all these

were done so as to avoid divorce from taking place. However, according to Katuramu a respondent, divorce would not be avoided in case any of the couple was involved in adultery, chronic drunkenness, and gross cruelty. These were intolerable and in case a husband or wife persisted in practicing any of these, then divorce was inevitable.¹⁰ under no circumstance could a wife enjoy the permanent custody of her children after divorce. Both men and women in Toro Kingdom had to marry in order to be considered adults. According to Kateeba, a man was considered a man after marrying, likewise a woman became more important when she got married especially if she was the first wife.¹¹ The status of a wife though subordinate was more important than that of the unmarried one. She had great responsibility as the mother of the house (Nyinenju). With a wife in a house a Mutoro needed not to worry. She was a promise of security to the husband as they stayed together at home. They would handle challenges together with wife and in case of any attack they would confront it together. The importance and dignity of a wife in Toro Kingdom is underlined in the ceremonies connected with the preparation and completion of the marriage. The utmost difference was shown. Despite the existence of arrangements for making the marriage payment, there was no true spirit of bargaining. Marriage payments were sometimes spoken of as things of love, not for buying but somehow took the place of a daughter; they were more than exchanges and more than gifts.

Notwithstanding the much-respected status a wife acquires by virtue of becoming married, she was in all things clearly and definitely subordinate to her husband. It can therefore; it can be argued from the research findings that the importance of a married

wife was felt within the confines of a home. Tailor observed that the woman spent most of her active time in the house and adjoining holding and occupied a position of importance in the house. She was wholly responsible for the care of the house interior, food preparation and the day today upbringing of children ¹²There was a common saying reported, Ibega Tirikiramutwe, literally translated; the shoulder is not above the head. The domestic importance of women sharply contrasted the stereo typed attitudes the overall pre-colonial Toro Kingdom society had on women. According to Kayla the former local council five Chairperson, Kabarole district, a woman was owned by her husband in fact most women today refer to their husbands as Omunyororo or chief to whom a woman was supposed to be obedient at all times like the subjects were to the chief.¹³ Women were expected to be energetic and hard working so as to take care of their children and husbands. Women were banned from attending important clan meetings and were never elected as clan heads. Wives had specific rights over certain domestic properties but at the discretion of her husband who would also confiscate this property at any time he wished.

2.4 Child Naming

After the birth of a child, a number of rituals were performed among the Batoro Kingdom. In case the child was a girl, the ceremony of giving such a child a name would take place after three days and for the boys it would take four days. Eating and drinking accompanied the child naming ceremonies with parents given chance to suggest names, followed by the aunties and uncles of the children. Then gifts were given to the child amidst dancing and shouting.¹⁴ Circumstances surrounding the birth

of the child were considered first; one of the respondent called Balisanga confessed that he named his son- Kuboomu (being one) because all his children from the first born to the sixth had died, and he therefore named the Seventh last one Kuboomu, meaning being one because he was going to be the only child.¹⁵ There was however, a standard format of naming in particular instances. For instance, in case the children born were twins, the female first born would and up to date automatically be called Nyangoma, the male second was referred to as Kato. If the boy is born first, he is referred to as Isingoma, and the girl Nyakato. In some Toro Kingdom tribes as the Bakonjo, the naming of children was standard, Bitikooro, a respondent noted that, any first born child among the Bakonjo was referred to as Baluku for the case of a boy, and Masika for the case of girls.¹⁶

2.5 The Rituals Relating to Birth of Twins

In case twins were produced in Toro Kingdom, a number of rituals were undertaken to ensure the safety of these twins. The husband had to announce to the home of the girl in case twins were produced, this was known in vernacular as Kuranga which literally meant announcing. According to Bahemuka, a respondent, the mother had to stay in the room till her people came from home;¹⁷ they would be the ones to get her out of the room. Two sheep had to be given to the family members of the girl to be eaten that very day. The couple had to avoid quarreling or any form of conflict or else the twins would die. The death of twins was known as Kuguruka in Rutoro language Or the passing on of twins while still young. Sacrifices were also offered to the gods so that the twins were protected from death.

2.6 Clans of Toro Kingdom.

According to Rwabuhinga, a respondent, the king of Toro Kingdom was the head of all Toro Kingdom clans. Leaders of most powerful lineages were supposed to be in regular contact with the palace.¹⁸

Musana, a respondent indicated that, Toro Kingdom clans were named groups whose members believe they have a common ancestor from whom they can trace an unbroken line of patrilineal descent. They are said to be sections of clans (Enganda or oruganda)¹⁹. Kasaija, a respondent reported that these clans were named after the founder, and sometimes after the locality or episode in the life of the founder. The members of different clans were differentiated by different totems or avoidances (Omuziro, singular, Emiziro plural). Kasaija further indicated that he was a Mwisanza by clan and his totem is a stripped cow, it is a taboo, indeed an abomination for a Mutoro Kingdom to eat his totem,²⁰ if this happened his /her teeth would be scooped out and at worst he / she would die. Kasaija a respondent also noted that the clan was localized in the past. It had a leader or elder (who was also referred to as (Mukuruwekitabu) who was also referred to as Mukuru woruganda or chief of the clan. The leader of the clan had a responsibility of settling disputes among the clan members and also between his clan and other clans. If one of his people was killed by a member of another clan, the clan head would initiate retaliatory action by sending a band of his followers to find and kill the offender, if the real offender was not found, another member of that clan would be killed.

It was the leaders of clans who introduced young people to the palace; they were channels of advancement for young men wishing to enter the service of the king as palace officials, chiefs or to look after cattle. The clan leaders also had a duty of taking the heirs of the dead influential men to drink milk at the palace which literally meant to be introduced to the king. Lineage heads were also advisers who would be consulted on a variety of issues such as, advice to someone marrying from a particular clan, problems of clan customs and procedure and pointing to precedents applicable in uncommon and disturbing situations such as cases of twins and other unusual births, of lethal lightning or of mass deaths of men and livestock. They were also the ritual heads of their respective groups and maintained important shrines.

At the time of the major harvests they received gifts of millet from their people and held large ceremonies at their homes which senior members of their group were obliged to attend.¹⁴Clan heads were also responsible for the installation of family heirs. They were particularly concerned to ensure that the property of the dead did not pass out of the clan or was misused in any other way. One retired Toro Kingdom official by the name, Kiiza Apollo said:

“It was impossible in the past to ascertain the depth or the actual size of the clan or lineage group. In the 1950,s people claimed to be able to trace an unbroken line of descent between seven and twelve members.”²¹

Toro Kingdom clans are locally known as Nganda in plural and Oruganda in Singular. Members of clans in Toro Kingdom believe that they have a common distant matrilineal ancestor. According to Rev Baguma, a Toro Kingdom elder clan names

were given after the key episodes in the lives of their founders. Clan members have totems which distinguish them from members of other clans. All clans with the exception of the Royal Babiito clan which are exogamous²² are associated with one and sometimes two, of the spirits of the Bachweezi. Members of clans have common totems or avoidances which distinguish them from members of other clans. No matter how distantly related, clan folks are referred to as Mwenewaitu or Benebaitu for plural. Many Batoro Kingdom believed that their clan folks could be found in neighboring territories of Bunyoro, Mubende district of Buganda and in Ankole. One or two are said to be known in Rwanda, and a large number in Buhaya and other territories south of Buhaya and Lake Victoria in Tanganyika according to Carole Buchanan ²³ It was however impossible for this study to ascertain the size and distribution of clans in the past. According to census conducted between 1951-1952 it was revealed that the Batoro Kingdom associated themselves to about 150 clans, and sub clans the largest membership was that of the Basita who had 2061 clan homestead heads or about 8000 people. The smallest membership was that of a single homestead head .The average clan membership was 195 homestead heads according to Tailor ²³ .Clans had specialized functions in Toro Kingdom for instance, the Babiito made up the royal clan out of who came, and the Baisanza clan produced the speaker whose title was Rwiigi or speaker of Toro Kingdom Parliament (Orukurato).

According to Kyalimpa a respondent, the principle of clanship was very important in Toro Kingdom, it promoted a sense of belonging, people who were proud to be

associated with a particular clan, they always referred to each other as Itwe in vernacular which literally meant “we” with a sense of superiority over other clans

TABLE 1: SHOWING CLANS OF TORO KINGDOM ACCORDING TO THE 1951/52 CENSUS

CLAN	HOMESTEAD-HEADS	CLAN	HOMESTEAD-HEADS
Basita	2,061	Bazira	328
Babiito (Royal)	1745	Basonga	314
Basambu	1,513	Basengya	313
Bahinda	1,444	Bacwa	288
Bacwamba	1331	Banyakoozi	269
Bagaya	1,119	Bagombe	258
Basingo	1,026	Banekera	239
Bayaga	1,024	Bamoli	218
Bacwezi	912	Bnyonza	208
Bagahi	905	Banyaisanza	205
Bagimu	904	Bakoyo	201
Bakurungu	849	Bana	198
Bagweri	779	Basumbi	181
Babopi	673	Bagorongwa	181
Bafumambogo	649	Banyama	151
Beri	629	Batwa	151
Barungu	556	Balebeki	145
Basoigi	545	Batenzi	126
Bagabu	490	Bassoka	122
Baliisa	478	Bakwonga	121
Banyehembe	450	Bangwere	115
Baranzi	443	Baraha	110
Babworo	371	Babwongo	176
Baitira	344	Babwiiju	103
Bango	341	Banyakwa	103

Source: The Rwenzori information systems, courtesy Mountains of the Moon University

However, some informants gave information which contradicts some of the details given in the table above as stated by Tailor. For instance, Mwirumubi the head of the Baisanza clan informed the researcher that, the real name for the clan is Baisanza yet some respondents referred to it as Banyakyoozi clan .²⁴ He added that there was no clan called Banyakyozi contrary to Tailor who presents the two as different clans which exist in Toro Kingdom.

Katusabe, the assistant clan head of the Baisanza in Toro Kingdom also noted that the Banyehembe, Babwiju, and the Bagahi are one clan, the major clan is the Bagahi .²⁵ this is also in opposition to Tailors' survey that considers them as different clans.

2.7 Kinship Attitudes and Terminology in Toro Kingdom.

Toro Kingdom kinship attitude were closely related to a unilateral descent principle involving a high degree of material and spiritual dependence upon matrilineal relatives and a marriage system involving a bride payment by the man's father. Most family relationships are overshadowed by the dominance of the father and husband. The father traditionally was an autocrat, as noted:

“The father was thought of to be the prime cause of a child's birth and whether he was married or not his child automatically took his clan and totem or avoidance”²⁶

The father played a dominant role in ceremonies centered on his children. He was responsible for their spiritual as well as material well-being. Children were expected to behave well and respect their parents, they had for example to incline their heads when

greeting and to kneel while handing pipes or calabashes or pouring of water for washing of hands before and after eating. A son would seek his father's permission usually through an intermediary before he could shave or smoke for the first time. Some gift was usually given to the father in form of a goat or a calabash of beer for granting of the privilege. Children were compelled to respect their parents to avoid the wrath of ancestral spirits and indignation by society according to Zipporah a respondent²⁷.

