WOMEN AND THE GROWTH OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN BUGANDA,

1882-1962

BY

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DECLARATION

I **Nsibambi Francis Xavier**, do hereby declare that the work contained in this disserta my own work and has not in its entirety or in part, been submitted to any univers institution for the award of any degree.

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DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

Church: In general usage, "church" may refer to a place of worship or a community of Christian believers. However, in this study, "Church" will specifically refer to the "Roman Catholic Church".

Archdiocese: An Archdiocese in the Catholic Church is an ecclesial district governed by an archbishop. It comprises several dioceses broken into deaneries and parishes. In this study, the term "Archdiocese" will refer to "Kampala Archdiocese".

Diocese: An area under the jurisdiction of the bishop. In this study diocese refers to Kasana Luweero, Kiyinda–Mityana, Lugazi, or Masaka Diocese.

Uganda: The name given to the British protectorate in East Africa, which gained independence in 1962.

Buganda: The geographical region and a political entity located within South -Central Uganda.

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Figure 1: Map of the study area (source field data, 2024). 24

GLOSSARY

This glossary offers English translations of Luganda words and phrases mentioned in this thesis. The entries are arranged in alphabetical order.

Baganda: The ethnic community in Uganda who inhabited Buganda.

Kabaka: King of Buganda

Katikkiro: The Prime Minister of Buganda Kingdom.

Luganda: The local language of the Baganda.

Lukiiko: Parliament of Buganda Kingdom.

Mukopi: (plural; Bakopi) Peasant, local farmer.

Mutaka (plural; Bataka): Clan leader/ clan leaders

Ssaza: A county - largest administrative unit in the kingdom of Buganda.

Katonda: the god of the Baganda.

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

WF	White Fathers
CMS	Church Missionary Society
MHM	Mill Hill Missionaries
REV.	Reverend
REV. FR.	Reverend Father
REV. SR.	Reverend Sister
REV. BRO.	Reverend Brother
IBEACO	Imperial British East African Company

ABSTRACT

The main objective of this study was to examine the participation and contribution of women to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda, 1882 and 1962. The study was guided by three specific objectives: To identify the women who participated in and contributed to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda 1882 and 1962, to establish the role of women to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda, 1882 - 1892 and to investigate the challenges women faced in their contribution to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda between 1882 and 1962. The study adopted a qualitative approach and a historical research design. It employed archival research, documentary analysis and fieldwork. Purposive and snowball sampling techniques were used to find respondents who were interviewed using an in-depth and key informant interview. Data was thematically analysed using triangulation, information from oral interviews was transcribed, categorised and classified into themes according to the research questions. The study revealed that between November, 1885 and August, 1886, the first women convert were baptised in the Catholic Church of Uganda. Clara Nalumansi was identified as the first woman to be married into a religious cult and be martyred, and other women were persecuted, all for professing their Catholic faith. The study identified Euguene and Maria Mathilda Munaku as the first indigenous missionary women in Buganda. The study revealed that women played various roles to the growth of the Catholic Church: In the evangelisation and conversion women embraced catechumenate classes, baptism, participated in worship, prayers, eucharistic adoration, provided care for the sick and needy. They instructed religious education, laid the foundation for the formation the first women's religious organisation in Sub-Saharan Africa, Bannabikira (Daughters of Mary) Sisters, Bwanda. Women taught reading, writing, arithmetic, and Catholic and cultural values, established and oversaw catechism schools, managed female formal education institutions and cofounded with White Fathers the first Girl 's Teacher Training College, 1924. The study also revealed that women transformed dispensary into hospitals. Established the Catholic Medical Bureau in 1934 and taught African women how to use Western medicine, trained nurses and midwives and employed their institutions as Catholic conversion centres. Women cultivated and produced trees and food to sustain seminaries, convents, clergies, and catechumenates. They supplied free labour for the church's operations. Lastly, this study revealed that women faced various challenges in their contribution to the growth of the Catholic Church These included: but were not limited to, the marginalisation and eventual exclusion from leadership positions in the Catholic Church, suffered from patriarchal and androcentric religious and cultural foundation of Catholicism and the long-standing male domination over women in Buganda culture, and were subordinated. Limited funds, illnesses, and persecution dealt a big blow to women's contribution to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda between 1882 to 1962. Although there was an androcentric trend in Buganda during the first five years of the Catholic Church's founding (1879–1885), and women faced several difficulties in their attempts to support the Catholic Church in Buganda, this study finds that after 1885, women participated in activities that aided the Catholic Church flourish alongside their male counterparts.

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

This dissertation explored how indigenous Ugandan women participated in and contributed to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda between 1882 and 1962. The study highlighted how women, who were sometimes overlooked in historical narratives, became central actors in the religious transformation of Buganda. This thesis has six chapters. The first chapter presents the general introduction and background of the study. It introduces the study, background, statement of the problem, research objectives, research questions, scope of the study, significance of the study, literature review and research methodology. Chapter two presents a concise overview of the history and geography of the area studied, Buganda, which form now the Catholic Archdiocese of Kampala. From 1882 to 1962, this area was a hub for women's activities in the Catholic Church's expansion. In chapter three, the women who participated in and contributed to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda between 1882 and 1893 are identified. In the same chapter, the first women to be baptised in Uganda are presented and profiles of some of the prominent women in the Catholic in Buganda are discussed. The factors that favoured women's participation in the Catholic Church in Buganda are also analysed. Chapter four examines the role women played in the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda between 1892 and 1962. It specifically explores the role of women in the evangelisation and conversion of Buganda to the Catholic faith, additionally, discusses the socioeconomic contribution of women to the growth of the Catholic Church. The fifth chapter examines the challenges women encountered when pursuing their mission 1882 to 1962. Chapter six concludes the study by summarising the main findings as per the set study objectives. It also gives the conclusion of the study.

1.0.1 Background of the Study

Women have been at the centre of Christian Catholicity and ministerial practice for millennia, as demonstrated by several biblical accounts. Women have contributed to the growth of the Catholic Church since the beginning of Christianity. The narrative of the Samaritan woman, who saw Jesus and hurried to tell her neighbours that He was Lord, is one example of this (John 4:5-30). Likewise, according to Mark 16:9, Mary Magdalene was the first person to see the risen Christ. In 1962 - 1964, 23 (twenty-three) women participated in the Vatican II Council as auditors (observers), gender wise, Vatican I remained a male preserve.[1] The 23 women and other females who were consulted on particular decrees played some minor role in the composition of the decrees. Their story was written up by Carmel McEnroy (2013).[2] But women's contribution at Vatican II was greater than at Vatican I. In the 2023 Vatican Synod, women participated in as voting members for the first time, making a historic shift in the Church history. Lay women and men participated in a Vatican synod alongside bishops, priests, and deacons.[3] The month-long congregation, known as the XVI Synod of Bishops, followed an unparalleled two-year period of consultation and preparation, during which Catholics from all over the world were asked for their opinions. The overarching objective was to foster a means of listening and discernment, aimed at enhancing the Catholic Church's interactions with its members and broader society. Like the Vatican II had done some sixty years earlier, the Synod inspired Catholics around the world to dream for a more inclusive Church and a larger role for women in ministry and church leadership. A last-minute decision by Pope Francis granting fifty-four women delegates the unprecedented right to vote during the gathering added to the sense of optimism. Which extensively attracted church history scholars,

[1] Tanner, Norman. The Impact of Vatican I and II on the Catholic Church How 'Novel' was Vatican II? *Journal, Vabljeno predavanje na znanstveni konferenci* Vol. (1.06) (2013), 169.
[2] McEnroy, Carmel E. *Guests in their own house: The women of Vatican II*. (New York, Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2011), 36.
[3] Llewellyn. Dawn, Sharma Sonya and Sian Hawthorne. *Women and the Catholic Church: Negotiating Identity and Agency*, (London, Bloomsbury, 2025), 1.

theologians and academicians to document narratives and contributions made by women in the Catholic churches in Europe, America, and some parts of Africa in the various epochs.[4] Un fortunately, the proposals from the mentioned Synod did not address any changes to women's responsibilities, in spite of the significant support during the consultation phase for a larger role for women in church leadership and governance and some encouraging remarks in the Synod's synthesis report regarding acknowledging and appreciating women's contributions.

In the Catholic Church, religious women (nun) are the most visible spiritual leaders. Throughout history, religious women have been renowned for their work in establishing hospitals, building and maintaining schools, feeding and housing the poor, and tending to the downtrodden and the destitute. They supported social justice and reform on a cultural and political level. Religious women offered people spiritual counselling and advice.[5] Convents, retreat homes, and counselling centres were owned and run by them. Religious women have served as ministers, church secretaries, theologians, preachers, catechists, liturgical organizers, instructors, and more. Laity women served and ministered in the same capacities as religious women. In the modern world, whether or not they are religious, married, or single, women are visible serving the people of God both inside and outside the church. Despite the Roman Catholic Church's emphasis on fundamental equality, women are still excluded from ordination or Sacramental traditions as presiders at Eucharist or ministering the Church's Seven Sacraments.[6] Instead, these rituals were reserved for the Roman Catholic priesthood, an all-male vocation consecrated by the sacrament of Holy Orders. This doctrine is found in Canon Law 1024 which states," A baptised male alone receives sacred ordination validly." For

[4] Phyllis. Zagano. Women Deacons and the Synod: What Happens Now? *The Australasian Catholic Record 101/1 (2024), 15.*

[5] Aquino. Ria. Barretto. *Women Ordination in the Roman Catholic Church*, (California, Dominican University, 2014), 6

[6] Barretto, *Women Ordination in the Roman Catholic Church, 6.*

canonical, theological, and biblical reasons, the hierarchy of the Church does not ordain women to the priesthood. Unlike among the Orthodox and Anglican (Protestant) church which ordains them in their liturgical hierarchy.[7]

In African Church history, women such as Perpetua and Felicitas bore witness to Christ in the early centuries of the Church in Africa. More recently, Clementine Anuarite (from Zaire) and Victoria Rasoamanarivo (from Madagascar) were added to the roll of female Catholic saints from Africa.[8] Women have thus remained the frontlines and backbone of the Catholic Church's evangelical mission, in terms of numbers and their diverse roles. These include religious women (nuns), catechists, members of women's sodalities and guilds, sacristans, pastoral council members, congregants, and lay leaders in various ministries. Encouraged by progressive clergy, women actively participated in public life and contributed to the Church's social action efforts and the observance of Catholic social teachings. In some parts of Eastern Africa, scholars have documented their unprecedented role. For instance, Wanjala wrote extensively on the relevance of women in the Catholic Church in Kenya, with a special focus on the Catholic Diocese of Kisumu.[9]

Catholic Christianity arrived in what later became Uganda in 1879 when Simeon Lourdel and Delmas Amans, the first Catholic missionaries, entered the country of Muteesa, the *Kabaka* (king) of Buganda, on February 17, 1879.[10] Five months later, they were joined by their colleagues Leon Livinhac, Ludovic Girault, and Leon Barbot. It's worth noting that the Catholic

[7] Aquino Ria. Barretto. Women Ordination in the Roman Catholic Church, (California, Dominican University, 2014), 6

[8] Alison Munro. *The Church we want: The Ecclesia Women Want in Africa: Challenges* (Nairobi, Paulines Publications Africa, Daughters of St. Paul, 2015), 203.

[9] Genevieve Wanjala. "*Liberation Theology: Its relevance to women in the Catholic church in Kenya, with particular reference to the Diocese of Kisumu*". (PhD Thesis, University of Nairobi), 18.

[10] J. J. Carney. *For God and My Country: Catholic Leadership in Modern Uganda*. Vol. 10. (New York, , 2020),15.

faith was initially introduced and dominated by men, with all five early missionaries being male. It was not until 1899 that the first group of women missionaries (White Sisters) arrived in Uganda.[11] Their mission was to address the spiritual and physical needs of women and children, laying the foundation for the first indigenous female religious institute in Buganda—the *Bannabiikira* (Daughters of Mary) Sisters. However, this is not the full story. Several lay indigenous women, through their charisma and dedication, bolstered missionary efforts by teaching catechism, treating the sick, and preparing women and children for baptism. These contributions of the indigenous Baganda women remain underrepresented in historical scholarship. The stories of Clara Nalumansi, the first female convert in Buganda, as well as Maria Matilda Munaku and Angella Nabbongo, among the earliest female catechists, are just a few examples of overlooked narratives. This study therefore, addresses the historiographical marginalisation of early indigenous Baganda women and their contributions to the growth and expansion of a Church that should truly be theirs. In doing so, it advances gender equality, fosters social inclusion, and mitigates systemic inequalities in historical representation.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Histories of women participation in the growth of the Catholic Church have remained largely overlooked in Uganda's ecclesial and scholarly literature. Consequently, very little is known about the first Catholic female converts, lay evangelists, and religious women, as well as their role in shaping early Catholicism in Buganda. While the stories of male pioneers—such as Paolo Nalubandwa, Petero Kyonooneka Ddamulira, Yozefu Lwanga, Léon Kaddu, Yakobo Bamutendera, Bonifansi Mutaganirwa, Jean-Marie Fuwuke, and Matayo Lubowa Kirevu (the first male converts); Yowaana Kitagana, Yowaana Sebalijja, and Guste Kapere (the first male

[11] Yves Tourigny. *A Century of Trials and Blessings*. (Kampala: The Uganda Episcopal Conference, 1979), 6.

catechists); Bazilio Lumu and Victoro Mukasa (the first indigenous Catholic priests); and Joseph Kiwanuka (the first indigenous bishop south of the Sahara)—have been extensively documented by scholars such as Waliggo, Pirouet, and Thoonen, the contributions of women from the same period remain marginalised and largely absent in Uganda's Christian historiography.[12] Yet, these women, like their male counterparts, played crucial roles in the growth of the Church in Buganda. This omission reflects a structural bias that has long excluded women's narratives and reinforced societal inequalities. What is critical is that the study of these female pioneers is not simply an exploration of gender history, important as that may be, but also an effort to uncover the religio-cultural forces that contributed to their silencing in Uganda's Christian historiography. This study aimed to recast the limited representation of early Catholic women's participation and contributions to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda in both ecclesial and secular literature, by focusing on their lives, legacies, and impact between 1882 and 1962.

1.3 Main Objective of the Study

The main objective of this study was to examine the participation and contribution of women to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda between 1882 and 1962.

1.3.1 Specific Objective

1. To identify the women who participated in and contributed to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda between 1882 and 1892.

2. To establish the role of Women to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda, 1892–1962.

[12] John Mary Waliggo. *A History of African Priests: Katigondo Major Seminary, 1911-1986*, (Nairobi: Matianum Press Consultants, 1988), Louise Pirouet. *Black Evangelists: The spread of Christianity in Uganda 1891 – 1914*, (London: Rex Collings Ltd, 1978), J. P. Thoonen *Black Martyrs*, (London, Published by Sheed& Ward, 1941), 20.

3. To investigate the challenges women faced in their contribution to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda between 1882 and 1962.

1.4 Research Questions

1. Who were the women who participated and contributed to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda between 1882 and 1892?
2. In what ways did women contribute to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda between 1892 and 1962?
3. What were the challenges women faced in contributing to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda between 1882 and 1962?

1.5 Scope of the Study

In terms of geographical scope, this study was carried out in Buganda, the South-Central region of Uganda, which is home to five Catholic dioceses that predominantly speak Luganda: Kampala, Masaka, Lugazi, Kasana-Luweero, and Kiyinda-Mityana. These are grouped into the Ecclesial province of Kampala (Kampala Archdiocese).[13] This region was chosen due to its pivotal role in the planting and spread of Catholicism in Uganda. In terms of time scope, the study covered the period from 1882 to 1962, with 1882 marking the baptism of the first Catholic converts in Buganda.[14] The endpoint of 1962 was chosen because it coincided with the convening of the Second Vatican Council, which reshaped the future of the Universal Catholic Church to a point of no return.[15] In the first two periods, women were not part of the Vatican II Council, but this changed in 1963, when the Council focused on women as a key concern for modernisation. In the third session, female auditors were integrated into the council and contributed in working groups. Various documents of the Council contain important statements for women's role in society. But the significant outcome of Vatican II was the

[13] The other being the Archdioceses of Tororo, Mbarara and Gulu. *The Uganda Episcopal Conference* (2018), 8.
[14] Yves Tourigny. *Facts and Comments: The Catholic Church in Uganda*, (Unpublished 1948), 28.
[15] Deogratius Kyanda Kannamwangi. "Catholicism in Buganda : Exploring the Early History of the Indigenization of the Mission, 1879-1913," *Mawazo* 14, no. 1 (2020), 39.

pastoral constitution "*Gaudium et spes*" which describes the role of humans in the actual world, and was passed during the fourth period. It states that women should have and demand equal rights and factual equality. This triggered to women's suffrage and their involvement in the church and societal social life.[16]

Besides, this study focused on examining the participation and contribution of women to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda between 1882 and 1962. Specifically, the study identifies women who participated in and contributed to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda between 1882 and 1892, examines the role women played in the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda between 1892 and 1962 and discusses the challenges women encountered when pursuing their mission 1882 to 1962. To understand those who participated in and contributed to the growth of the church, the study looked at the first women to be baptised in Uganda, profiled some of the prominent women in the Catholic Church and analysed the factors that favoured women's participation in the Catholic Church. In examining the role women played in the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda b, 1892 and 1962, the study explores the role of women in the evangelisation and conversion, and discusses the socioeconomic contribution of women to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda. It also examines the challenges women encountered while pursuing their mission, 1882 to 1962.

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[16]Anna Maria Koukal. How Vatican II influenced female enfranchisement: A story of rapid cultural change, CREMA Working Paper, No. 2017-07. *Center for Research in Economics, Management and the Arts* (2017), 7.

encountered when pursuing their mission 1882 to 1962. To understand those who participated in and contributed to the growth of the church, the study looked at the first women to be baptised in Uganda, profiled some of the prominent women in the Catholic Church and analysed the factors that favoured women's participation in the Catholic Church. In examining the role women played in the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda between 1892 and 1962, the study explores the role of women in the evangelisation and conversion, and discusses the socioeconomic contribution of women to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda. It also examines the challenges women encountered while pursuing their mission, 1882 to 1962.

1.6 Significance of the Study

This study has a five-fold significance. Firstly, it breaks the glaring silences on the roles played by the early Catholic indigenous women converts in the establishment, consolidation and expansion of the Catholic Church in Buganda. Secondly, it identifies and provides biographies of the most influential female contributors to the conversion and evangelisation of Buganda in the period under consideration. Thirdly, being one of the academic histories on the early Catholic indigenous Baganda female converts, the study adds to the existing body of knowledge on Catholic Church history, public history, cultural history, gender and human rights studies and decolonisation debates in Africa and beyond. It contributes to a more inclusive historical narrative and inspires ongoing efforts towards gender equity and social inclusion in religious spaces in Uganda and beyond. Lastly, in addition to rekindling discussions on gender justice and women's leadership in society and the Catholic Church, the thesis inspires women by re-evaluating their theological and gender roles in the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda.

1.7 Review of Related Literature

A significant body of authorship on the growth of the Catholic Church globally and in Uganda in particular has been on the rise. A peculiar characteristic of most of these scholarships has been their over-concentration on the contribution of male figures to the growth of the catholic church at the expense of females. This review of related literature explores the major gaps in existing studies on catholic history, not only in Uganda but other parts of the world. Hence, forming an entry point for this study

1.7.1 The women who participated in and contributed to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda between 1882 - 1892

Globally, the contribution of women in the growth of the catholic church continues to be recognised. Lavictoire, (2024) a theological scholar, for instance, identifies Phyllis Zagano, Elizabeth Johnson, and Serena Noceti, whose contributions have positively impacted on the growth of the Catholic Church.[17] To Lavictoire, Phyllis Zagano is one of the world's foremost experts on the history of the diaconate, whose scholarship has vividly presented the meaning of the role of the deacon, highlighting how it has shifted over the last two millennia, especially in the context of women.[18] Indeed, Phyllis's expertise was recognised by Pope Francis in 2016 when she was appointed as a member of the first Commission for the Study of Women in the Diaconate.[19] Elizabeth Johnson, an American Catholic feminist theologian and a distinguished Professor Emerita of Theology and a member of the Sisters of Saint Joseph since the 1960s, has integrated feminist concepts into classical theology, shining a light on the rediscovery of the feminine God of Christianity.[20] Her work in the recent synodal context goes beyond simply

[17]Lynn Lavictoire. *The Implementation of Synodality in the Catholic Church and the Expected Impact on Women's Issues,* (Ottawa, Saint Paul University, 2024), 67.
[18] Hofstra University, Phyllis Zagano, accessed October 25, 2024, https://sites.hofstra.edu/phyllis-zagano/.
[19] Phyllis Zagano, *Just Church: Catholic Teaching, Synodality, and Women* (New York: Paulist Press, 2023), 8.
[20] Lynn Lavictoire. *The Implementation of Synodality in the Catholic Church and the Expected Impact on Women's Issues,* (Ottawa, Saint Paul University, 2024), 69.

identifying the symptoms of the women's problems in the Church to providing a deeper reflection on the root causes of the problems. In her book, "*She Who Is: The Mystery of God in Feminist Theological Discourse",* Johnson begins by considering the question: "What is the right way to speak about God?" She addresses this question by utilising both feminist and classical theology to draw out sometimes-forgotten feminine images of God in scripture which resonate with the experiences of women in the world.[21] These images could then be used to counterbalance the pervasive masculine images of God used in the Church today.

Lavictoire illustrates Noceti as an Italian theologian and a professor of systematic theology. She is also a founding member of the Coordination of Italian Theologians, which seeks "to enhance and promote gender studies in the theological, biblical, patristic, historical, and ecumenical perspectives and to promote the visibility of women theologians in the Italian ecclesial and cultural panorama.[22] Noceti's recent work, *Reforming the Church: A Synodal Way of Proceeding*, offers an analysis of Church structures that need to be developed or reformed to embrace the synodal vision. She sees these changes taking place both organically and systematically on three different levels, which include: the Church's self-understanding, the forms of relationship and collective behaviour, and the institutionalised structures. Focusing on the local Church, which embodies all the basic synodal elements of the whole Church.[23] Noceti identifies communication as an important key to synodality, particularly the development of communication channels that make use of different forms of expression and

[21]Elizabeth A. Johnson. Fordham University, accessed October 25, 2025, https://www.fordham.edu/about/leadership-and-administration/administrative-offices/office-of-the-president/about/hall-of-honor/elizabeth-a-johnson/

[22]Lynn Lavictoire. *The Implementation of Synodality in the Catholic Church and the Expected Impact on Women's Issues,* (Ottawa, Saint Paul University, 2024), 71.

[23] Proposta attiva del CTI, accessed October 25, 2025, http://www.teologhe.org/chi-siamo/curriculum-vitae-del-cti/.

foster networking. In a dynamic understanding of the Church, communication is vital.[24] While Lavictoire has highlighted the contribution of women to the growth of the catholic church, he does not give a holistic perspective of women's contribution in the socioeconomic field. Additionally, Lavictoire does not illustrate the role of laity, catechist, women solidality, married and single women, yet they were all visible in supporting the Catholic Church's expansion. Hence, the need for this study to be carried out to close the knowledge gap in the existing literature on the role of women in the development of the Catholic Church.

While theorising power-knowledge for a feminist study of women in Catholicism, Llewellyn, Sharma and Hawthorne, (2025) Church history scholars, writes powerfully about identification and authority, magisterial ecclesiological: mother, bride, and virgin.[25] According to their research, Catholic tradition, scriptures, and symbols have been interpreted historically to support men's social dominance and ecclesiastical authority.[26] Llewellyn, Sharma and Hawthorne, further say that the Catholic women are still sidelined by patriarchal language and a leadership structure that gives decision-making authority to an all-male episcopacy, although they handle a large portion of the Church's daily operations. They further contend that, despite the recent move toward synodality, the pope and bishops alone retain the magisterium, or the official teaching office, as the supreme authority in matters of doctrine and morality.[27] Even when it comes to dogma that directly affects them, women have no part in its creation or upkeep. Llewellyn also discusses the ramifications of not being recognisable, enacting agency, manufactured identities, and a space where Catholic women can thrive. However, the

[24] Serena Noceti, *Reforming the Church: A Synodal Way of Proceeding*, 102.

[25] Llewellyn Dawn, Sharma Sonya and Sian Hawthorne. *Women and the Catholic Church: Negotiating Identity and Agency*, (London, Bloomsbury, 2025), 3.

[26] Dawn et al. *Negotiating Identity and Agency, 3*

[27] Dawn. et al. *Negotiating Identity and Agency, 3*

scholarship of Llewellyn, Sharma and Hawthorne does not clearly identify women who directly and indirectly participated in the church activities but constructs a detailed environment in which women deserve to work in. Thus, this study aims to fill the vacuum left by Llewellyn's scholarship which does not name any specific women globally who have contributed to the Catholic church's growth.

Waliggo, (2010) argues that studies on the growth of Catholicism in Africa and specifically in Buganda have been biased towards clericalism and the contributions of males, leaving out the role played by women.[28] He presents evidence that women were recruited into the Catholic Church five years after men and from that point contributed significantly to its growth as catechists, evangelists, and even martyrs. Although Waliggo's scholarly work, identifies the women, Clara Nalumansi, Maria Matilda, and Angela Nabbogo who just like male Ugandan Martyrs, were influential evangelists who contributed to the development of the Catholic Church in Buganda, it does not provide a detailed account of who these women were, their positions, the various activities they participated in, and the extent of their contributions to the development of the early Catholic Church. This opens up an opportunity for this study to identify, investigate, and write a detailed account, of the role and contribution provided by such women towards the growth of the Catholic Church in colonial Buganda.

Borruso, (2009) writes about the "Heroic Age of Muteesa and Mwanga, 1875–1900," which saw the rise of educated pages who later became leaders and the true evangelists to the three million Baganda and their neighbours in the surrounding kingdoms. These pages included; Joseph Yosefu Balikuddembe who evangelised at the court, Andrew Anderea Kaggwa who worked around the capital, and Mathias Matia Mulumba who operated in Mityana.[29] However,

[28] John Mary Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu province of Buganda, 1879-1925*, (Kampala, Angel Agencies 2010),118

[29] Silvano Borruso. *2000 Years of Christianity in Africa: An African Church History*, (Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa, 2009), 221.

amongst the three persons Silvano identified none of them was a female. But as laymen, they emerged to prominence, leading Christians in prayers and other church doctrines during the period when the White Fathers withdrew to the southern shores of the lake, where they spent three years founding Bukumbi mission station.[30] By identifying only three males who have been instrumental in spreading Catholicism in Buganda, he contrasted from the idea presented by Waliggo that, females were part of the evangelists who supplemented on the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda.[31] This creates a gap that this study desires to investigate and bridge by looking at who those women were, and what contribution; position they occupied in the early Church.[32]

Karugire, (2*010)* presents a view that the spread of Catholicism and Protestantism in Buganda largely depended on the efforts of zealous male missionaries of the White Fathers and Church Missionary Society who entered Buganda's capital Mengo in 1879 and 1877 respectively.[33] The expansion of the Catholic Church in Buganda was reinforced by the efforts of the young men who later became the 'Uganda Martyrs', and early catechists. Karugire further asserts that the work of early converts which involved catechism instruction and missionary education which was provided between 1879 and 1962 was instrumental in the growth of the Church but, he remains silent on whether women made any contribution to the spread of the Catholic Church in Buganda or not. Besides, it also leads to one logical question of whether the environment in which Catholicism was planted had only the first male converts and the White Fathers (and no females) whom he credited for having played a principal role in the development of Catholicism in this land. Therefore, the interest of this study was to investigate

[30] Borruso. *2000 Years of Christianity in Africa: An African Church History*, 221.
[31] Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu province of Buganda, 1879-1925,*121.
[32] Borruso. *2000 Years of Christianity in Africa: An African Church History*, 221.
[33] Samwiri, Rubaraza Karugire. *A Political History of Uganda*, (Nairobi, Heinemann Education Books, 2010),64.

the available literature on the participation and contribution of women to the growth of Catholicism, 1882 to 1962.

1.7.2 The Role of Women to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda 1892 - 1962

According to Kochurani, women were crucial to the growth of the Catholic Church worldwide. They provide an audience which was evangelised by priests, bishops, deacons and catechists. Though it took long in some counties like Sweden, in others women directly preached the gospel and participated in the propagation of the Catholic faith. Women involvement in proclaiming the Good News and participation in church services turned them the backbone of the Catholic faith.[34] They filled the pews in all the services as the majority in most parish congregations and participated strongly in the spiritual and liturgical life of the church. At the local communities, whether in sophisticated urban parishes or rural villages women were disclosed as the most visible. They exhibited their commitment to the Catholic faith by flocking in large numbers to the churches, which directly and indirectly caught the attention of both non and Catholic to join them, the non-Catholics listened to the gospel and ended up accepting baptism leading to the rise in the number of the Catholic population which contributed to the growth of the church. Kochuni further illustrates that women were always present decorating alters, clearing up the sacristies, running community centres, and animated Basic Christian Communities. However, Kochurani assigns a passive role to women as listeners, he also remains silent when it comes to the position women fill in the church.[35] Yet the position occupied in the society is influential in making decisions that shapes the Catholic church as an institution. Besides, Kochurani does not give a detailed religious role women play in the church, which creates a gap this study intended to close by exploring the role women played towards the conversion and evangelisation of the society.

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[34] Abraham, Kochurani. The Place and Role of Women in the Catholic Church. *Pune Journal of Religious Studies*, (2004), 71. http://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.4266339.

[35] Kochurani. The Place and Role of Women in the Catholic Church, 71.

Kisitu Kawesa, one of the contemporary Buganda Catholic Church history scholars, illustrate that females such as Princess Clara Nalumansi and Princess Rachael Namika were among the first Christian converts to be baptised, indicating that women had a crucial role in the founding and growth of the church in Buganda, because baptism was a prerequisite for active participation in church roles. Kisitu did not attribute the church's success to women. According to him, Pages embraced catechism classes and encouraged others to become baptised to convert, he further explained that even when they were martyred, they simply attracted more converts to the church. Kisitu also acknowledged the contributions of other early converts on both sides of the church and credited Protestant and Catholic missionaries for their vital roles in setting up mission stations and teaching catechism. This background inspired the researcher to look into how women contributed to the expansion of the Catholic Church in Buganda from 1882 to 1962, having been excluded among those identified to have contributed to the church's expansion by some scholars, like Kisitu.[36]

By their roles, labour, and way of life, Waliggo claims that women like indigenous nuns, chiefs' wives, volunteer missionary women, and women catechists helped the Catholic Church in Buganda flourish. While the above literature highlights the roles of women in the growth of the catholic church, as they served the church in the various roles or categories mentioned above, it did not provide a thorough description of the contributions made by those women to the growth of the Catholic Church, This study was conducted to find out who those women were and what kind of contributions they made to the church's expansion between 1882 and 1962.[37]

[36] Joseph Kawesa Kisitu, *Uganda Martyrs: The Flourishing Seeds of Christianity in Africa*, (Kampala, Macol Media Production, 2021), 38.
[37] Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu province of Buganda, 1879-1925*, 119.

According to Silvano Borruso, women in Buganda played a significant role in the Catholic Church's growth, primarily in Buddu County, along with priests, Brothers, and Bishop Henry Streicher, who remained in Buddu until his death in 1952 after resigning in 1933.[38] He contends that from 1899 onward, Sisters (*Bannabikira*) educated catechists to convert the people in Buddu and played a significant role in the church's growth. Silvano did not, however, provide a thorough explanation of how women aided the Catholic Church in consolidating itself in Buddu. Moreover, Victor Zinkuratire a learned scholar and theologian specialising in African Church History notes that there was catechist, missionary, and lay Catholic women in Buganda who aided in the socio-religious revolution in the country. However, the two scholars Zinkuratire and Borruso did not go into great detail to describe the different roles that these women played in the church's service. [39] By examining the diverse roles and contributions made by the various types of women as well as their position within the early Church of Buganda, this study aimed to fill the gap that was created.

Gruffat demonstrates how the early missionaries in Buganda had to divide up the labour among themselves in order to facilitate the propagation of the Catholic faith. He illustrates that Brother Amans laboured in the plantation and garden and oversaw the building of the house in Nalukolongo.[40] He indicates that the first mango trees and lemon trees were sent to missionaries from Zanzibar and Algiers, and they were being transplanted onto the missionaries' new plantation. Father Daval adds that Fr. Lourdel was caring for the catechumens, and Fr. Giraud was available to the sick who came for care while he was learning Luganda. Fr. Lourdel separated the catechumens into groups based on their level of understanding because he

[38] Borruso. *2000 Years of Christianity in Africa: An African Church History*, 227.
[39] Victor Zinkuratire, "African Christian Studies". *Quarterly Journal of the Faculty of Theology, Catholic University of Eastern Africa*, Vol. 19, No. 1, (March 2003), 31.
[40] Maurice Gruffat. *Father Simeon Lourdel Missionary of Africa (White Father) Apostle of Uganda 1853 – 1890*, (Kampala, Angel Agencies, 2012), 206.

discovered that more than 100 of them had already completed five years of catechumenate and instruction. They were kept apart because they needed to be taken through the final stages of the catechetical program right away in order to be prepared for baptism. Daval described how the missionaries distributed the work among themselves and oversaw the day's operations, but he did not specify the specific tasks carried out by women and men in the various activities or areas monitored by missionaries. Therefore, this creates a gap that this study aimed to fill by specifically determining whether there were women who contributed to the development of the church's expansion among the workers missionaries supervised.[41] Besides, Gruffat, in the same book "Father Simeon Lourdel Missionary of Africa (White Father) Apostle of Uganda, (1853 – 1890)," describes Princess Clara Nalumansi as a devout Catholic Christian whose Christian beliefs endangered his brother King Mwanga's kingdom. It resulted in the animosity of Baganda traditionalists and slave dealers toward Nalumansi. According to Gruffat, the anti-Christians were also not pleased with the way the king's converted pages behaved during times of conflict and with Clara Nalumasi's Christian actions of preaching against her former religion. They contended that granting Nalumansi and the soldiers such freedom would encourage other subjects to follow suit. The king would then be asked by the anti-Christians, "What kind of monarch would you be? [42] After seizing control of Buganda, the Whites accept a female ruler (Empress Victoria) and would install Princess Nalumansi as the country's ruler. Although Gruffat makes it abundantly evident that princess Clara Nalumansi was a devout Christian who was despised by the anti-Christians, he does not provide a detailed account of her life or her role in the formation of the Catholic church. By examining the roles and contributions of the several women who are believed to have played an early role in the

[41] Gruffat. *Father Simeon Lourdel Missionary of Africa (White Father) Apostle of Uganda 1853 – 1890*, 206.
[42]Gruffat. *Father Simeon Lourdel Missionary of Africa (White Father) Apostle of Uganda 1853 – 1890*, 206.
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formation of the Catholic Church of Buganda, this study sought to close the gap that was created.

Tusingire, (2002) contends that men and women contributed to the evangelisation of Uganda, he argues that women's involvement in the evangelisation of Uganda dates to 1899 when the White Fathers invited the White Sisters (Sisters of Our Lady of Africa) who are a "sister" congregation to them, purposely to help in the various needs of the mission.[43] He further illustrates that women's mission in Uganda was to catechism to their fellow women and children, organise classes of domestic work and child care for women, and to develop the medical care services. However, Gyaviira, indicates that by 1885 Clara Nalumansi an indigenous Ugandan woman was already preaching after attending the catechumen classes from both the Protestant missionaries and later from the first male Catholic converts.[44] The two scholars do not provide a detailed contribution made by the women to the growth of the Catholic Church. Secondly, both scholars provide a contrasting period or year in which women came to serve Catholic Church in Buganda. This creates a gap which this thesis aimed to bridge.

1.7. 3 The Challenges Early Catholic Women Faced in Their Contribution to the Growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda, 1882 to 1962

Early in the 20th century, North America, Europe, Asia, and Africa (the Northern hemisphere) were primarily concerned with religious life. The 1917 Code of Canon Law's requirements led to a control and structuring of religious life that was not typical of earlier periods and was oppressive to Catholic women, despite the fact that there were notable differences between the experience of ministerial religious life and its demands in Europe and North America. Despite their beneficial contributions to the Catholic Church and the communities they served, Catholic

[43] Frederick Tusingire. *The Evangelisation of Uganda, Challenges and Strategies*, (Kampala, Marianum 2002),119.
[44] Paul GyaviiraMuwanga: *The Uganda Martyrs: After Fifty Years of Canonization,* Kampala, Marianum Press Ltd. Kisubi.

women suffered during the 20th century, according to 21st century theologian Confoy.[45] According to Confoy, some lay Catholic women and nuns in convent communities almost perished from malnutrition, neglect, and deprivation, while others endured tough lives due to financial hardships. He goes on to say that other communities, which did not live in poverty, frequently declined because they were cut off from everyone else. In addition to the consequences of the 1917 Code of Canon Law, which placed a strong emphasis on clericalism, women who helped the Catholic Church flourish also had to deal with the rules of the convent, which were usually overly rigid and caused a lot of problems. In the first half of the 20th century, the church hierarchy was also concerned about ministerial burnout, aged and overworked religious women, the loss of an authentic religious spiritual life, and the decline in the number of vocations. Not to mention the persecution of European religious communities and congregations during World Wars I and II, which had their own effects.[46] However, Confoy does not provide a detailed challenges women faced in their efforts to contribute to the development of the Catholic Church which creates a gap, this study aimed to bridge.

Muckenhirn presents the view that women who participated in serving the Catholic Church between the 1950s and the late 1970s suffered from social discrimination. He mentions evangelists, health workers, and religious instructors as societal servants who were persecuted and some killed.[47] Besides, he noted that some lay Catholic women were divorced for simply attending to church services, preaching the gospel and for their desire to live a monogamous Catholic family life in the various parts of the world such as America, Africa, Latin America and in Asian countries. Other women were abandoned by their husbands; they took over as the

[45] Maryanne. R.S.C., Confoy. Religious Life in the Vatican II Era: "State of Perfection" Or Living Charism? Atlas Journal, (2013), 323.
[46] Confoy. Religious Life in the Vatican II Era: "State of Perfection" Or Living Charism, 323.
[47] Sister M. Charles Borromeo Muckenhirn, C.S.C. The *Changing Sister*, (Notre Dame, Indiana, Fides Publisher,1965), 129.

heads of their families. The mentioned challenges were faced by women in their effort to contribute to the growth of the church. This inspired the researcher to investigate the challenges women faced between 1882 and 1962 while serving the Catholic Church in Uganda.

From the early days of the Catholic plantation in Buganda in 1879, women were barred from the church as missionaries, evangelists, and followers. The initial group of Catholic Church catechumens did not include women. There were no women in either the Church Missionary Society or the White Fathers, the first missionary groups to work in Buganda. According to Waliggo, the royal palace was the source of both Catholic and Anglican missionaries' initial converts. It was only fitting that they focused on pages because the ladies in the palace, whether young or old, were the "wives" of the kings. He went on to say that the Buganda tradition prevented women from initiating contact with strangers, making men the only ones eligible.[48] This gave men the benefit of interacting with missionaries and receiving Christian instruction, which led to their conversion at the expense of women. These arguments were insufficient to explain why there are no women missionaries in either of the two groups. Waliggo did not provide a thorough description of the various difficulties faced by women in helping the church flourish, although he did observe that women in Uganda were either ignored or given a submissive role in the study of Christianity. This study therefore, aimed to fill this gap by critically examining oral and archival data as regarding the challenges women faced in their contribution to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda during the period under study; 1882-1962.

According to Faupel, women were among those persecuted in Buganda during the early years of Christianity. He points out Princess Clara Nalumansi as one among other women who were persecuted. He goes on to explain that women and girls, including fourteen-year-old Rachael

[48] [48] Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu province of Buganda, 1879-1925*,119.

Binimumaso, watched the scary actual martyrdom. According to her testimony, which Pere Joire was able to get in 1927, she and her friends tried to hide close by so they could witness who was being slaughtered.[49] They witnessed the executioners hurl Andrew, one of the later future Uganda Martyrs, to the ground, lay him flat on the ground, and chop off his arm with a knife. Andrew was wearing reddish-brown bark cloth and white lion fabric, and he was holding a tiny book. His head was severed, and then his body was hacked up and strewn all over the floor. Because they were curious, the four crucifixion witnesses suffered cruel punishment. One of the executioners noticed them and informed the prime minister, who initially had them detained in a hut close to the crucifixion site, so they could observe the vultures descending from a large tree to consume the corpses of the martyrs. Later were subsequently taken before the prime minister and cruelly condemned.[50] Faupel did not, however, address the different difficulties that Christian women encountered in their fight to serve the church; instead, the scholar utilised the tale to demonstrate the martyrdom of the future Uganda Martyrs. In order to fill the vacuum in the existing literature, the researcher decided to look into the problems that women faced between 1882 and 1962.

1.8 Research Methodology

The study was guided by the Qualitative research approach. This was because it was the best in studying practices, values, beliefs, perceptions and meanings to generate a holistic picture.[51] Gary D. Shank illustrates that qualitative research is a type of systematic experiential inquiry into meaning that is helpful for researchers seeking to obtain a holistic picture of historically unique situations, which was the case with this study research problem.[52] Thus the study

[49]John F. Faupel. *African Holocaust, the Story of the Uganda Martyrs*, (Kampala, St Paul Publications, 2005),188.
[50] Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu province of Buganda, 1879-1925*, 188
[51] Louis Cohen, Lawrence Manion, and Keith Morrison. *Research Methods in Education*, (London, Published by Routledge, 2011), 539.
[52] Gary D. Shank, "*Qualitative research: A personal skills approach*." *(No Title)* (2006), 12.

analysed oral history and reviewed documents in form of reports, registers, magazines and memoires that aided in the reconstruction of women's contribution to the growth of the Church, 1882 to 1962.

1.8.1 Research Design

This study employed a historical research design which denotes to a systematic method for interpreting past events by collecting, verifying, and synthesising evidence from primary and secondary sources to establish facts and draw conclusion.[53] Therefore, in-person interviews and document reviews were carried out. The comparison between the written literature and field data was thoroughly examined. The oral history and written records on women's involvement and contributions to the development of the Catholic Church in Buganda were found to be related. It should be noted that oral history and the body of current literature concurred that women took part in evangelizing, conversion, baptism, and worship—all of which helped the Catholic Church flourish between 1882 and 1962.

1.8.2 Study Area

This research was carried out in Buganda, the South-Central region of Uganda, which is home to five Catholic dioceses that predominantly speak Luganda: Kampala, Masaka, Lugazi, Kasana-Luweero, and Kiyinda-Mityana. These are grouped into the Ecclesial province of Kampala (Kampala Archdiocese). This area was selected due to its central role in the Catholicisation of Uganda. (Refer to fig: 1). Furthermore, this region was the birthplace of pioneering female Catholic converts such as Clare Nalumansi and the founding site of the first indigenous female religious institute, the *Bannabiikira Sisters* (Daughters of Mary), established in 1910.

[53] B. Belinda. *Historical Research Design* (18 March 19, 2014), 33.

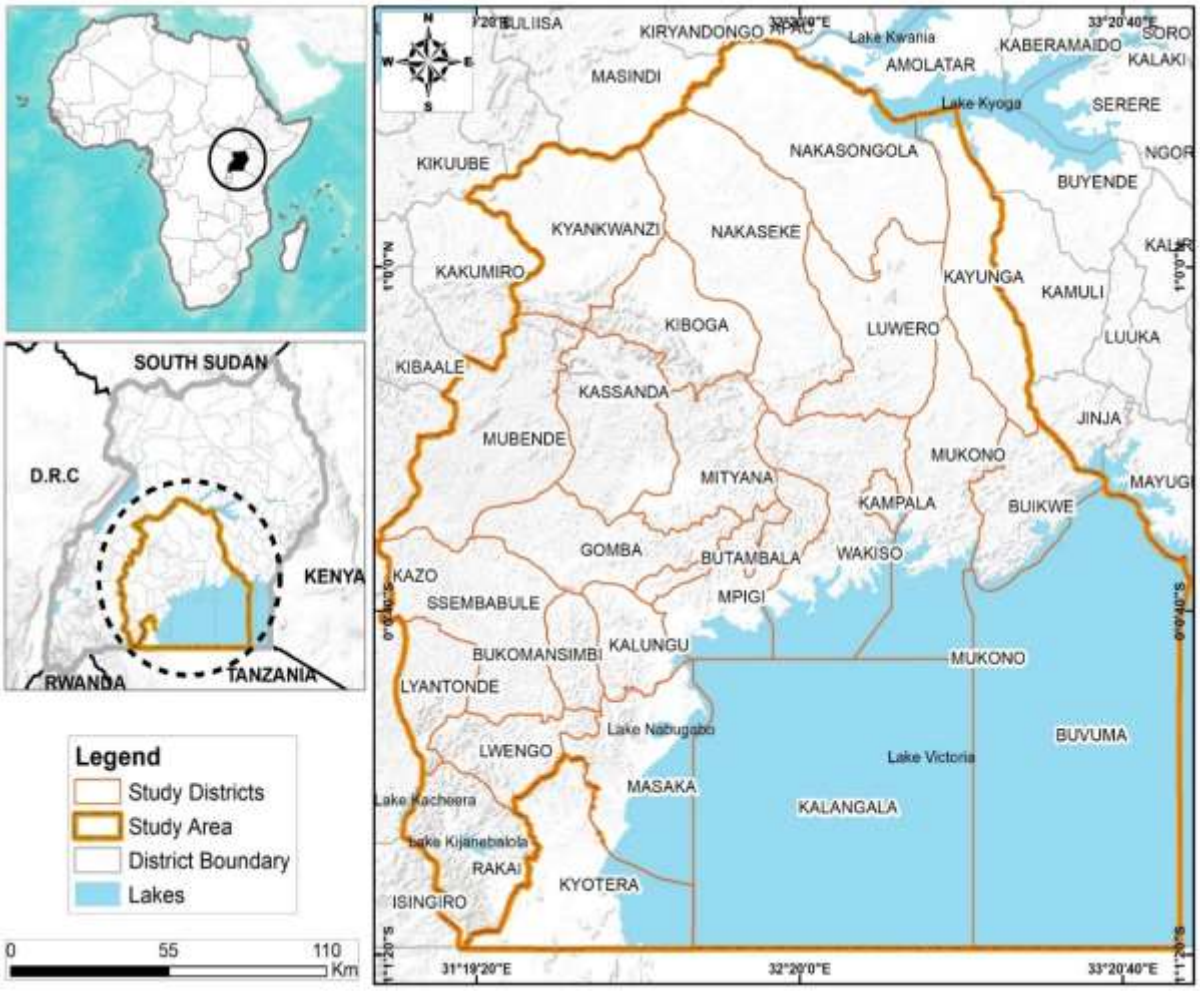


Figure 1: Map of the study area (Mr. Esagu Calvin, 2024).

1.8.3 Sampling Techniques

The study employed two sampling techniques to select respondents namely: purposive sampling and snowball sampling. Purposive sampling involved selecting respondents based on their knowledge, experience, relevance, and information, they possessed about the topic. The researcher used the existing Church structures to identify and select respondents for this method. The second sampling method, snowball sampling, was used to identify additional respondents who met the selection criteria. The researcher began by identifying a few respondents who matched the recommended criteria and then requested them to suggest other individuals whom they believed had information on the subject matter. The raw data collected

from various oral interviews was recorded, transcribed, and compared until thematic saturation was achieved.

1.8.4 Study Population

The population interviewed included both female and male people, who were primarily elder people, current and former office bearers in the Catholic Church in Buganda. These comprised of the Catholic clergy, (bishops, nuns, priests, deacons, and religious brothers). In addition, scholars such as historians, liturgists, and theologians who specialized in the history of the Catholic Church in Buganda were included. The study also included the laity, lay leaders and catechists, in the Catholic Archdiocese of Kampala. The researcher felt that the aforementioned population was resourceful in producing the data required to complete the study, thus they were chosen. For instance, some members of the Bannabikira Sister's supreme council of Bwanda Masaka who were interviewed were elderly women with lived experiences and some were eye witnesses and interacted with the first indigenous religious women identified in this study and others were and are office bearers with key information regarding the contribution of women to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda. The other respondents involved were elderly theologians, lay laities, historians and clergies both male and females due to their rich information that answered the research questions.

1.8.5 Sample size

A sufficient sample was chosen to accurately describe the phenomenon of women's involvement and contribution to the spread of the Catholic faith. From the beginning of the fieldwork, 60 respondents were selected to participate in the study from Buganda in the five Catholic dioceses: Kampala, Masaka, Lugazi, Kasana-Luweero, and Kiyinda-Mityana. These are grouped into the Ecclesial province of Kampala Archdiocese. However, out of the 60 informants sampled, only 40 were interviewed. The sample size was 40 because data saturation

was reached during data gathering, where additional information obtained from respondents could not add any new insights into the already collected information, thus data collection was stopped. Shari L. D states the sample size used in qualitative research methods are often concerned with gathering an in-depth understanding of an event or focused on meaning which are often centred on how and why a particular issue, process, situation, subculture scene or set of social interactions.[54]

1.8.6 Data Sources and Collection Methods

The study depended on both primary and secondary data sources as discussed below.

1.8.6.1 Primary Sources

According to Louis Cohen, Lawrence Manion, and Keith Morrison, primary sources provide first-hand accounts and evidence from the time period being studied, created by those who directly experienced or observed the event. They allow the researcher to have direct access to the subject under study.[55] The researcher used face-to-face interviews with research participants, including Catholic clergies, scholars on the history of the Catholic Church in Buganda, theologians, lay religious, and historians, were the main methods used to gather primary data. Purposely, to get first-hand oral accounts of their testimonies, experiences, and histories regarding the women and the development of the Catholic Church in Buganda, these were specifically contacted. The researcher interviewed the participants and spoke and listened to them (see Appendix 8). A semi-structured interview guide covering the main study topic was created to direct the interviews. It specifically targeted those with an extensive understanding of the subject being studied. These interviews were then recorded (with interviewee consent) and, at the end of the day, transcribed. Thus, other written primary sources

[54] Dworkin Shari. *Sample Size Policy for Qualitative Studies Using In-Depth Interviews, Arch Sex Behav* 41 (2012):1319.

[55] Louis Cohen, Lawrence Manion, and Keith Morrison. *Research Methods in Education*, (London, Published by Routledge, 2011), 249.

were considered, they were either written by the witnesses or those involved in the growth of the church under the study period, included the autobiographies of women both lay Christians and religious women, reports on various activities in the dioceses, pastoral letters, medical reports, baptism registers, obituaries of certain lay and religious women, diaries of the White Sisters and White Fathers, and photographs of particular ladies were used to reinforce the oral histories gathered from research interviewees selected from the Archdiocese of Kampala, the ecclesial region where the study was conducted.

Other primary sources included unpublished and published materials; books, newspapers and magazines. These primary source materials were found in archives of the Archdiocese of Kampala at Lubaga and in other four dioceses such as Villa Maria, Bannabikira Sister's archive, Lubaga Hospital Records Office and Villa Maria Hospital records were important. Other institutions of importance consulted were; the National Records Centre and Archive (NRCA) at Wandegeya from where the researcher obtained information on missionary women and Makerere University Archive (Africana Section) from where correspondences between the colonial government and the missionaries, Newspapers and magazines depicting information on women in the Catholic church were obtained.

1.8.6.2 Secondary Sources

Secondary sources or documents were used which included among others books, journal articles, conference papers, dissertations, and online materials with narratives related to history of the women and the growth of the Buganda Catholic church 1882 -1962 were accessed and thoroughly examined before being used to supplement the primary sources. These allowed the researcher to consider what others had written as well as make qualitative analyses on the topic under study. Wafula defined secondary sources as those that typically contain narratives,

works, or studies that analyse, assess, incorporate, interpret, or synthesize sources.[56] The researcher looked for access to libraries (including online catalogues) including the Kyambogo University Library, Kampala Archdiocese Library as well as diocesan libraries, Makerere University Library and Ggaba Seminary Library, to gather the secondary data. Further, the researcher also had access to personal collections of a few lay authors or novelists such as Waalabyeki Magoba, George Mulumba and Sr. Dr. Catharine Nakatudde.

1.8.6 .3 Research Data Collection Tools

Two research forms were used to gather data: the Documentary Analysis Form and an In-depth Interview Guide Form (see Appendices 5, 6, and 8). Through oral interviews, historical facts and views held by several respondents on the topic were gathered using an in-depth Interview Guide. To accommodate certain interviewees, this was created in English and occasionally translated into Luganda. It addressed every important topic in which the researcher was concerned, on the women and the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda, 1882 -1962. The questions were structured based on the chapters and the objectives of the study. Occasionally, its adaptability gave the researcher the chance to go deeper into the topic by asking probing questions to the respondents.

1.8.6.4 Data Analysis

Triangulation was used to record, sort, code, edit, and transcribe the data from both primary and secondary sources thematically. The data was then categorised and classified in accordance with the primary research objectives in order to create a cohesive interpretation of the primary and secondary sources. Data from secondary sources was carefully and extensively reviewed prior to adoption. Data recording involved accuracy and language correction. The researcher validated the gathered data to determine whether it was relevant to the problem being studied.

[56] Peter Wekesa, Wafula "Research on Kenyan History: Rethinking Sources and New Approaches" *British Institute in Eastern Africa Graduate Forum,* Nairobi Kenya, 25th February 2025.

To track whatever involvement women might have had in the church's growth, the researcher also analysed church publications in the four areas of religion, education, health, and economy.

1.8.6.5 Research Procedure

To arrange for oral interviews with respondents, the researcher requested an introductory letter from the Department of History, Archaeology, and Heritage at Kyambogo University. This letter was presented to potential interviewees and assisted in setting up appointments. The researcher also used the same letter to conduct an initial survey to locate and identify significant information sources to support the study. To allay any concerns over respondent participation in the study, the mentioned letter from Kyambogo was given to each respondent and they signed a consent form (Appendix 7). The letter was also used to obtain approval and clearance for data collection at the National Records Centre and Archive, Wandegeya, Ggaba Seminary Library and Makerere University Library (African section). Additionally, the researcher submitted the aforementioned letter to the Kampala Archdiocese archive in Lubaga and was subjected to filling a form, which led to permission to use the archive and obtained permission to utilise the archives of Villa Maria, Kitovu, Masaka, Mityana, and Lugazi. The researcher also got permission from the hospital archives at Villa Maria, Nsambya, Nkozi, and Lubaga (see to Appendix 2). Lastly, the researcher secured permission to access personal collections of lay authors or novelists such as Waalabyeki Magoba, George Mulumba and Sr. Dr. Catharine Nakatudde. All the above archives were instrumental in obtaining data that helped to reconstruct the participation of women in the Catholic Church, 1882 to1962.

1.8.7 Limitations of the Study

The study turned out to be costly in terms of transportation, lodging and stationery; due to the large size of the ecclesial territory that was being studied. Traversing the five Catholic dioceses of Buganda to reach out to religious women organisations, necessitated the researcher sometimes to lodge in the central towns of these dioceses for easy movements to the centres

with information. To succeed, the researcher used his personal savings and financial assistance from friends to accomplish the study in time. Further, to expedite the work, the researcher acquired one research assistant to aid him in gathering data. The researcher also found some historical documents on women in the French language, which necessitated him to seek the services of an interpreter from the Makerere Language Centre. Some respondents refused to provide data because they assumed that the study was delicate for them and their churches or organisations. The researcher resolved this by clearly identifying himself and presenting an introductory letter from the University which helped to oust their fears and explained to them that this research was for academic purposes.

1.9 Ethical considerations

The researcher adhered to the ethics of conducting research. These included obtaining an introductory letter from the University that permitted the researcher to carry out research (see Appendix 1). Permission was also sought from the Ministry of Public Service, permitting the researcher to access official files for research purposes from the-National Records Centre and Archives and from other Archdiocese archives (see Appendix 2 and 3). Informed consent was also obtained from the respondents who participated in this study. The researcher explained the purpose of the study to the informants and told them that their participation was voluntary and that they were free from any coercion. (See Appendix 7).

10.2 Conclusion

In conclusion, this research aimed at investigating the role played by women in the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda, 1882-1962. The literature review revealed a gap in the existing scholarship on this topic, as previous studies have not emphasised the role of women in the evangelisation of Buganda. Instead, such studies have focused on the stories of male pioneers like Paolo Nalubandwa, Petero Kyonooneka Ddamulira, Yozefu Lwanga, Léon

Kaddu, Yakobo Bamutendera, Bonifansi Mutaganirwa, Jean-Marie Fuwuke, and Matayo Lubowa Kirevu (the first male converts); Yowaana Kitagana, Yowaana Sebalijja, and Guste Kapere (the first male catechists); Bazilio Lumu and Victoro Mukasa (the first indigenous Catholic priests); and Joseph Kiwanuka (the first indigenous bishop south of the Sahara) and the Uganda martyrs in particular. The existence of women such as Clara Nalumansi, a princess and a female heroine of Christian martyrdom, Maria Matilda and Angela Nabbogo among others who were influential in the evangelisation and growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda only serves to debunk the above assertion. Therefore, this study addressed this gap by exploring the historical and cultural contexts that shaped the involvement of women in the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda.

CHAPTER TWO

BUGANDA ON THE EVE OF THE INTRODUCTION OF THE CATHOLIC FAITH

2.0 Introduction

The previous chapter provided the background for the study. The current chapter gives a brief geography and history of the study area, Buganda, specifically in the Catholic Archdiocese of Kampala. The region held a central role in the Catholicisation of Uganda and was the birthplace of pioneering female Catholic converts such as Clare Nalumansi and the founding site of the first indigenous female religious institute, the *Bannabiikira Sisters* (Daughters of Mary), established in 1910. The chapter begins by providing a detailed description of the Buganda region and its people, including the political, economic, social and religious structure on the eve of Catholicism. Further, highlights Buganda's religious beliefs, the role of women in traditional religion and the position women held on the eve of Catholicism. It ends by discussing the advent of Catholicism in Buganda, 1879. It is intended to draw a clear picture of the environment in which women came to serve the Catholic Church between 1882 and 1962.

2.1 Buganda and its People

Geographically, Buganda is located in the southern part of the contemporary Republic of Uganda.[1] It is set on the northwestern corner of Lake Victoria, from the Nile outflow in the east to the Kagera inflow in the south, some 30,000 square kilometres in all.[2] It is located between longitudes 30 and 33 degrees east of Greenwich and between latitudes one degree north and one degree south of the equator. Bunyoro and Toro border Buganda to the north, while Ankole borders it to the south. Busoga in the east and Lango in the north. The area in the

[1] G. S. K. Ibingira. *The Forging of an African Nation; The Political and Constitutional Evolution of Uganda from Colonial Rule to Independence, 1894-1962*, (Ottawa, Macmillan, 1973), 5.
[2] Christopher Wrigley. *Kingship and State. The Buganda Dynasty*, (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1996), 59.

southeast was and still is bounded by Lake Victoria's freshwaters. This gave the area a natural barrier to protect it from potential intruders. The Ziba nation encircled Buganda in the south.[3] Important to observe is that the islands of Ssese, Bukasa, and Buvuma are part of Buganda. By the nineteenth century, territorial expansion had virtually stopped. So, by the middle of the century, Buganda was distinguished above all by its territorial clarity.

Buganda was a wealthy kingdom with thepopular location in Africa and the Lake region at the time of the foundation of Catholicism in 1879.[4] Lake Nalubale, also known as Lake Victoria, is located inland, and the kingdom enjoyed a consistent supply of rain. Precipitation occurs in two distinct seasons: the lengthy rainy season from March to June and the shorter but more intense rainy season from October to November, which is marked by thunderstorms. However, some months have a protracted drought with no rain at all. Four thousand feet above sea level, Buganda is a region of modest, grassy hills, some of which are as high as five or six hundred feet.[5] Buganda was also characterised by belts of forest land that ran down to the lake, agricultural land, clumps of trees, and wooded places. The area had rivers, wetlands, and plenty of rainfall, estimated at 30 inches per year, as well as fertile soils and evergreen trees, while there were occasional dry spells.[6] Nakatudde retaliate that, oral history has it that by the time the the Missionaries of the White Fathers came to Buganda the territory was characterised with thick forests and heavy and reliable rainfall.[7]

[3] Roscoe. *The Baganda: An Account of their Native Custom and Beliefs,* 3.
[4] Wrigley. *Kingship and State. The Buganda Dynasty,* 59.
[5] Albert B. Lloyd. *Dayspring in Uganda*, (London, Church Missionary Society Salisbury Square, London E.C.4, 1924)
[6] S. J. K. Baker. "Buganda: A Geographical Appraisal". In Transactions and Papers, No. 22, *Institute of British Geographers*, (1956), 171.
[7] Interview with Catherine Nakatudde. Interviewed at Katigondo Covent07/202.