There was a marked solidarity between brothers and sisters. This was however reduced by increasing emphasis on the males, a division of labour that kept boys with their fathers and girls with their mothers. While there was mutual solidarity among brothers, most respondents indicated that, older siblings were recognized most, especially those expected to succeed their parents. All his brothers recognized him as their father though he was their brother. He sat as their senior man. Senior brothers were always rich and helpful and when they died it became a point of competition for junior brothers to inherit their wives according to Tailor²⁸

2.8 Traditional Religion in Toro Kingdom.

Before the onslaught of colonialism, Toro Kingdom was a highly organized society. From the words of Rev Baguma, a respondent, one could not hesitate to conclude that the Batoro were highly religious people as proved by the practices they carried out in honor to their gods. The concept of God was known among the Batoro in the Kingdom long before the coming of Europeans colonialists.³¹ The Batoro had different gods

whom they respected because they acted as mediators between the people and Ruhanga or God. These gods had specialized functions and included the following.

Kaliisa. This was a hunter god. He was normally consulted for blessings in hunting. This explains why every Mutoro Kingdom had to have a spear and a dog to be use in hunting.

Kaikara. This god was vital for fertility. He was in charge of rituals pertaining child naming and production of twins. The presence of people in Toro Kingdom to date called Kaikara for the females and Rwakaikara for the males is clear testimony that this god existed. All Batoro who were born under the ritual guidance of Kaikara were called Rwakaikara in case they were males, the males were called kaikara, and it was equally a must that such children had to be called Adyeeri by pet name because it was the pet name of Kaikara.

Rubanga was yet another god the Batoro respected. His work was to oversee the delivery of twins.

Nyamwairika was yet another god in Toro Kingdom. He was a god of water (Endyooka) He was responsible for flooding and was usually found in River Muziizi in Mwenge County towards Bunyoro. The best way of sacrificing to him was the ship either male or female. This god was also worshiped by the Bakonjo in the mountains.

Embandwa was a common word used among the Batoro to refer to all practices involving sacrificing and worship of these gods. It involved carrying food and other items such as ship, goats, and hens to small huts which were usually constructed at the

back of every Mutoro house.³² some of these huts were believed to be resting places for Ndyooka or the god of water whenever he would pay a silent visit to the home to bring blessings.

2.9 The Organization of Magical Religious Institutions

According to Tailor, all Batoro including the king downwards recognized and paid homage to the spirits of the Bachweezi³³, although organized at base by family and lineage groups, the cult constituted at the same time a frame work for supra clan relations and activities. It operated most effectively at the parish level and below although on Certain occasion's people from far further afield could have recourse to famous high priests and attend sacred groves in places at some distance from their homes.

Shrines for ancestral and animal spirits were normally built for family heads in front of their houses and shrines for Bachwezi spirits were constructed behind while within each house at the rear of the man's wall or in a corner near the milk Place. There could often be a shrine or sacred place where ritual objects like Mbandwa crowns, cowry shells clusters, pots, and white flowers would be kept. Each clan had a distinct format of Shrine building ³⁴. It was noted that Sorcery was always practiced through medicines obtained by spiteful persons from doctor diviners. Both the people who used such substances – frequently poisonous herbs or mixtures and magical horns and the people who supplied them were known as sorcerers (Abarogo) and were, commonly thought of as evil and on discovery, fully deserving of the old penalty of being burnt alive on the hill tops. A person suffering from or endangered by the

influence of sorcery would have recourse to the senior diviners who would for some material consideration be able to provide medicines for protection. Doctors (Abafumu) and sorcerers (Abarogo) although sometimes associated were usually distinguished because it is said the majority of doctors were good people who performed a useful public service and would refuse to use powers against people even if they understood them. Rusoke, a respondent noted that, the traditional magical-religious system then was a system of action, small scale, and short term occasional and based on the family and lineage groups. Action usually stemmed from family heads that would be advised by doctor diviners and assisted by religious specialists associated in the case of the Mbandwa cult with a body of mainly cult worshipers.

2.10 Organization of Relationships with Magical Religious Institutions.

Family heads were responsible for approaching diviners and thereby identifying the causes of misfortunes, holding ceremonies, entreating spirits keeping dedicated bulls, goats, sheep, or cocks, making occasional sacrifices, building and maintaining shrines, and otherwise attending to the spiritual welfare often dependents. In cases where multilateral spirits were involved the mother of the children would journey to her own home where her father, but more usually her brother would take responsibility for the proceedings. On rare occasions apparently twice yearly Lineage heads would hold ceremonies for their group when lineage spirits would be involved. The lineage head it is said would ask mercy for the clan ³⁵

In time of misfortunes for example, cases of inexplicable death of humans, or livestock, serious illness or miscarriage, infertility etc., family heads would approach a

diviner or sometimes several diviners to ascertain the causes and possible cures of the ill. These specialists who clearly had detailed knowledge of medicines and surgery sometimes effected cures without reference to spiritual powers at all. In most cases however they would diagnose neglect of the spirits or sorcery. They decided which the offended spirit was and what conciliatory action would be required to silence it. Unlike the priests and priestess of the Bachweezi, Mbandwa cult, they imputed their powers to the creator frequently referred to as Nkya, Kagaba, and Nyamuhanga.³⁶ The Batoro in the Kingdom belief in God as creator was proved from the names they gave their children. Tigaba observed that some people named their children Kagaba which meant God is giver of everything³⁷. The methods of divination included reading of designs in water, on stool tops and in other containers, fire reading, the throwing of sticks and small pieces of leather, and the examination of entrails of fowls and other stock. The doctor diviners exhibited an impressive grasp of the personality problems and family history of their patients in relationship to people already dead but they also seemed to have extensive knowledge of the tensions, latent, and overt in their patients present, day relations. Most communication with priests was with Mizimu, Bizimu and Mbandwa spirits. There was little or no communication at all with the creator according to Bukombi.³⁸ Doctor diviners would also advise on the type of ceremony in the case of Bachweezi spirits. This usually involved some form of respect and feeding of the spirit. The organization of Mbandwa ceremonies required the assistance of local clan priestess (Nyakatagara) as one of the primary officials. Rwagweeri, noted that, there was at least one priestess in every lineage who was believed to have the power of communicating with the one or two Bachweezi spirits of that clan.³⁹ It was her

responsibility to direct the construction of shrines, to advise about their maintenance, to offer prayer on periodic visits to homesteads and to invite initiated members of the cult singers and musicians. In the more important cases, the high priest who was not necessarily a member of the family heads clan was a medium for all the spirits. He was of particular importance in initiation ceremonies and also led the singing of songs in praise or memory of the Bachwezi.

The chief and the clan Priestess normally shared the direction of certain ceremonies. Between 1950 and 1955, fifty% of the population in Toro Kingdom professed and probably as many as 75% priest and doctor diviners continued to provide a need and valued service in helping to restore security and confidence in the face of malevolent and vindictive spirit world according to Bagamba.

In the final analysis it can be concluded that, the Batoro in the Kingdom were Religious people before the spread of Western religions. They had magical religious institutions which united them hence giving them hope to carry on with life. However, following the spread of western religions, most Toro Kingdom religious practices were minimized. As a system of action it became small, short term, occasional, and based on family and related groups. Among the people of Toro Kingdom, death was an important though sorrowful moment. To most Batoro in the Kingdom, it was a transition from the physical to the spiritual world. According to Kaganda a respondent, it was a must for every Mutoro in the Kingdom to prepare for his or her death, and the actions of the living determined their life in the spiritual world or after death. That was why the Batoro in the Kingdom were conscious of their actions to ensure that they

pleased the ancestral spirits.⁴⁰ Every Mutoro man had an obligation of building a hut or shelter, put in place some animals, and acquire some piece of land. These would ensure the survival of his family in case he died. As part of preparation for death, each Mutoro had to prepare a will to describe how he intended to distribute his assets to the children in case he died. This will was always kept with a close friend who would announce it at the funeral of the deceased. In case death occurred, the Batoro mourned for four days in case the deceased was a man and then burial would take place, for a woman it was three days. Fire would be made outside the house around which family members, relatives and friends gathered to mourn their beloved friend according to Sibanzire⁴¹

The words mentioned as the Batoro mourned their beloved ones proved that they believed in life after death, they mentioned words like ogende kurungi (meaning go in peace), tulikusangayo, (we shall find you there), agenzire kuliima gonja (has gone to plant Bananas), inter alia, the Batoro Kingdom who died would be buried with clothes, hoes and pangas and it was assumed that these items would help them in the next world.

2.11 The Spread of Western Religions in Toro Kingdom.

According to Tiberondwa⁴² Kraapf of the Church Missionary society was the first Protestant missionary to arrive in East Africa in 1844. He was joined two years later by J. Rebmann. Uganda being far in land was not reached by Christian missionaries not until the 30 of June 1877 when the first missionaries of the church missionary's society met King Muteesa one at his Rubaga palace.⁴³

Encouraged by the warm reception of the King, the first Christian missionaries spread Christianity in Buganda converting many chiefs to the new faith. The Baganda converts helped in the spread of Christianity to other parts of Uganda including Toro Kingdom as Tiberondwa affirms:

“Many prominent Baganda did not only welcome the missionaries, they also joined them in this new faith and worked hand in hand with them in spreading Christianity and western education to other tribes of Uganda and beyond. Apollo Kivebulaya became a missionary and spread Christianity among the Pygmies of Zaire after passing through Toro Kingdom.”⁴⁴

Kadoma a respondent confessed that he did not personally see white missionaries apart from one white man called Lindi who came with his wife and daughter looking for a place to establish a mission. He further informed the researcher that this white man inquired from his late father by the name Siriiri about the possibility of getting a plot to build a church. He was later referred to King Rukidi who allowed him to buy land then returned and bought land from Mr. Siiriiri on which he built the first Seventh Day Adventist Church in Toro Kingdom. From this place (Kazingo), the Seventh Day Adventist faith spread to other parts of Western Uganda⁴⁵. He further recalled that Virika was the place where the Catholics built the first church in Toro and confessed to have seen father Lodel personally. The conversion of King Kasagama and his subsequent baptism attracted many Batoro traditionalists into Christianity. Byakweyamba was one of the earliest Batoro to be converted to the Christian faith according to Fusta⁴⁷ the conversion of such key personalities was vital as many Batoro Kingdom were encouraged to abandon the Toro Kingdom traditional religious

practices and took over the new faith. The headquarters of the Anglican Church in Toro Kingdom were built at Kabarole hill and those of the Seventh day Adventist church were built at Kihembo hill.

The political crisis affecting king Kasagama of Toro Kingdom facilitated the spread of Christianity. Steinhart puts it that, the removal of Sudanese troops from Toro Kingdom was like taking the lock from his house, the news must have been doubly disillusioning, for kasagama who had just appealed to Bishop Turcker for Christian teachers, probably in an effort to bolster his regimes prestige and possibly to avert criticism raised by Byakweyamba for his alleged ant Christian stance.⁴⁶ In May 1894 at the request of Yafeti Byakweyamba, Four Baganda protestant Teachers arrived in Toro Kingdom. Petero Nsubuga who had taught Byakweyamba in Buganda settled with him in Butiiti Mwenge,

Marko Luyimbazi settled at Kabarole, Kasagama's new capital. Kasagama though not yet a Christian himself began to encourage the new religion and to create a protestant party in Toro Kingdom similar to that of Buganda⁴⁷. In 1894, the Roman Catholic mission arrived in Toro Kingdom thus throwing Kasagama into antagonism with the competing doctrine and with the British authorities who held a different view of the role of religion in an African State from that of the independent minded monarch. According to Steinhart, with Kasagamas return to Toro in April 1896, the work of spreading the gospel in Toro became the chief instrument of creating the Toro polity. Accepting the Christian faith became the equivalent of a loyalty oath to the monarchy, indeed the conflict between protestant and Catholic adherents can best be understood

in terms of competing political ideologies of the ruling party and loyal opposition respectively.⁴⁸ According to Reverend Baguma, Islamic faith in Toro Kingdom was brought by Arab traders who came to Toro Kingdom purposely for trade. However, it took long for the Batoro in the Kingdom to embrace Islam. This was because of the belief that Islam was a religion of bad people who had sold the Batoro ancestors into slavery.⁴⁹ Sheikh Monday of Fort Portal main Mosque noted that it was not until 1947 when the main Mosque in Fort Portal was built. After 1947, some Batoro especially near Fort Portal municipality started embracing Islam and assisting the pioneer Muslims to spread and build small Mosques in remote areas of Toro Kingdom such as Rubona, Karugutu, Kyenjojo, among others. The Batoro Kingdom generally feared the hard conditions of Islamic faith such as circumcision, praying five times a day, among others. This explains why to date; Islamic faith remains a religion with the least number of converts in Toro Kingdom according to Sheik Monday⁵⁰

2.12 The Impact of Western Religions on Toro Kingdom's Culture.

The spread of western religions had a significant bearing on the social cultural institutions of Toro Kingdom. Karamagi⁵¹ one of the respondents, informed the researcher that the Batoro in shifted their allegiance to Western religious beliefs. The people of Toro Kingdom were made to believe that it was satanic to sacrifice to gods. The rituals patterning to the birth of twins all were rendered outdated making many Batoro to drop them. The Batoro were made to believe in the existence of only one God hence abandoning the many gods they worshiped as hitherto explained in the previous chapter. African traditional religion had promoted unity in Toro Kingdom.

However, this was no more following the rise of western religions in Toro Kingdom. Reverend Rutabalengya ⁵² one of the first Batoro to become a protestant Reverend informed the researcher that his father was one of the first people to be converted to the protestant faith in 1903. However, there was a serious struggle by the supporters of the Catholic Church to snatch him from the Protestant faith. This conflict was also reflected in education. The Catholics built St Leos College Kyegobe as the first Catholic School in Toro Kingdom, and the Protestant missionaries built Nyakasura School. The construction of such schools on denominational basis divided the Toro Kingdom community further as the Catholics could not allow their children to join protestant schools and vice versa.

2.13 Reaction of Traditional Leaders and Moslems to the Spread of Christianity.

The leaders of traditional religion and the Moslems reacted negatively to the spread of Christianity in Toro Kingdom. Rwabwoogo, a respondent noted that traditional religious leaders were disgruntled by the fact that, Christian missionaries were undermining the Toro Kingdom traditional religion ⁵³. The Christian missionaries and their Baganda agents condemned the Batoro Kingdom magical religious practices such as ancestral worship commonly known as Embandwa, sacrificing to the gods, wife inheritance among others which they considered satanic. The traditional religious leaders started threatening the white missionaries with witchcraft. They even threatened the Batoro in the Kingdom that the white men had bad omen and if they dared embrace their religion then natural calamities as famine, strange disease, and thunder storm would invade them. The preaching of the word of God to the Batoro

paved way for European imperialism into Toro Kingdom. This led to the loss of power of traditional chiefs according to Moses⁵⁴

Karamagi, a respondent observed that after King Kasagama returned to Kabarole, Bishop Turker, who had baptized him, made a pilgrimage to visit the monarch and assured him of his church's goodwill. This goodwill was reflected when it came to supporting Kasagama's effort to support the faith.⁵⁵

Ziporah noted that the Ganda native evangelists were used to spread the Christian faith in Toro Kingdom. These had been called in by Bishop Tucker. However, once their work was getting done, the Bishop reviewed their work and assigned two teachers to each.⁵⁶ Edward mentions of the conversion of fifteen new converts who were baptized including Kasagama's mother, who was Victoria Kahinju, and Kasagam's wife, Damari. The queen who was married to Kasagama by Christian rites on 4th may 1910 was one of the eleven of the king's wives. To prove the devotion of Kasagama to the new Christian faith, all remaining of his five wives were allowed to remarry. Other wives were allowed to remarry. Polygamy which was highly cherished among the Batoro in the Kingdom was given a serious blow since the king who was the fountain of honor in Toro Kingdom had denounced it as a result of the new Christian faith.

2.14 Informal Education in Toro Kingdom.

Before the onslaught of colonial rule in Uganda and the establishment of western education system, Toro Kingdom like any other society in Uganda had its own system of education. According to Reverend Baguma,⁵⁷ the Palace of the king in Toro Kingdom was the center of civilization. Parents played a big role of grooming their children so that they would behave in a way that would not Ashame their parents. Discipline was imparted from the palace to the home through chiefs. Acceptable forms of behaviour were transmitted from the palace to homes through chiefs. The king had chiefs such as parish chiefs (Abamatwaale), village chiefs, (abakungu), Saza or county chiefs, among others. Through these chiefs education was imparted to other members of the community, For example girls were taught on how to sit, how to welcome guests on top of encouraging them to stay virgins by avoiding fornication. Traditional forms of education existed in Toro Kingdom based on tribal and clan units and covered both the theoretical and practical fields, according to Tiberondwa,⁵⁸ the whole process of living was a process of learning. He further outlined the tasks which the children were taught at different age levels. The traditional teachers were the parents, brothers and sisters, relatives and members of the age group. He further observed that before the arrival of Europeans in Uganda, there were no professionally trained teachers in Uganda as it is today, but the parents were the available teachers.

There were some people in Toro Kingdom who had acquired certain professional skills and therefore acted as teachers. Some were herbalists and medicine men who knew a lot about medicine and would coach young men who were sent to them to learn these skills.

Other specialist teachers included backcloth makers, blacksmiths who could make beautiful rings, carpenters, and potters. Kateeba, one of the respondents⁵⁹ testified that he mastered the skill of bark cloth making from a certain man where his father would take him to learn bark cloth making.

In pre colonial Toro, the children were taught the names of plants and animals, they learnt about their own rulers, and those of the neighboring ethnic group. They also learnt about different gods, good and bad spirits, life after death and the different ways of worshiping their god individually and collectively. Young people were also taught wrestling, running, singing and dancing. The curriculum used by a traditional teacher in Toro Kingdom was dictated by the geography of the area, religious and tribal beliefs, taboos and other customs of the people. Effective teaching started when the children were still young. The education and proper upbringing of children was a responsibility of all members of the community .One respondent Bukombi⁶⁰ noted that it was common in Toro Kingdom for a mature person to beat up any child he found doing anything that was regarded as wrong whether the child was his or not.

2.15: The spread of Western Education

Balinda, a respondent noted that Islamic education was not well developed in Toro despite being the earliest religion to be introduced. The first schools were built by the Protestants and Catholics.⁶¹ it was at the Mosque where the few Muslim converts were given training in Arabic language and the basics of Islamic faith. There were no Islamic schools which were built during colonial rule in Toro Kingdom. Even after

impedance, Islamic education in Toro Kingdom did not gain ground because of the little impact Islam had in the region.

Reverend Kyalimpa noted that, the first schools in Toro Kingdom were constructed by the first Christian missionaries. Following the arrival of Bishop Tucker in 1890, he was made Bishop of Uganda in 1897. Seven years after his arrival, he decided to reorganize the education system in the country. He invited C. W Chatterley a church missionary society missionary whom he gave the responsibility of building a system of primary schools and teacher training colleges⁶². Many of these schools were built around Kampala and they were known as "Bush schools" These schools were denominational in that the Catholics established schools where they operated from and the same case applied to the protestant missionaries. Between 1910-1925 the two missionaries built several bush schools throughout the country. Bahemuka one of the respondents confirmed that one of the schools built in Fort Portal was Bagaaya primary school where he confessed to have studied and it was constructed by the Anglican Church, adjacent this school was Bulera church of Uganda. He again informed the researcher that after establishing a Seventh Day Adventist Church at Kazingo, Lindi an Adventist missionary also constructed Kazingo Adventist primary school to teach the new converts how to read and write. Aston⁶³ noted that the earliest secondary schools to be built in Fort portal were Nyakasura School which was built by an Anglican missionary called Commander Ernest in 1930, St Leos College Kyegobe for Catholics, and St Marry Gorret also for Catholics. In these schools, young people were not only taught reading, writing, and simple Arithmetic and scriptures but they

were also repeatedly told that African customs and traditions were wrong and unacceptable to God. This led to the erosion of some important cultural traditions that for centuries had upheld the cultural cohesion of the people of Toro Kingdom. Western Education was instrumental in softening the hearts of the people of Toro Kingdom thus making it easy for them to easily fall prey to European imperialism, it was rigid in nature. Children were given theoretical skills .Emphasis was on reading and simple arithmetic. According to Reverend Rutabalengya,⁶⁴ Western Education emphasized respect for authority since” all authority comes from God” this made many Batoro Kingdom to pay total allegiance to European colonialists hence leading to the easy imposition of colonial rule in Toro Kingdom. It was not easy to be promoted from one class to another in the colonial system of education. The main aim was not to produce professionals but people who would serve the colonial rulers.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the Social organization of Toro Kingdom during the period 1830-1962 has been analyzed. The chapter examined the customs of Toro Kingdom such as marriage among the Batoro, child naming, African Traditional religion in Toro, clans of Toro, informal education in Toro, and the introduction of Western Education in Toro.

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6. Bahemuka Regiina (73) 23/09/2014, Bukuuku, Peasant
7. Ibid. Regiina B. as noted above
8. Interview with John Kinuge, 75 years, 13/09/2014. Peasant
9. Interview with Amos Kateeba, 76 years, 20/09/2014, Retired chief
10. Interview with John Balisanga, 69 years, 11/9/2014. Peasant
11. Interview with Kinuge John as noted above.
12. Interview with Brian Kasinsibirizi, 55 years, 27/9/2014. Retired cultural leader
13. Interview with Anthony Kasaija, 78 years, 24/09/2014. Teacher
14. Interview with Prossy bahemuka, 88 years, 28/09/2014.
15. Interview with Sibalengana John, 90 years, 26/09/2014. Retired kingdom officer
16. Interview with Richard Baguma, 74 years, 30/09/2014.
17. Interview with Clovice Kyalimpa, 68. Clergy
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CHAPTER THREE

THE ECONOMIC ORGANISATION OF TORO KINGDOM 1830-1962

3.0 Introduction

The research question addressed under this section is “what were the main economic activities of the people of Toro Kingdom during the period 1830-1962. This chapter examines the economic developments in Toro Kingdom during the period, 1830-1962. For purposes of getting a clear picture of how Toro was organized during this period, this chapter has been sub divided into various subdivisions such as subsistence farming, pastoralism, hunting trade, and the development of Tea farming in Toro.