The Baganda are the largest ethnic group, occupying the central region of modern-day Uganda. They belong to the Bantu-speaking people, who inhabit much of eastern and southern Africa.[8] By around AD 500, their ancestors came from the rainforests of the northern present province of Sheba in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), primarily the Katanga region.[9] Benjamin Isakhan and Stephen Stockwell argue that Baganda are the indigenous inhabitants of the Buganda kingdom, and Luganda is their language.[10] The earliest ancestors of the Baganda settled around the north western shores of Lake Victoria in the counties of Busiro, Kyadondo, and Mawokota, which formed the nucleus of their kingdom between AD 960 and 1000.[11] By the 19th century, the Kingdom of Buganda had incorporated several groups of people within the region. In support this view, Waalabyeki explained that by the 19th century Buganda had adopted other people such as the "Bakooki" due to its political strength.[12] These transitions resulted in to decentralised clan system which was consolidated into the political entity that arose to be known as Buganda.[13]

From the 13th up to the 16th century, the central Uganda region, which became the Kingdom of Buganda was inhabited by independent family units living in small independent groups known as clans.[14] This implies that members of each of these clans lived in a particular area under the leadership of their clan heads. However, towards the end of the 13th century, the region was brought under one leadership, and there are many theories which try to explain the origins of the Buganda kingdom. One of such accounts claims that the founder of the current

[8] M. S. M. Kiwanuka., *A History of Buganda*, (East African Publishing House1971), 29.
[9] Sidney E. Hartland. On the Evidential Value of the Historical Traditions of the Baganda and Bushong, *Folklore,* 25:4, 428-456, 14),431.
[10] Benjamin Isakhan and Stephen Stockwell. *The Secret History of Democracy: Africa's Indigenous Democracies: The Baganda of Uganda*, (London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 123.
[11] Musisi, Nakanyike B. Morality as identity: The missionary moral agenda in Buganda, 1877–1945. *Journal of religious history* 23, no. 1 (1999): 51.
[12] Interview with Waalabyeki Magoba. Interviewed at Ntinda Stretcher on 15 /12/2024.
[13] Julien Gorju. *Entre le Victoria I' Albert et l'Edouard: Ethnographies de la Partie anglaise du Vicariate de l' Uganda: Origins, Histoire, Religion*, (Coutumes. Impr. Oberthur,1920)11.
[14] Kiwanuka., *A History of Buganda*, 31.

dynasty of kings was Kintu.[15] Kintu is said to have come from the eastern direction of mountain Elgon (Masaba) via Bugisu, Budama, and Busoga to Buganda around A.D 1314.[16] By the time of his arrival, Kintu found six clans in existence, namely, the Fumbe (Civet Cat), Lugave (Manis), Nyonyi (the Bird), Njaza (Reedbuck), Mamba (Lungfish), and Ngeye (Colobus Monkey).[17] In support of the above idea, Semakula Kiwanuka illustrates that in Buganda, the Civet Cat clan is regarded as one of the earliest groups to settle in the region.[18] Furthermore, the aforementioned clans are referred to by Kiwanuka as the indigenous (Banansangwa) clans or groupings from the region. This demonstrates that there were some people living by the time of Kintu's arrival. Who were ruled by the values of their clans. Sidney Hartland responds to this by saying that Kintu is where "the history and traditions of the country commence." He continues by saying, "The country was inhabited, even though the prior history of his reign was lost."[19] This must have been the case because a number of the tribes assert that they were already in the nation when Kintu arrived. But again, the above scholarly views fall short of elaborating on how Buganda was structured and who was at the helm before Kintu's arrival.

On the other hand, Kannamwangi asserts that upon his coming, Kintu seized power from the original clan heads and crowned himself the head of all the clans (Ssaabataka).[20] By making himself the Ssaabataka, Kintu had declared himself a king, because, in Buganda, the title was held by the sovereign. It also revealed that the ancestors of the six oldest clans arrived and settled in the land earlier than the rest of the other clans that Kintu had travelled with. What

[15] Jozef, Muwanga. *On the Kabaka's Road for Uganda*, A Contribution to The Positive Mind of Buganda, (Kampala, LDC Publishers, 2005), 1.
[16] Isaac C. Lubogo. *Exorcising the inexorcible Buganda ghost*, (Kampala, Jescho Publishing House, 2022), 10.
[17] Interview with Waalabyeki Magoba. Interviewed at Ntinda Stratcher, 15/12/2023.
[18] Kiwanuka., *A History of Buganda*, 31.
[19] Hartland. On the Evidential Value of the Historical Traditions of the Baganda and Bushong 437.
[20] Kannamwangi. *From Mission to Local Church: A History on the 'Indigenization' of the Catholic Church in Buganda, 1913 – 2012*, 4.

kind of politics and governance did the indigenous clans follow? Ssemakula Kiwanuka provides an answer to this question when he states that the indigenous clans appeared to have had sophisticated and advanced governance and politics. He bases his argument on the ability of the native in-groups to assimilate other emigrants in the land who adopted their cultures and language. For example, on his entry into the kingdom, Kintu is said to have come with thirteen to fourteen clans of the present-day clans of Buganda. However, he recognised those whom he found in Buganda to form the Buganda kingdom.[21] Benjamin Isakhan and Stephen Stockwell noted that.

> Kintu who is believed to be the founder of the Buganda kingdom arrived in the area in the late 1300s. By then, there were six very well-organized clans permanently settled in the region. These clans were autonomous and considered themselves equal, although now and then an aggressive clan head would declare himself head of all clans in the area until he was overthrown by an even stronger clan leader. [22]

However, some scholars doubt whether Kintu ever existed. They look at the theory of Kintu as an imagination raised by the Baganda to substantiate their origin. Roscoe believes that the view of Kintu's disappearance was raised since it was unlawful to say that the king was dead, chiefs said that he had disappeared, but burial took place secretly, and the jawbone was taken away, cleansed, decorated, and placed in the temple which was in Magongo hill in Singo.[23] But this raises the desire to do further research about it.

The second theory advanced by some scholars, such as Sir Harry Johnston, Christopher Wrigley (1996) and Elliott Green (2010), describes the origin of the Buganda kingdom, basing it on the Bunyoro (Nyoro) tradition.[24] It suggests that Buganda was founded by Kato-Kimera, a twin brother to Isingoma Rukidi Mpuuga, the founder of the Bito dynasty in Bunyoro. The

[21] Kiwanuka. *A History of Buganda*, 32.
[22] Benjamin Isakhan and Stephen Stockwell. *The Secret History of Democracy: Africa's Indigenous Democracies: The Baganda of Uganda*., 131.
[23] Roscoe. *The Baganda: An Account of their Native Custom and Beliefs*, 214.
[24] Wrigley. *Kingship and State. The Buganda Dynasty*, 22.

proponents of this theory suggest that after Isingoma had established himself as a king in the areas of Bunyoro, he sent his brother Kimera to govern the outposts, but on reaching the area, the young brother essentially broke away from Bunyoro, creating his kingdom, which came to be known as the Buganda Kingdom. Wrigley, explains that Elliott Green, while writing about the uniqueness of the name "Buganda", suggested that Kabaka Kimera was the first non-mythical king of Buganda or Kintu's father. He goes on to say that the state of Buganda derived its name from Kimere himself. Supporters of this view argue that Kimera, who was by then called Muganda, came into the Katonga valley, which bounds (B)Uganda on the south, with a pack of dogs, a woman, a spear, and a shield. Being an expert hunter, he acquired influence with the natives, who made him their chief. He took possession of the whole country from Katonga to the Nile and called it Buganda, derived from his new name, Buganda. Other Baganda connect Kimera with Nyoro, but differently, they call him the grandson of Cwa, Kintu's son and relate a romantic story of his birth as a consequence of an intrigue between the wife of the king of that country and Kalimera, the son of Cwa.[25]

The third theory revolves around the three nucleus counties of the Buganda kingdom of Busiro, Kyadondo and Mawokota. As early as the 16th century, the Buganda kingdom was a very small nucleus, with the three counties in question. Archie Mafeje illustrates that it is known from archaeological, historical, and ethnographic evidence that the original Buganda kingdom was confined to the now central counties of Busiro, Kyadondo, and Mawokota. At that time in history, Buganda was a tributary of Bunyoro-Kitara, without being occupied by the pastoral dynasties, as its terrain was not suited to cattle herding.[26] Mafeje and Karugire claim that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Bunyoro-Kitara was the strongest kingdom in

[25] Hartland. On the Evidential Value of the Historical Traditions of the Baganda and Bushong 437.
[26] Archie Mafeje. *Kingdoms of the Great Lakes Region: Ethnography of African Social Formations*, (Kampala, Fountain Publishers, 1998), 25.

the region. But Buganda's existence on the southern frontiers of Bunyoro made her defenceless due to the threats posed by Bunyoro. With this in mind, the Baganda kings of various ruling dynasties resorted to quickening the process of consolidation of state power within the region. Karugire in particular suggests that King Mutebi eliminated traditional ritual leaders who had functioned independently, eliminated lineage leaders as centres of authority, and replaced them with officially appointed chiefs and centralised trade under the king's control.[27] During this period, Bunyoro became a victim of the innovations, with its vast empire governed in the outlying districts by royal princes who were prone to rebellion and by heads of lineages who were interested in maximising local autonomy and were exposed to the above-mentioned innovations.

Consequently, towards the end of the century, Kabaka Katerega raided Bunyoro annexing *Gomba, Butambala,* and parts of *Singo*. Mawanda raided *Busoga* too annexing some areas to Buganda. This marked the beginning of the growth and expansion of the present-day Buganda kingdom. Later, Kabaka Junju annexed the rich areas of Bunyoro, and Buddu and controlled Koki and Kiziba in the 18th century.[28] It is important to observe, that from the original three counties, Buganda's counties were raised to 20 for hundreds of years largely through conquest, and ingenuity of the various Kings who would, now and then, persuade different areas to join the Kingdom, a trajectory that gained the kingdom supremacy in the region. Such that by the time of the establishment of Catholicism and the British rule in 1894, Buganda was already a respected and strong kingdom in the region.[29] An idea confirmed by Robert Ojambo's explanation that, Buganda was part of the centralised states that had developed a sophisticated

[27] Karugire. *A Political History of Uganda*, 21.

[28] Kiwanuka. *A History of Buganda*, 82.

[29] Interview with Felicia Wanyana. Interviewed at Bwanda Covent, Masaka, 06/07/2023.

state structures with the king's court at the centre of power, with an elaborate administrative system before, the advent of European explorers, missionaries, and colonialists.[30]

Therefore, this thesis attributes the evolution of the Buganda kingdom to the three theories: the indigenous clan system of governance that assimilated the clans with which Kintu came and the Buganda's imperial conquest system that was adopted by the kingship institution from 1600-1800. It was out of the two suggested theories that leadership was provided, leading to the annexation and expansion of Buganda's boundaries from the original three counties to include other counties such as Buddu, Gomba, Butambala, and Singo, which marked the beginning of the growth and expansion of the present-day Buganda kingdom. To the extent that by the time Europeans set foot on Buganda, they found a well-organised kingdom.

2. 2 Buganda's Political System

King Muteesa I of Buganda received the White Fathers on February 17th, 1879, in the person of Br. Delmas Amans and Lourdel Simeon (*Mapeera*).[31] By this time, Buganda was a sovereign state with the Kabaka as its hereditary ruler. The idea of separation of powers was recognised, and the kingdom had an advanced political and administrative system centred on the capital (by then, *Mengo*).[32] The highly centralised kingdom was able to establish a new model of political organisation, a unitary structure, beginning in the second half of the eighteenth century and continuing into the nineteenth. This structure required the complete integration of subjugated territories and the assimilation of their populations, strengthening the state.[33]

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[30] Robert Ojambo. *Challenges to the Democratisation process in Uganda: Constitutional Challenges to Democracy in Uganda 1962-1995: A Dilemma of a Post Colonial African State*, (USA, LAP LAMBERT Academic, 2012), 1.

[31] Frederick Tusingire. *The evangelization of Uganda, Challenges and Strategies*, (Marianum publishing company, 2002), 37.

[32] Dmitri M. Bondarenko and Marina l. Butovskaya. *The Omnipresent Past: Historical Anthropology of Africa and African Diaspora*, (Moscow: LRC Publishing House, 2019), 124.

[33] Mafeje. *Kingdoms of the Great Lakes Region*: Ethnography of African Social Formations,26.

At the top of the Buganda's system of governance structure was the Kabaka with absolute power over the lives and properties of the Baganda. To Roscoe, the king was a despot. Under ordinary circumstances, the king took one or more of his chiefs into his confidence and asked their advice. If their counsel conflicted with his wishes, he ignored it and tracked his wishes.[34] The king's powers were checked by only two persons in the land, the *Nnamasole* (Queen Mother) and *Nnaalinnya* (Queen Sister), who were empowered by the sacrosanct tradition of Buganda sanctioned by their ancestors.[35] The duo could advise the king, but even in such situations, the Kabaka would predominate over their counsel if he wanted. Since he granted and ensured lawful authority, the king served as its cornerstone. The state's highest legal authority was the Kabaka. All chiefs implicitly served the Kabaka's interests.[36]

Chiefs under the leadership of Katikkiro (prime minister) assisted the Kabaka (king) in ruling or running the government. Two arms, or organs, made up the Buganda kingdom's administrative system. The nominated arm, which consisted of the appointed chiefs, and the hereditary arm, which consisted of the clan heads, coexisted and reported to the king through the Katikkiro.[37] Mutiibwa acknowledges that Buganda's administrative system was intricate and had numerous gradations, but he reiterates that the Katikkiro was in charge. The chiefs of Saza (county), *Gombolola* (sub-county), and *Miruka* (Parish) came after his ministers.[38]

The king empowered the Katikkiro to control his citizens on his behalf by using the rod of justice (*damula*). The king's royal palace (*Lubiri*), located in Mengo, Buganda's capital, served as the political, religious, and cultural administrative centre from which the king operated.

[34] Roscoe. *The Baganda: An Account of their Native Custom and Beliefs*, 232.
[35] Thoonen. *Black Martyrs*, 17.
[36] Fallers. *The King's Men: Leadership and Status in Buganda on the Eve of Independence*, 282.
[36] Fallers. *The King's Men: Leadership and Status in Buganda on the Eve of Independence*, 282.
[37] Adam Kimala. *The Granary Kingdom* (Kampala, Published by New Era Printers and Stationers, 2005), 38.
[38] Phares Mutibwa. *The Buganda Factor in Uganda Politics*. (Kampala, Fountain Publishers Ltd, 2008),9.

From the Lubiri, the king's orders were communicated to Buganda society through a chain of chiefs headed by the Katikkiro, following a top-down administration that ended with the village chief, *Omutongole*. The same administrative structure, which began with the Katikkiro and ended with the lower chiefs, was used to settle conflicts within the chief's sphere of influence, organize labour for public projects, gather revenue, raise and command soldiers in times of conflict, and uphold law and order. All state issues and cases that the chiefs couldn't resolve were sent to the Katikkiro, who either resolved them or forwarded the case to the monarch. A king rarely removed his prime minister from office. [39]

By 1879, the very year the Catholic faith was established, Mukasa, a young man of little height, who had also served several capacities in the Kingdom, was the Katikkiro, the highly cherished office in the land. As the Katikkiro, Mukasa came to influence and define the future politics and dealings of the first missionary in Buganda. After the Katikkiro was the *Kimbugwe* or keeper of the king's umbilical cord. The *Kimbugwe* never required special authorization from the Katikkiro to meet and report to the king. His office was not hereditary but appointive, *Kimbugwe* supervised the royal fetishes and upon the demise of the reigning king, *Kimbugwe* left the office which necessitated the appointment of a replacement. Ashe. P. Robert maintains that *Kimbugwe* was one of Muteesa I's trusted chiefs who could receive his master's gifts from visitors to the kingdom.[40]

The kingdom was divided into divisions called counties (*Masaza*). The Saza (county) unit was divided into units called *Magombolola* (sub-counties) and these in turn divided into Miruka (Parishes). Benjamin I. and Stephen S.[41] assert that the smallest political unit in the kingdom

[39] Roscoe. *The Baganda: An Account of their Native Custom and Beliefs*, 234.
[40] Robert Ashe. *Two Kings of Buganda: or Life by the Shores of Victoria Nyanza,* (Landon, Sampson Low, Marston Searle and Rivington, 1890),69.
[41] Fallers. *The King's Men: Leadership and Status in Buganda on the Eve of Independence,* 73.

was the village (*Ekyalo*); a group of villages constituted a parish (*Omuluka*); a group of parishes made up a sub-county (*Gombolola*); several sub-counties made up a county (Saza). Each of these units was headed by an appointed chief. Village and parish chiefs were appointed by the chiefs above them, and the Kabaka appointed the sub-county and county chiefs. This became the political component of the socio-political administrative system. The next political level had four political offices, the most important was that of the Katikkiro, followed by that of the Mujasi (commander-in-chief), then that of the Gabunga (admiral of the navy), and finally of Kimbugwe (overseer of the royal line). These positions were held by officers directly appointed by the Kabaka. What is central, however, is that all scholars who wrote about Buganda agree that the king was at the pinnacle of the Kingdom's hierarchy, and after him was the *Katikkiro.* Secondly, County chiefs administered in the Kabaka's name.

The overseer of the Royal line is referred to as *Mugema*, the head of the Grey Monkey clan. *Mugema* formally installs the new Kabaka.[42] Every county chief had a formal title and was supported by several sub-county leaders, who in turn were subordinate chiefs. They played a significant role in maintaining peace and order, collecting taxes, and handling other tributes that they transferred to the county chiefs, who in turn reported to the Katikkiro, who then forwarded them to the Kabaka.[43]

Two women were highly valued in Buganda society: the king's mother, *Nnamasole*, and one of the king's sisters of the blood, *Nnaalinnya*. Both inside the realm and at the king's court, their titles sounded more official. Every reigning Buganda monarch was required by Buganda tradition to have an official mother and sister. The choice for the *Nnaalinnya* or *Lubuga* went to the princesses of the blood, a significant body of women.[44] Before the reign of the young

[42] Waalabyeki Magoba. *Ekika Kyo Amakula*.5.
[43] Interview with Ssengendo. Interviewed at Muyenga, 15/12/2023.
[44] Thoonen. *Black Martyrs,* 17.

Kabaka Chwa (1897 - 1939), princesses were forbidden to marry and to have children since the line of succession to the throne was secured through the male line; the princes were encouraged to marry. As already indicated, the tradition assigned them the role of counselling the Kabaka. The tradition also conferred on them some administrative powers, for instance, Ashe reports that the King's mother and sister could possess the privilege of making their enclosures in the same style as that of the king.[45] This was a unique gesture and respect to them since they operated in a patriarchal land.

For legislation purposes, the kingdom had the *Lukiiko* (Great Council), which consisted of all the Saza chiefs and some other representatives appointed by the Kabaka.[46] Roscoe contends that the king sounded the drum either in the evening or morning, purposely for the chiefs led by the Katikiiro to assemble in the *Bulange* mainly into the courthouse (Lukiiko). According, to Fallers, the Great *Lukiiko* was the king's council and a gathering of the king's chiefs and officers to pay homage to their master. The *Lukiiko* was an assembly of great chiefs (Abakungu) whose offices and positions were nonhereditary but appointed by the king.[47] Other attendees included the Clan heads, sub-chiefs, court, and administrative officials. The head baker and butler served as direct representatives of the royal household. The presence of the latter reminds us of the idea of paying homage to the king. In summation, this study suggests that Buganda had an inclusive representation before the arrival of the missionaries.

Buganda's military contributed to its power and prosperity towards the end of the nineteenth century. With King Mutebi I leading Buganda at the end of the seventeenth century, the process of reorganisation got underway. He replaced the lineage leaders who served as centres of power with chiefs who were officially appointed, a process that was later consolidated by succeeding

[45] Ashe. *Two Kings of Buganda: or Life by the Shores of Victoria Nyanza* 1890, 52.
[46] Mutibwa. *The Buganda Factor in Uganda Politics*, 9.
[47] Fallers. *King's Men: Leadership and Status in Buganda on the Eve of Independence,*73.

monarchs.[48] By the end of the nineteenth century, the administration was centralised and a powerful royal bodyguard was established, consolidating the Kabaka's power, defending the state against attacks and expanding the kingdom's spheres. For example 1760s, Bunyoro had lost authority in the Kooki region to Buganda, as Karugire recounts, adding that Buganda had acquired the provinces with little military force.[49] Thus, by the time missionaries reached Buganda, Muteesa I had created a royal guard under a corps of permanent military captains, composed of musketeers and a navy made of the canoe fleet, commanded by the Ggabunga, head of the Lungfish clan and was answerable to him.[50] Its commander was known as the Mujasi. But Ingham argues that the Buganda of 1879 was a result of a process that began in the south a century prior in 1862.[51] Therefore, Buganda's political power and prosperity during Kabaka Muteesa I's rule towards the end of the nineteenth century revolved around the military's reorganisation as well as its strength, and the establishment of Kabaka-ship produced a powerful royal bodyguard that was crucial to the country's administration in the late nineteenth century. According to Karugire, the military strength of Buganda enabled her to take control of the Kooki region from Bunyoro by the 1760s. Note that later, Buganda became one of the four provinces that made up the Uganda Protectorate in 1894.[52] Thus, by the time the Catholic Church was established in Buganda, the kingdom was politically secure, men were free to move freely within the terror yet women enjoyed limited freedom of movement since they had to move under the protection and authorisation of their husbands, the married one. The young girls and women moved in groups with their brothers, if not with their parents.

[48] Mafeje. *Kingdoms of the Great Lakes Region*: Ethnography of African Social Formations,26.
[49] Karugire. *A Political History of Uganda* 36.
[50] Fallers. *King's Men: Leadership and Status in Buganda on the Eve of Independence*,110.
[51] Ingham. *The Making of Modern Uganda*, 36.
[52] Ingham. *The Making of Modern Uganda*, 36.

2.3 Buganda's Economic Structure

By, 1879, the Buganda kingdom had one of the most autonomous economies in pre-colonial Uganda[53] based on a variety of traditional fiscal activities that the Baganda were involved in. The most sounding of all economic activities was agrarian, which was supported by the natural environment characterised by fertile soils and a good climate featuring a reliable supply of rain in two seasons, March to June and October to November.[54] In the words of Fallers, the success achieved by the Baganda economically was that they lived in an exceptionally favourable environment, rainfall was fairly high in the original nucleus of the kingdom and what was much more important was that the rain was extremely reliable and well distributed throughout the year.[55] Against this background, Kiwanuka referred to Buganda as the fertile crescent of Uganda where everything could grow, provided it was looked after well including the bananas which turned out to be the staple food of the Baganda[56] to date. The cultivated banana grove belonged to the woman, who cultivated it though in some circumstances it went to the husband who might have cleared and planted them. However, whether a plantain belonged to a wife or a husband, it served the single purpose of feeding the family.[57] The Banana plant also supported wine-making and local beer brewing (*Mwenge*). Wrigley elucidates that, the Baganda also cultivated small areas of sweet potatoes as a reserve for the temporary pauses in the output of the groves. Their diet was supplemented by other sources of cellulose including species of yams, finger millet, sorghum, maize, sugarcane, and cocoyam which originated from the New World and Southern Asia.[58]

[53] Ssettuuma. Coming of Age in Priesthood: A Centenary of Indigenous Catholic Priests in Uganda (29th June 1913-29th June 2013), 43.

[54] Wrigley. Kingship and State, the Buganda dynasty, 59.
[55] Fallers. *The King's Men: Leadership and Status in Buganda on the Eve of Independence*,110.
[56] Kiwanuka. *A History of Buganda*,149.
[57] Kiwanuka. *A History of Buganda*,149.
[58] Wrigley, Kingship and State, the Buganda dynasty, 60.

The Baganda were also hunters for game and gathered wild fruits and wild yams.[59] The kingdom was characterised by tropical forests which were habitats for many wild animals and plants that supplemented their diets. More important contributions came from rivers and Lake Victoria. The trade-in dried fish made a major contribution to Buganda's diet and political evolution.[60] Kiwanuka maintains that Buganda would have never achieved its military and political reputation if her economy had been poor. But agriculture was much more rewarding in this land than in other parts of East Africa. Banana set Baganda free from the unwarranted make-a-living out of food supplies from one harvest to the next, from other laborious crops, and the continuous threat of famine that existed elsewhere in the Great Lake's region.[61]

Small-scale livestock production and rearing were practised in Buganda.[62] Large-scale herding was not a good fit for their homeland. In Buganda's overly lush environment, cattle did not thrive. The history of Buganda includes the acquisition of cattle, milk, butter, and other associated goods from the comparatively drier west Ankole. Goats and hens were plentiful, but sheep were few. They were killed on special occasions, which occurred fairly frequently but not frequently enough to meet the whole dietary need. But vegetable protein filled the gap, derived from leguminous plants including groundnuts, beans, besides pigeon peas.[63] Production was subsistence in nature. Salt and canoe-making were practised.

The environment also accommodated fishing and arts and crafts such as rope making, pottery, mat making, and basketry.[64]

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59 Interview with Ssengendo. Interviewed at Muyenga, 15/12/2023.

60 Wrigley. Kingship and State, the Buganda dynasty,62.

61 Kiwanuka. *A History of Buganda*,149.

62 Fallers. *The King's Men: Leadership and Status in Buganda on the Eve of Independence*,18.

63 Wrigley. Kingship and State, the Buganda dynasty,61.

64 Ssettuuma. Coming of Age in Priesthood: A Centenary of Indigenous Catholic Priests in Uganda (29th June 1913-29th June 2013), 45.

Baganda men also engaged in other activities such as building, carpentry, war, backcloth making smithing and the art of government. No wonder they were admired by the European travellers for their neatness and fine workmanship of whatever they produced say their drums, spears, boats, and houses were the neatest and finest in East Africa.[65]

Buganda's economy was also based on the predation and plunder of their neighbours for the accumulation of wealth. Twaddle presents a view that Buganda's economy was flavoured with regular plundering expeditions in which women, slaves, and scarce food supplies were amassed.[66] A great part of Baganda's surplus energies were absorbed by war, a similar idea held by Fallers when he states that the real basis of the Ganda economy was not production, which occurred on a small scale and market but predation.[67] They obtained livestock, and women, whom they viewed as sources of wealth (provided labour as wives) extracted them from other tribes partly by capturing and frightening them into payment of regular tribute. Buganda's predatory activities were based on their military machine designed in the 19th century purposely for the exploitation of the wealth of its weaker neighbours. To quote Kiwanuka's view,

> The country's expansion had led to the absorption of many types of peoples and these added their talents to those of the indigenous conquerors. Buganda's original size had committed her to an expansionist foreign policy for nearly three centuries. But about 1800, this policy changed. The area of territorial aggrandisement ended, to be replaced by an economic motive. The emphasis on material acquisition had been presaged by the introduction of foreign trade goods more than a century before. It was strengthened by Junju's conquest of Buddu, which was a gateway to the rich cattle areas of western Uganda and also the south and ultimately to the east coast. Henceforth commitment to war became an essential constituent of Bugnda's prosperity, for in war lay the sources of wealth, livestock, slaves, and ivory- the very things of which there had been a shortage in Buganda.[68]

The land was an important political and economic asset in Buganda. The king was in charge of it. Through his chiefs, the king was in charge of making sure that everyone could grow their

[65] Kiwanuka. *A History of Buganda*, 149.
[66] Michael Twaddle. On Ganda Historiography: *African Studies Association*, History in Africa, Vol. 1 (1974),85.
[67] Fallers. *The King's Men: Leadership and Status in Buganda on the Eve of Independence*,18.
[68] Kiwanuka. *A History of Buganda*, 277.

food and have a place to dwell. The primary source of riches was the land, which also provided food, medicine, and a butcher.[69] The Baganda participated in trade, those in Kyaggwe province traded with the Islanders of Buvuma, Bugaya, Lwaje, and Koome, in goats, fish, sheep, backcloth, dried foods, and cattle.[70] Markets existed from *Bunja to Bulondoganyi*. In the east, Baganda traded with the *Basoga* in items such as goats and cattle, which the *Basoga* obtained from Teso, as well as across Lake Kyoga to *Bulondoganyi.* The hoes from Buruli were found on markets that existed in spheres of Buganda. Baganda exported backcloths to *Bugisu*, and *Buddu* before it was annexed in the eighteenth century. They also engaged in long-distance trade, they primarily exported ivory and, to a lesser extent, slaves captured as prisoners of war. The Arabs from Zanzibar sent them Chinaware, iron implements, ornaments, and beads and firearms.[71] Through the southwestern trade route that connected the capital, Mengo to the eastern coast via *Buddu, Kiziba,* and Ujiji in the *Unyamwezi* area. It was *Kabaka Suuna* II who first received the Arab traders in the 1840s but remained few up until 1860 in the reign of his son, *Muteesa* I.

2.4 Buganda's Social Structure

The Buganda's patriarchal society was founded on the clan system, which is still in place today. This implied that each *Muganda* (individual) was a member of a certain clan. A clan was a sizable group of individuals who belonged to multiple lineages that were created by different unified families who believed they were descended from a common ancestor and linked by blood. A specific totem (Akabbiro) held clan members together.[72] Totems were fish, plants, or animals. Members of a clan revered their clans. Elders were regarded as the repository of societal wisdom and customs; due to their social value, they were respected. The father was

[69] Ssettuuma. Coming of Age in Priesthood: A Centenary of Indigenous Catholic Priests in Uganda (29th June 1913-29th June 2013), 45.
[70] Kiwanuka. *A History of Buganda*,151.
[71] Ogot. and Kieran. *Zamani*, 222.
[72] Kimala. *The Granary Kingdom, 28*

the leader of the family and the children belonged to his clan. Roles were distributed based on sex and age. Through apprenticeship, male children assumed the role of their dads, while female children assumed the role of their mothers. Every task was completed for the benefit of the community.[73] Fallers wrote thus;

> Baganda are divided among some forty patrilineal, totemic clans (bika), the exact number depending upon the interpretation of certain marginal cases. Each clan has its head (Mukulu or Jjajja), a descendant of the founding ancestor, and each is divided into a descending series of segments: major lineages (Masiga, hearthstones'), minor lineages (mituba, fig trees') and minimal lineages (nyiriri, lines'). Each of these segments also has its head. Within each segment, there is a senior line, known as the Kasolya (roof), the members of which are sometimes spoken of as balangira (princes). This latter terminological analogy between clan and kingdom is carried further in the practice of speaking of the clan head as a Kabaka or, more cautiously, as being like a Kabaka.[74]

Semakula Kiwanuka and Kimala Adam, contend that the evolution of the Buganda kingdom started with the unification of various clans and the adoption of their system of governance. Kintu, the first king, over saw the unification of the thirteen or fourteen clans with the six indigenous clans. This gave rise to the Kintu dynasty. Clan heads were also headed by the *Ssaabataka*, Kabaka. Clan heads claim that, the king was originally one of them, hence acquiring the title *Ssaabataka*, (chief of the Bataka).[75] To ensure clan practices, taboos were instituted to oblige the clan members to respect and preserve the totem. Marriage within the same clan was prohibited. There was a well-developed succession system in Buganda's social-cultural institutions of the family and that of the kingship, which was hereditary and similar to that of the clan leaders. On Buganda's hierarchical structure of several units, the smallest was the Nnyumba (single family). Succession was patrilineal, passed on from the father to the son. However, Kiwanuka held a different view that, succession in Buganda was not based on the

[73] Ssettuuma. Coming of Age in Priesthood: A Centenary of Indigenous Catholic Priests in Uganda (29th June 1913-29th June 2013), 45.
[74] Fallers. *The King's Men: Leadership and Status in Buganda on the Eve of Independence*, 71.
[75] Kiwanuka. *A History of Buganda*, 97.

rule of primogeniture, nor was it paternal. He supplements that a man's grandson or nephew had equal chances to succeed him as his son. Succession in the Royal family was matrilineal; it contrasted with the general Ganda successional practice since the princes and princesses belonged and were attached to their mother's clan. This provided an opportunity for every clan to produce an heir to the throne, hence limiting the would-have-been succession disputes among the clans. Roscoe claims that the clan determined who to be the heir and distribute property to the offspring (sons and grandsons) of the deceased. The residue of the property went to the heir, who also adopted the deceased's children and took them as his.[76] This was simply because the heir came from another family in the clan. The custom had been designed purposely to preserve the unity of the clan. Succession among the Ganda clans was patrilineal and exogamous. Not husbands were charged with securing land, building homes furnishing them, and preparing fields for farming. The wives took care of the homes and all the domestic responsibilities.

The social structure of Buganda rotated around four flexible stratums, the first was the Royal family (*Olulyo Olulangira*), followed by the Noble (*Bakungu*), the Third was of the Peasants (Bakopi), and at the bottom were the slaves or Labourers (*Abaddu*). Fallers explains that the mentioned classes were based on ascribed and achieved statuses.[77] The existence of the two mentioned statuses in Buganda meant that people were categorised based on birth and successful career one lived. If one had a successful career, he/she was spotted and appointed by the king into leadership, which resulted in an alteration of class, from peasant to nobility class. Based on this, there was social mobility in the kingdom of Buganda. The king always appointed his chiefs and officials from the Bakopi and it was automatic once an individual was appointed to an office, he or she became *Omwami*, or *Mukungu*, hence assuming a new status

[76] Roscoe. *The Baganda: An Account of their Native Custom and Beliefs*, 270.
[77] Fallers. *The King's Men: Leadership and Status in Buganda on the Eve of Independence*,9.

that allocated him or her to another social class in the land.[78] The superstructure (royal clan or *Olulyo Olulangira)* was supported by the other three classes to survive. The *Olulyo Olulangira* comprised the Kabaka and his family (princes and princesses) called *Abalangira n' abambejja*, and the Queen mother who dwelled in the palace. The first strata owned land and used the land as both a political and an economic tool in the kingdom. Below the Royal family, were the nobles (*Bakungu*) the favoured, wealthier and influential group of people. Whose survival depended largely on peasants who also lived as their labourers. The nobles included the appointed chiefs and officials, clan heads, and the *Katikkiro*. They were the estate owners. The third class was that of the Bakopi, which consisted of peasants or commoners. They were not highly respected and did not own land but lived by associating and attaching themselves to the nobles, whom they always worked for. They were the most popular and impoverished in the territory. The fourth and last group involved the slaves, serfs, and war captives (*Abaddu*), they were acquired from the neighbouring societies such as Busoga and Ankole and were domesticated as personal property to their masters. Baganda managed to achieve a consistently high standard of living, they devote an unusually large part of their resources to manufacturing and constructing material culture, and used their knowledge to produce backcloth and antelope skin which made them more elegantly clad compared to their neighbours.[79]

In Buganda marriage was patrilineal, interpreted as a process designed to establish and secure cooperation between families and clans. The latter's existence was hinged on the production and survival of children. Byaruhanga and Banja report that marriage (*Obufumbo)* "was one of the fundamental rites and institutions in which the human and the living dead actively participated in order ensure continuity of life".[80] Marriage in Buganda was a societal affair not

[78] Kimala. *The Granary Kingdom, 28.*
[79] Kimala. *The Granary Kingdom, 38.*
[80] Christopher Byaruhanga and Olivia Nasaka Banja. *Building a Great Future: The Legacy of Bishop Tucker Theological College,* (Kampala, Uganda Christian University, Publications, Mukono, 2013), 2.

a union of two persons alone. It was a rite that united the families, clans, and communities of both the bride and groom.[81] Marriage was polygamous, inter-clan marriage was observed as already stated. Parentage was set through the male line.[82] It was shameful and an abomination for a girl to experience premarital pregnancy at her parents' home. Payment of bride price was a responsibility of the family and the friends, it involved goats, pots of beer, and several backcloths. Divorce was not acceptable mainly on the side of women, the customs allowed women to remarry after fulfilling certain rites.[83] Besides, Baganda were religious and sociable. They believed in the supernatural being (*Katonda)* as well as venerating their ancestors through *lubalism.*

2.5 Buganda's Traditional Religion

Prior to the introduction of Catholicism in Buganda, other foreign religions, like Islam and Protestantism, had already taken root, competing with the traditional religion (*Lubaalism*). Buganda's ancient religion was monotheism.[84] Later, the gods of the Sesse (sic) Island were imported by Kintu which transformed Buganda to a polytheism nation. The Baganda believed in the Oneness, loving, and providing God, beneath whom all other gods, spirits, and ancestors resided. According to the Baganda, God was and is the Father and Master of all other supernatural creatures. They referred to God by many names; the Master *Mukama*, the Creator *Katonda* and the Lord of Heaven *Seggulu*.[85] Although religion formed an essential part of the Baganda culture evidenced by their beliefs in the idea of a supreme being their minds especially in pre-Christian times *Katonda* was insignificant.[86] They equally did not portray it

[81] John Mbiti. S. *African religions & philosophy*. (London, Published by Heinemann, 1990), 133.
[82] Shane Doyle, The Politics of fertility and Generation in Buganda, East Africa,1860–980. *Parenthood Between Generations* (2016),65.
[83] Roscoe. *The Baganda: An Account of their Native Custom and Beliefs*, 96.
[84] Faupel. *African Holocaust, the Story of the Uganda Martyrs*, 12.
[85] Roscoe. *The Baganda: An Account of their Native Custom and Beliefs*, 312.
[86] Wrigley. Kingship and State, the Buganda dynasty, 33.

by building churches for God, Thoonen remarked.[87] In contrast, Mulumba, indicates that a temple existed at *Butonda* in Kyaggwe County with priests purposely to worship the creator.[88] Faupel explains that, every morning, God's blessings were invoked by the master of the house on the various members of his family, mainly those who were absent, an idea accepted by Thoonen, who also supplements that Baganda were familiar with the notions of judgment, the happiness of the soul after death, and the resurrection of the body.

In Baganda, just like in other African communities' religion was found in almost every aspect of their human life- politics, economic, and social practices. According to Roscoe, "Baganda have always been a religious nation, zealous in their observance of the rites and ceremonies connecting with their religion."[89] There were two classes of gods, the national gods whose priests appeared with the venerated objects before the king from time to time, and their department was maintained by the state and the private gods who were connected to particular clans with limited influence on the nation but were significant to those who believed in them. There existed several gods such as *Ddungu* for the hunters, *Musoke* the rainbow, and *Kiwanuka* the thunder. All these deities had mediums who could be consulted in case of any crisis and sacrifices could be made through them. The chief priest of their religion was the Kabaka. They resolutely believed in the immortality of the soul and venerated the spirits of their ancestors. A practice and belief which was highly associated with the coming of Kintu, the father of Buganda and his followers possibly by the fifteen centuries.[90]

The traditional religion of Baganda, "the Lubaale cult" superseded the native worship of the Supreme Being. The Lubaale cult centred on rituals, prayers, sacrifices and offerings, religious

[87] Thoonen. *Black Martyrs*, 26.
[88] George Mulumba. *Ebyafayo Bya Buganda*, (Unpublished), 10.
[89] Roscoe. *The Baganda: An Account of their Native Custom and Beliefs*, 371.
[90] Faupel. *African Holocaust, the Story of the Uganda Martyrs*, 12.

symbols, objects or fetishes and traditional sacred places of worship or shrines called "a*masabo*". Rituals (*emikolo)* constituted an important aspect of Baganda's religious life. These involved a framework of carrying out a religious ceremony. These were various means of communicating religious and societal cultural practices of significance through songs, proverbs or words, symbols, and actions.

From the time of one's birth to death, the entire life cycle was surrounded by various rituals, and rites of passage including the naming of a child, puberty, engagement, marriage, and death. Some of these rituals were gender-based and involved the seclusion of boys from girls, led by traditional priests, prophets, diviners, or mediums who served as intermediaries between the spirits and the people. The rituals which were held to initiate people into professions such as priesthood and mediums took place at the shrines and other sacred places. It is worth observing that Medicine-men (*Basawo*) existed in the territory, though were not directly connected to the temples and gods but regarded to be part of the religious class and formed the most powerful body feared and respected in the country. Therefore, all classes believed in the existence of spirits.[91]

2.6 The place of women in traditional Buganda religion

Women have historically outperformed men on matters of religiousness and cultural preservation, despite the fact that most religious systems were and still are patriarchal in their basic philosophy, belief, and practice.[92] As a result, women faced hostility and oppression in communities. In the religious and cultural underpinnings of the Buganda traditional religion, as well as many other world religions and cultures, the developing role was androcentric and patriarchal. In Buganda, traditional religion valued women as it valued males only that, the

[91] Sharlotte Tusasiirwe, Diana Nabbumba and Peninah Kansiime, Religion and Spirituality in Social Work in Uganda: Lesson for Social Work Education, *Social Work Education the International Journal*, (2023), 205, https://www.tandfonline.com/action/10.1080/02615479.2022.2104243

[92] Victor Zinkuratire, African Christian Studies, Vol. 19, No 1. March (2003), 32. Quarterly Journal of the Faculty of Theology, Catholic University of Eastern Africa.

women's role was to serve in a subordinated position to their husbands, families, clans, and the state. Religion refers to a set of values and beliefs connected to certain organizational structures (such as institutions and rituals) and a supranatural deity who embodies and emanates certain unchangeable truths. In Buganda, traditional religion refer to all the people and places of worship; objects of worship, temples, veneration, rites and ceremonies that relate to religion.[93] It could also be defined as sacred things which set apart for use in divine worship and qualify sacred as being truly worthy, becoming, and beautiful (with) signs and symbols of the supernatural world.[94] The above conceptualisation of religion provides liberty to the researcher to construct and reveal the position and obligation women rendered in sustaining their traditional religion.

Women were appointed and served as priestesses (*Bakabona*), medicinal providers (*Abalaguzi*) Mediums (*Emandwa*), vestal virgins and wives to gods, those who served as wives to god, according to Mulumba, they were prohibited from getting married to man in the society.[95] Those women assumed the office of priestess, they became custodians and looked after the temple. They were responsible for the safety and good conduct of all people serving the in the temple. In their capacity as religious ministers, women received all categories of people, those who came to consult the gods, and others with visions or prophecies to be interpreted by the medium. In otherwards, such women took the full responsibility of the office they served in. For example, Nakaima of *Mubende* Hill in *Ssingo* County is reported to have been the most popular among the priestess who served in the office in mention and fulfilled its demands. Such females ensured that the grass used as carpet in the temple by that time was in good order, and

[93] Namusoke. *The role of women in the administration of the Anglican Church in Uganda, with special reference to Namirembe Diocese.*49.

[94] Sylvia Antonia Nannyonga Tamusuza. *Performing Baakisimba Dance during Mass: Negotiating, Contesting and Politicizing the Sacred in the Roman Catholic Church in Uganda*. (Tokyo, PhD dissertation, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies), 238. Are you sure you read this. Does it really connect to what you want to say?

[95] Interview with Ssengendo. Interviewed at Muyenga, 15/12/2023.

condition and that the fire was kept burning.[96] It is important to observe that women were central in maintaining the traditional religion.

Women acted as mediums between humans and their deities. A woman became the spokeswoman for that specific god once she was appointed to the position.[97] For instance, there was a female representation for the god of plenty, Mukasa. His temple's chief was located on Lake Victoria's *Bubembe* Island, mediums were selected by the gods themselves. After becoming a medium, a person was considered a bride to the god she served and lived out the rest of her life according the regulations of chastity. Because they were viewed as impure, female mediums were not allowed to fulfil any temple duties during their menstruation periods, according to Baganda tradition. When a woman was chosen to serve as a medium for the god Mukasa, she held that position until her death. *Semagumba*, the main priest of the god Mukasa, was the only man the medium could marry or even speak to.[98]

Women served as vestal virgins (*Abawala Abawonge*). These were young girls who were dedicated to gods as offerings by their parents.[99] The vestal virgin's position was sacred similar to that of the mediums and priestesses. They were responsible for keeping the sacred fire burning continuously in the temple, that no sacrilegious objects were brought to the temple, providing water and firewood for use in the temple, ensuring that new grass, for covering the floor of the temple was supplied when necessary and to guard the sacred pipe and tobacco used by the medium before giving an oracle. Girls who occupied this office signified the value of prayer in society. Marion further states that most of the vestal virgins were conceived as a result

[96] Tamusuza. *Performing Baakisimba Dance during Mass: Negotiating, Contesting and Politicizing the Sacred in the Roman Catholic Church in Uganda*,49.
[97] Interview with Musenero Katula. Interviewed at Kasubi, 15/01/2024).
[98] George Mulumba. *Ebyafayo Bya Buganda*, (Unpublished), 10.
[99] Kilson, Marion. "Women in African traditional religions." *Journal of Religion in Africa* (1976),143.

of prayer.[100] Such parents would have presented their pray petitions asking gods to provide them with children. In turn they promised to devote the children to the service of their gods.[101] Kyewalyanga maintains that the Ganda tradition also demanded that any man who attempted to defile them would be slain.[102] The sanctity of their position determined this. They stayed in the temple enclosure until adolescence, at which point the relevant god would give them away in marriage, and younger girls would take their place. As already mentioned, they were prohibited from entering the temple during their monthly cycles, girls who had reached puberty were not ideal vestal virgins.

In Buganda, as in other parts of traditional Africa, women were employed as healers. Popular healers, such as Nakayima of *Mubende,* served their communities without reservation. Healing was viewed from a religious perspective, so both men and women were considered members of the religious class. The healers administered medicine by calling upon God's mercy and healing power. Rarely, however, did it deal directly with the gods and temples. Herbs, common jungle grasses, charms, and amulets were all used in their treatments. Medicine female and males were in charge of the health and wellbeing of the people. Their ability to heal and exorcise was recognised in the oral traditions of the community, and they were frequently consulted and respected by the general population. Though rarely it directly dealt with the temples and gods. Their medicines incorporated herbs, ordinary grasses of the jungle, fetishes and amulets. Medicine females and males were in charge of the health and welfare of the people. They were constantly, widely consulted and valued by the public and their power to

[100] Kilson, Marion. "Women in African traditional religions." *Journal of Religion in Africa* (1976),143.
[101] Namusoke. *The role of women in the administration of the Anglican Church in Uganda, with special reference to Namirembe Diocese,* 74.
[102] Francis Xavier Kyewalyanga. *Traditional Religion, Custom, and Christianity in Uganda: As Illustrated by the Ganda with Some References to Other African Cultures and Islam*. (PhD Thesis, Freiburg University, 1976),121.

heal and exorcise was acknowledged in the society's oral traditions.[103] This portrays women to have been instrumental in the traditional religion of Buganda.

Nnalubaale, the god of Lake Victoria, Nagaddya for marriage and harvest, and Nabuzaana for obstetrics were among the spirits that some women who had led honourable lives on earth became, according to Buganda customs. [104] These gods had women priests who were in charge of their shrines and they did their jobs well. For instance, these female priests used rituals and prayers to indicate to their gods that they needed the Guadian spirit to intervene and succeeded.[105] The god of Lake Victoria, *Nnalubaale*, was frequently invoked by women. Through oral history, mothers displayed their bare breasts in the lake to *Nnalubaale* when persons died and their bodies were not discovered in the modern waters of Lake Victoria. Females went for this physical act in an attempt to appease the spirit of the lake and let the body or bodies return to the shore.[106]

In Buganda's traditional religion, women were brides of the male deities and participated in sacrifices and offerings.[107] Women were sacrificed to the gods purposely to appease them and prevent famine and epidemics. If someone was imprisoned, they could present a beautiful woman or girl to the gods. Women created the king's sacrifices to the gods during certain occasions.[108] These women were mostly criminals, but occasionally the gods caught innocent people as well. In addition, women had important roles as the male deities' wives. According to Buganda folklore, a number of the gods were once human. *Lubaale Musisi* was an earthquake, although some were natural occurrences. The Lubaale were the spirits of people

[103] Roscoe. *The Baganda: An Account of their Native Custom and Beliefs*, 371.
[104] Interview with Musenero Katula. Interviewed at Kasubi, 15/01/2024.
[105] Sharlotte Tusasiirwe, Diana Nabbumba and Peninah Kansiime, Religion and Spirituality in Social Work in Uganda: Lesson for Social Work Education, *Social Work Education the International Journal*, (2023), 204, https://www.tandfonline.com/action/10.1080/02615479.2022.2104243
[106] Interview with Musenero Katula. Interviewed at Kasubi, 15/01/2024.
[107] Interview with Musenero Katula. Interviewed at Kasubi, 15/01/2024.
[108] Namusoke. *The role of women in the administration of the Anglican Church in Uganda, with special reference to Namirembe Diocese,* 74.

who, throughout their lifetimes, accomplished amazing and unusual acts that made them famous before they passed away. When they were married into new clans, women also performed a variety of religious functions in their husbands' households. As a result, women began to connect with the gods of their new clans and served their husband's fetishes every day with beer or water.[109]

2.7 Women on the Eve of Catholicism in Buganda

As noted earlier, Catholicism arrived in Buganda in 1879. As a society with a high inclination to culture, men used culture and traditions as a tool for projecting their power and status in Buganda society. Catholicism, therefore, found women in a subordinate position. They were looked down upon and entirely discriminated against. Karen states that women were not allowed to touch things that the men were doing, inherit the property of their husbands, or become successors to their fathers and paternal uncles.[110] Young widows were the property of the heir, except when they were to be sent to the king or given to other members of the clan as part of the inheritance."[111] Even when women were the only children of their fathers, best qualified in wisdom, and leadership in the family, they were not accepted to become successors, though the Baganda tradition demanded that women be consulted in the election of an heir. Arguably, women were placed on the same level as other commodities or property in the Buganda society.

Women's status neither qualified as head of clans nor to be appointed as chiefs. They were obliged to remain silent when male adults were discussing, which meant that women had limited room to express their views in society. They were also obliged by culture to kneel when

[109] Kyewalyanga. *Traditional Religion, Custom, and Christianity in Uganda: As Illustrated by the Ganda with Some References to Other African Cultures and Islam*,3.
[110] Karen Sacks. *Economic Basis of sexual Equality: A comparative study of Four African societies* (PhD. Thesis, University of Michigan, 1971)7
[111] Roscoe. *The Baganda: An Account of their Native Custom and Beliefs*,270.

greeting men, and to have a male guardian with authority over her, and in case of her misdeed, could represent her in the legal system.[112] They could be beaten by their husbands, and even be sent away at will for minor cases, including laziness. Women and the girl child were deprived of some rights, and forbidden to eat some delicious and nutritious food such as eggs, chicken, grasshoppers, and lungfish. Those Women and girls who conceived before marriage were brutally handled. Traditionally, they were killed, not until the reign of King *Ssuuna,* when he instead ruled that men who were responsible for the pregnancies be the ones to be killed.[113] However, *Ssuuna* later reformed his ruling and ordered such a man to marry the girl and pay a fine. Unfortunately, such women and girls were persecuted while being subjected to the ritual practices.

2.8 The Advent of Catholicism in Buganda, 1879

During the third missionary effort of the 19th century, Christianity arrived in Buganda.[114] The evangelisation of Ethiopia, Nubia, and North Africa marked the start of the first Christian movement during the apostolic era. Christianity quickly expanded throughout Egypt and North Africa by the second and third centuries C.E., mostly in urban areas. Theologians like Clement and Origen, as well as sizable Christian congregations, were based in Alexandria. As early as 180 CE, numerous Christians were killed in Scillia, which is close to Carthage. After converting to Christianity and giving away all of his possessions to the poor, Cyprian, a wealthy Roman landowner at Carthage, was appointed Bishop of Carthage.[115] In the seventh century, Islam almost wiped-out Christianity after six centuries.

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[112] Ssettuuma. Coming of Age in Priesthood: A Centenary of Indigenous Catholic Priests in Uganda (29th June 1913-29th June 2013), 55.
[113] Ssettuuma. Coming of Age in Priesthood: A Centenary of Indigenous Catholic Priests in Uganda (29th June 1913-29th June 2013), 55.
[114] Rooijackers Marinus. The beginning of the White Fathers' Mission in Southern Uganda and the organization of the Catechumenate 1879 – 1914, Rome, *Society of Missionaries of Africa, History Series,* No 9. (2008), 9.
[115] Gilbert Erik, Reynolds. Jonathan. T. *Africa in World History, From Prehistory to the Present*, New Jersey, 2008), 84.

This campaign had no effect on Sub-Saharan Africa, which was only evangelized during the Second Missionary effort. The Second Missionary Movement affected many parts of Africa, notably the kingdom of *Mwene Mutapa* and the eastern and western shores. A few priests were consecrated here, many Africans were baptised, and Henry, an African prince, was appointed bishop in 1521. The third missionary movement began in the 19th century. In 1877, Christianity eventually made its way to Buganda cheers to this campaign.[116]

The arrival and evangelisation of Buganda in 1879 were attributed to three important figures: Cardinal Lavigerie, Pope Leo XIII, and *Kababa Muteesa* I, who ruled the Buganda kingdom from 1856 until 1884. In 1868, Archbishop Charles Martial Allemand Lavigerie founded the Societe des Missionaries d'Afrique (Society of the Missionaries of Africa), with its headquarters in Algiers, the current capital of Algeria.[117] According to, Marsh and Kingsnorth, in 1868 the Roman Catholic Church started a special missionary society, the White Fathers, to work in Africa with the original scene of activities in Algeria, headed by Lavigerie.[118] Lavigerie planned and organised the missionaries' journey to the Southern Sahara. Leopold's Association for the Civilization of Central Africa, Henry Marton Stanley, and King *Muteesa* I's call for secular missionaries gave him the impression. Pope Leo XIII granted Lavigerie permission to deploy missionaries to four vicariates he had proposed be established in Equatorial Africa after he secretly submitted a paper to the pope detailing his proposal for evangelisation of Central Africa. They all had headquarters close to the stations the Association of Brussels intended to set up.[119]

The first vicariate was to embrace the region of Lake Victoria and Albert, the second, the state of *Mwene Mutapa* in the south-west, the third to be based on *Ujiji* on Tanganyika, and the

[116] Isaiah Rwanyekiro, Dominic Dipio, Lilly Dricilu and others. Pope Francis, Welcome to the Land of the Martyrs, (Kampala, Published by the Ugandan Episcopal Conference, 2015), 43.
[117] Thoonen. *Black Martyrs*, 33.
[118] Zoe Marsh and G. W. Kingsnorth. (ed). *A History of East Africa: An Introductory Survey*, (London, Cambridge University Press, 1972), 82.
[119] Faupel. *African Holocaust, the Story of the Uganda Martyrs*, 24.

fourth was to be stationed in the region between the Great Lakes and the Gulf of Guinea. He further, proposed that Bishop Comboni's missionaries take charge of two northern vicariates, and the White Fathers, the very institution he was a member to take charge of the remaining two in the southern part.[120]

When the news reached Algiers that Pope Leo had authorized Lavigerie's proposed idea for the creation of the vicariates, joy engulfed the members at the station.[121] They instantly started to organise for the journey which took them only thirteen weeks and five days to land at Zanzibar on 30th May 1878 approximately two months. The Buganda group of missionaries under the leadership of Fr. Livinhac as their superior, co-travelled with the delegation to Tanganyika on the same vessel, and crossed to the mainland, were they found the Holy Spirit Missionary group on the evangelization mission.[122] It was this group in Tanganyika which hosted and cared for them first in the interior. It was this same group that received Alexander Mackay of the Church Missionary Society earlier in 1877, fed, cared and treated him for Malaria before, crossing to Buganda.[123]

One would ask what part King *Muteesa* I played in the coming of missionaries? Through a letter written by Henry Stanley in 1875 and several others written by *Muteesa* with the clerical assistance of Dallington Maftaa, he expressed the need to have professionals who would teach his people Christianity, literacy and other technical skills.[124] In response to *Muteesa*'s requests,

[120] Gruffat. *Simeon Lourdel Missionary of Africa, (White Father) Apostle of Uganda 1853 – 1890)*, (Kampala, Published by Angel Agencies, 2012), 29.
[121] Thoonen. *Black Martyrs*, 27.
[122] Interview with Muwonge Joseph. Interviewed at Biina Parish, Kampala on 6th/01/2024
[123] Muwanga. *The Uganda Martyrs: After Fifty Years of Canonization*, 2.
[124] Kiwanuka. *A History of Buganda*, 25.

in 1877, the Protestant missionaries of the Church Missionary Society arrived in Buganda.[125] Two years later, Catholic missionaries of the White Fathers also landed.[126]

The missionaries left Bagamoyo for Tabora on 17th June 1878 in a big caravan of about 300 people, and again subdivided into units for security purposes. They carried their personal belongings, such as tents, copper and other tools, which they expected to barter for food.[127] Gyaviira further illustrates that on their journey to the interior, missionaries experienced several hardships including: diseases especially malaria which claimed many priests in the unit led by Fr. Lavinhac. Fr. Paschal passed on and eight priests out of the fourteen in a group led by Lourdel also succumbed to death before, reaching Tabora. Others like Brother Marx were killed in the course of crossing hostile territories. The Nyanza mission or group to Buganda, which consisted of four priests: Father Livinhac, who was already identified as the Superior of the mission; Girault, Lourdel and one lay brother, Amans, reached Lake Victoria towards the end of the year on 30th December. Father Lourdel, the youngest who had made reasonable progress with the Swahili language, a virtue that Levinhac might have spotted, left with brother Amans for Buganda. The task entrusted to them was to tell *Muteesa* of their presence at the south of the Lake and obtain permission for mission work in his kingdom.[128]

The Pioneer Catholic Missionaries in Buganda

On February 15, 1879, the first Catholic missionaries, Father Simeon Lourdel (known as Mapeera in Buganda) and Frere (Brother) Amans Delmas, arrived in *Bugoma* in Ssese Island, one of the modern-day counties of Buganda Kingdom (see Appendix: 6).[129] To commemorate

[125] John V. Taylor, The Growth of the Church in Buganda: An attempt at Understanding, (London, published by, SCM Press LTD, 1958), 30.
[126] Rubaga archive. *The Catholic Church in Uganda*, (Kampala, unpublished, 1972), 1.
[127] Muwanga. *The Uganda Martyrs: After Fifty Years of Canonization*, 2.
[128] Rooijackers. The beginning of the White Fathers' Mission in Southern Uganda and the organization of the Catechumenate 1879 – 1914, 9.
[129] The government of the Republic of Uganda gazetted this very spot where the first two missionaries set their foot as a pilgrimage and tourism centre.

the day of their arrival, the Ecclesial province of Kampala (Kampala Archdiocese) built a church and a memorial near the site of their first stopover. When the two reached *Munyonyo-Kigungu*, near Entebbe, on February 17, 1879, they were regarded as the first Catholic missionaries to enter Buganda.[130] Note that the two missionaries had already entered the Buganda kingdom before they reached *Munyonyo-Kigungu* because *Ssese* Island was unified with the rest of Buganda during King Nnakibinge's rule in the 16th century.[131] Two days later, they arrived at *Mutungo*, a small harbour closer to the royal residence of Rubaga. They stayed overnight in *Kisubi* before continuing to *Rubaga* via *Sseguku*.[132] When the king discovered their arrival on February 21, 1879, he ordered them to be transported to *Kitemu*, where they were housed and held for two weeks in a substandard hut. The two missionaries were told on February 22, 1879, that the king would meet with them the next day. Following their encounter with Muteesa's initial audience, they went back to their modest, guarded home at Kitebi.[133]

Muteesa I permitted missionaries to establish the first mission station in Buganda at *Nabulagala-Lubya*.[134] Lourdel and Amans moved and occupied it on March 7, 1879.[135] *Muteesa* offered a gift of supplies and banana beer to the missionaries the following week. On February 23, Lourdel secured permission for Father Levinhac, Fr. Ludovic Girault, and Fr. Leon Barbot to arrive in Tanganyika on June 17, 1879, aboard 24 royal canoes from *Kageye*. On June 25, all of the missionaries gathered, and on June 26, 1879, they celebrated the first Holy Mass ever celebrated in Buganda at *Nabulagala*.[136] Immediately, the missionaries

[130] Tusingire. *The evangelisation of Uganda: Challenges and Strategies*,38.
[131] Kiwanuka. 2ed. *The Kings of Buganda*, 274.
[132] Muwanga. *The Uganda Martyrs: After Fifty Years of Canonization*, 3.
[133] Muwanga. *The Uganda Martyrs: After Fifty Years of Canonization*, 3.
[134] Muwanga. *Our Martyrs: A Golden Treasure*, 7.
[135] Gruffat. *Simeon Lourdel Missionary of Africa, (White Father) Apostle of Uganda 1853 – 1890*, 82.
[136] Deo Rugyendo Arinaitwe, et al. Uganda Martyrs Day 2023, (Kampala, Published by Archdiocese of Mbarara, 2013), 46.

started the work of evangelisation. On 27th June, 1879, the missionaries were granted an audience in the royal enclosure and by December 31st, they had a flock of five catechumens who included *Nalubandwa*, the first Uganda catechumen, *Ddamulira*, *Lubowa Kirevu*, Leon and Francois, who had been rescued from slavery.[137]

The apostolic ministry was carried out by missionaries who catechised, evangelised, and attracted many members of *Muteesa* I's pages. By 1880, the Buganda Catholic Church had its first native Catholics: Joseph Lwanga, Paolo Nalubandwa, Peter Ddamulirira, and Leone. On March 27, 1880, Fr. Leo Livinhac baptised them. The September decree also created the pro-vicariate of Nyanza in 1880, and Fr. Leo Livinhac was its pro-vicar in 1882.[138] In 1882, there were few conversions; instead, missionaries concentrated on evangelising and catechising their catechumens and redeemed boys from slavery, about forty.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter described the Buganda region in which Catholic women came to serve the Catholic Church 1882 – 1962 and its people on the eve of the introduction of the Catholic faith in 1879. It indicated that the Baganda are Bantu-speaking people who settled in a cultivable land in the southern parts of Uganda. It revealed the political, economic and social structures of Buganda, which were linked to the highly advanced, centralised system of governance in the kingdom, and the monarch was at the centre of it. It was observed that only two women shared the dual duty of serving as the king's advisors and counsellors, as required by the *Kiganda* tradition. Because of Buganda's traditional religion, the Baganda were conscious of God, and women had a significant part in the religious organisation of the society as intermediaries and priestesses. But they continued to occupy a subordinated position. The

[137] Rwanyekiro, Dominic Dipio, Lilly Dricilu and others. Uganda Martyrs Day 2023, 43.
[138] Tusingire. *The evangelisation of Uganda: Challenges and Strategies*,42.

establishment of Catholicism in 1879 took place in this portrayed patriarchal atmosphere, but important to observe is that women managed to manoeuver the societal demands and contributed to the growth of the church in Buganda Therefore, it was necessary to identify the women who took part in and contributed to the growth of the Buganda Catholic Church between 1882 and 1892.