Subsistence Farming in Toro Kingdom

It's noted in the background that the people of Toro Kingdom before colonial rule practiced subsistence farming in which they grew a number of crops on small scale. In line with this, Tailor confirms that, within a frame work of a feudal Kingdom with an influential cattle owning class, most Batoro were small scale hoe cultivators working independently on house hold units on scattered plots in the neighborhood of their homes.¹ He adds that the pastoralists who lived mainly on the plain and to a lesser extent on the plateau were probably a small minority. Reverend Baguma, one of the respondents, observed that though Toro Kingdom was predominantly a subsistence community carrying out small scale farming, there were some parts of Toro Kingdom which were known for pastoralism predominantly. He mentioned areas around the Semlik Valley such as Butuku, Rwamwanja and Busongora in present day Kasese district.² However, every Mutoro in the Kingdom was encouraged to have a cow which would provide them with milk and also acted as source of income. Apart from

small scale farming and pastoralism. Before colonial rule, the Batoro Kingdom engaged in a number of economic activities such as trading in salt, hunting, iron smelting, among others as will be explained in detail.

Bahemuka one of the respondents, confirmed the assertion of Baguma when he observed that Batoro in Toro Kingdom were predominantly subsistence farmers who grew crops on small scale mainly for consumption. He informed the researcher that, the Batoro grew crops such as Bananas, sweet potatoes, sorghum, millet, and Pease on small scale.³ However due to differences in soil structure, some crops thrived better in certain areas and failed in others. For instance, whereas millet would grow best in Mwenge, most farmers in central Toro Kingdom that is areas of Burahya and Bunyangabu found it difficult to grow millet, the major food crop grown in Bunyangabu and Burahya was bananas because the soils were fertile. In Butuku which was predominantly a pastoral community most crops could not be successfully grown because the area was semi arid with poor soils that could not support agriculture hence most people there were pastoralists. Kinuge one of the respondents indicated that the Batoro Kingdom had to exchange what they had with what they did not have in order to balance their diet.⁴The Batuku had to exchange milk with bananas, beans and yams with the non pastoral communities in Toro Kingdom since there soil could not support the growing of these crops. This gave rise to local trade in Toro Kingdom. Commenting on Ugandan communities before the establishment of colonial rule, Odiambo noted that:

Traditional methods had been based on a subsistence economy with payment in kind and trade through barter⁵.

Regina Kaija a respondent noted that the Batoro were a very cooperative community as reflected in their economic activities. With time the population went on increasing there was need to increase the portions of land in every homestead under use for agriculture so as to produce sufficient food to feed the family. However due to the use of rudimentary tools as the simple hand hoes, this was not always easy hence giving rise to what was referred to as cooperative farming under subsistence arrangement. Isingoma Kimooome a respondent noted that between five or ten families entered into an arrangement to help one another on a rotational basis,⁶ they would work on a particular garden of a member in the group until they finished working on all members of the group. This practice was also extended to harvesting. I was informed that a farmer with a big millet garden would invite his friends who would help him or her to harvest the garden. The host would prepare food and local brew for the workers who would do the harvesting amidst singing and jocks which involved the use of vulgar language to morale boost the workers. Amos Kateeba a respondent informed me that the BaToro Kingdom were focused people who knew how to plan for their lives. During the seasons of drought there was a problem of food shortage, this compelled them to make granaries where they would store food such as maize and millet which would be used in times of famine which was common during prolonged drought and in heavy rains⁷. This is confirmed by Taillor⁷ who states that women did not participate in granary or house building. Every home of a MuToro Kingdom was supposed to have a granary. Granary building was enforced as a traditional rule by

chiefs to the extent that heads of homesteads who failed to build granaries were punished.

3.2 Productive Systems-Units of Production.

Bamanya⁸ observed that, in the bid for the Batoro to strike a balance between needs and the gifts of nature, specialization became necessary. This was reported as having been a vital aspect of Toro Kingdom economic organization. In pre colonial times certain activities were preserves of men while others for women. Men for example were involved in bush clearing, grass cutting, planting, and pruning of plantains. Men would also brew beer; engage in hunting, and herding animals. Whenever an alarm was heard, men would wake up first pick spears and arrows to defend their community or crops from being stolen by neighboring communities or animals. Mate⁹ a respondent, stated that one of the problems faced by farmers were the animals such as monkeys and chimpanzees which would emerge from the Ruwenzori forest and destroy peoples gardens. Whenever an animal was seen an alarm was made and it was the duty of all men to participate in the hunt. Purse glove¹⁰ reported that in 1951 that there was no rigid rotation but a tendency for some crops to follow others.

On the other hand, women were cultivators, cooks, water carriers, mothers and house wives¹⁰. Both men and women were involved in gathering fire wood though women were not allowed to climb trees or ant hills in the search. They worked together in the fields, the husband preparing the site for his wife's cultivation and helping in the weeding of the millet gardens.

Table 2: Showing Crop Rotation under Shifting Cultivation

Plateau highlands	Bwamba	Ruwenzori
Millet with Scattered maize	Rice	Beans
Beans or Millet	Rice	Wheat
Millet with Scattered maize	Beans	Colacasia 1-3 years
Sweet potatoes or Cassava	colacasia or cassava	cassava

Source. Field Data

3.3. Pastoralism in Toro Kingdom.

Unlike the pattern of agriculture that was small scale house hold type throughout, animal rearing varied. In most parts of Toro Kingdom, people kept few animals at home to meet their domestic needs of milk, meat and hides. There some parts of Toro Kingdom where cattle keeping was on large scale, these included areas of Butuuku in present day Ntoroko district, Rwamwanja currently in Kyegegwa district, and Busongora all of which were under Toro Kingdom. The geography of these areas in terms of soil and climate could not favour agriculture hence the predominance of cattle rearing. The animals kept were cows, goats, sheep, and dogs which facilitated hunting. Kagusuru, observed that cattle in Toro Kingdom served both economic and social purposes.¹¹, on top of being a source of income cows were usually a source of dowry. Every Mutoro in the Kingdom needed a cow; in case one of his elder sons wanted to marry then he would pay this cow as dowry.

The presence of animals at home no matter the number promoted prestige. A man whose home lacked animals was perceived as being lazy. Isingoma ¹² commented on the economic importance of having a dog¹². Every Mutoro in the Kingdom needed a

dog for a multiplicity of reasons. First, it was used in hunting out of which the Batoro Kingdom supplemented their diet, second it provided security to the Batoro Kingdom individual households and their property. Taylor, observed that the cattle were housed in Kraals enclosure and calves in living or separate huts. Goats were herded separately, and sheep were herded with the cattle ¹³. Milking of cattle normally began very early in the morning. George observes that milking time was accompanied with singing of motivational songs which was assumed to enhance milk productivity. If a calf had died and its mother refused to give ¹⁴ milk the dead calf's skin would be given to the cow to lick. If this were not possible or successful, another calf suitably rubbed with medicines to make it likeable would be used. Kiiza noted that the bull unit was between fifty and a hundred. There was generally no shortage of grazing land but the larger herds could move over an extensive area ¹⁵ Small herds usually grazed within five miles from their Kraal. The cows were watered twice a day and periodically given salt. They were regularly rubbed down and de-ticked. Kyalimpa informed the researcher that smoky fires were maintained in or near the Kraal and sometimes near water points for the cow's comfort ¹⁶, he further pointed out that smoky fires were referred to as *Ekoomi* and they were meant to drive away Tsetse flies from disturbing animals. These smoky fires were prepared using dried cow dung. It was the obligation of girls in a home together with women to sweep the Kraal, gather dry cow dung and then prepare fire.

However, all Batoro in the Kingdom were not farmers or cattle keepers, it was observed that some minority Batoro in the Kingdom were specialists but whom also part-timed in farming. A relatively small number of these specialists most of whom were also cultivators included Blacksmiths, back cloth makers, basket weavers, carpenters, court servant's dressers and sorcerers. Their also existed in Toro Kingdom rain makers and doctor diviners. You earned a living by making proper use of these specialized skills, diviners and rain makers received payment for their services in form of goat, sheep, cattle, fowl, food, and hoes. Rain makers would cause rain for farmers so as to save their crops from drought. There were also specialist fishermen near lakes as Albert, Lake George and Lake Edward. House builders received no specific payments but participated in a feast when the work was completed. There were also short term laborers or helpers who were usually rewarded with food and beer. Long term servants received food, beer, goats and cattle according to Laurence a respondent 17.

In Toro Kingdom, some families were known for certain activities, for instance some were highly skilled in the area of blacksmithing. They produced knives, pangas, and hoes which they exchanged with other agricultural commodities. These became trainers of other community members in such skills. Mugenyi¹⁸ noted that parents would Bring their children from different corners to these particular homesteads to enable them acquire skills in black smithing. Some children from these families were given names which corresponded with the specialized skills their parents had. For instance those from blacksmith families would be called Kaheesi for boys or Kabaheesi for the case of a girl. To- date these names are still common in Toro

Kingdom. The Batoro valued iron smelting because it enabled them acquire items as pangas, hoes, Sickles, and arrows that facilitated internal trade among the Batoro.

3.4 Hunting in Toro Kingdom before colonial rule.

Like any other pre colonial society the People of Toro Kingdom also practiced hunting. Mate a respondent confessed that his father and all his grandparents were hunters; he further stated that the Bakonjo on the slopes of Mountain Ruwenzori could not do without hunting²⁰. However, hunting was not a specialized activity, the agriculturalists, blacksmiths, and pastoralists could at their free time engage in hunting. The Bakonjo and some Batoro on the lower part of the Rwenzori would go to their gardens during day time and in the evening participate in hunting. In hunting they used dogs, spears, traps and fire to scare animals in the forests. The hunters would share the hunted animal at the end of the hunting expedition. Through hunting the Batoro obtained wild game which supplemented their diet. Besides, surplus game and meat would be exchanged with other commodities. When an animal was killed in a hunt, special pieces of meat would be given to the man who first saw the animal, the first three people to spear it and the chiefs or land lords of the area on which it was killed according to Kasinsibirizi²¹ a respondent. During British colonial rule, because of the need for Raw materials, the British put restrictions on hunting. Bwandondo²² a respondent recalled that no person was allowed to go to the forest to hunt without permission from the district local colonial administrator.

3.5 Trade in Toro Kingdom

Trade in Toro Kingdom during pre- colonial times was necessitated by the desire to satisfy needs which some communities could not afford to produce due to differences in soil and climate. This trade was both internal and external. Internally the hunters would roast game meat, and sell it to the people through barter trade;²³ the skins from hunted animals were also an important item for cultural and as they were used during marriage ceremonies.