CHAPTER THREE

PIONEERING WOMEN AND THEIR ROLE IN THE BUGANDA CATHOLIC CHURCH, 1882–1892

3.0 Introduction

In order to give a clear picture of the circumstances under which women came to serve the Catholic Church between 1882 and 1892, the researcher in the previous chapter provided a thorough account of the Buganda region, its people, political, social, economic, and religious structures at the time of the planting of Catholicism in 1879. This particular chapter aims to identify the women who contributed to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda between 1882 and 1892. The earliest female converts in the Buganda Catholic Church are traced at the beginning of the chapter, followed by profiles of some prominent women in the church and an examination of the factors that encouraged women to participate in and contribute to the church's growth. The women included in this study were typical of the many others who participated in similar church-related activities, such as catechists, nuns, catechumens, wives of Catholic chiefs, the first catechumens, and others who worked alongside the clergy to establish, run, and expand the church, in terms of population and mission stations (parishes) but who were never given the chance to be recorded in history.

3.1 The First Women to be Baptised in Uganda, 1885 - 1887

The first female converts were admitted into the Catholic Church in Buganda in 1885, five years after the baptism of male converts leading to the increase in the number of converts.[1] Baganda male converts, rather than missionaries, initiated the attempt to convert women.[2] By then, missionaries lived in self-exile in Tanganyika after fleeing hostile Buganda.

[1] Rubaga Archive, White Father's Dairy, K1885 – 1888.
[2] Kitoolo. *Evangelisation and Planting of the Church in Buganda*, 410.

There were no women among the Catechumens or neophytes when they left Buganda.[3] Women were evangelised and converted as a result of male converts starting in 1882, who believed that Christianity was for everyone, including commoners, chiefs, pages, men, women, boys, girls, and young and old hence opening gates for the conversion of new people that marked to the growth of church in terms of number.[4] They began with their spouses, daughters, family members and neighbours. For the first time, women participated in Catholic Church events. For instance, women, alongside men, participated in welcoming Fr. Lourdel and his companions from self-exile in Tanganyika when they arrived in Buganda in June 1885.[5] The missionary's self-exile is explained differently. According to oral history missionaries misread the environment, during their time in Buganda, missionaries had become friends with King Muteesa I.[6] Like other chiefs, they became "king's men." However, starting in 1880, missionaries were suspected, spied on, imprisoned by the king as they were prohibited from leaving Buganda's borders.[7] Missionaries grew disheartened as a result. Buganda was likewise threatened by European religions. However, Waliggo clarifies that both optimists and pessimists were developed by each missionary organisation. Mackay and Loudel were the latter, Pearson and Livinhac the former.[8] The pessimists prevailed among Catholics, while the optimists prevailed among Protestants. Muteesa's order prohibiting the pages from adopting other religions terrified Livinhac.[9] However, Lourdel was pressing for more baptism since sacraments were intended for men but not men for sacrament. Livinhac, however, never paid attention. Livinhac started to question the value of redeeming slave boys in the middle of 1882. He decided in November to lead the White Fathers out of Buganda without consulting his

[3] Rugyendo, et al. Uganda Martyrs Day 2023,43.
[4] Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879 – 1925,*118.
[5] Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879 – 1925,*118.
[6] Rubaga archive. O'Flaherty to Wigram, December 1881(no date), CMS GS A 6 no. 15
[7] Rubaga archive. O'Flaherty to Wigram, December 1881(no date), CMS GS A 6 no. 15
[8]Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879 – 1925*, 25.
[9] Rubaga archive. Livinhac to Lavigerie, 20th January 1880

superior, Lavigerie. They left a letter for the Protestant missionaries to deliver to Lavigerie in case of emergency before departing Buganda. According to the letter, White Fathers had found a covert organisation among their catechumens and redeemed youths. Motivated and corrupted by Muteesa I, catechumen and redeemed boys were to plunder and murder Catholic missionaries. Livinhac made the decision to leave Muteesa I's territory and join a different ethnic group as a result.[10]

In contrast to the casual atmosphere that characterised their 1882 self-exile, missionaries landed in the nation's capital with tremendous honour and celebration. They found over 500 catechumens, more than double the number they had left behind.[11] Kitoolo puts the population of catechumens at 600, despite the earlier death of 130.[12] Both Waliggo and Kitoolo agree that women's participation during the White Fathers' absence (1882– June 1885) caused a surge in the Catholic population, despite their differing estimates of the number of Catholic converts.[13] As previously said, Kitoolo attributes the increase in Catholic conversions to two factors: the teaching of numerous women and the baptism of individuals who were in imminent danger of dying of the devastating epidemic in Buganda during the missionaries' three-year period.[14] African converts baptised their fellow lay believers at that time.[15] By the time the missionaries returned to Buganda, they found many women flocking to the mission stations. The church was no longer limited to the capital, Mengo and to males only. Different counties of the kingdom, such as Singo, *Bulemezi*, and *Kyaggwe*, had Christians numbering from 60 to 100 in their villages (Sixty to hundred).[16] The above involvement of women in church baptism contributed to the growth of the church in terms of population.

[10] Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879 – 1925,* 25.
[11] Rubaga archive. O'Flaherty to Wigram, December 1881(no date), CMS GS A 6 no. 15
[12] Rubaga archive. O'Flaherty to Wigram, December 1881(no date), CMS GS A 6 no. 15
[13] Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879 – 1925*, 25.
[14] Rubaga archive. Livinhac to Lavigerie, 20th January 1880
[15] Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879 – 1925,* 25.
[16] Rubaga Archive, White Father's Dairy, 1885 -1888.

At the *Nalukolongo* missionary station, Marie *Bwenjera* and Anne *Zawabulangi* were the first women to be baptised by Fr. Lourdel on November 17th, 1885.[17] Clara Batudde, Eugenie *Namirembe,* and Marie (Andrea *Kaggwa*'s daughter) were baptised on November 19th, 1885.[18] On November 23rd, 1885, Agnes *Lubuga* was baptised.[19] These made the first group of women converts into the Catholic Church. As evidenced, there were more than two women baptised between 17th and 23rd November 1885; nevertheless, according to Kitoolo, only two women were baptised out of the 138 persons baptised during the period mentioned above.[20] This investigation discovered that more than two women were baptised, and their names were recorded in the 1885–1887 baptism register at the Rubaga Archive.[21] When the Catholic Church obtained its first female converts, the church started to appear inclusive in terms of gender, this attracted more women to join the catechism classes.

The second group of women converts consisted of Cecilia Nankya, Cathaline Walise, and Donatilla Bukirabuziba, christened on 7th December 1885 by Fr. Lourdel.[22] In the early months of 1886, there was evidence of the third wave of female converts. On 2nd April 1886, Noe Batulekeddeki was christened, followed by Princess Clara Nalumansi, who was baptised on 21st April 1886.[23] On August 22, 1886, Mathilda Munaku, the sister of Mawaggali, a later Ugandan martyr and Eugenie were baptised at Nalukolongo mission station by Fr. Lourdel.[24] On April 27, 1886, Jean Nakayima and Felicien were also baptised.[25] In recognition of their evangelisation contribution in Buganda Catholic Church, the Missionary white fathers, in the

[17] Rubaga Archive, Baptism Register, 1885 – 1887.
[18] Rubaga Archive, Baptism Register, 1885 – 1887.
[19] Rubaga Archive, Baptism Register, 1885 – 1887.
[20] Kitoolo. *Evangelisation and Planting of the Church in Buganda,* 409.
[21] Rubaga Archive, Baptism Register, 1885 – 1887.
[22] Rubaga Archive, Baptism Register, 1885 – 1887.
[23] Rubaga Archive, Baptism Register, 1885 – 1887.
[24] For Eugenie, one name was written in the Baptism Register but both Eugenie and Munaku in their column for marriage in the baptism register of 1885 - 1887, White Fathers wrote missionaries, see (Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Africa Missionaries, 2019), 13.
[25] Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Africa Missionaries, Pilgrimage in the Footsteps of Our Predecessors in Mission 150, 13.

baptism register column of marriage of 1885 – 1887 recorded Mathilda Munaku and Eugenie as "missionaries". The duo worked as the first black missionaries to other Africans, unlike Clara Nalumansi, who was recorded in the baptism register column for marriage as Joseph Kaddu's wife.[26] Their entry into the Church had a dua advantage, one Munaku and Eugenie were used by the missionaries to evangelise their fellow women which women a bigger number of women and children to the Catholic faith.

Archival and oral sources indicate that several women served as catechists and religious women in the Catholic Church beginning in 1895 and beyond. Between 1895 and 1900, the first group of women catechists emerged on their own. Mathilda Munaku, who instructed the children of Mulumba, one of the future Uganda Martyrs in 1886, was the first woman catechist in the Catholic Church in Buganda. She had learned Christian education from Mityana Church. Munaku was followed by a group of three girls led by Angela Kyabalongo, Anna Kirivaamuuki, and Iriza, the daughter of Matayo Kisule, who appeared in the church in 1895.[27] According to Waliggo, Angela Kyabalongo, Iriza, and Anna Kirivaamuuki had taught catechism since 1895, and by the time the White Sisters arrived in October 1899, some of these girls were still teaching catechism to the children at Lubaga Mission station.

The later era, 1900 and 1930s, was dominated by the eleven catechist novices who sought to follow in the footsteps of the White Sisters. They were among the 140 women catechists who existed in the Catholic Church by 1907.[28] They fulfilled the requirements for selection and began undergoing religious women's instruction in 1908. They were Agatha Namirembe, Angela Kyabalongo, Teresa Busubika, Cecilia Gwliweemirembe, Monica Gwebuyiira, Dalia Nampa, Teresa Tulinoomubeezi, Virgin Yatuwaamaanyi, Anna Kirivaamuuki, and Monica

[26] Rubaga Archive, Baptism Register, 1885 -1887)
[27] Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879 – 1925,* 120.
[28] Flora Norah and Sr. Anjeri Ancilla Angela. *The Daughters of Marry- Bannabikira Sisters Bwanda: 100 Years of Service*,33.

Gwaliwokukkiriza.[29] These were the pioneering *Bannabikira* (Daughters of Mary) Sisters, an indigenous women religious organisation founded in 1910 at Bwanda, Masaka Diocese. [30] The period 1930 to 1962 was dominated by religious and catechist women, among them were: Cecilia Nalube (Sr. Ursula), Angela Kyabalongo (Sr. Restetuta), Maria Norah, Anna Maria Namutebi, Fransiska Byabali Amedeo, Teopista Nalumansi and Teddy Ntabadde. The last two were women catechists from Kibibi, Mitala Maria Parish.

In conclusion, women's participation in the various activities of the Catholic Church in Buganda began on November 17, 1885, and this represented a turning point in the life of their church. The aforementioned women, along with others, provided outstanding services to the church. After being baptised, women were able to immediately focus on upholding the values of the Catholic religion as well as other obligations including regularly attending church services, Christian education, and eventually teaching others catechism. The number of women who joined the Catholic Church after being baptised grew, which contributed to the Church's growth.This study contends that women's baptism in November 1885 marked the beginning of women's participation in the Catholic Church and provided a solid foundation for other women to join. Below are some women's bibliographies.

3.2 Profiles of Prominent Women in the Catholic Church in Buganda

This section contains the profiles of some of the notable indigenous women who made unique contributions to the expansion of the Catholic Church in Buganda. Some of them were persecuted and massacred for defending practicing the Catholic faith, other provided extra ordinary service to the society and church in particular.

[29] R. Lefebvre., The History of our Patriarch, Archbishop Streicher, (Kisubi, The White Fathers' Press, 1953), 39.
[30] Borruso. *2000 Years of Christianity in Africa: An African Church History,* 221.

3.2.1 Clara Nalumansi, 1863 - 1888

Clara Nalumansi was a daughter of Kabaka Muteesa I and one of his wives, Nagadya.[31] In 1862, she was born at the Banda Royal Palace. Nalumansi was one of the first members of the Buganda royal family to convert to Christianity. She was a well-liked daughter of King Muteesa I and popular during her brother King Mwanga's rule. On 23rd September, 1883, Nalumansi was baptised at the Protestant Church, Nateete by Rev. Philip Oflaherty.[32] Her baptism came just over a year after missionary Oflaherty performed the first Protestant baptism in Buganda on March 18, 1882.

The arrival of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionaries in 1877 and the Roman Catholic Church's Missionaries of Africa (White Fathers) in 1879 were both influenced by Kabaka Muteesa I.[33] The British historian Sir John Milner Gray asserts that Nalumansi was a Muslim before her conversion to Protestantism.[34] However, there is no evidence to back his claims. But since his father had made Islam the official religion of Buganda in June 1879, many Baganda people, especially members of the royal family, converted to Islam, so it cannot be completely ruled out.[35] Like other princesses of Buganda, Nalumansi was regularly referred to as "O*mumbejja*" (princesses) because she was the Kabaka's daughter. In some early Church history documents, her last name is listed as "*Elmasi*," but when the Luganda language evolved, it changed to Nalumansi. In 1885, Nalumansi converted to Catholicism. She was given the name Clara, or the Lu*ganda* version as *Kilara, Kalala,* or *Kalaala*.[36] She was rebaptised on April 2, 1886, after becoming a Catholic as a result of her intimate relationship with a Catholic

[31] Interview with Musenero Katula. Interviewed Kasubi, 15/01/2024.
[32] These were the first Protestant baptisms accomplished by Rev. Philip in Uganda in 1883. See, "Missionary Pamphlets, Vol.7" (Government Papers, the National Archives, Kew, 1875 – 1890), 27.
[33] Kimeze Teketwe. Nalumansi, Clara, (2023), 1.
[34] John Milner Gray, "The Year of the Three Kings of Buganda, 1888 – 1889", (Kampala, Uganda Journal, 1950), 20.
[35] Gray. *"The Year of the Three Kings of Buganda, 1888 – 1889",* 20.
[36] Kimeze. Teketwe. Nalumansi, Clara, 1.

catechumen, Joseph Kaddu.[37] She continued to influence her mother and others towards Catholicism.

As a princess, Nalumansi enjoyed greater freedom than other common women in Buganda. Which allowed her to visit Nabulagala, the first Catholic mission station established by Fr. Lourdel and his companions.[38] Her relationship with Kaddu, despite being a commoner, was controversial and nearly led to Kaddu's death, but King Muteesa 1 pardoned him and consented to their marriage, breaking the tradition that prohibited royal princesses from marrying commoners.[39] According to Faupel, Kaddu's association with Nalumansi was seen as a grave offence that carried a death sentence.[40] The ludicrous tidings went viral of what the princess had done it for religious reasons, and the Baganda were aware of this, which the chiefs did not like.[41] The blame was laid on the missionaries. In the public view, the gods would avenge the sacrilege by some public calamity. Therefore, it was fit to punish the duo by death. Kaddu could have fled the country, but he chose to surrender himself, fearing repercussions for his family that included torture and death.[42] But as already mentioned, he was saved by Muteesa's decree.

The two were in a deep-rooted relationship. Lourdel quickly married them with dispensation. Nalumansi was received into the Catholic Church on Easter Day, 1886.[43] "Nalumansi was baptised in the Anglican Mission, married a Catholic Church catechumen-Joseph Kaddu and followed him into his Church", Borruso remarked.[44] After their marriage, Nalumansi was appointed the guardian of the tomb of Kabaka Jjunju at Luwunga, succeeding her deceased

[37] Thoonen. *Black Martyrs*, 169.
[38] Rubaga Archive, Nalumansi Clara. (has no file number and unpublished), 4.
[39] Rubaga Archive, Nalumansi Clara. (has no file number and unpublished), 4.
[40] Faupel. *African Holocaust, the Story of the Uganda Martyrs*, 150.
[41] Interview with John Ssajjalyabene. Interviewed at Kasubi, 9th/07/2023
[42] Ddiba. Eddiini mu Uganda,125.
[43] Thoonen. *Black Martyrs*, 169.
[44] Borruso. *2000 Years of Christianity in Africa: An African Church History*, 222.

namesake.[45] On her arrival together with Kaddu for the new office, she destroyed amulets and charms found there, denouncing traditional practices, which shocked the non-Christian public and sparked tensions between Christians and traditionalists.[46] Her act of desecrating her sacred umbilical cord on 22 May 1886 intensified tensions, leading to accusations against missionaries and Christians.[47] Nalumansi's actions, including her destruction of Mukasa's shrine and its ivory tusks, further angered traditionalists. Her determination to uphold her Christian faith made her a symbol of courage among Catholics.[48] Faupel writes,

> … Luwunga to take up the appointment. They found the predecessor's house littered with amulets and charms. Clara, unwilling to live in a house containing 'the things of Satan,' made a bonfire of all of them and also drove away the witch doctor in attendance at the shrine… This act shocked the pagan public opinion of Buganda.[49]

Despite these controversies, at the beginning of 1888, Kabaka Mwanga appointed her as the guardian of the tomb of Namasole Muganzirwaza, where she again destroyed traditional charms.[50] This led to her eventual murder on August 2, 1888, by soldiers ordered by her brother, Mwanga and influenced by Prime Minister Mukasa, who ordered soldiers to attack Nalumansi's enclosure at midnight, afraid that the Kabaka might change his mind and stop the hostility against her sister.[51] Indeed, before sunrise, Mwanga sent an envoy to Kazo in an attempt to spare his sister, but it was too late.[52] They found Nalumansi lying in a pool of blood, and they concluded that "*Obwayiise tebuyoolwa*", literally meaning "spilt flour cannot be collected any more". Subsequently, the area received a new name, "Bwayiise", from this phenomenon. Her death was followed by renewed persecution of Christians in Buganda. Nalumansi's legacy is remembered in the Catholic Church, with her burial site becoming a

[45] Interview with Musenero Katula. Interviewed at Kasubi, 15/01/2024).
[46] Lubega, Robert Mugagga and Faustin Mugabe. Uganda Martyrs, 81.
[47] Lubega, Robert Mugagga and Faustin Mugabe, 2021, 81.
[48] Msgr. Semogere Timothy M. Obulamu Bw' abajulizi, Book I (Kampala, Unpublished, 1976), 19.
[49] Faupel. *African Holocaust, the Story of the Uganda Martyrs*, 149.
[50] Lubega, Mugagga Robert and Mugabe Faustin. Uganda Martyrs, 81.
[51] Eddiini mu Uganda, 234.
[52] Rubaga Archive. Ssemogerere Timothy, Klara Nalumansi, 1888, 5.

place of pilgrimage and prayer. She is recognised for her contributions to the spread of Christianity in Buganda and is considered a female protagonist of Christian martyrdom, though not officially declared a martyr.[53] Her bravery and fame attracted a bigger number of people in Buganda to join Catholicism which helped the Church to grow.

3.2.2 Munaku Maria Mathilda

Munaku Maria Mathilda's parents were Musazi and Valeria Meeme. She was a sister to Mawaggali Noeh Mawaggali, one of the twenty-two Ugandan martyrs.[54] She was born at Mityana, Ssingo County. She belonged to the Bush-Buck (Ngabi) tribe. She was baptised at Lubaga on December 22, 1886, and given the name Maria Mathilda. Like Clara Nalumansi, the Lubaga Baptism Register reveals that she was referred to as a 'missionary' by the White Fathers missionaries.[55] She belonged to the Matia Mulumba-led local church in Mityana. Mulumba and Munaku's brother taught the catechism to the members of this church together. She was fortunate to have been among the final individuals taught by her brother Mawaggali before his execution. Munaku promised her brother that she would stick to her new faith from this point on. She was the woman who according to some writers, begged the king's executioners to execute her as well, but she was turned down.[56] When J.F. Thoonen writes, he includes Munaku Maria Mathilda's narration.

> "When Mathias Mulumba left for the capital, three weeks before his martyrdom, he had given Noah charge of his house. Noah undertook to instruct… On Sunday, 30th May, when rumours had …reached Mitiyana, "Noah took me (Munaku Maria Mathilda) aside, after instruction. …alone, he said to me: Munaku, I see that you're a good girl; you keep the commandments of God; … work, and … pray well." …still to learn what the priests explained to us very clearly on the eve of our baptism …Christian means to be willing to follow our Lord to Calvary, … if need be, to a painful death. …king and prime minister, and the great chiefs, them pagans, exterminating us... I for one, understood …another life, afraid of losing the present one. … Are you determined to be loyal to the faith?" "… I am, I said, and with the assistance of the Blessed Virgin I intend to have no other spouse than Jesus." Very well…[57]

[53] Lubega, Robert Mugagga and Faustin Mugabe. Uganda Martyrs, 81.
[54] Faupel. *African Holocaust, the Story of the Uganda Martyrs*, 207.
[55] Rubaga Archive, Baptism Registers, 1885-1887.
[56] Sr. Nassali Flora Norah and Sr. Anjeri Ancilla Angela. *The Daughters of Marry- Bannabikira Sisters Bwanda: 100 Years of Service*, (Kampala, Published by St. Christian Graphics),33.
[57] Thoonen. *Black Martyrs*, 223.

Munaku, along with several other Catholic women and boys, were carried as prisoners to the capital, where, customarily, they were divided among the king's warriors at the palace only to be saved by Fr. Lourdel, who ransomed them to their new owners for firearms.[58] By July 1886, Munaku, Matia Mulumba's wife, and her kids had been brought to the mission station; later, Munaku's mother joined them. In retaliation, Fr. John Ssajjalyabene, say Mbugano, one of the executioners, wanted to retain Munaku for himself and make her one of his wives. Thus, he hid her and gave the others to Katikkiro, who imprisoned them and severely beat them, killing Takulaba, Matia's wife, after she was thrashed.[59]

> Mbugano tried to convince Munaku to become his wife, but Munaku firmly replied to him, "I have not come for marriage but to die for my faith." She was threatened and imprisonment. After three days, her ankles were completely swollen and infected. Mbugano's wives attempted to treat her wounds, but Mbugano refused, and at the end of his wits, Mbugano surrendered and took her to Mapeera together with a two-year-old daughter of Matia Mulumba.[60]

Little did Munaku know that she was beginning a new life career of living a religious life. Her commitment to such a life motivated and inspired the missionaries, mainly Lourdel and later Streicher, to bring in the religious women to join hands in the missionary work.[61] It is now 137 years since Maria Mathilda Munaku started her career as a missionary within her native land, Buganda, noted Ssajjalyabene John, while at the centenary celebrations of the *Bannabikira*. Her journey began when the missionaries entrusted her with the Christian education of Mulumba's children.[62] It also opened the window for the missionaries to redeem girls and accept women who sought refuge at the mission, and free girls who wanted to become

[58] Sr. Nassali Flora Norah and Sr. Anjeri Ancilla Angela. *The Daughters of Marry- Bannabikira Sisters Bwanda: 100 Years of Service*,33.
[59] Interview with John Ssajjalyabene, Interviewed at Kasubi, 9th/07/2023
[60] Nassali Flora Norah and Sr. Anjeri Ancilla Angela. *The Daughters of Marry- Bannabikira Sisters Bwanda: 100 Years of Service*,33.
[61] Nassali Flora Norah and Sr. Anjeri Ancilla Angela. *The Daughters of Marry- Bannabikira Sisters Bwanda: 100 Years of Service*,33.
[62] Ddiba, Eddini Mu Uganda, Vol. III, 104.

their tenants. All of these females were placed under the leadership of Munaku. She spent a month with the missionaries before she was baptised on 22 August 1886.[63] Waliggo writes that in the letter dated 15th October 1886, Lourdel reported to Carmelite Mother Mechtilda (*Superior general at Algiers*), whose Christian name was given to Munaku, about her temperament, "She now receives Holy Communion every Sunday and attends Mass every day. [64] Waliggo goes on to say that jointly with her mother, Munaku featured in the church every morning before the Fathers, waiting for forty minutes like the priests, and Lourdel was greatly impressed. While referring to Munaku's old mother, who was not yet baptised, Lourdel stated, "I do not know what the subject of her meditations is, but I do not doubt that her prayers are more agreeable to God than those of many theologians.

On the day of her baptism, Munaku revealed her secret to Fr. Lourdel that she had promised Christ never to marry anyone else but Christ. She asked Lourdel to allow her to take the vows of perpetual virginity, but Lourdel faltered and advised her to continue offering more prayers. Towards the end of 1886, Munaku renewed her request. This time, Lourdel accepted her to take a vow for one year. However, Fr. John Ssajjalyabene pens that after three years, Mapeera allowed her to pronounce private vows of virginity, obedience, and poverty. This made her the first religious woman in Central Africa.[65] Waliggo writes that Lourdel wrote back home that 'We now have a black Sister', and now an orphanage for the young black girls could be opened. The orphanage started with 40 girls, but by the end of 1886, it had increased to 80. It was placed under the leadership of Munaku. The orphanage girls spent their days learning religion and work.[66]

[63] Rubaga Archive, Baptismal Register, 1885 – 1887.
[64] Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879 – 1925*, 120.
[65]Sr. Nassali Flora Norah and Sr. Anjeri Ancilla Angela. *The Daughters of Marry- Bannabikira Sisters Bwanda: 100 Years of Service*,33.
[66] Interview with Felicia Wanyana. Interviewed at Bwanda, Masaka, 06/07/2023.

At the inception of the girls' foundation, Lourdel didn't regard girls as future 'Carmelites' (Sisters), but addressed them as "good Christian women and Christian mothers of Catholic families". However, by 1887, based on the exemplary life and dedication of Matilda Munaku, Lourdel was now addressing them as "my 'black religious sisters', he looked at them as a substitute for White Sisters in Buganda, whose existence in Buganda had been hampered by the existing environment.[67] Waliggo maintains that Lourdel requested from abroad to commit the black Sisters in prayers, purposely to succeed in the evangelisation work. Indeed, Munaku was able to confess her faith in danger of persecution.

According to Tourgny, Munaku was one of the devoted women whom the missionaries found courageous assistants. She is among the few women whose names have found their place in the history of the Catholic Church, mainly in the writings of missionary publications.[68] He also refers to her as Sister Marie Matilde, who was both a contemporary of the martyrs and a confessor of faith.[69] Nalwanga explains that Mathilda inspired many women and girls to join the mission. By the time of her death in 1938, 118 women were working full-time in the two seminaries, and several young girls were under their education.[70] Yet Fr. John Ssajjalyabene explains that in 1893 she took charge of the material running of the first minor seminary at Kisubi, and when the seminary was moved to Bukalasa because of the sleeping sickness, she also went there, and the seminary staff gave her more and more responsibilities. She died at Bukalasa on the 12th of April 1934, a year which falls short of four to 1938, suggested by Waliggo. But Munaku was buried at Bukalasa in the cemetery. Waliggo and Ssajjalyabene argue that she was a true confessor of the faith and a forerunner of women's religious life in

[67] Interview with Joseph Mukasa Muwone. Interviewed at Biina Parish, Kampala, on 6th/01/2024)
[68] Tourigny. *A Century of Trials and Blessings*,88.
[69] Interview with Nalwanga Ann Christine. Interviewed at Bwanda Bannabikira, Masaka, 06/07/2023.
[70] Waliggo. *Struggle for Equality: Women and Empowerment in Uganda,* 99.

Buganda.[71] It was also discovered that Munaku attended the beatification of the Uganda Martyrs organised in Uganda on 6th June 1920, an event that marked her life and the Buganda Catholic Church.[72]

3.2.3 Musubika from Minyinya, Narozari, Catholic Parish

Musubika, a catechumen who was born in Buddu in 1879, was martyred in 1902 prior to being baptised under a Christian name.[73] She was and is known as Musubika from the Catholic Parish of Minyinya, Narozari.[74] Her parents were Kiriwanyonya Petero and Aliwayo Mary as her mother. According to Waliggo claims that Musubika was sold to an elderly man in 1895, but she refused to marry him and was later sold again.[75] This study found out that the first man mentioned was Subi, to whom Musubika adamantly refused to marry at the age of fourteen.[76] Her refusal to marry Subi led Subi to sell her to his friend Kimaliridde once more, who encountered similar resistance from Musubika.[77] Musubika never accepted Kimaliridde's proposal of marriage, despite the fact that Kimaliridde also purchased her as a slave.[78] The public praised Musubika for her attractiveness. However, Musubika's rejection of Kimaliridde as a spouse led to him being able to sadly reply, "I know she is beautiful, but what use is her beauty to me?" whenever someone complimented her beauty in the presence of Kimaliridde. All of this took place without the Christian chiefs' knowledge.[79]

Two years later, during the religious disputes known as the *Emiyekera* of 1888 and 1890, led by Muslims who wanted to destroy Christianity.[80] Musibika was kidnapped and sold

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[71] Waliggo. *Struggle for Equality: Women and Empowerment in Uganda,* 99.
[72] Tourigny. *A Century of Trials and Blessings*,103.
[73] Rubaga Achieve, Henry, *Musubika, Vicariate of Uganda*, (Kampala, Unpublished, Villa Maria, June 1904), 1. This document appears in French and the author was described by a single name. It was translated by Dr. Wandela at Makerere Language Centre in 2024 on the request of the researcher.
[74] Interview with Joseph Mukasa Muwone. Interviewed at Biina Parish, Kampala, on 6th/01/2024.
[75] Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879 – 1925*, 98.
[76] Rubaga Achieve, Henry. Musibika, 1.
[77] Rubaga Achieve, Henry. Musibika, 1.
[78] Rubaga Achieve, Henry. Musibika, 1.
[79] Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879 – 1925,* 98.
[80] Muwemba Deogratias. *A Short African Church History*, 102.

expensively to Mwasanje a traditionalist, resident of Nkoma, Kajejero sub-county, Buddu.[81] At this time Musubika had made sixteen years but she found Mwasanje already with other four wives. Before Musibika was first sold in 1895, she had been instructed in catechism. With her new master and husband, she immediately declared her intention to remain a practicing Catholic to Mwasanje.[82] A request her husband directly disallowed. "I will make sure that none of my wives practice Christianity in my home because I detest the religion of white men". The husband said I don't want to hear in my house; Holy father, Hail Mary, the father, the son... and I do not want to see you frequenting the missionaries. If you continue, you rather go and stay with them and they marry you.[83]

Musubika, the young heroine catechumen bravely said, "I don't know what the future holds. I love my religion, and at this point in my life, there's nothing that would make me want to give it up. Maybe if I were sick or hopeless, I would feel different".[84] To her spouse's surprise, Musubika continued to practice her beliefs which her husband considered a sign of disrespect.[85] Mwasanje later asked Musubika and her co-wives whether they had ever seen any Muganda slave stand up to her master and oppose his wishes?" The co-wives advised Musubike to stop practicing Christianity, a foreign religion. However, Musibika continued. Waliggo states that with her growing faith, Musubika regularly escaped from home to go and pray at the village chapel.[86]

Later on, her husband sensed that Musibika was having catechism class within their village. He threatened to kill her and set her ablaze at the instructor's home if she persisted in attending catechism. Despite all these she never cared and adhered to her religious beliefs. A few days later, as Musubika was traveling, she spoke with the village catechist, he urged her to visit his

[81] Ddiba. Eddiini mu Uganda Vol I, 189.
[82] Rubaga Achieve, Henry. Musibika, 5.
[83] Editor Observer, Uganda Catholic Church Fronts 3 Female Martyrs for Canonization, June 3 2022.
[84] Rubaga Achieve, Henry. Musibika, 5.
[85] Rubaga Achieve, Henry. Musibika, 5.
[86] Waliggo. The *Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879 – 1925*, 99.

home so she could learn how to pray, but she was afraid, not of the catechist, but of his house. "I shall travel elsewhere and meet with a catechist who is unknown to my husband in order to receive instruction in the dictates of the Catholic faith, lest I bring you irreversible harm".[87] Ddiba illustrates that eventually, Musubika encountered a catechist named Matayo Kamulali, which lends credence to the foregoing. Who Henry identifies as Mathieu, a novice in charge of training Christians in the Kamengo village on Nkoma's outskirts. "Sir, I too want to be instructed in your Catholic religion," Musibika hinted to him. Please give me instructions on how to pray. "The instructor in your area is Luka Lulikunjovu, why does not the instruct you?"[88] Mathieu retorted. She answered, "He was close to our house, and my husband would kill him if he found out because he had stopped all of his wives from following Catholic teaching." Matayo acknowledged her and gave her advice on the things she didn't know that day.[89]

> She was familiar with the Hail Mary, the Sign of the Cross, and the Our Father. I promise to keep going to instructions even if my spouse is wounded or breaks my arm or leg. If he breaks my leg, I will stay at home and come back when I heal. If he breaks my hand, I will support it while I'm on my way. Noted a determined Musubika.[90]

On the day that Musubika got her first lesson from Mathieu, she returned home late and it was already dark. Her husband, knowing where his wife was, asked her where she was from when she got home. That day, instead of showing her any mercy, he brutally beat and abused her. He also realised that he was living nearer to Christian educators who were teaching his wife. He felt it wa s crucial to move from Nkoma to Kanya, a Muslim area where Prince Nuhu. S. Kyabasinga Mbogo lived, located in the nearby Mukudde sub-county Mutuba I, Buddu. It was situated along the same path as another residence at Ggwamba on the shore of the lake.[91]

[87] Rubaga Achieve. Henry. Musubika, 5.
[88] Rubaga Achieve. Henry. Musubika, 5.
[89] Ddiba. Eddiini mu Uganda Vol 1, 191.
[90] Rubaga Achieve, Henry. Musibika, 5.
[91] Ddiba. Eddiini mu Uganda Vol 1, 191.

When their spouse went fishing, he used the Ggwamba residence as a shelter. On July 8, 1902, Mwasanje travelled with Musibika, Lwanvunanaki, and Bwegayirirwa his three wives. None of his wives knew their husband's plan. The second had just learned the Hail Mary and Our Father from the first. Announcing her apostolate status. The third, Bwegayirirwa, remained a pagan. The fourth, a stubborn pagan, Musenero, continued to control the house. Thinking herself alone with her companions, Musubika remarked, "I know well why our husband brought us to this sandy desert, it was to make it impossible for me to be instructed in Catholic faith." But every time I go to pray, why do you also betray me? You would be successful in killing me with your criticisms because I will remain a faithful.[92] Oral history has it that when their husband was upset, he told his women in Ggwamba, "I am very mystified by you being instructed." What would be the conclusion, he asked them? Next, he obtained two clubs or firewood and fastened them, one on each side, to his wife Lwavunanaki's head. She had been persuaded to go to Christian classes with Musubika.[93] The latter was closely studying her co-wife's actions. Lwavunanaki, fearing for her safety, renounced her Catholic faith, "I have stopped being instructed." I don't want to pass away unintentionally. As soon as Mwasanje freed her, she turned to Musubika and questioned, "Are you still going to continue?" Or have you also given up? Musubika reacted with bravery and politeness. "I would still follow the guidelines and say my prayers."[94]

That night, as her husband brutally twisted her with ropes, her co-wife Bweguyibwa stepped in and spoke up for her.[95] When their husband agreed to untie her, Musubika, unhappy about what her husband had done to her, decided to run into hiding where she spent the entire night.

[92] Rubaga Achieve. Henry. Musubika, 8.
[93] Rubaga Achieve. Henry. Musubika, 8.
[94] Interview with Keeya Joseph. Interviewed at Gomba Church, 28th August, 2023.
[95] Rubaga Achieve. Henry. Musubika, 8.

Mwasanje ordered Lwavunanaki to return to Kanywa the next morning, leaving behind Bweguyibwa, who took on the role of caregiver for her co-wife Musubika, who had escaped to save her own life. When Musibika came back after a while, she saw her cowife on the porch and struck up a discussion with her. Their husband Mwasanje noticed and felt compelled to call Musibika. “Musibika, come back; I’ll not hurt you.” Having conceded, Musubika entered It seemed as though the battle had ended. But Musubika did not waver in the face of harassment, she continued to face. Towards lunchtime Mwasanje informed his wives to dress and return to their main home. Before heading out, Musubika put her infant on her back to prepare for the long trek home. Musubika lost her ability to walk swiftly once they had covered a certain distance. She looked miserable overall, with a dejected expression on her face. Once, her husband had threatened to kill her.[96]

Exasperated, Mwasanje took the infant from Musubika, gave it to Bweguyibwa, and ordered her to hurry and carry the child on her back. Bweguyibwa complied. Bweguyibwa had just made progress. Mwasanje angrily shoved Musubika and yelled, “Hurry up.” He then struck her on the back of the neck and on the back itself with a knife and baton, or *omwambe n’omuggo gwako*, Musubika retorted, “Let me perish for my beliefs.” Her spouse began to strangle her, killing her without causing any injuries. Musubika continued to say her prayers, though. a very bewildered Bweguyibwa realized that she was alone in a desert-like setting with no one to turn to, leaving her with nothing to do. She was afraid for her life, so she said nothing. Even Mwasanje found his sense of rationality as she stared blankly. In a panic, he made a hole in the sand large enough to fit a human body and used his knife to dispose of the dead body. He asked Bweguyibwa to assist him in dragging Musibika's body, which he then buried in the pit he had made. Entering the deserted cabins meant for other fishermen, he chose three beds and utilised

[96] Interview with Keeya Joseph. Interviewed at Gomba Church, 28th August, 2023.

them to cover up the location of Musibika's burial. Specifically, to keep hyenas from digging up the corpse. Silently, they departed with Bweguyibwa.[97] All this portrays Mwasanje to have fulfilled his predetermined plan and was not regretting his actions. To many memoirs at the Rubaga archive, she has been referred to as one of the few unknown female martyrs, whose baptism was marked by blood ((*see Appendix: 5 from Rubaga archive*). To stress, Ivan Ssenyonjo, quotes Msgr. Ssemwogere Obulamumu bw 'Abajulizi, he says, Musubika from Minyinya Catholic Parish in Masaka was a real martyr and Rome was yet to look into her martyrdom.[98] Mwsanje was later paraded in the High Court at Entebbe. Where he confessed to having killed his wife. In his defence, he pleaded for the legitimacy of his furies, which he believed to be the excuse for causing Musibika's murder. In front of the judges, he said "Every day I told her, and three times a day, I repeated to her, Musubika stop praying, and each time she responded with a refusal…" Therefore, Musubika accepted to be persecuted by her husband but never abandoned her Catholic faith. Later, her life inspired many non-Catholics to join the Catholic Church hence its expansion.

3.2.4 Angela Kyabalongo, Nabbogo (Restetuta)

In 1881, Angela Kyabalongo was born in Lubaga Parish, at Bukeerere, Kyaggwe County.[99] Her parents were Maviiri, the older brother of Stanislas Mugwanya, the first Chief Justice of Buganda kingdom (1900–1923), and Agnes Nabusolima.[100] Kyabalongo was nurtured in the enclosure by Mugwanya and his wife, Mary Nampiima, as their daughter. Thus, many scholars portray her as a "daughter" of Mugwanya. Kyabalongo was taken prisoner during the religious wars in Buganda in early 1892. This was the period Chief Mugwanya relocated to Buddu, thus,

[97] Interview with Maria Pastory. Interviewed at Mulago, 08/01/2024.
[98] Msgr. Timothy.M. Semogere. *Obulamu Bw' abajulizi, Book I* (Kampala, Unpublished, 1976), 19.
[98] Faupel. *African Holocaust, the Story of the Uganda Martyrs*, 149.
[99] Interview with Maria Pastory. Interviewed at Mulago, 08/01/2024.
[100] Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879 – 1925,* 202.

Kyabalongo was reunited with her family later that year.[101] She received catechism training from Villa Maria while she was living in Namagoma, Buddu, which was a new settlement for Mugwanya, as already indicated.[102] On April 15, 1894, she was baptised at Lubaga Mission station and given the name Angela.[103]

In 1895, Kyabalongo became a female catechist at the same mission where she had been baptised the year before, reaffirming her commitment to serving God and the church. She instructed the catechumens in reciting the rosary and catechism. Some catechumens dubbed her Nabbogo, while others called her Nabakaawa because of her haughty demeanour.[104] Kyabalongo was a member of the new generation of missionary women, who were made up of young ladies who were traditionally sent by chiefs' families to labour for the White Fathers at various mission stations. Kyabalongo began interacting with the White Fathers missionaries at the time of Lourdel's Black *Carmelites* or sisters (1886 - 1899), under the leadership of Munaku, who were too old for the undertaking. The *Carmelites* were also too committed to different apostolates of missionary work, which overwhelmed them.[105]

In 1897, Kyabalongo declared to her father that she had no intention to marry.[106] Then, her father questioned, "What will you do?" She answered, "I want to stay with the priests and work for them for the rest of my life." Kyabalongo's "father," *Mugwanya,* said he would never allow it since he had already arranged for her to marry someone, even if she did not approve. In light of her father's illness, Kyabalongo stated, "Let us both pray to Our Lady and we will do

[101] Kyabalongo's Obituary indicates that she was captured and reunited with the family of Mugwanya, before moving back to Lubaga for her baptism.
[102] Bwanda Daughters of Mary Archive, *Omugenzi (obituary) Reverend Sister Restetuta (Angela Kyabalongo Nabakawa)*, (Kampala, unpublished, 1988), 1.
[103] Rubaga archive, Baptism Register 1889 - 1897
[104] Note, Angela has been referred to as "Angela Nabbogo" in academic works mainly by Adrian Hastings and John Mary Waliggo. The two scholars indicates that Angela Nabbogo and Anna Kirivamuki, both daughters of Stanislas Mugwanya a staunch Catholic chief. Adrian Hastings. *The Church in Africa: 1450-1950*, (New York, Oxford University Press, 1996), 473. See (John Mary Waliggo, 2010), 119.
[105] Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879 – 1925,* 125.
[106] Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879 – 1925,* 125.

whatever she inspires us to do." Her father, Mugwanya, was in favour of it.[107] According to Mugwanya's status, Kyabalongo's failure to marry at first was a sign of disgrace.

Bishop Streicher led a group of six White Sisters who arrived at Lubaga Mission Station on October 18, 1899.[108] Kyabalongo was one of the first visitors to the sisters the following day. Muwemba backs up this assertion by claiming that the following day, the sisters received a thoughtful gesture from Stanislas Mugwanya's wife, who was travelling with four children, including Kyabalongo.[109] As previously mentioned, Kyabalongo had taken part in teaching catechism with the missionaries from 1895. This time, she taught the latter Luganda while at the Lubaga mission station with other girls; they accompanied the sisters on their travels, offered guidance, and provided support when they were among the local communities.[110] She continued to teach the mission's baptised children, but she also prayed with them. According to Muwemba, Angela, Anne, and Irisa, the other girls she joined the mission with, were close friends at the time and aspired to follow in the White Sisters' holy footsteps.[111] They asked the White Sisters gradually;

> ...if their religious life was exclusive to White women or if black women could also live it. "God does not discriminate among people or nations," the White Sisters replied. If God calls, you, too, can enter "religious life." [112]

Kyabalongo was the first female who aspired to emulate the White Sisters; later, other women joined her. Hastings asserts that the congregation of Baganda Nuns, *Bannabikira,* was founded in response to the African women's persistence led by the daughters of Stanislas Mugwanya, Angela, but not under the missionary pressure.[113] Before 1901, Kyabalongo (later Sr. Restetuta) and Anne (later Sr. Aloyzia) approached Bishop Streicher and said to him. "Your

[107] Waliggo. *Struggle for Equality: Women and Empowerment in Uganda,* 62.
[108] Borruso. *2000 Years of Christianity in Africa: An African Church History,* 227.
[109] Muwemba Deogratias. *A Short African Church History*, 141.
[110] Interview with Felicia Wanyana. Interviewed at Bwanda, Masaka, 06/07/2023.
[111] Muwemba Deogratias. *A Short African Church History*, 141.
[112] Sr. Tereza Avilla, Mary Vicent and Sr. Trereza Francis Namirembe., 2010), 18.
[113] Adrian Hastings. *The Church in Africa: 1450-1950,* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1996), 473.

Lordship, we, too, would like to be like our 'Mothers', the White Sisters. We have talked to them about this matter and they said we can become like them". Streicher was well acquainted with them because of their genuineness and desire to pursue a new religious career that they loved, despite their glaring ignorance of its requirements. "Yes, Anna, there is a chance with you, but I doubt it with Angela," he replied. "I don't think you can become a religious person because you're not used to serving but receiving." You have led a simple life with nothing lacking and no shortages." [114]

The bishop's remarks so infuriated Kyabalongo that she hurried to the White Sister, Sr. Restetuta, who quietly informed her about their encounter with the bishop. Sr. Restetuta said that she should not worry since, as long as she was determined, her family's wealth and status would not stop her from becoming a devoted woman. "The God who helped me overcome those deterrents would help you," said Sr. Restetuta. I came from a wealthy family, and I faced similar challenges." She also advised Kyabalongo to put her faith in Mary, the mother of Jesus, and pray for it.[115] Kyabalongo admired Sister Restetuta and developed a strong desire to be like her. Later, she took her name after taking vows as a religious sister.[116] Bishop Streicher was naturally pleased that God had heard his prayers, though he had responded to Angela harshly. He stated that he prayed daily to God to permit the existence of a congregation of indigenous religious women to advance his apostolate.[117] However, Streicher was unable to start a religious organisation at the time for various reasons. He questioned if Baganda women

[114] Sr. Nassali Flora Norah and Sr. Anjeri Ancilla Angela. *The Daughters of Marry- Bannabikira Sisters Bwanda: 100 Years of Service*, 20.
[115] Sr. Nassali Flora Norah and Sr. Anjeri Ancilla Angela. *The Daughters of Marry- Bannabikira Sisters Bwanda: 100 Years of Service*, 20.
[116]Sr. Nassali Flora Norah and Sr. Anjeri Ancilla Angela. *The Daughters of Marry- Bannabikira Sisters Bwanda: 100 Years of Service*, 36.
Sr. Nassali Flora Norah and Sr. Anjeri Ancilla Angela. *The Daughters of Marry- Bannabikira Sisters Bwanda: 100 Years of Service*, 20.
[117] Sr. Nassali Flora Norah and Sr. Anjeri Ancilla Angela. *The Daughters of Marry- Bannabikira Sisters Bwanda: 100 Years of Service*, 37.

could maintain virginity and if their parents would encourage them to do so. Second, the church lacked the White Sisters, who were necessary to conduct the aspirants' rigorous grounding.[118]

In January 1901, Kyabalongo accompanied the White Sisters, under the direction of Sr. Mechtile, to Villa Maria. The stay lasted only ten days. This was the time Streicher wrote to the White Sisters' superior (Sr. Salome), requesting that more sisters be sent to establish a convent.[119] Chiefs Mugwanya and Kisule presented Angela, Anna, and Eriza to Bishop Streicher on March 25, 1901, for them to be dedicated to God. Their proposition was enthusiastically accepted by the bishop. The bishop told the White Sisters what had transpired and asked them if they would agree to admit Angela and her colleagues on the morning of March 28, 1901.[120] If so, he requested that they teach the three as well as the ladies who were already living with them, how to live a life of prayer and religious virtue and to take this mission seriously. It would resemble a noviciate for catechists.[121] The bishop justified the need to appoint Kyabalongo and other female candidates for sisterhood as official women catechists for the previously stated reasons. To him, it was important to evaluate her and the group's dedication to the holy life first. The other women, who also wanted to become religious, had travelled from Villa Maria, Bikira, and Narozari. On August 9th, she began her training at Villa Maria under Mother Mechtilde, in a variety of roles, including noviciate and catechist. Upon completion, in 1903, she was first dispatched to Lubaga.[122]

Kyabalongo was thereafter transferred to Mitala Maria, where she was given the role of superior to the others even though she was the youngest member of the group. As a superior of the mission station, she took care of their spiritual and material welfare. The bishop reserved

[118] Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879 – 1925,*125.
[119] Interview, with Emelda Nabadda. Interviewed at Bwanda, Masaka, 06/07/2023
[120] Interview with. Francis D Ssempala Mbuliro. Interviewed at Mulago, 10th December, 2023.
[121] Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879 – 1925,*125.
[122] Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879 – 1925,*125.

the power to judge their capacity and work. As a superior of the mission, she provided the daily spiritual reading and sent reports to bishop Streicher of their work and difficulties they experienced. She concentrated on the education of the baptised children and prepared them for first confession and solemn Holy communion.[123] Kyabalongo's commitment to her Catholic faith inspire many young girls and boys in Buganda to embrace Catholicism.

After making a chastity vow in 1907, Angela and other female catechists joined the missions as auxiliaries. Only eleven female catechists, including Angela, were selected to take part in the first two years of noviciate training from a pool of 140 catechists that existed in 1907.[124] In 1908, they joined the Daughters of Mary Bwanda Congregation, a women's religious organisation that had been founded by Mother Mechtilde and Bishop Streicher. On September 6, 1910, Kyabalongo and ten other novice trainees received information that they had been approved to be consecrated. This triggered them into jubilation. On December 3, 1910, Kyabalongo, together with ten others, was ordained as a nun. They became the first women from Buganda to join a religious order (sisterhood). Stanislas Mugwanya and his wife, Mary Nampiima, were among the notables who attended the celebration. Because of their own "daughter" Kyabalongo Angela (Sr. Restatuta), and her cousin Anna Kiririvaamuki (Sr. Aloyizia). This happened after thirteen years, she had aspired to join the nuns. A sign of her perfect character of faith, patience and determination to serve the church and God. Bishop Streicher, in expression of his happiness, later had this to write to his sister,

> … "Today my heart is full of joy. The congregation of African religious women for which I have laboured so much for years has been born; this morning, the first eleven members have made their profession in my hands. The ceremony, the very first of its kind, has taken place in this county amid the greatest impressions which I don't know how to describe".[125]

[123] Sr. Nassali Flora Norah and Sr. Anjeri Ancilla Angela. *The Daughters of Marry- Bannabikira Sisters Bwanda: 100 Years of Service*, 37.
[124] Interview with Felicia Wanyana. Interviewed at Bwanda, Masaka, 06/07/2023.
[125]Sr. Tereza Avilla, Mary Vicent and Sr. Trereza Francis Namirembe. *Bannabiikira Sisters Celebrate a Hundred Years of Service in Religious Life: A History of the Congregation*, 19.

In 1910, she was consecrated as Sister Restatuta Kyabalongo Angela and assigned to the Nnandere mission post. There, she and other staff members managed the sacristy, provided care for about fifty (50) impoverished children, and taught catechism to 14,000 catechumens. She was put in charge of Ggayaza in 1912 and continued in that role at Bususuubizi in 1916, Kitovu in 1920, and Gayaza in 1922. She was assigned to support Sr. Cecilia Nalube, the Bannabikira's first Superior General, in her governing role on August 14, 1924, a role she perfectly executed as she visited several sisters on apostolate missions both within and outside of Buganda, traveling on foot to places like Butiiti (Toro), Kisoro, and Gulu.[126]

She is praised for having sacrificed her life in the service of evangelism, establishing a solid foundation for the Bannabikira Institute, and converting a large number of children. She encouraged and inspired her fellow nuns to uphold their religious beliefs and become proficient in the rules set forth by their order. She served as assistant Superior General twice (Nnankulu) and gave the Daughters of Mary Institute Bwanda the leadership they needed from July 22, 1931, to July 1937, and from July 7, 1937, to July 7, 1943. In addition to helping the Buganda Catholic Church become more indigenous, her work helped the first women's religious organization in Sub-Saharan Africa, to which she belonged, grow and endure.[127]

According to her obituary, she is recognized for having taken part in the extensive food cultivation required for the novices' survival. In 1944 and 1948, she was sent to Gayaza and Kkonge, where she served as a leader. She was assigned to Buyege in 1950 to guide others in a region without a mission station.[128]

[126] Sr. Nassali Flora Norah and Sr. Anjeri Ancilla Angela. *The Daughters of Marry- Bannabikira Sisters Bwanda: 100 Years of Service*, 37.
[127] Interview with Francis D Ssempala Mbuliro. Interviewed at Mulago, 10th December, 2023
[128] Kyabalongo's Obituary, 1988, 2

In 1953, she was moved to Nkozi, prior to her return to Sanatorium Bwanda, Pope John XXIII gave her a medal in 1960 as a token of gratitude for her role in advancing the gospel. She continued to teach catechism and the spirit of love for one another among the nuns as a pillar for the survival of their women religious organisation and evangelisation, even after she was too elderly. On October 28, 1988, she passed away at the age of 107.[129]

3.2.5 Anna Maria Namutebi

Namutebi was born to Yakobo Zaake and Maria Alibayagadde on February 25, 1910, at Bweyo, Buddu, Masaka, in Villa Maria Parish.[130] She became Ann Maria Namutebi after being baptised Anna Maria on February 26, 1910.[131] She was a cheerful, composed, and a positive professional teacher. According to this study, Namutebi served as a bridge between the old and new eras of the *Bannabikira* women's religious organisation. She went to Villa Maria in 1924 to receive religious instruction from the White Sisters. Namutebi was encouraged to choose a religious life as a result of her interactions with the White Sisters. This led her to become a member of the *Bannabikira* Sisters, Buganda's and Sub-Saharan Africa's first African Roman Catholic women's religious order.[132] On August 27, 1927, Namutebi enrolled at Bwanda Normal School. She was recognised as a student for her excellence in both academic and extracurricular pursuits. She continued her education at the Bwanda Vernacular Teacher Training Centre, where on December 12, 1930, she received a first-class certificate as a teacher.[133]

[129] Kyabalongo's Obituary, 1988, 2

[130] Interview with Balikuddembe Joseph. Interviewed at Bweyo Masaka, April 10, 2023.

[131] Rubaga archive, Baptism Register, 1903 – 1910.

[132] Deogratias Kabagambe. Namutebi Anna Maria: Mother Antoinetta Celebrating 25 Years of Religious Life, *Centre of African Christian Studies,* Accessed on December 28 2023.cacisa@utlonline.co.ug.

[133] Sr. Tereza Avilla, Mary Vicent and Sr. Trereza Francis Namirembe. *Bannabiikira Sisters Celebrate a Hundred Years of Service in Religious Life: A History of the Congregation*, 51.

In 1931, Namutebi was sent to Entebbe Bugonga school. She enrolled in the Bannabikira Sisters Novitiate in August 1932, and on August 2, 1934, Namutebi took her first religious vows. She changed her name to Antoinetta and became Sr. Antoinetta, Anna Maria Namutebi.[134] Later, in 1939, she was transferred to Katende Girls School after being assigned to teach at Kyamaganda but when she was called back to Bwanda in 1943, Antoinetta educated novices for religious vocations, taught English to herself, and offered a similar service to the students at Bwanda Primary School.[135]

In 1946, she was appointed to head the school of the Novitiate.[136] Antoinetta took her last vows as a religious nun under the *Bannabikira* Sisters on January 5, 1949.[137] Six months later, she was elected Superior General of the *Bannabikira* sisters Congregation in the general Assembly held on 12th July, 1949, becoming the third native woman to hold this position.[138] The other two native women who served as Superior General of the *Bannabikira* sisters Congregation in the general Assembly were Mother Ursula (1931-1943) and Mother Immaculate (1943 to 1949.[139] During her reign the sisters witnessed the death of their Co-founder Mothers Mechtilde who also doubled as an advisor to Antoinetta. Later, their founder Archbishop Henry Streicher also passed on 7th June 1952. Two years later on 23rd February, 1954 the Assistant Superior General Veneranda also passed on. Despite such tragedies, Antoinetta remained focused and managed to navigate up to the end of her term.[140]

In 1950, she co-travelled with Bishop Kiwanuka to Rome for pilgrimage to celebrate the Holy Year.[141] She demonstrated good leadership characteristics, which attracted her fellow sisters

[134] Musizi. Mother Antoinetta Ekimuli Ky' Africa. (Kampala Munno Publication,1984), 26.
[135] Interview with. Francis D Ssempala Mbuliro. Interviewed at Mulago, 10th December, 2023.
[136] Bannabikira. Archive, C. Kiggundu, Abannabikira (Kampala, unpublished 1964), 49.
[137] Interview, with Emelda Nabadda. Interviewed at Bwanda, Masaka, 06/07/2023.
[138] Kiggundu. Abannabikira, 49.
[139] Kiggundu. Abannabikira, 49.
[140] Interview with Emelda Nabadda. Interviewed at Bwanda, Masaka, 06/07/2023.
[141] Deogratias Kabagambe, Namutebi, Anna Maria, 1910-2006. (Kampala, Published by Centre of African Christian Studies, 2008), 1.

to re-elect her for a second term on 12th July 1955. The general assembly elected Antoinetta was also attended by the Pope Nuncio Archbishop Knox and Mgr. Kiwanuka. To observe, while in Rome, Bishop Kiwanuka secured for Mother Antoinetta an appointment with Pope Pio XVI who discovered that *Bannabikira* Sisters were a group of profound intellectual and well-organized member deserving to be directly reporting to him or pope court.[142] Amazingly, as she came to the end of her second term, elections were organized in the seventh general counsel of 1961, by the end of it, Mother Antoinetta had been voted for a third term with other four members. The four members included Sr. Cleofas, Assistant Superior General, Sr. Hilary 1st Councillor, Sr. Pelagia 2nd Councillor, and Sr. Teresia 3rd Councillor. On 13th August, 1962 the third Councillor died and was replaced by Sr. Maria Cornelia.[143]

In an interview with Sr. Francis Damian, she explained that when mother Antoinetta was voted for a third time the *Bannabikira* had to seek for permission from Rome for her to be accepted since the Church laws barred an individual from being elected three times.[144] Similarly, According to Church law concerning religious life, a member may not be elected three times as a Superior General, otherwise it would necessitate a permission from Rome. Even the Catholic Church in Buganda subscribed to the universal church laws, meaning the congregation had to seek for permission. For Mother Antoinetta to lead the Congregation as its Superior General for a third time, permission was granted.[145] The rational to add her another term was based on how she had managed to lead the congregation in the period when all her mentors the White sisters had passed on, secondly, her leadership skills drew support locally and internally, that resulted into setting up a number of projects but above all, Mother Antoinetta influenced

[142] Musizi, Ekimuli Ky' Africa September, (1984), 27.

[143] Sr. Tereza Avilla, Mary Vicent and Sr. Trereza Francis Namirembe. *Bannabiikira Sisters Celebrate a Hundred Years of Service in Religious Life: A History of the Congregation,* 51.

[144] Interview with Francis D Ssempala Mbuliro. Interviewed at Mulano, 10th December, 2023

[145] Sr. Tereza Avilla, Mary Vicent and Sr. Trereza Francis Namirembe. *Bannabiikira Sisters Celebrate a Hundred Years of Service in Religious Life: A History of the Congregation,* 51.

many nuns to embrace formal education which later turned to be a turning point in the congregation of the *Bannabikira*.[146]

In her leadership, Mother Antoinetta collaborated with influential leaders such as Bishop Kiwanuka of Masaka diocese, whom she cooperated with and they secured two vacancies for two sisters of her congregation travel to Rome for academic studies mainly specializing in Canon law. Since then, the *Bannabikira* have been going to Europe and America for various reasons upon their return, they served in various capacities. She founded St. Aloysious Senior Secondary School. She further sent sisters abroad to be trained on how to improve the standards of women, as they returned, retrained other women in nutrition and health related matters. She also mobilized people to join the Catholic founded organization such as Girl Guide Organization and lived an exemplary leadership style which came to inspired other women to take up leadership roles in their country. At her old age she remained training the Novitiates and those who are taking permanent vows. The key element in her term was development she was taken to Gayaza after her retirement. She secured for the Bannabikira the status of Pontifical Right.[147]

> "…It was on 16th January, 1958 when Our Holy Father Pope Pius XII in a colourful ceremony in Rome and a mid-shout of joy and jubilation that performed the Rite of pronouncing the Bannabikira Congregation a Pontifical Right, the first one to reach that level among the African religious Congregations of our modern time…".[148]

3.2.6 Fransiska Byabali, 1926 – 1962

Fransiska Byabali was born to Venansio Byenkya and Maria Nyakato on August 15, 1908, in Kibanga village, Bujuni Mission, Buyaga County, one of Buganda's two 'lost counties. Her father was a catechist at her birth place. She was baptised on August 18, 1908, by Father

[146] Interview with Felicia Wanyana. Interviewed at Bwanda, Masaka, 06/07/2023.
[147] Interview with Felicia Wanyana. Interviewed at Bwanda, Masaka, 06/07/2023.
[148] Musizi, Ekimuli Ky' Africa, 26.