Salt was yet another important item of trade in Toro Kingdom. Salt was obtained from Katwe. Salt facilitated both internal and external trade in Toro Kingdom. Kakiiza a respondent confessed that his uncle would wake up early in the morning to buy salt which he would sell to Bundibugyo through Ruwenzori Mountains²⁴. The presence of Salt mines at Katwe and Kibiro linked Toro Kingdom to other parts of Uganda hence facilitating pre- colonial trade. Karugire, observes that in Pre colonial times, there were certain commodities which were beyond the means of certain communities²⁵ and one of these commodities was salt. The principal centers of salt extraction were Katwe and Kasenyi which became part of Toro Kingdom in 1830. Toro Kingdom became the principal link between the predominantly Nilotic speaking people of the North and the predominantly Bantu speaking people of the south because the single commodity upon which all societies in Uganda placed an equal premium was found in Toro Kingdom. Salt obtained from the salt mines of Katwe and Kasenyi was transported southwards to Nkore, Kigezi, Rwanda, and Karagwe. Kateeba a respondent reckoned that some Batoro engaged in brewing. They used local bananas called *Musa* to make alcohol which was sold or exchanged with other commodities.

This local brew was called Tonto or local *Waragi*. This brew was very important among the Batoro Kingdom. Apart from being used as a source of income, it served cultural function such as in marriage. Whenever a Mutoro went for an introduction ceremony he had to carry with him two calabashes of local brew to accompany other items brought for the payment of dowry. ²⁶ *Agaba* a respondent reckoned that the members of the family of the husband to be would not be allowed to access the home of the girl for the introduction ceremony without local brew. This forced many Batoro to look for it, buy it so as not to be ashamed.²⁷

However there were few markets and no regular medium of exchange according to Tailor. Most articles were distributed by hand, head-load or in case of stock on the hoof since there were no vehicles or pack animals.²⁸

3.6 Control of the Factors of Production

Tailor observed that, the distribution of goods and services between economic power holders rested mainly on feudal and kinship principles though barter was also important. The king of Toro Kingdom linked by ties of client ship to territorial chiefs and lords ruled a mixed population of agriculturalists and pastoralists through a series of chiefs who worked in close association with clan and lineage heads. The *Omukama* and his chiefs maintained primary control of land, cattle, lakes, salt lakes, medicinal springs, canoe services and certain commodities having exchange or prestige value like elephant tusks, and lion skins. Baguma a respondent stated that, as a matter of allegiance to the king, the Batoro had to pay tribute to him. This was usually in form of cattle, craft objects, goats, millet, beer, salt, labour and military service, booty or

captured property belonged to the king.²⁹ The Batoro believed that everything they had belonged to the King who was referred to as *Agutamba Rukirabasaije Entale Ya Toro* (His Majesty the greatest of all men, the lion of Toro Kingdom). The king also collected revenue from his subjects through fines which would be either in form of cattle or sheep. In return the king would reward his subjects with gifts in form of wives or making them chiefs

In the sphere of ownership of property kinship principles were vital. There was the paternal ownership of property, Patrilineal inheritance and bride payments to the girl's family all of which determined property ownership in pre-colonial Toro Kingdom.

According to some respondents, some people owned property through the wishes of traditional rulers. The king of Toro was believed to be the owner of everything and therefore had the prerogative of awarding any property to any person according to his wish. Reverend Baguma observed that some people were given assignments as parish chiefs, road supervisors among others and when they did excellent work, *Omukama* (king) would reward such people with land, cattle, etc hence a concept of property ownership in pre-colonial Toro Kingdom.³⁰ Tailor noted that tribute to chiefs, landlords, and the king consisted of mainly millet, beer, goats, and cattle. Payments were also made in elephant tusks, Lion skins, and salt and craft objects. Vassals were also expected to pay settlements or succession fees for their holdings and marriage and burial fees. They also had to provide service when required in peace and war and to surrender part of any booty.

3.7 Tea Growing in Toro Kingdom.

Tea is one of the Major cash crops that were grown in Toro Kingdom. The predominant Tea growing area in Toro Kingdom is Mwenge where most Tea estates were found. Tea growing in Kabarole (Toro Kingdom) began after the First World War. In 1920, two whites from Britain known as Edward Gun and John Simpson were appreciated by Britain for their role in the First World War. According to, Isingoma³¹ a respondent, the token of appreciation given to the two men were Tea seedlings and financial facilitation to come to Uganda and start tea growing which by that time was on high demand in Britain. Thus they arrived in Toro in 1920 and established Kijura tea estate which was the first tea estate to be established in Toro Kingdom. The history of tea growing in Toro therefore dates as far back as 1920. Isingoma further noted that the two whites approached King Kasagama on arrival in Toro Kingdom who having been a close ally of the British allowed them to acquire land in Kijura Toro Kingdom where they established Tea Plantations. Tea growing in Toro Kingdom was favored by contusive climatic conditions and availability of land for large tea plantations. In addition the availability of labor also facilitated the development of the tea industry in Toro Kingdom. Mpaka³² noted that that introduction of tea had a significant impact on Toro Kingdom's economy and way of life. The tea growing areas became centers of convergence to people from different parts of Toro Kingdom. The Bakiga, the Banyarwanda, the indigenous Batoro, the Basongora, inter alia, found their way in the predominantly tea growing areas of Mwenge and Kijura to pluck tea and then earn a living. This resulted into intermarriages between the different tribes of people and cultural exchange. The whole of Kijura almost became a Bakiga dominated area yet

initially Batoro was the Majority. Kateeba³³ a respondent noted that following the death of Gun and Simpson their children sold the tea factories they had left behind to the Indians who expanded tea farming in Toro Kingdom and established other tea factories such as Ruwenzori Commodities limited also commonly known as *Buzirasagama*, *Kiko* tea factory, among others. These played a big role in the economic development of Toro Kingdom as they provided jobs to the people and rising local revenue. The post independent leaders retarded the tea revolution in Toro Kingdom according to Kateeba. The expulsion of Asians by Idi Amin led to the departure of Indians who had experience in tea growing and processing. This undermined the tea industry.

3.8 Methods of Production

Taylor³⁴ observes that, it was customary to burn the bush before opening up new land in the drier weather in January and February and to lesser extent in June and July. In the preparation for millet, plant trash and refuse was burnt in heaps and ash spread before sowing. Coach Grass was destroyed by burning after the final cultivation. Two crops of annual food were grown each year and planting was usually done In March and April with the first rains and in August and September with the second rains. The crops were harvested between June and August, January and February respectively.

Land was usually cultivated for two and a half years to three before living the bush to fallow. This was aimed at enabling the land to regain fertility and the time left for the land to fallow also depended on available land for use.

Table 3: Showing gardens of crops in Toro Kingdom by January 1962.

Types of Crops	Mumyaka	Sabairu	Sabagabu	Total
Banana plantations	616	584	20	1220
Sweet potatoes	2887	1732	362	4987
Beans	979	2282	139	3400
Cassava	1580	2287	129	3400
Cowpeas	177	150	25	332
Eggplants	115	95	11	210
G.nuts	450	1905	170	2525
Maize	1988	1138	132	3250
Onions	42	253	33	458
Empande	-	18	-	18
Entendigwa	-	17	-	17
Sweet Potatoes	46	25	2	73
Yams	-	5	1	6
Cornflower	-	77	-	77
Ettaba	38	217	30	285
Soya beans	-	10	-	10
Omugobe	20	74	4	98
Sim Sim	38	6	-	44
Millet	501	335	235	1079
Ebikaka	205	4	1	212
Papaya	-	12	-	12
Pumpkin	70	4	-	74
Cabbages	41	-	-	41
Enumbu	26	-	-	26
Red pepper	10	-	-	10
Pineapple	13	-	1	14
Tomatoes	87	182	-	269

Source: Tailor K.B, 1962, Western lacustrine, Bantu, P57

Source.Taillor B.k, (1962), Western Lacustrine Bantu, Sidney press. 48

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CHAPTER FOUR
THE IMPACT OF COLONIAL RULE ON TORO, S ECONOMIC AND
SOCIAL ORGANISATION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with the economic changes which were brought about by the European colonialists in Toro Kingdom after the eventual colonization of Uganda. In this chapter, the researcher has concentrated on the integration of Toro Kingdom, into a world capitalist economy, and the effects of colonial rule on the social and economic organization of Toro Kingdom.

Toro Kingdom and the Colonial Economic Policies

The research question addressed in this section is, How did the establishment of colonial rule affect Toro Kingdom's social and economic organization Available information from Were et al indicate that,

“By the stroke of a pen which signed the Anglo German agreement of 1890 the area north of Lake Victoria which latter came to be known as Uganda, became a British sphere of influence.”¹

After the establishment of British colonial rule, the British wanted the Uganda protectorate to be self-sufficient so as not to burden the British tax payer. A number of measures were therefore undertaken to have this realized.

Socially, one of these reforms was in the area of education. Rolland observes that education on one hand and economic developments were left almost entirely to private enterprises .This was because the British did not want to burden the European tax payer². The basic question in the social and religious history of any African people at

the beginning of the colonial period was whether it was swimming with the tide advancing European imperialism. Economically, the British encouraged cash crop growing in Toro Kingdom as it was in other parts of Uganda. This was done first by encouraging the people to change their farming methods and find suitable crops for Export. Most respondents said that the introduction of coffee and cotton was a key milestone in the economic history of Toro Kingdom ³. Appeals were made to the chiefs to encourage cash crop growing. Sadler made a similar appeal to Kasagama when he said:

“My friend, advise your chiefs and people to grow produce for sale. I wish to see Toro Kingdom advance like Uganda (i.e. Buganda) and the other parts of the protectorate and I think this is also your wish” ⁴

This was after the colonial officers had carried out cotton experiments in 1904. Some parts of Toro Kingdom such as Rwimi were found fit for the growing of crops such as cotton and coffee. Colonialism promoted enmity between the people of Toro Kingdom and the Baganda. The British believed in the use of their Baganda agents to exploit the Batoro whom they perceived to be less intelligent to manage the exploitation of their own resources. This is proved by a letter written by the provincial commissioner, Western province to the chief Secretary, Entebbe referring to the salt industry in which he stated that:

*“ It seems a pity that the industry cannot be developed on the lines as a purely native industry with scientific improvements. The Batoro are not an intelligent people but if possible Baganda instructors might temporarily be appointed, a European supervisor might even be retained temporarily”*⁵.

This perception which the whites had towards the Batoro Kingdom did not only promote hatred between the Batoro Kingdom and Baganda but demoralized the Batoro in the Kingdom intellectually. Indeed by independence time there was a belief that the Batoro were wheelbarrow pushers. This mentality originated from colonialism.

The emphasis on cash crop growing in Toro Kingdom gave rise to cooperative farming. According to Modest,⁶ the new crops needed some special skills to grow and a certain amount of unity among farmers which could enable them to get assistance from the colonial government in form of fertilizers, seeds and market for the agricultural produce. This in turn led to the formation of cooperative societies such as Bukumbi coffee growers, Mwenge coffee growers, among others. These cooperative societies did joint marketing and storage of coffee and cotton, gave advice to farmers and at the same time represented the interests of farmers to the colonial government.

The introduction of cash crops in Toro Kingdom led to the integration of Toro Kingdom into a world of capitalist economy. This was due to the fact that, the Batoro Kingdom Who were hitherto not used to a money economy found them with no alternative but to engage in cash crop growing for sale Kateeba⁷ emphasized that some of the headquarters of coffee marketing boards which were located in hither to remote areas ended up transforming these areas into powerful trading centers, a mention was made of Karago trading centre, Kitchwamba trading centre, Rwimi trading center, among others. Like it was in other parts of Uganda, the planting of coffee was not encouraged in all areas at the same time in Toro Kingdom due to shortage of labour. The forces of demand for labor which were at work in competition for its supply were

first the settler planters. Even the forced labor system which had been introduced to provide free labour had proved difficult and was abolished in 1921 according to Rwamwarro a respondent ⁸

In as far as land was concerned its noted that the 1900 Toro agreement had assigned 376 square miles to the *Omukama*, the chiefs and the leading personages of the tribe for official and private use ⁹ To most respondents, the Toro Kingdom agreement of 1900 left a lot of land in the hands of the King and the chiefs hence the majority of the peasants were left with very limited land for farming hence resulting into the problem of famine.

Kyamulesire, further noted that, one of the significant effects of the colonial economic and social policies was undermining relations between the various communities of Toro Kingdom. The Batoro in the Kingdom had lived a relatively peaceful life in the pre- colonial period but after the onslaught of British imperialism in Toro Kingdom their policy of divide and rule widened the gap among the various ethnic groups in Toro Kingdom. The British had assisted Toro Kingdom under *Omukama Kasagama* to overcome the stubbornness of *Kabarega* of *Bunyoro* who wanted to recapture Toro Kingdom which had broken away from *Bunyoro* hence enabling Toro Kingdom to become independent ¹⁰ Musoke observed that the British used the Batoro agents to climb Mountain Rwenzori and enforce the policy of cash crop growing. The Bakonjo and the Bamba in Ruwenzori Mountains and Bundibugyo respectively were encouraged to grow coffee which was highly needed by the British. Those in Kasese

were forced to abandon food crop growing as cassava and maize and concentrated on Tobacco growing ¹⁰. This consistent use of the Batoro chiefs to enforce the policies of the British colonialists promoted enmity among the Bakonjo and Bamba against the Batoro Kingdom. This hatred is echoed by Nabudere who noted that, but as these disentangled themselves from Bunyoro- Kitara, they too brought under their domination the *Bakonjo –Bamba* people. The *Bakonjo* were at perpetual war against the incorporation of their area under Toro Kingdom until very recently ¹¹. The culmination of this hatred was the Ruenzururu war between the Batoro and Bakonjo which severely strained relations between the two indigenous ethnic groups of Toro Kingdom. *Kaija*, observed that the Batoro and Bakonjo initially shared a number of social customs such as friendship bonds (Omukago), communal farming and harvesting, among others. Some Batoro also intermarried with the Bakonjo, ¹². However, all this social cohesion reduced when the colonialists promoted enmity between the Batoro Kingdom and Bakonjo through their divide and rule policy. In as far as religion was concerned, colonial rule also promoted divisions based on religion in Toro Kingdom. Since the Colonial Masters were the British Protestants, they tended to promote and appoint more Protestants in positions of authority and undermined those from other faiths. Reverend Rutabalengya who was a protestant, informed the researcher that in Burahya county alone, all the fifteen colonial agents were Protestants ¹³. This acted to accelerate the already existing enmity between Protestants and Catholics. Tiberondwa confirms this trend when he notes in his book that, “The Protestant administrators from England must have persuaded the important chiefs to become Protestants and must have encouraged those who joined this church to high

positions in order to attract more converts. It cannot all have been by mere coincidence”¹⁴.Tiberondwa used a table to illustrate the distribution of chiefs according to Religions in 1924.

Table 4: Percentage of County Chiefs by Religion in East Africa in 1924 in Six Regions

	Buganda	Busoga	Ankole	Bunyoro	Toro Kingdom	Bugisu
Protestant	50.0	100.0	87.5	83.7	100.0	100.0
Roman Catholic	40.0	0.0	12.5	14.3	0.0	0.0
Moslem	10.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Pagan	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Actual number	20	8	8	7	4	3

Source. Tiberondwa A.K, (1977), Missionary Teachers as agents of colonialism in Uganda, P58

The above table proves the assertion by Tiberondwa that there was a deliberate policy by the colonial government to promote Protestants in politics against other people from other religions with in Toro Kingdom region in particular having 100 percent of protestant chiefs. This as most respondents confessed promoted disunity among the people of Toro Kingdom. *Sibanzire*, a respondent, pointed out that, those colonial policies seriously undermined the Toro Kingdom culture. He noted that before colonial rule, the people of Toro Kingdom especially the Bakonjo to which ethnic group he belongs had certain cultural traditions which bound them together. ¹⁵ these included the *Bakonjo* traditional dance, and worship of ancestral spirits. All these, however declined as a result of the onslaught of European colonial rule. He lamented

the famous *Bakonjo* dance known as Ekikuba which did not only unite the *Bakonjo* but also was an aspect of their traditional religion. The European Missionaries preached against this traditional dance and branded it as satanic forcing many People to abandon it.

Colonial rule resulted into infrastructural gains to the people of Toro Kingdom. They built administrative forts to ease colonial rule and after their departure, the same were used by the independent African rulers. A mention was made of Boma which up to date serves as Toro Kingdom's administrative centre. They also built roads connecting one administrative Fort to another for instance a road from Muchwa to Boma, among others according to Kaliba a respondent.¹⁶ On the other hand, Kababooopi, a respondent, informed the researcher that, the Batoro also lost vital cultural practices as a result of colonial rule. The Batoro believed in traditional religion which they referred to as *Kubandwa*. They built small shrines behind or in front of their houses which they believed were dwelling places for their gods such as *Rubaale* and *Karubanga*.¹⁷ However, all these were undermined by the Missionaries forcing many Batoro Kingdom to destroy these traditional shrines. The Toro Kingdom traditional dance popularly known as *Orunyege* also declined as a result of the advent of Western religions in Toro. According to Kaija, the introduction and emphasis on cash crop growing by the colonialists improved the incomes of some Batoro in the Kingdom. He noted that those Batoro who took the cash crop growing appeal serious earned for themselves some favors including high incomes and popularity, and recognition by the

colonial agents.¹⁸ He noted that people like *Tusiime* who were among the first Batoro to build permanent houses got the money from coffee growing.

Kinuge a prominent farmer from *Burahya* and a respondent showed the researcher a hoe which he said was given to him by the *Bazungu* or Europeans because of being an active coffee farmer.¹⁹ He further noted that it was accustom of the British to reward any farmer who went an extra mile in implementing the policy of Cash crop growing. Reverend *Baguma* also informed me that the British colonialists would appoint some people to serve them as Parish chiefs,²⁰ and coordinators who monitored farmer's activities in various groups, when such people excelled in their respective roles then they would be rewarded with land, cattle, and other forms of gifts. In this way people found themselves acquiring property and worked hard to acquire more property thus being integrated into a world of capitalist economy. The integration of the Batoro in the world Capitalist economy by the colonial masters left an indelible impression on Toro Kingdom's culture particularly family patterns. The colonial rulers introduced a monetary economy which replaced the Barter trade which most Batoro Kingdom were used to. As Were puts it:

“The first currency introduced in the British East African possession in 1905 had been the Indian currency system the basic unit of which was the Rupee”²¹

This new currency was popularized in Toro Kingdom by the Toro Kingdom District Resident Colonial administrators. The best way to encourage the Batoro to start the

search for money was to introduce taxation. This is confirmed from the order issued by the British colonial secretary in Uganda which partly stated tha

*“There shall be imposed henceforth on the natives of Toro Kingdom district as is in the force by a proclamation in other provinces or districts of the Uganda protectorate to with the hut as and the gun tax”.*²²

Nyanzige, a respondent observed that once the Batoro were compelled to pay taxes, then it gave rise to a situation which came to be known as *Kupagasa* which literally meant working for money. She further noted that people had to abandon their homes to distant places in farms owned by rich men where they would work for days in order to get *Rupia* or cash. This undermined the internal cohesion and unity of the Batoro which had prevailed before the onslaught of colonial rule²³. Slowly but steadily as people left their families some traditional practices like communal farming, and harvesting declined.

The more the Batoro got used with a monetary economy, the more such an economy drifted them apart from their social and cultural fabric making them more and more Individualistic. This was due to the fact that the Batoro had to look for money at whatever cost in order to pay the much needed taxes. Since the colonial economy divided than bringing together the Batoro in the Kingdom, then it became clear that much emphasis was put on sustaining the economy and shifted from Toro Kingdom traditional culture. Parents lost contact with their children and wives as they spent most of their time working to raise money for taxes. The Batoro also lost control over their natural resources as a result of colonial rule. Most Batoro as noted earlier were

hunters, however at the advent of colonialism stringent Measures were put in place to limit the Batoro from accessing Mountain Rwenzori and other forests in Toro Kingdom for hunting. Kafuruguta, noted that before anyone would go to the Forest for hunting, he had to obtain orders from the resident colonial administrator.²⁴ In addition no one would cut any tree from the Forests without getting permission from the Forest Department of the colonialists the colonial economic policies also curtailed the economic powers of the Toro Kingdom chiefs. According to the Toro agreement of 1900:

*“ No chief in Toro Kingdom district shall henceforth levy on other chiefs or on natives tribute or gifts of any kind except such as may be directly sanctioned by her Majesty’s principal representative in the Uganda Protectorate and as are specified in the clauses of the agreement ”*²⁵.

This did not only undermine the power of Toro Kingdom traditional rulers but also undermined their welfare since their survival was best on tribute and gifts from their subjects. Socially, colonial rule totally undermined the powers of traditional rulers in Toro Kingdom. The *Omukama* who was highly respected lost it all as he was equally subjected to her Majesty the Queen of England and their representatives in Uganda. One of the articles of the 1900 Toro Kingdom agreement says it all:

‘Should the Kabaka and other chiefs here in named fail at any time to abide by any portion of the agreement, they may be deposed by her majesty’s principle representative in Uganda protectorate and their titles and privileges will then pass to any other chiefs as the majesty’s principle representatives may select in their place’.²⁶.

By this, the *Omukama* of Toro in principle ceased from being the Lion of Toro as he was commonly known, but a subject of British imperialism.