Bumas.[149] Although Byabali had no formal education before she enrolled to the Daughters of Mary (*Bannabikira*) Religious Institute in Bwanda, Ssempala and Wanyana, both members of the Bannabikira institute, agree that Byabali had the spiritual capacity to comprehend God's knowledge and the requirements for evangelisation,[150] and, the letters she wrote revealed a treasure of wisdom and knowledge."[151] The memoirs at the Bannabikira archive revealed that Byabali was capable of writing letters to her friends and the organisations she managed. Formal schooling was not very common in Buganda's 'lost counties' of Buyaga and Bugangaizi.[152]

During her development, Byabali connected with the Bannabiikira Sisters at Bujuni Mission, especially with Sr. Dalia Nampa from Bulemeezi County and Cecilia Ggwaliwee Mirembe from Busiro County. They were the founding members of the Bujuni Sisters' Convent. The sisters taught both secular and religious topics starting in 1914, provided formal education in schools and catechized students. The sister impacted and enthralled Byabali as a small youngster. According to reports, Byabali was 14 years old when Msgr. Bishop Streicher visited Bujuni Mission, but her parents offered their daughter to the bishop so that she may grow up to be a pious woman. "We offer our daughter to you as a gift; count her among those you are preparing for religious formation at your place," they said.[153]

Msgr. Streicher was delighted with the offering and blessed her.[154] Byabali was given to Sr. Concepta, the local superior of the Bujuni Sisters' Convent, by Father Sunsu, the leader of the

[149] Businge. *Martyrs and Unknown Christian Witnesses: Hoima Diocese and Beyond,*72.
[150] (Francis Damian Ssempala Mbuliro. 84 years, 10th December, 2023)
[151] Interview, Catherine Nakatudde Coordinator 62-year lecturer Katigondo Seminary and Coordinator of the committee for recognition of Canonizing Amedeo in the Catholic Church, Katigondo Bannabikira Covent, Masaka, 06/07/2023.
[152]Editor, Daily Monitor Newspaper, Background to the Lost Counties Crisis, 7th August, 2012, updated, on January 22, 2021.
[153] Charles Mulindwa Junior, Theopista Namukasa and Teresa Frances Namirembe. Sr Amedeo, Servant of God, Vol. I, (Masaka, Imprimatur, 2013), 13.
[154] Businge. *Martyrs and Unknown Christian Witnesses,*72.

Bujuni Mission. Streicher told Sr. Concepta (Bwaliba akuzemu, omuleetanga e Bwanda nga mujja okusirika) to take her to Bwanda on the next retreat when she was a little more mature. Nalwanga, illustrates that, in 1926, Sr. Concepta brought Byabali, who was then eighteen, to Villa Maria per Streicher's directives. The first African superior administrator, Mother General Ursula, received her from the bishop and passed her on to Mother Michitilde, who then gave her to Restetuta, who would serve as her tutor at Bwanda Mother House.[155]

In 1926, Byabali started her journey to become a nun at Bwanda Mother General House.[156] She attended class from 2:00 to 4:00 p.m. and took part in the program, which was required of all recruits. As a trainee, together with others, they were involved in gardening twice a day in the morning and evening, cleaning the compound and the residences, washing and cooking meals for the sisters and the students who attended class all day, and serving food to the students. In addition to the morning, and evening prayer. Mass was routine, reciting of the rosary was daily. They worked hard and prepared food baskets for the sisters, schoolgirls, and aspirants.[157] Prudensiane, Fabiola, Evarista, Flora, Filimena, Nelly, Raymonda, Marsellina, Majella, and herself were among the nine sisters who were admitted into the postulancy in 1928. Byabali received a six-month probationary period, a six-month training period, and a one-year novitiate period. In 1930, she and eight others took their vows. Byabali was given the name Amedeo to symbolize her new profession. She became Sr. Amedeo Fransiska Byabali in this fashion.[158]

Ssempala explained that, Byabali was initially introduced to the charism of the spirit of Mary Daughter's of Bwanda, during her novitiate, and she practically lived it all her life.[159] Sr.

[155] Ann Christine Nalwanga. Interviewed at Bwanda, Masaka, 06/07/2023.
[156] Interview with Catherine Nakatudde. Interviewed at Katigondo, Bannabikira Covent, Masaka, 06/07/2023.
[157] Businge. *Martyrs and Unknown Christian Witnesses,*72.
[158] Mulindwa, Namukasa and Teresa Frances Namirembe. Sr Amedeo, Servant of God, Vol. I, 14.
[159] Interview with Francis D Ssempala Mbuliro. Interviewed at Mulago Covent, 10th December, 2023.

Amedeo Fransiska Byabali served God's people with maternal love which was the central theme of their charism, other virtues were morality, intelligence, resolve, and a love for God and people, Byabali portrayed the mentioned values by serving people with a simplicity, humility, selfless heart and loved God. She worked tirelessly for the salvation of everyone, regardless of their religious affiliation, at the many missions and parishes during her more than 38 years of religious service. Mother House (1939), Banda (1939), Kitabi (1939–1950), Bwanda Sanatorium (1954), and Villa Maria (1961–1962) were some of these parishes and missions.[160]

Archival information revealed that Sr. Byabali's apostolic duty exposed her to a wide range of individuals, many non-Christians were also drawn to her captivating, unconditional evangelisation method.[161] She had an unwavering desire to spread the truth and love of God as a catechism instructor. She brought a message of edification for individuals of all levels, through her evangelism activity, formally or informally, Sister Byabali used to suggest, establish, and manage a lay apostolate guild. In her lessons, she emphasised the significance of one's obligations and relationships with God and neighbours. Living a Christian life was for the good goal of heaven, she also emphasised.[162] The love of the common good and unity were highly valued by Sr. Byabali. She found it difficult to convince her audience that genuine faith must be shared and expressed. She therefore thought it would be beneficial to spread the good news to everyone who listened to her.

Sr. Byabali's spirit inspired the girls who worked with her, and many of them joined the voluntary religious women organisation "Our Lady of Fatima" as sisters.[163] Additionally, she

[160] Interview with Catherine Nakatudde. Interviewed at Katigondo, Bannabikira Covent, Masaka, 06/07/2023.
[161] Businge. *Martyrs and Unknown Christian Witnesses: Hoima Diocese and Beyond,*72.
[162] Sr. Tereza Avilla, Mary Vicent and Sr. Trereza Francis Namirembe. *Bannabiikira Sisters Celebrate a Hundred Years of Service in Religious Life: A History of the Congregation*, 33.
[163] Sr. Nassali Flora Norah and Sr. Anjeri Ancilla Angela. *The Daughters of Marry- Bannabikira Sisters Bwanda: 100 Years of Service*.,73.

established the Kitabaazi Sub Parish and Villa Maria Parish Association of St. Joseph. She reportedly had a deep love for St. Joseph, Mary's adored husband in Catholicism. Sr. Byabali gave the people of Kitabaazi the idea to construct a chapel dedicated to St. Joseph. She established a primary school in Villa Maria Parish, Bweyo Sub Parish for the vulnerable children and with the purpose of evangelisation through catechism instruction. Her approach in Christian education was respected by Catholic followers because it brought together the young and the old.

Byabali's supervisors reprimanded and punished her for harbouring enthusiasm that made her breaking what they referred to as "laws". Which was reflected in starting up new groups that aimed at strengthening the Church but without permission from her superiors. After being moved, she lived almost under house arrest at Bwanda Mother House. In addition to receiving severe warnings, she was also threatened with expulsion if she disobeyed the rules again. [164] Her freedom of travel, activities, and social connections were restricted because she was misinterpreted by both secular and her own Catholic religious authority. She was prohibited from going to her long-standing associations.[165] Furthermore, she was told by her supervisors to "never start a religious movement; you will be fired if you do it again" when they accused her of creating several religious cults.[166] According to Anna Nalwanga, Byabali was taken aback by these events but found comfort in the protection and direction of her favourite patron, St. Joseph. She showed obedience and continued to serve without being let go. [167] "Are you crazy?" asked Sr. Byabali's other superior. She must have felt nervous and covertly upset because her superiors, to whom she had to submit, stopped her attempts to share the good news.[168] Businge puts that,

[164] Businge. *Martyrs and Unknown Christian Witnesses: Hoima Diocese and Beyond,*72.
[165] Interview with Maria Pastory. Interviewed at Mulago Convent, 08/01/2024.
[166] Businge. *Martyrs and Unknown Christian Witnesses: Hoima Diocese and Beyond,*73.
[167] Interview, with Emelda Nabadda. Interviewed at Bwanda Masaka, 06/07/2023.
[168] Interview with Maria Pastory. Interviewed at Mulago Convent, 08/01/2024.

> …Sr Prospera Zalwango sadly reflected, she was a "nobody", "Without regard in our congregation. She used to eat alone. While she was serving at Vvumba Parish, Kiyinda Mityana Diocese, her promotion of the Association of St Joseph was equally resisted there by some people, but she didn't give up. She revealed this struggle to Kaddu of Bweyo, "I spent 14 years at Vvumba. In the same way those who did not easily understand the intention of our father St Joseph came forward to resist it. However, the Lord, to whom I had pledged myself, remained my strength and did not desert me."[169]

There were many incentives and punishments in her religious life. These included overcoming her great spirit and desire to spread the gospel through catechism and associations, as well as the typical everyday problems of having little formal education, being ill, going through cultural shock, and having poor communication and transportation. Sr. Byabali was "feared" due to her passion, charisma, and capacity to captivate whomever she encountered.[170]

Sr. Byabali followed nine principles in her career: faith, trust in God, love for God and neighbour, reliance on divine assistance, and empathy for the poor.[171] She demonstrated the most of these traits when she was teaching catechism. When she was among other people, she would play out her joy, such as dancing and singing for God with little children, to show how much she loved the Lord.[172] She was an evangelist who possessed boldness, patience, intelligence, and interpersonal friendship, according to Businge. She lived a life of prayer as well. Faith and belief in God. Due to the conditions under which she lived and worked, she had to have faith in God. To avoid having to rely on her, she exhorted others to trust in God's providence.[173]

She demonstrated her talent as a catechist by using drama and songs to instruct and share the faith with young people. On Corpus Christi Day, she was recognized for bringing the art of

[169] Businge. *Martyrs and Unknown Christian Witnesses: Hoima Diocese and Beyond,*72.
[170] Businge. *Martyrs and Unknown Christian Witnesses: Hoima Diocese and Beyond,*72.
[171] Businge. *Martyrs and Unknown Christian Witnesses: Hoima Diocese and Beyond,*72.
[172] Interview with Anna Christine Nalwanga. Interviewed at Masaka Bwanda, 06/07/2023).
[173] Businge. *Martyrs and Unknown Christian Witnesses: Hoima Diocese and Beyond*,85.

drama and dance to the Blessed Sacrament Procession. "She could dance shamelessly when praising the lord." Noted sister Nabadda.[174] When asked where she got the idea, Sister Amedeo cited King David's dance in front of the Ark of God's Covenant in 1 Samuel 6:1-14 of the Bible. The modest Byabali, whose formal education was limited, and her accomplishments in their ministry serve as a testament to her knowledge, patience, and courage.[175] Her way of life was prayerful. She devoted her life to praying both publicly and privately, drawing strength and direction from within. She prayed for the needs of many people, including sick individuals, families, and church officials including the pope, bishops, and priests. She had a vision during prayer of the Daughters of Our Lady of Fatima of forming a religious habit.[176]

Everyone received the unwavering affection of Sr. Amedeo. She received love in return, especially from those to whom she had imparted religious instruction and guidance. She made a difference in their lives. She taught the children the value of love. She constantly underlined the importance of religious guidance for youth in her role as a youth apostolate. She aided them in a number of ways. She constructed a primary school in Bweyo for them that is still in existence, taught them catechism, and provided them with counsel on how to develop their moral and religious convictions. Even after being assigned to work at Bwanda Mother House three times (1939, 1954-1962, and 1962-1962), she persisted in her efforts to assist the youth and children. She later passed on 9th August, 1979.

Therefore, the above six profiled women were a clear testimony and representation of other unknown women who rose in support of the Catholic Church at its inception in Buganda. Some of them like Princess Clara Nalumansi was martyred for living an evangelical and Catholic

[174] Interview with Emelda Nabadda. Interviewed at Bwanda Masaka, 06/07/2023).
[175] Sr. Amedeo. *Religious of the Daughters of Mary (Bannabikira) Sisters of Bwanda Masaka, Uganda E. Africa*. Vol. 1. (Kampala, unpublished, 2013), 18.
[176] Interview with Francis D Ssempala Mbuliro. Interviewed at Buyege 84 years, 10th December, 2023.

virtue life. Mathilda Munaku, a women's leader from 1882 to 1900s, and Musubika, a lay lady who was killed for practicing her beliefs. Angela Kyabalongo is a personification of the group of women who became catechists between 1882 and 1900. From 1930 till 1962, Anna Maria Namutebi and Fransiska Byabali Amedeo represented the new era of the Bannabikira women religious organisation and their role in the church.

3.3 Factors that Favoured Women's Participation in the Catholic Church in Buganda, 1882-1892

This section discusses the factors that contributed to women's early involvement in Catholic Church activities in Buganda, which was not the case in other regions of the world, and Africa in particular. Women had to be introduced to the Buganda Catholic Church at an earlier period due to extraordinary circumstances within the Buganda kingdom, even though they were not part of the first five years of Catholicism.

3.3.1 Baptism and Embracement of Volunteer Women in the Church

From the beginning of the church in Buganda, the adult candidates for baptism had always to go through the catechumenate as the normal way of preparing the candidates for the sacrament.[177] Unfortunately, from 1879 up to November 1882, when the White Fathers left Buganda for self-exile to Tanganyika, they had no woman among their neophytes or catechumens. Yet no one would normally be accepted for baptism without going through catechumenate classes. As the Church management went into the hands of their converts, they found it good to evangelise, instruct catechism, and administer baptism to a large number of people, including women who had not yet received attention from missionaries. When missionaries returned to Buganda in June 1885, they merely baptised women who had received

[177] Tourigny. *A Century of Trials and Blessings*, 89.

catechisation from the first male converts from Buganda. This was a turning point in the history of women's involvement in the Buganda Catholic Church.[178]

The first generation of missionary women, lay Christian women, women catechists, and nuns were born in 1885 as a result of the women's baptism, and they established the groundwork for later women's contributions to the expansion of the Catholic Church in the area. A small number of women served as chefs for the White Fathers and Sisters and subsequent seminaries. They encouraged a lot of other women to join them. They provided food and spread Christian ideas, which supported the many Catholic institutions, but more importantly, they laid the groundwork for the rise and establishment of voluntary women catechists and women's religious organisations such as the Daughters of Mary Bwanda "*Bannabikia* Sisters".[179] Among others, they included, Angela Kyabalongo, the famous catechist, Princess Clara Nalumansi, a heroine who endured persecution for confession of her faith until her martyrdom. Maria Mathilda Munaku, a confessor of the faith during the religious oppression of the time. The Catholic Church's acceptance to baptise women from 1885, opened gates for many women to join the church among other to mention Marie *Bwenjera*, Anne *Zawabulangi*, Clara Batudde, Eugenie *Namirembe,* and Marie (Andrea *Kaggwa*'s daughter) were baptised.

3.2 2 Ransoming of Slaves and Prisoners of War Approach

Women's involvement and contribution to the growth of the Catholic Church were made possible by the use of the ransoming strategy.[180] In their early days, the Catholic missionaries ransomed slaves throughout Buganda's spheres, including Munaku Maria Mathilda, Nathalia, and Matia Mulumba's two-year-old daughter.[181] The purpose was to directly and indirectly

[178] Rubaga Archive, Baptism Register, July 1885 - December 1887.
[179] Interview with Denis Kamyuka. Interviewed at Naddangira Catholic Parish, on 28/03/2024.
[180] Iinterview with Anna Christine Nalwanga. Interviewed at Bwanda, Masaka, on 06/07/2023.
[181] Sr. Nassali Flora Norah and Sr. Anjeri Ancilla Angela. *The Daughters of Marry- Bannabikira Sisters*

recruit converts, but later, some of them emerged as important in the management of the church. The crusade against slavery and slave trade in Europe had acquired momentum by the time they arrived in Buganda in 1879. On July 1st, 1888, Lavigerie himself began an anti-slavery campaign in Paris's Church of St. Suplice. But his anti-slavery efforts were delayed. Ten years before the start of his anti-slavery crusade, on January 2, 1878, he had released his plan for the evangelisation of Africa, which was his first action against slavery in Africa. He indicated that the successful implementation of evangelisation in Africa would need the abolition of the slave trade.[182]

This could be achieved through using a good Samaritan or altruistic method. Lavigerie instructed the missionaries he sent to Equatorial Africa that "they, and the church should ransom slaves, especially the children, raise them, and educate them," "Take as many slaves as you can," he said.[183] This was in his first and second directives. Though he desired to see the slave trade and slavery abolished, he saw it as an alternative for effective evangelisation. Thus, he advised missionaries to receive all children from upcountry they could take in, from their parents, or ultimately purchase from slave traders.[184] Then after training them, missionaries had to send the trainees back to the missions in the village of their origin to become their auxiliaries in evangelisation. Lavigerie believed that if the trainees had received education that could enabled them to earn a living, they would become a real asset to the upcountry missions. To bishop Lavigerie that was the only practical way to achieve sure and significant results.[185]

In response to the order of their founding Fathers, the missionaries made efforts to ransom as many slaves as they could. They also inculcated the spirit in the new converts, especially those

Bwanda: 100 Years of Service, 35.

[182] Nnyombi Richard. *The Pioneer Missionaries: Anti- Slavery Campaign in Uganda* (1879-1892), (Kampala, Published by Angel, 2018), 51.

[183] Nnyombi Richard. *The Pioneer Missionaries: Anti- Slavery Campaign in Uganda* (1879-1892), 51.

[184] Nnyombi Richard. *The Pioneer Missionaries: Anti- Slavery Campaign in Uganda* (1879-1892), 51.

[185] Interview with Denis Kamyuka. Interviewed at Naddangira Catholic Parish, on 28/03/2024.

gifted with considerable care and affluence such as Munaku, who also recruited such women.[186] They also welcomed the prisoners of war as it was the case for Munaku.

3.3.3 The Emergence and Rise of Catechist Women

Women's participation in the Buganda Catholic Church was made feasible prior to 1945 and the second Vatican Council in 1962 by the emergence of female catechists in the church and the liberal way in which the White Fathers adopted and employed them led to the growth of the church .[187] In Buganda, catechism was the primary and most widely employed evangelistic approach in the early years of the Catholic Church's founding. Along with the sixteen male catechists, Munaku became the first female catechist in the Catholic Church in 1886. She was initially tasked by the White Fathers with providing Christian instruction to Mulumba's children.[188] She taught catechism and other Catholic doctrine to the young girls at the Lubaga orphanage organization before the end of 1886. She had managed to take year of 80 orphans.[189] In 1895, Angela Kyabalongo and other women who had taken Christian education classes from Munaku joined the Lubaga Mission as catechists. According to Waliggo and Tusingire, the Lubaga catechist institute closed in 1896.[190] Nevertheless, neither of the two academics discusses whether or not women had enrolled in the catechist institute during that period. What is known is that Munaku got catechism instruction from Mityana and later instructed other ladies.

The liberal Catholic strategy of hiring female catechists became popular, causing a large number of girls from Christian and non-Christian homes to intentionally attend catechism

[186] Nnyombi Richard. *The Pioneer Missionaries: Anti- Slavery Campaign in Uganda* (1879-1892), 51.
[187] Waliggo. *Struggle for Equality: Women and Empowerment in Uganda,*74.

[188] Tusingire. *The evangelisation of Uganda: Challenges and Strategies*, 109.
[189] Kitoolo. *Evangelisation and Planting of the Church in Buganda*, 400.
[190] Tusingire. *The evangelisation of Uganda: Challenges and Strategies*, 109

lessons at the church. It eventually gained a lot of converts. When the White Missionary sisters arrived at Lubaga Mission in 1899, they discovered that several of the girls there were instructing religious lessons to the children.[191] Catechism instructor included Angela Kyabalongo Nabbogo, Tereza Musibika, Cecelia Nalube, Dalia Nampa, and Nabwami Maria. Likewise, on August 9, 1902, White Sisters arrived to Villa Maria, Buddu. They discovered Eliza, Veronica Munakutanyiga, and several individuals instructing catechism.[192]

3.3.4 The Founding of Local Religious Congregations for Women

The foundation for women's involvement into the Buganda Catholic Church's expansion was created by the creation of women's religious groups. The Catholic Church grew as a result of women's involvement in teaching catechism, prepared people for baptism, helped the missionaries in the apostolic activity.[193] When Fr. Lourdel established a women's orphanage organisation at Lubaga in 1886, he took the first step towards the formation of the women regious group, Munaku, who had been ransomed later became a catechist, vowed to stay a virgin at the end of the same year. "We can start the orphanage for the young girls now that we have a black sister," Lourdel wrote home.[194] The girls received strict training similar to that of nuns. Lourdel initially saw the girls as decent Christian women rather than as potential "Carmelites" (sisters). By 1887, however, Lourdel had changed his mind and regarded the mission girls as his first "black Sisters" due to Matilda Munaku's moral and pious existence. Although Lourdel had not yet received approval from his superiors to teach nuns, a revolution among Buganda's women had begun at that time.

[191] Interview with Anna Christine Nalwanga. Interviewed at Bwanda Masaka, 06/07/2023.
[192] Kiggundu. Abannabikira, 24.
[193] Interview with Francis D Ssempala Mbuliro. Interviewed at Mulago Covent, 10th December, 2023
[194] Waliggo. *Struggle for Equality: Women and Empowerment in Uganda,* 52.

In 1895, Bishop Streicher (Stensera) continued Lourdel's plan to start the female congregations in Buganda. In a letter to Cardinal Livinhac, he stated, among other things, that "many women, after their baptism, long for the life of virginity and complete dedication to the service of God and souls."[195] However, he was too busy to provide them the specialized training they required. The church lacked both female and male religious congregations that would have met the needs of religious and other education as well as assisted in evangelising the steadily growing number of converts. By then Women occupied low status and low standards in the community. Streicher thought the White Sister would change Buganda's traditional perspective and set a new standard for women.[196] On December 20, 1897, he travelled to Algiers, he arrived at Maison Caree and requested for aids both men and women. Bishop Livinhac and Mother Solome, gave Streicher six sisters and six priests. One of them, Sr. Marie Mechtilda, turned instrumental in the founding of the first women's religious congregation in Sub-Saharan Africa, known as the "Daughters of Mary Bwanda" (Bannabikira Sisters) in 1910.[197] Besides, with Streicher's assistance, the Sisters of Mary Reparatrix arrived in 1913 and established the Sisters of Immaculate Heart congregation. These were followed by the Little Sisters of St. Francis who were co-founded by Mother Kevin and Bishop Biermans in 1923.

3.4. Conclusion

Thus, the pioneering women and their impact on the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda have been highlighted in this chapter. Marie Bwenjera and Ann Zawabulangi, Eugenie Namirembe, Marie Kaggwa, and Clara Batudde were among the first women baptised in the Ugandan Catholic Church. Some of the notable Catholic women who served from 1886 to 1900 are highlighted in the same chapter, including Princess Clara Nalumansi, Munaku Matilda, and

[195] Kiggundu. Bannabikira, 18.
[196] Kiggundu. Bannabikira, 18.

[197] Rugyendo, et al. Uganda Martyrs Day 2023,43.

Musubika. Angela Kyabalongo represented the years 1900–1930, while Namutebi Anna Maria (Mother Antoinetta) and Sr. Fransiska Byabali Amedeo represented the last period, 1930–1962. This study argues that although the White Fathers used an androcentric paradigm from the Catholic Church's founding in Buganda, they realised by 1885 that the Catholic Church needed to welcome women. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the factors that made it possible for women to serve and participate in the Catholic Church between 1882 and 1892. The missionaries' adoption of a liberal attitude, which included the baptism of women and the acceptance of volunteer women who came to encourage other women to join the church, was the driving force behind these aspects, which led to the church's growth in terms of parishes and the number of converts.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CONSOLIDATION PERIOD (1892 – 1900) AND FURTHER EXPANSION TO 1962

4.0 Introduction

The first women to be baptised in Uganda were recognised in the previous chapter, which also included some of the famous women and looked at the conditions that promoted women's participation and contribution to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda. This chapter looks at how women contributed to the Catholic Church's growth in Buganda between 1892 and 1962. In particular, the chapter examines the part played by women in the evangelisation and conversion of Buganda by the Catholic Church. It delves into the socioeconomic role that women played in the expansion (growth) of the Catholic Church in Buganda.

4.1 The role of women in the Catholic Church's Evangelisation and Conversion of Buganda, 1892 - 1962

As earlier observed women understood the concern of their male counterparts who were the first Catholic Baganda converts and that of the White Fathers in July 1885. Thus, when they were approached for conversion and evangelisation, they responded positively. African converts and missionaries believed that by their baptism, Christian women were not only empowered and enabled to possess the faith, but also to radiate and transmit it.[1] It was on this basis that the forthcoming discussion examines the role of women in the evangelisation and conversion of people that resulted in to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda.

According to the baptism reports viewed at Masaka, Kampala and Kiyinda Mitiyana dioceses, women made up the majority of the Catholic church between 1892 and 1900 and provided a wide range of services.[2] Among their roles were those of catechists, sacristans, women's

[1] Pontifical Council for the Laity Vatican City. *The Church and the International Women's Year 1975*, (Vatican, Published by Pontifical Council for the Laity Vatican City, 1975), 60.
[2] Villa Maria Archive, Baptism Register, 1892 to December 1906.

sodalities, congregation religious women, members of pastoral councils, lay Christian women, and lay leaders in many Catholic ministries. This revealed that women were instrumental in the planting, nurturing, sustaining, and spreading their new Catholic faith in the region.[3] The period 1892 to 1900 was characterised of the rise of a number of catechist women, among others included, Virgin Yatuwaamaanyi, Monica Gwaliwokukkiriza, Anna Kirivamuki, Agatha Simanyibwendiba Namirembe, Teresa Musubika, Dalia Naampa and Monica Gwebuyiira. Lay women included Maria Nabwami, and not forgetting the eleven founding members of the *Bannabikira*. From 1892 onwards, women embraced Catholicism in larger numbers, starting from their family levels.[4] By 1892, both men and women were freely exchanging information about their Catholic faith with one another and with their offspring through prayers and catechism lessons, especially during evening and morning hours. In the absence of the husbands, women conducted the prayers and the children followed. They also imparted Catholic virtues and discipline into their children. Through these acts, women strengthened the church, won many new converts and ensured the growth of the church by then and in the near future.[5] Therefore, indigenous women in the Catholic Church in Buganda fulfilled Pope Pius XII's guidelines on the position of women in the church when he noted that;

> women ought to participate in the social welfare, the modern apostolate, and the service of the brethren." Their awesome responsibility as wives and mothers in the home, could not limit them to this role but must collaborate with man toward the good of the state. He further explained that religious women shared in the Church's burden of bringing Christ to every creature and by this practice, they an aid to their contemplative life as religious.[6]

The first African missionary Baganda women, Munaku and Eguinie, travelled on evangelisation missions between 1892 and the 20th century (1892 and 1900s).[7] These women

[3] Interview Maria Pastory. Interviewed at Mulago Convent, 08/01/2024.
[4] Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879 – 1925,*32.
[5] Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879 – 1925,*32.
[6] Sister M. Charles Borromeo Muckenhirn, C.S.C. The Changing Sister, (Notre Dame, Indiana, Fides Publisher,1965), 265.
[7] Rubaga Archive, Baptism Register, 1885 – 1887.

belonged to the broader catechism group that Streicher utilised to convert people in places like Kooki, Masaka, Kiziba, Ssese, Kyaggwe and Villa Maria.[8] With the help of catechists, including these women and numerous others, between 1891 and 1896, three mission stations were founded in Buddu: Villa Maria, Kooki and Biikira mission stations. This suggests that women contributed to the consolidation of Buddu for Catholicism. The church grew as a result of such procedure. The two indigenous women missionaries preached the gospel, taught catechism, recited the rosary, and taught Catholic virtues to the people they visited in Villa Maria, Kisubi, Kooki, Biikira, Bugoma, Katigondo, and Bukalasa. Women taught men and women, children, and young people in the aforementioned communities as well as others during their evangelisation.[9] They taught prayers and catechism to people who gathered and flocked to the mission stations while preparing new converts for baptism in places like Nalukolongo. In an oral interview with Maria Pastory, she noted that "Munaku and her colleagues spread the gospel, enticed many females and males in the society to join the Catholic Church through their summons."[10] Their involvement in evangelisation demystified the long-held view that Christian education was for men alone. This influenced a number of girls and women, boys and males to attend catechism which was a prerequisite for baptism. The freshly Baptised women were influential in rallying additional converts. The Villa Maria baptism register indicates a bigger number of women and children to have been baptised between 1892 and 1900, a clear testimony that women led to the growth of the church in terms of population.[11] Borruso indicates that by 1890 theire was less than 2000 Catholics, however, by the census of 1911 Catholics were 127,000. Though Borruson attributes to religious persecution, this study found out that the involvement of women in evangelisation was a key factor to the growth of

[8] Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879 – 1925,*66.
[9] Rubaga Archive, Catechism report, 1891- 1900.
[10] Interview Maria Pastory. Interviewed at Mulago Convent, 08/01/2024.
[11] Villa Maria Archive, Baptism Register, 1892 to December 1906.

the Catholic Church. Between 1892 to 1900, many women joined the church, and the majority of them were baptised by Fr. Lourdel.[12] Peculiar to this group was that it produced a group of revolutionary women and African missionary women, who became Christian models and preachers that were responsible for the conversion and evangelisation of Buganda and beyond which expanded the church.[13]

Women contributed to the expansion of the Catholic church, for example, in 1891 women were praised for having cleared the ground for the construction of Villa Maria church, in 1896 another mission was opened at Kooki. Waliggo illustrates that by that time Catholic women had already settled in Kooki for a full year preparing places where the clergy could settle.[14] He further indicates that in other several missionaries' women arrived first for the similar work. Similarly, through an oral interview, Wanyana explained that after her studies in the late 1940s, she was posted at Buyege village. She explains that they settled from their first before the church was constructed. This was a clear indicator that women led to the establishment of parishes in the various locations of the territory under study and a contribution to the expansion of the Catholic Church in Buganda.[15]

Females attended family and public congregation prayers as well as Christian instructions. It was the first group of male converts and their followers who broke the Baganda culture and permitted their wives and daughters to attend public congregation prayers and Christian education from mission stations. Fr. Lourdel was surprised when he saw women flocking to the mission stations on his return from exile in July 1885. As already indicated in the preceding chapter, women begun this practice in 1882, when the church was under the management of the first African Baganda converts.[16] They instructed others in catechism. For example,

[12] Rubaga Archive, Baptism Register, July 1891 to December 1900.
[13] Rubaga Archive, Baptism Register 1891 -1900.
[14] Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879 – 1925*, 32.
[15] Interview Maria Pastory. Interviewed at Mulago Convent, 08/01/2024
[16] Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879 – 1925*, 32.