4.3 Conclusion

From the above findings, it can be concluded that colonial rule left an indelible mark on the social and economic history of Toro Kingdom. Socially, colonial rule as noted altered the social fabric of the people of Toro Kingdom. They hated the once cherished cultural institutions and adored those of the whites, the divide and rule policy which was used by the colonialists weakened the Toro Kingdom spirit of cooperation which was prevalent in pre-colonial times. However the spread of Christianity in Toro Kingdom cannot entirely be looked at with a negative attitude. Commenting on the attitudes of the Batoro Kingdom towards the introduction of western religions, Brian states: “Christianity has brought peace and removed the boundaries between people It teaches that every person is important and valuable insisting that a man should have only one wife, it has raised the status of women,, it has shown people the true way to be saved and to reach heaven, it has shown people to leave aside false beliefs and to follow the true God”²⁷. Colonial rule also provided employment opportunities to the Batoro. Though most Batoro were still peasant cultivators they were being increasingly drawn into other systems where in long or short-term occupations, they sought to satisfy additional wants. As a rough estimate of the thirty thousand or so males between sixteen and fifty five years, in 1951 fifteen% were outside Toro Kingdom mainly in Buganda working in economic systems maintained chiefly by Europeans or Asians, six % worked independently in traditional non-agricultural

occupations as traders, black smiths, porters, hatchers, carpenters, builders, while, five % were employed by the Native and Protectorate governments.

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16. Interview with Kababoopi Margret, 70 years, 11/11/2014, retired teacher
17. Interview with Petero Kaija, noted above.
18. Interview with Kinuge John, 75 years, 13/09/2014, Butiiti, cultural leader
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CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter analyses the observations made during the course of the study and conclusions reached of the Social and Economic history of Toro Kingdom during the period 1830-1962. It also gives some recommendations for further study in Toro Kingdom's Social and economic History.

5.1 Conclusion

The goal of the study was to investigate the Social and Economic history of Toro Kingdom during the period 1830-1962. The majority of the respondents were males. However, some females were interviewed in order to achieve gender balanced comparison. Majority of the respondents were adults married, literate and had served Toro Kingdom in various capacities as teachers, heads of religious institutions, cultural

Leaders, while others were elderly people above eighty years who were interviewed basing on their age

The conclusions of the study are presented basing on study objectives

5.1.1 The History of social customs and institutions of Toro Kingdom.

The study concluded that, the Batoro prior to the coming of colonial masters were a very organized society. They had a number of social customs which bound them together. The Batoro were organized into a number of clans which were distinguished by Totems that were highly respected. Marriage was one of the vital ceremonies which

united the Batoro. It was arranged by the parents who played a big role to the success of their children's marriage. The forms of marriage in Toro Kingdom included, wife inheritance, bespeaking of unborn infants, and infant betrothal. Divorce was prohibited in Toro Kingdom.

The Batoro were religious people as reflected in the various gods they had as discovered in this study. These included, *Ndyooka*, *Karubanga*, among others who performed various functions. The system of worshipping these gods was known as *Embandwa*. The people who conducted this worship were the medicine men, and the diviners who held a very special position in Toro pre colonial society. The Batoro also considered seriously child naming, the production of twins, and undertook serious measure to ensure the safety of twins after being born.

It was also concluded that, Toro Kingdom had its own system of instructing young ones. The Batoro children were given special skills to help them become useful people in future. The Toro Kingdom palace was a centre of civilization where parent would take children to learn acceptable norms in society

Socially, the Christian Missionaries promoted divisions based on religion. Local politics came to be dominated by Protestants a religion of the British colonialists. This promoted disunity which was not common in Toro Kingdom before.

5.1.2 The introduction of foreign Religions in Toro Kingdom

The available data and primary data collected during the study indicated that the first religions to spread In Toro Kingdom were the Roman Catholics and the Protestants who built their centers at Virika and Kabarole hill respectively. They were followed by the Seventh Day Adventists, s whose pioneer missionary by the name of Lind built his base at Kazingo in Bukuuku there after the church spread to other parts of Toro Kingdom. Kasagama, the king of Toro played a big role in promoting Christianity in Toro. Islam on the other hand, came earlier with the Indian trader but had very little impact because people had negative attitudes towards them.

5.1.3 The Economic organization of Toro Kingdom

In this study, it was concluded that, the Batoro were subsistence farmers who grew different crops on small scale. They also had communal system of work in which they assisted one another during harvesting, and planting seasons. Some Batoro especially along the Semlik valley or area of Butuku engaged in Pastoralism due to the nature of soil and scarcity of rain.

The Batoro were not entirely small-scale subsistence farmers, some had specialized skills as hunters, blacksmiths, and rainmakers. Some engaged in trade especially in salt which was exchanged with goods from other neighbouring communities.

It was also concluded that, the Batoro acquired property through inheritance. Some property was also acquired through payment of bride price; since the king was

regarded to be the owner of everything in Toro Kingdom, he therefore rewarded his subjects with Land, and cows, especially those who exhibited loyalty in him.

Most respondents stated that, the Batoro cherished communal work. They gave one another a helping hand in times of preparation for farming, planting and harvesting. This communal practice did not only promote unity in Toro Kingdom but was the basis upon which latter cooperative societies were built. The integration of Toro Kingdom into the colonial capitalist economy and generally the world capitalist economy undermined this spirit of unity. The British encouraged cash crops such as coffee, and cotton which made the Batoro to concentrate on individual growing of these crops so as to earn a living. It can therefore be argued that, though apparently progressive, colonial rule was retrogressive in nature in as far as the social and economic History of Toro Kingdom was concerned.

5.1.4 Effects of colonial rule on Toro Kingdom's social and economic organization

The colonial administrative policies in Toro Kingdom also promoted ethnicity by putting together two different ethnic groups for example, the Batoro ruling the Bamba, and the Bakonjo. This was a key source of ethnic animosity in Toro Kingdom which is still evident to date.

Commenting on the effects of colonial rule on the economic development of Uganda, Brett E.A remarked that.

‘The Mass production of the more recent phase of capitalism virtually obliterated African industries such as cloth, salt, iron, or even pottery making¹’

This was equally the case in Toro Kingdom as one of the regions of Uganda during colonial period. The colonial masters concentrated on cash crop production and paid no attention to the development of local industries such a weaving, backcloth making, pottery, and iron smelting. Consequently, the overall development of Toro Kingdom, and Uganda in general was affected.

Kinuge, a respondent observed that, there was a significant degree of cooperation in Toro Kingdom between the Bakonjo, Bamba, and the Batoro.² He noted that these communities occasionally hunted together and participated in communal farming, harvesting, and planting. However the onslaught of colonial rule remarkably reduced this spirit of cooperation³

Borrowing the words of Walter, the colonial education system was not designed to give young people pride and confidence as people of the African society, It was a system that was aimed at instilling a sense of love towards all that was European, and capitalistic. Colonial schooling was education for subordination, exploitation, the creation of mental confusion, and the development of underdevelopment.⁴

This was the case with Toro Kingdom most respondents noted that, there were deliberate attempts to limit the Batoro traditional skills in Pottery, backcloth making, and weaving.

However, some respondents noted that, there were some benefits from colonial rule for Toro Kingdom. According to Bahemuka, it took long to travel from Toro Kingdom to Katwe for salt but British colonialist built roads which made travel quiet easy. He also noted that before colonialism, the Batoro depended entirely on herbs for medicine; however colonialists built hospitals and stocked them with medicine which improved the quality of life in Toro Kingdom.

Toro Kingdom like any other part of Uganda was integrated into a world of capitalist economy through the economic policies of colonialism such as encouraging cash crop growing, and taxation. However, like the rest of Uganda, apart from Edward Gun and Simpson who pioneered tea farming in Toro Kingdom, there were no white farmers mentioned by the respondents. However, it was equally concluded that, the integration of Toro Kingdom into a world capitalist economy had far reaching effects in Toro Kingdom's social and economic organization as noted above.

5.2 Recommendations

Basing on the findings and conclusions of the study, the following recommendations are made:

1. There is need for historians and researchers to develop more interest in the History of the specific areas of the interlucustrine region. There is a lot of gap that needs to be bridged so that the people of Toro Kingdom and Ugandans in general can get to know what was happening in Toro Kingdom between 1830-1962. In the wake of the looming re-colonization of Africa there is need for scholars and stake holders in education to put emphasis on further research in Local history other than

- promoting the mentality that only aspects of foreign countries history is worth of study.
2. Policy makers need to fund research in the History of the specific communities in Pre-colonial times .This can lead to the rediscovery of certain positive attributes of Ugandan communities before the coming of colonialism which if emphasized can lead to social and economic development. For instance in this study, it was realized that the Batoro Kingdom had a communal system of farming where different families worked together during planting, and harvesting, This however reduced at the advent of the European colonial masters. Such a spirit if re-invigorated can lead to social and economic development.
 3. Research in the social and economic history of local areas can expose the economic potentialities of an area which in turn could lead to strategies for social and economic development. Toro Kingdom for instance as observed in this study was the centre of pre colonial trade as it was the source of salt which was a scarce commodity in pre -colonial Uganda. Different communities in Uganda had to connect with Toro kingdom so as to obtain salt from Katwe and Kibiro which were hitherto part of Toro Kingdom. Such realization can lead to the generation of plans to promote internal trade.

5.3 Areas for Further Research

The results of this study have revealed the fact that, Toro Kingdom is an interesting area of historic study but has not yet been fully exhausted. It would be unrealistic to conclude that this study has comprehensively dealt with all aspects of Toro Kingdom's social and economic organization during the period 1830-1962. What the researcher

did was to handle at the surface the key elements in the social and economic organization of Toro Kingdom during the period 1830-1962.

There is therefore need for independent and in-depth study on the sub themes such as, the clans of Toro Kingdom, the origin and importance of pet names, the political organization of Toro Kingdom, Toro Kingdom as a centre of pre colonial trade, Traditional religion in Toro Kingdom (Embandwa), the introductions of foreign religions in Toro Kingdom etc. This study recommends that each. Of these mentioned areas require independent study so that the history of Toro Kingdom can be fully reconstructed

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APPENDIX 1
QUESTIONNAIRE

SECTION 1

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF TOORO

- 1) What is your name.....
- 2) What is your age
- 3) Name the three social customs of the BaToro Kingdom before colonialism
.....
- 4) How did the BaToro Kingdom conduct the marriage ceremony before colonialism?
.....
- 5) Name ten clans of Toro Kingdom and their totems.....
- 6) How did BaToro Kingdom worship before colonialism
.....
- 7) What was the first religion for you to hear of in Toro Kingdom?
.....
- 8) Did the introduction of Western religious in Toro Kingdom affect African tradition religion?
.....
- 9) If yes, how?

SECTION TWO

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF TORO KINGDOM

10) How did the Batoro earn a living in pre-colonial times

.....

11) Name three crops that were grown in Toro Kingdom

12)

13) Identify other economic activities of the Batoro apart from farming

.....

14) Which economic changes did the Bazungu introduce in Toro Kingdom?

.....

15) Do you think colonial rule was beneficial to the people of Toro Kingdom?

.....

If yes, give answer.....

16) Explain the tools used in farming in Toro Kingdom during the period 1830-

1962.....

SECTION THREE

IMPACT OF COLONIAL RULE ON TORO KINGDOM ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

1.Of what benefit was colonial rule to Toro Kingdom’s economic organization

.....

2.Name three economic changes introduced by the British in Toro Kingdom

.....

3.Were there settler farmers in Toro Kingdom?

.....

Give reasons for your response above

.....

4.Name 3 crops introduced by the British in Toro Kingdom.

.....

APPENDIX II
LIST OF STUDY PARTICIPANTS

Name	Age	Sub county/place of residence	
John Kinuge	75	Bukuku Sub county	13/09/2014
Byeefera Patrick	60	Bukuku	13/09/2014
Jeremia Bitikoro	69	Bukuku	13/09/2014
Reverend Richard Baguma	74	Bukuku	30/09/2014
Kafuruguta James	68	Bukuku	19/09/2014
John Bahemuka	80	Bukuku	23/09/2014
Petero Kaija	80	Bukuuku	23/09/2014
Regiina Bahemuka	73	Bukuku	23/09/2014
Balisanga John	73	Bukuku	15/09/2014
Kasinsibirizi Brian	68	Bukuuku	27/0/2014
Kateeba Amos	76	Bukuku	20/09/2014
Karamagi Joyce	58	Bukuuku	28/09/2014
Bahemuka Prossy	74	Bukuku	25/09/2014
Ngambeki John	80	Bukuuku	10/10/2014
Rutabalengya Peter	79	Bukuku	10/10/2014
Isingoma Kimooome	68	Hakibaale Sub county	24/09/2014
Isingoma Andrew	63	Hakibale	22/09/2014
Mugenyi Festus	69	Hakibaale	22/09/2014
Kagwerera Stephen	55	Hakibaale	22/09/2014
Thomas Rubaale	63	Hakibaale	22/09/2014
Gertrude Balinda	79	Hakibaale	06/09/2014
Kadoma Anthony	70	Hakibaale	06/09/2014
Kyamulesire John	68	Hakibaale	06/09/2014
Maate Ezekiel	73	Hakibaale	06/09/2014
Nyanzige Zaitun	82	Hakibaale	02/09/2014
Musoke Ziporah	58	Hakibaae	04/08/2014
Kakuliiremu Jane	48	Hakibaale	04/08/2014
Rwamwarro Joseph	62	Hakibaale	04/08/2014
Kintu Mugenyi	77	Hakibaale	04/08/2014
Rusoke Sunday Peter	67	Hakibaale	24/09/2014
Constance Kaija	58	Hakibaale	24/09/2014
Katuramu Cristopher	52	Hakibaale	24/09/2014
Sibanzire Samson	79	Mugusu Sub county	19/11/2014
Kababopi Margaret	60	Mugusu	11/11/2014
Bagenyi Andrew	62	Mugusu	11/11/2014

Astajona Biira	88	Mugusu	11/11/2104
Ndoleerine Aston	65	Muguu	11/11/2014
Kiiza Apollo	66	Mugusu	21/09/2014
Margret Nyakaana	87	Mugusu	21/09/2014
Rubomboora John	77	Mugusu	21/09/2014
Bukombi Yowasi	90	Mugusu	21/09/2014
Beneneego John	79	Mugusu	10/08/2014
Tibulihwa Margret	64	Mugusu	10/08/2014
Girikacha Paul	50	Buheesi Sub county	10/08/2014
Janeth Tikorwaamu	71	Buheesi	10/08/2014
Murungi Constantine	55	Buheesi	12/11/2014
Bakichwire Modesta	65	Buheesi	12/11/2014
Kyalimpa Prudent	76	Buheesi	12/11/2014
Katusabe Angella	49	Buheesi	12/11/2014
Tinkasimire Edward	53	Buheesi	09/09/2014
Kazooba Fred	58	Buheesi	09/09/2014
Kalimpa Clovice	63	Buheesi	09/09/2014
Rwagweri Stephen	72	Buheesi	03/08/2014
John Mpaka	80	Buheesi	03/08/2014
Kisembo John	68	Buheesi	03/08/2014
Thomas Kakiiza	71	Buhesesi	03/08/2014
Kahwa Mark	50	Buheesi	03/08/2014
Joash Kadoma	62	Buheesi	16/09/2014
Balinda Florence	55	Karangura sub county	16/09/2014
Byaruhanga John	69	Karangura	16/09/2014
Semu Bukombi	77	Karangura	16/09/2014
Byakutaaga James	53	Karangura	16/09/2014
Kemugisa Fusta	45	Karangura	11/11/2014
Fereeza Banura	70	Karangura	11/11/2014
Maliza Biira	83	Karangura	11/11/2014
Tembo John	66	Karangura	02/12/2014
Mbindule Muhindo	51	Karangura	08/11/2014
Kyahurwenda Baluku	80	Karangura	08/11/2014
Matemakuera Jackson	68	Karangura	08/11/2014
Hezron Moses	49	Karangura	08/11/2014
Lyahinda Male	65	Karangura	15/11/2014
Baguma Abudu	62	Karangura	15/11/2014
Kagwa Mark	50	Bututi sub county	15/11/2014

Rev Shem Rubaale	72	Butiti	18/11/2014
Chris Bamanya	59	Butiti	18/11/2014
Ariya Musana	54	Butiti	18/11/2014
Kisembo Lawrence	68	Butiti	18/11/2014
Baguma Josephat	79	Butiti	19/11/2014
Christopher Kalya	87	Butiti	19/11/2014
Agaba Ephraim	50	Butiti	19/11/2014
Tusime Pascal	58	Butiti	20/11/2014
Birungi Polly	64	Butiti	20/11/2014
Timbigamba Enid	61	Butiti	22/11/2014
Nyamaizi Stella	68	Butiti	22/11/2014
Rwebembera Patrick	62	Butiti	22/11/2014
Nyakoojo George	67	Butiti	22/11/2014
Victoria Businge Busoke	63	Fort portal Municipality	28/11/2014
Sylvia Rurabwoogo	40	Fort portal	28/11/2014
Margret Muhanga	42	Fort portal	28/11/2014
Bwandondo Monday	67	Fort portal	02/12/2014
Rwabuhinga Richard	48	Fort portal	02/12/2014
Kaganda Bob	44	Fort portal	03/12/2014
Kisuga Moses	78	Fort portal	03/12/2014
Selevaano Kiiza	50	Fort portal	04/12/2014
Kemigisa Best	48	Fort portal	04/12/2014
Kaliba Stephen	59	Fort portal	05/12/2014
Tusiime Wilson	71	Fort portal	05/12/2014
Habib Monday	56	Fort portal	05/12/2014
Stephen Nyabongo	60	Fort portal	06/12/2014
Baguma Joseph	68	Fort portal	06/12/2014
Kamuhanda Gideon	49	Fort portal	06/12/2014

APPENDIX III
CHARACTERISICS OF STUDY PARTICIPANTS

11 RETIRED TORO KINGDOM OFFICIALS

Name	Post	Date of interview
Rev Richard Baguma	Minister of culture	22/06/2014
Rev Clovice Kyalimpa	Speaker	
John Kinuge	Head of Clans	
George Mwirumubi	Minister of commerce	
Apolo Kiiza	County representative	
Mugisa Amosi	Former Prime Minister	
Stephen Rwagweeri	Minister in charge of Youth	

111. RELIGIOUS LEADERS (RETIRED)

Reverend Clovice Kyalimpa	C.O.U	15/06/2014
Rev Richard Baguma	C.O.U	
Bishop Cranimar Nkiryeh	S.D.A	
Fred Kazooba	S.D.A	
Reverend Rutabalengya	Church of Uganda	
Sheik Habib Monday	Islam	

IV. HEAD TEACHERS

Tusiime Pascal	Kyenjojo s.s	03/07/2014
Kahwa mark	Divine S.S	

Semu Bukombi	Nyarukamba
John Bahemuka	Bagaaya p/ school

V. ACTIVE TORO KINGDOM OFFICIALS.

Ellen kinuge	Minister of Commerce	04/07/2014
Stephen Kaliba	Prime minister	
Musuuga kamurasi	Speaker	
Best Kemigisa	Queen Mother	

V1. FORMER DISTRICT ADMINISTRATORS

Christopher Kalya	Former L.C5 Chairperson	08/07/2014
John Kinuge	County Chief	
Isingoma kimooome	Sub county Chief	

V11. ELDERLY PEOPLE 17/07/2014

Cristopher Kalya	87years
Nyanzige Zaituni	82years
Kafuruguta James	80years
Byeefeera John	84years
Regiina Bahemuka	80 year
Bukombi Yowasi	90years
Maliza Biira	83years
Ziporah Musoke	80years

APPENDIX IV

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR RETIRED TORO KINGDOM OFFICIALS.

TOPIC: The social and economic history of Toro Kingdom 1830-1962.

QUESTIONS

1. Briefly describe the Social organization of Toro Kingdom before the arrival of colonial rule.
2. Explain the ways in which the Batoro conducted marriage between 1830-1962.
3. Was their education in Toro Kingdom before the onslaught of colonial rule?
4. If yes, describe the nature of education in Toro Kingdom before the coming of colonialists.
5. Explain the nature of religion in Toro Kingdom before the coming of colonialism?
6. What rituals were conducted in Toro Kingdom after the birth of twins?
7. How did the Europeans interfere with Toro Kingdom's social organization?
8. What were the key economic activities of the Batoro before colonial rule?
9. What changes did the Europeans bring in Toro Kingdom's economic organization?
10. What methods did Europeans use to integrate the Batoro Kingdom into a world capitalist economy?

END

APPENDIX V
INTERVIEW GUIDE

(To be attempted by Members of different religious institutions, Religious leaders, and elderly people.)

Topic: The social and economic history of Toro Kingdom 1830-1962

QUESTIONS

1. Which was the first Religion to be introduced in Toro Kingdom?
2. What role did King kasagama play in the spread of the Christian faith in Toro Kingdom.
3. What was the attitude of African traditionalists towards the spread of Christianity in Toro Kingdom?
4. When and by whom was virika Cathedra built?
5. Why is the Seventh day Adventists often referred to as Abachwanga?
6. Which schools were the first to be built by Christian missionaries in Toro Kingdom?
7. How did the introduction of Christianity affect African traditional Beliefs in Toro Kingdom?
8. Why did Islam have little impact to the People of Toro Kingdom?

END

APPENDIX VI
INTERVIEW GUIDE

(To be attempted by retired and active teachers, opinion Leaders, and managers of tea companies.)

Topic: the social and economic history of Toro Kingdom- 1830-1962

QUESTIONS

1. List the key economic activities of the people of Toro Kingdom in Pre colonial times.
2. How significant was Toro Kingdom in as far as the pre colonial sat trade was concerned.
3. Describe the role of cattle among the Bahima of Toro Kingdom in Pre colonial times.
4. Discuss the origin and development of Tea farming in Toro Kingdom.
5. Were their settler farmers in Toro Kingdom? Give reasons for your answer.
6. Explain the changes introduced by the Europeans in Toro Kingdom's economic set up.
7. Explain the method used by the colonialists to integrate the Batoro into a world capitalist economy.
8. Explain the nature of communal farming in Toro Kingdom before the coming of Europeans.
9. How did the colonialists undermine the Batoro Kingdom spirit of cooperative farming?

END