Gyaviira indicates that Nalumansi, together with her husband Kaddu, instructed both female and male catechumenates at their home.[17] They provided an audience which was evangelised by the early male catechumenates, White Fathers and Sisters. While others like Angela Kyabalongo and Munaku played a crucial role in preparing children for sacraments like confirmation and baptism.[18] Therefore, they ensured the expansion of the church in terms of population and inspired many non-Catholics to convert to Catholic faith.

Further, Ssempala Mbuliro illustrates that women such as Tulinoomubeezi, Estella Bazaalamubiri and Cecilia Gwebuyiira lived an exemplary life, an image they preserved all their lives.[19] These women preserved two hours a day, one hour in the morning and another in the afternoon, teaching catechism to the girl and women, when they mastered reading, they began to teach that to them. The girls attended daily mass, said their common rosary in the church, visited the Blessed Sacrament, and attended evening devotions of the Fathers. Their catechism classes attracted even non-Catholic converts to join their classes, at the end of instruction many of the requested to be baptised which resulted into the expansion of the church.[20]

Since some women were mothers and custodians of the Baganda culture, they were the source of everything according to Lavigerie. In Buganda, women were at the forefront of the Catholic Church's expansion from 1892 onwards, fulfilling Lavigerie's 1887 prophecy that "only women could freely approach non-Christian women, maintain friendly relations with them, nurse them, and touch their hearts".[21] Women propagated seeds in their children's souls that nothing can destroy and that thrive despite all efforts against them. Therefore, Lavigerie stated

[17] Muwanga. *The Uganda Martyrs: After Fifty Years of Canonization,* 86
[18] Fr. Maurice Gruff, M. Afr. *Father Simeon Lourdel Missionary of Africa (White Father) Apostle of Uganda (1853 – 1890),* (Kampala, Angel Agencies, 2012), 253.
[19] Interview with Francis Damian Ssempala Mbuliro. Interviewed at Buyege, 10th December, 2023)
[20] (Sr. Tereza Avilla, Mary Vicent and Sr. Trereza Francis Namirembe, 2010), 22.
[21] [21] Gruff. *Father Simeon Lourdel Missionary of Africa (White Father) Apostle of Uganda (1853 – 1890),* 253.

that slowly by slowly, through women, the families could be won, and through the family, the society.[22] By 1890s, Catholic and Anglican Missionaries had decentralised the environment of natives and moderated the socialization function of families and clans, since much of it was taken up by the clergy who instructed the natives in various social and economic activities that came to attract several females.[23]

The females shouldered the responsibility of instilling Christian doctrines in children who were seen as the future church. The children learned more about religious life from their mothers. The mothers encouraged and inspired not only their children but also other community children to attend Sunday services.[24] Other females like Mary Nampiima the wife to Mugwanya, morally raised her children who admired to become like Munaku, one of the first convert and black missionary woman. One might easily say that women were the foundation upon which the church was built.[25] The youngsters females fostered, received sacraments such as baptism between 1895 to 1899. They emerged as women catechist in the church. Among others; Angela Kyabalongo Nabbogo, Natalia Namutidde and Anna Kirivaamuuki. A profession many women adopted during the colonial epoch. From 1902, women participated in bible studies and many lived an abstemious life by adopting chastity. As a result, the Buganda Catholic church was able to flourish.[26]

According to Ddiba, early Catholic women converts encouraged a lot of people to join the church, who drew both men and women. She exercised her faith, remained brave, and never led an un-Christian life after being baptized. Women demonstrated that charm was trivial and powerless, but what mattered was faith in the new Catholic religion[27] despite being

[22] [22] Gruff. *Father Simeon Lourdel Missionary of Africa (White Father) Apostle of Uganda (1853 – 1890),* 253.
[23] Ddiba. Eddiini mu Uganda Vol III, 189.
[24] Rubaga archive, Cardinal Emmanuel, *Obulamu Bwa Mapera*, (Kampala, unpublished), 56.
[25] Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879 – 1925*, 30.
[26] (Sr. Tereza Avilla, Mary Vicent and Sr. Trereza Francis Namirembe, 2010), 22.
[27] Eddiini mu Uganda Vol III, 189.

disadvantaged at the time of planting Catholic faith and joining the church after five years. By the end of the first two decades, women had outnumbered the men in the Catholic Church. They provided an audience to the Catholic church that surfaced a combined population of both males and the young population in the later years. They profoundly lived, confessed, and walked their Christian life the likes of Anna Kirivamuki, Munaku and Angella Nabbongo[28]. Waliggo says that women in particular was responsible for triggering the religious persecution due to their courageous character, they even threatened the traditionalists. It was partly due to women's efforts that church was expanded to other geographical areas and in numbers.[29]

During the religious persecutions in 1892 and beyond, women helped the church to expand. They endured the hardships of the battle, as the population retreated to three mission outposts in Buddu. Some women teamed up with Munaku, who had been assigned in 1891 to work and provide food for the seminarians, while others dabbled in catechism instruction, as well looking after the clergies, cultivated food for all resident catechumens.[30] Munaku enlisted a large number of women; by 1938, the year of her death, there were 118 women employed on full-time at the two seminaries Bukalasa and Katigondo, caring for a number of seminarians. Maria Nabwami a daughter to Katikiro Mukasa, is among the notable women who cared for the seminarians and priests at the seminaries mentioned above and at Villa Maria parish. She also travelled to Kitovu in 1909 to offer comparable services, leaving her sister Veronica Munakutanyiiga, who had joined them that year at Villa Maria.[31]

Women were vital in the expansion and establishment of Catholicism out of the capital Mengo. Out of the first three missionary posts founded in Uganda in1901, it was the two in Buganda

[28] Eddiini mu Uganda Vol III, 189.
[29]Lubega, Robert Mugagga and Faustin Mugabe. Uganda Martyrs, 80.
[30] Interview with Keeya Joseph. Interviewed at Gomba Catholic Church, 28th August, 2023.
[31] Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879 – 1925,* 122.

kingdom of Kyaggwe and Buddu that survived and thrived.[32] They finally became the centre of evangelisation for the southern parts of Uganda. Females were at the centre of developing Villa Maria and Kokki. They prepared the sites before the construction of the churches, made early mobilisation for those who attended baptism in 1891 at Villa Maria before the official opening of the mission station in 1892. By 1895, women were part of the White Father's delegation that carried the missionary journeys in the southern part of Buganda, in which they encouraged the prospective converts to remain strong in their faith in 1895.[33]

Women religious groups profoundly changed the community attitude towards chastity which inspired many women and girls to join them. As the sisters made missionary journeys aimed at preaching the gospel, visiting the sick and extending charity to the needy. They answered some challenging questions posed by the Baganda, which determined their position either to join them or threatened not to join. Chiefly among the questions was the meaning of the concept "Virgins" *Ababikkira*, to which the white Sisters were referred to. Their answer was a humble one "Women who are consecrated to God and are not married."[34] To the Baganda, this was strange, they wondered whether sisters were healthy, happy, kind, and joyful women who had left their homes to come to Buganda. The sisters' response fundamentally changed the community's attitude towards chastity, as many females in the society admired their religious life styles. As a result, the Daughters of Mary congregation commonly known as *Banabiikira Sisters*, a women religious organisation established on December 3, 1910 in Buganda.[35] After the confession of their professions, they were dispatched to Narozari, Mitala Maria, and Nandere a few days later. They cared for the poor, instructed people in catechism, and prepared people for baptism. For instance, when Angela and others were posted to Nandere Mission,

[32] Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879 – 1925,* 122.
[33] Interview with Maria Pastory. Interviewed at Mulago, Convent, 08/01/2024.
[34] Sr. Tereza Avilla, Mary Vicent and Sr. Trereza Francis Namirembe. *Bannabiikira Sisters Celebrate a Hundred Years of Service in Religious Life: A History of the Congregation*, 15.
[35] Muwemba Deogratias. *A Short African Church History*, 146.

they provided care to roughly fifty underprivileged children and taught catechism to 14,000 neophytes.

The Bannabikira sisters' foundation aided in the establishment of other indigenous women's religious groups and the growth of other dioceses. The Mary Reparatrix Sisters were invited to Uganda by Bishop Streicher in 1913, and they helped to form the Ggogonya Sisters. By 1914, the number of female catechists had decreased due to the growth of sisters. But by 1924, the *Bannabikira* Sisters were allowed to elect their own superior general, Mother Ursular Nalube. By 1937 most of other women congregations were being founded but for the Bannabikira, their population was 256 and in 1957 they were over 500 dispersed all-over Uganda. This supported the growth of the Buganda Church.[36]

Reflecting on the above developments, some scholars have observed that Catholicism was born in the capital and matured in the suburbs. The maturing of the Catholic Church in Buddu was later shown by the transmission of parishes, sisters, convents, girl's and boys' schools and the diocese of Masaka to the native priests. Narozari was the first parish to be entrusted into the care of native priests. It was the case with the indigenous women religious group, the Bannabikira Sisters. So, if Buddu was a key player in the growth and development of the Catholic faith in Buganda, women were part of the course, they catechised, prepared prospective converts, formed women apostles who evangelised their fellow Africans, but above all housed the novitiate school and headquarters for the indigenous women's religious organisation "Bannabikira Sister".[37]

Consequently, the females played a number of roles in their efforts to empower the church flourish, they received sacraments, worshiped, prepared the young for baptism, prepared

[36] Borruso. *2000 Years of Christianity in Africa: An African Church History*, 227.

[37] Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Africa Missionaries, Pilgrimage in the Footsteps of Our Predecessors in Mission 150, 30.

grounds where new Catholic Churches were established such as Kooki and Villa Maria, endured persecution, lived exemplary lives that attracted both non and Catholics to embrace their faith through conversion and later physically spread the gospel to other places and people. Through their actions the Catholic Church in Buganda came to grow in terms of population and geography.

4.2 The Socio-Economic Contribution of Women to the Growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda

Determining the role of women first to the development of education in the Catholic Church of Buganda between 1892 to 1900 and beyond was more complex. At the time Western education was established 1898, there existed different foreign players with differing interests; traders, explorers, colonial government, and the missionaries (Catholics and Protestants), altogether formed the basis of Western education.[38] In Buganda, the British colonial government initially had limited resources and faced difficulties in becoming self-sufficient. They concentrated most on establishing administration units, quelling opposition from various traditional rulers and later were hit by the impacts of World War one and two. As a result, the British relied heavily on the Christian missionaries to provide education until the end of World War II.[39]

As in other parts of Africa, the education provided by the early colonialists and missionary women in Buganda was intended to turn women into better brides of "Westernised" African men and a reserve labour force.[40] The latter intention was too applicable to men. Additionally, Western education sought to introduce Africans to European culture, which at the time was considered to be the best by the Europeans. To the European colonialists and Christian

[38] I. F. Kasibante. *A New Educational Agenda for Uganda; In Search of new Emphases and Direction*, (Kampala, Published by Marianum Company, 2004), 74.
[39] J. C. Ssekamwa, ed. *History and Development of Education in Uganda*, (Kampala, Fountain, 2000), 220.
[40] (Mari Aili Tripp, 2004), 131.

missionaries, Africans needed education, in order to be brought up to the contemporary, highly developed levels of civilisation. This assertion was widely held by Europeans because to them, all African customs, including those of the Baganda, were archaic and savage.[41]

From the early 1880s, education in Buganda was directed to the preparation and production of young men who would become future catechists, clerks, teachers, and interpreters for both White Fathers and the colonial government officials.[42] Despite their inability to understand the language, the Whites spoke with the natives in English. This accelerated the need to educate men and boys. Similar to the founding of Catholicism, schooling adopted an androcentric stance. This had a dual implication on Baganda women. First, it relegated them to the disadvantaged status they held prior to the arrival of Catholicism. Second, it gave the impression that education was mostly for men in Baganda. As such many African parents in the kingdom believed that girl child education was neither necessary nor valuable as long as they have received Catholic baptism and confirmation.[43] In a similar perspective, western education isolated women from taking part in active politics. In the words of Hansen, western education depoliticised and made women passive in ways that they could not challenge their status quo.[44]

Although at the inauguration of education women and girls were not the prime targeted group, by the late 1890s Europeans had discovered that women were the custodians of African cultures. In alternating their agenda, Europeans attempted to impose Western ideas of gender, domesticity, morality, and household divisions of labour on African women regardless of their

[41] C. T. Mart. British Colonial Education Policy in Africa; *International Journal of English and Literature*, Vol, 2(9), (2011), 190.
[42] Aili, A New Look at Colonial Women: British Teachers and Activists in Uganda, 1880-1962, 131.
[43] Ssekamwa. *History and Development of Education in Uganda*, 40.
[44] Hansen, Karen T., ed. *African Encounters with Domesticity*. (New York, Published by New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 5.

realities and priorities through education.[45] In this context this study examines the framework of women's participation and contribution to the development of education under the Catholic Church.

From 1895 to 1899 females together with the missionary White Fathers collaborated in the formation of catechism schools at the mission stations: Lubaga, Nalukolongo, Villa Maria, Kisubi, Bikira, Bugoma on Ssese Island, and Kooki.[46] By that time, women were at the forefront of instructing people, both converts and non-converts, into Christian education, without excluding any gender. Others joined their husbands and turned their homes into Christian education centres, as was the case with Clara Nalumansi.[47] Teaching was the first profession where women were recruited and exhibited their potential publicly, breaking the societal culture that had forbidden women from participating in public discussions. As teachers, they led the reciting of the rosary and instructed catechumenates in Christian education. For almost all mission stations, schools were established with women as catechist instructors. Thus, by the arrival of Missionary White Sisters in 1899, they found native women educating children at Lubaga. Therefore, one could argue that females used education as a tool to liberate themselves from cultural, religious and colonial subjugation.[48]

Missionaries and colonialists began looking at education as a way to establish control, advancement, and change in Buganda in 1894. As a result, Protestant and Catholic missionaries believed that women would positively effect the necessary transformation as long as they empowered through education. They now focused on teaching both young and old women "Catholic virtues," which include proper behaviours and good morality. Women trainees trained other people who lived far from rural areas. As a result, knowledge was spread through

[45] Aili, A New Look at Colonial Women: British Teachers and Activists in Uganda, 1880-1962, 125.
[46] Interview with Francis D Ssempala Mbuliro.Interviewed at Buyege, 10th December, 2023)
[47] (Paul Gyaviira Muwanga, 2017), 86.
[48] Interview with Ssegawa Joseph. Interviewed at Restoration House Masaka 6th August, 2023.

seminars, discussions, dialogues, and on-the-job training. The training facilities women managed, served as conversion and knowledge-sharing hubs, so education guaranteed the church's continued growth.[49]

Twenty years after the spread of Catholicism, women helped to run their own education. The arrival of the first six White Sisters helped to strengthen this. One of them was an education specialist, who provided the required leadership at the time.[50] After receiving them at Lubaga, on November 26, 1899, Kyabalongo gave them quick Luganda instruction to help them socialise. The White Sisters then began instructing girls in singing and catechism. They began training some girls to become teachers at Lubaga in 1901. On March 25, 1901, Christian chefs Stanislas Mugwanya and Mathew brought the three young girls: Angela Kyabalongo, Ann Kirivamuki, and Eliza to Bishop Streicher to receive religious education.[51] On August 4, 1902, the White Sisters expanded their operations to Villa Maria, took over control of the schools managed by native women and established a Novitiate catechist school. In 1905 the White Sisters arrived at Kisubi, they saw the need for Christian education. Later, accompanied by African women, the White Sisters penetrated the local community in Kisubi and mobilised the girls to enrol and learn certain skills and religious values. By 1907, Sr. Sisters Ste. Foy, Mechtilde and others had produced 140 female catechists. These were sent to 25 Parishes purposely to teach catechism and prepare many for baptism.[52]

They laid the foundation upon which future women professional catechists and teachers emerged. European Sisters worked with indigenous women and girls on the various mission

[49] Interview with Ssempala Mbuliro Francis D. Interviewed at Buyege Girls, 10/12/ 2023.
[50] Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Africa Missionaries, Pilgrimage in the Footsteps of Our Predecessors in Mission 150, 24.
[51] Muwemba Deogratias. *A Short African Church History*, 142.

[52] Sr. Maria Pilar Benavente Serrano. *A message from the Superior General*: The Daughters of Mary, Bannabikira Sisters Bwanda, 100 Years of Service, (Kampala, 2010), 9.

stations and helped them to socialise in the unfamiliar setting. In return, the sisters taught African women how to read and write. Bishop Streicher reinforced it by ordering all girls and women who committed to work with him and parishes to be trained in their work, taught reading, writing, and mathematics. In order for them to be able to read what they teach, explain what they teach, receive letters from their superiors about their job, write lesson plans, and document their income and expenses. This turned to be a turning point in the church as the trainees later became catechist teachers and circular teachers.[53]

By the 1890s, catholic education had taken impetus from the numerous catechist schools that existed in every place where the Catholic mission or parishes existed. Significant to observe is that women had got involved in the founding and management of these mentioned schools. Later, these schools evolved into elementary schools, village schools, vernacular schools, junior schools and high schools. Their curriculum centred on learning of Christian prayers, catechism, and mass land cultivation.[54] Sr. Felicia Wanyana illustrated that the earliest education provided by both the White sisters and colonialists to women aimed at equipping them with Christian education, agrarian skills, nutrition, and other vocational skills and knowledge to aid them perform domestically.[55] A view, up held by Appolonia Mugumbya when she stated that missionary education trained females to be better marriage partners mainly in the aspect of hygiene. Therefore, the objective of the earlier women education was to produce a model woman who could meet the interest of their male counterparts who had acquired Westernised education and associated with the Europeans in Buganda.[56]

[53] Interview with Ssempala Mbuliro Francis D. Interviewed at Buyege Girls, 10/12/ 2023.
[54] Ssekamwa. *History and Development of Education in Uganda*, 40.
[55] Interview with Felicia Wanyana. Interviewed at Bwanda Masaka, 06/07/2023).
[56] Interview with Appolonia Mugumbya. Interviewed at Bunnamwaya, 11/07/2023.

However, Ssekamwa illustrate that the Roman Catholic missionaries adopted the 3Rs (Reading, Writing and arithmetic) training method from Protestant missionaries and used it to teach both men and women. He demonstrates that Catholic education did not consider writing, reading, and arithmetic (3Rs) at first. But this study revealed that the training in 3Rs among the two denominations, Protestant and Catholics began in the same period. On the Catholic side, women catechist instructors not only prepared children for baptism, and celebration of other Catholic sacraments from 1886, but they also taught them writing and reading skills at the various mission stations. For instance, when Munaku mastered in the "3R" skills in 1886, she taught them to the girls and women under her management.[57]

Western education for women and girls in Buganda was pioneered by women religious organisations. As is well known, the British colonial government did not introduce primary education. The same government did not open the Department of Education until 1923.[58] The White Fathers too were also full of pastoral passion and love for Africans. They were not educationists. They were excellent at teaching catechumenates and initiating elementary formal education, but they could not do more than that. The expansion of western education in Buganda thus was an initiative of the Women's religious organisation that mainly comprised of the White Sisters. Later the same practice was adopted by the *Bannabikira* Sisters. Others followed such the Ggogonya Sisters and the Immaculate Heart of Mary Reparatrix Sister.[59] They established masonry schools, domestic schools, and educational training facilities.

According to Ali, Nkokonjeru was the first Catholic school for females in 1898. Ali further, contends that five Anglican women missionaries from the Church Missionary Society; Jane Chadwick, Eliza Pilgrim, and Mary Susannah Thomsett founded Namirembe Girls' School that

[57] Ssekamwa. *History and Development of Education in Uganda*, 40.
[58] Aili, A New Look at Colonial Women: British Teachers and Activists in Uganda, 1880-1962, 131.
[59] Interview with Ssegawa Joseph. Interviewed at Restoration House Masaka 6th August, 2023.

same year.[60] They had arrived in 1895. This study however found out that St. Mary Immaculate Villa Maria Primary School was the first Catholic school for girls, established and run by the religious women say sisters in 1910 as this study revealed. The school then changed its name to St. Kalemba. In 1915, the nuns also established the Kisubi Girls' School.[61] In the perspective of tertiary education, schools for women's education were also established. Mother Machtilder was given the responsibility by Streicher to start a school for women's education. With assistance of education expert Sr. Frances Borsia W.S., St. Theres Vernacular Teacher's Training College *Noloma* (Normal School) was established on October 3rd 1925.[62]

The Buganda Catholic Church's first high (tertiary) school was the St. Theresa Bwanda Girl's Teacher Training School. Since the church was aware of lagging behind in the provision of high education, they organised an excellent mobilisation effort led by the Bannabikira women's religious organisation and the entire church. As a result, many girls showed up for studies "Girls from all over Tanzania and Uganda came to the Centre," said Sr. Wanyana. Interestingly, starting in 1925, the leadership of women religious organisations encouraged their members to pursue careers in education. Their primary goal was to empower and raise awareness among women. "Women and girls had been deliberately neglected in the field of education."[63] Muggumbya says I attended Bwanda St. Theresa in the 1960s and was among those who were influenced by the sisters. They instructed us in virtue and academics. She proudly attached her appointment to serve in the Buganda kingdom as a minister from the firm foundation she acquired.

[60] Aili, A New Look at Colonial Women: British Teachers and Activists in Uganda, 1880-1962, 125.
[61] Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Africa Missionaries, Pilgrimage in the Footsteps of Our Predecessors in Mission 150, 10.
[62] Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Africa Missionaries, Pilgrimage in the Footsteps of Our Predecessors in Mission 150, 10.
[63] Interview with Felicia Wanyana. Interviewed at Bwanda, Masaka 06/07/2023.

Mother Kevin a Franciscan nun founded a number of girls' educational institutions on various levels. She influenced the building of Nsube Nkokonjeru girl's primary school in 1925. In 1930, she started Stella Maris College Nsuube girls' school in 1930, and a nursing health training school at Nsambya.[64] Ssekamwa argues that the intention of establishing Nsuube College School was to produce educated future wives for the young men from Namilyango High School, founded in 1902, all in Mukono district. The Roman Catholic authorities came up with a framework of separating girls from boys, purposely to foster morality and encourage girls to better compete among themselves rather than to compete with boys. It encouraged both the Europeans from 1899 to the late 1950s, as well as African women from the late 1950s to 1962, to ensure the continued establishment of girls' schools in all the parishes, leading to the expansion of the education sector. Though women had made profound contributions to the development of education, they remained marginalised when it came to accessing higher education.[65]

Sisters started domestic schools and clubs in the 1930s, 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. In order to cultivate their abilities and practical skills, they specifically targeted the poor, those who did not attend official schools, and dropouts. To help them live a self-reliant lifestyle. The sisters of Immaculate Heart of Mary Reparatrix (Ggogonya Sisters) and the Daughters of Mary (Bannabikira), among others taught women and girls fundamental home skills including knitting, cooking, weaving, health care, and basic home economics.[66]

From catechetical schools to tertiary institutions, they appropriately led educational establishments. For example, Sr. Felicia Wanyana served as a teacher, head teacher of St. Aloysious Bwanda and she founded Buyege girls' school in Mpigi. The founding leaders of the Bwanda primary school and teacher training school, Sr. Eliane and Sr. Frances Borsia W.S.,

[64] Interview with Janet Irine. Interviewed at Lubaga hospital, 19, April, 2024.
[65] Interview with Nakiyimba Mankulata. Interviewed at Villa Maria Sister's Covent, 06/07/2023.
[66] Interview with Anna Christine Nalwanga. Interviewed, at Bwanda, Masaka, 06/07/2023)

deserve recognition. Many women were motivated to work in educational institutions by them. Books, stationery, ink pens, and other educational supplies were among the things they offered. In order to promote the development of high-quality instructors, they exposed their teacher candidates to both physical and micro-school practice. Women at Bwanda convinced the government to fund the construction of two more blocks for the primary teacher training school in 1926. The Primary Teacher Training College moved to Nkozi in 1955. The White Sisters in 1962 handed over to the native women whom they had trained. To this Sr. Francis Damian remarked that;

> Women's schools provided holistic education from 1925 to the 1960s and beyond. Our schools were influential in observing local cultural tasks that befall women such as cleanliness, hard work, and meal preparation all this featured in the curriculums of Catholic women's schools which raised their status of operations[67].

Some females such as Sr. Frances Borgia mobilised for foreign aid from the overseas and individuals. Her mother was the first to deliver support in terms of exercise books, ink in the form of powder, lead pencils, and pens, the slates, and materials for sewing and knitting.[68] These materials were passed over to their learners. Sr. Frances also wrote a book that served as a syllabus, offering the structure and resources for instruction. It was used to teach children from both a spiritual and a material perspective. Its objective was to raise a child who was healthy, intelligent, and polite to fit in the society. The book's other section concentrated on the spiritual development of a good Christian.This crucial book was available to all trainers even if it was not printed.[69]

Mother Antoinetta was credited for having prioritised the development of education for the girl child within the Bannabikira congregation and Buganda at large. She balanced religious education and secular.[70] Mother Antoinetta was remembered for having completed the

[67] Interview with Francis D Ssempala. Interviewed at Buyege, 10th December, 2023.
[68] Sr. Tereza Avilla, Mary Vicent and Sr. Trereza Francis Namirembe. *Bannabiikira Sisters Celebrate a Hundred Years of Service in Religious Life: A History of the Congregation*, 34.
[69] Interview with Catherine Nakatudde. Interviewed at Katigondo Sister's Covent, 06/07/2023).
[70] Musizi, Ekimuli Ky' Africa September, 1984, Ekimuli Ky' Africa, No. 349.

Bannabikira Church at Bwanda, sent more Bannabikira to go for advanced education in America and Europe and when they returned became instrumental in spreading the gospel and improving other people's standards. But above all she started the Bannabikira culture of visiting all the prospective novitiates before they are ordained sisters or nuns.[71]

Women financed and materially supported their daughters to attain education.[72] Equipped their children with the needed school requirements. Though the enrolment of the girl children from 1925 to 1962 was lower compared to that of the boys, with the support of the females, an increment was observed.[73] The wives of chiefs such Mrs Mugwanya, women catechists, and sisters encouraged and inspired the girls to obtain an education. Even when education turned to influence social work towards independence, community members supported females to go to school but again the population of the enrolled girls did not much that of boys.[74]

As already high lightened, Sr Byabali was drawn to and adored the community's impoverished people. In order to provide education to the underprivileged, she opened a primary school at Bweyo village, Villa Maria, and gave out everything she had, such as a cup of tea, to anyone in need. She was able to go without eating at times.[75] She used to give food and water to the kids who came to her catechism lessons while starving herself. She wrote on the ground and used black charcoal to perform her lessons. She also forced young and mature students to attend the same class.[76]

[71] Interview with Anna Christine Nalwanga. Interviewed, at Bwanda, Masaka, 06/07/2023.
[72] Interview with Janet Irine. Interviewed at Lubaga Hospital, 19, April, 2024.
[73] Musizi, Ekimuli Ky' Africa, 349.
[74] Ssekamwa. *History and Development of Education in Uganda*, 40.

[75] Interview with Maria Pastory. Interviewed at Mulago Covent, 01/2024
[76] Interview with Anna Christine Nalwanga. Interviewed at Bwanda, Masaka,06/07/2023.

In the field of Health care, the health care services were highly valued by the White Fathers, as evidenced by their view of the human being as "whole."[77] Lavigerie mandated that each missionary station have a health care section and that the missionaries undergo basic health education before dispatching the White Fathers to Buganda and other areas. The function of women in the Buganda health service predates the arrival of Protestantism and Catholicism in 1877 and 1879, as was previously emphasized.[78] It was challenging for scholars to obtain historical records from the colonial era that showed how missionaries helped colonial Africa and Buganda in particular develop its health sector. As a result, missionary health-related projects were formerly less critically analysed. However, after independence, access to these medical records became possible. When it came to Buganda, it was noted that, women were instrumental in the development of the health department in the areas and period under investigation.[79]

Women volunteered as nurses and palliative care providers for those suffering from leprosy and sleeping sickness, which were common in Buganda between 1894 and the turn of the 20th century.[80] This led to dreadful conditions and countless deaths. Due to disease-related conditions, many of the those who suffered from sleeping-sickness (sleepers) had been abandoned by friends and relatives. The careful White Fathers collected the sleepers at Villa Maria, Kisubi, and Bumangi in 1901, provided them with housing, and constructed houses for them. To assist the sleepers, courageous Catholic women volunteers stepped forward. They fed them and took care of them until a few of them died.[81] They nursed them with African medicine since Western medicine was lacking at the time. In 1903, the White Fathers established Kisubi

[77]Tusingire. *The evangelisation of Uganda: Challenges and Strategies*, 101
[78] Tusingire. *The evangelisation of Uganda: Challenges and Strategies*, 101
[79] Yolana. Crossing the Divide: Medical Missionaries and Government Service in Uganda, 1897-1940, 20.
[80]Rubaga Hospital. "Rubaga Hospital Centenary 1899-1999", *Service With Love 100 Years Rubaga* (Kampala, April 1999, 15), 12.
[81] Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879 – 1925, 123.*

Dispensary and passed it to volunteer women treating sleeping sickness *Mmongota.*[82] In December 1905, the Apostolic Vicar, Bishop Streicher, sent five sisters from Lubaga Hospital to Kisubi to help fight the plague. Two of them, Sr. Paular and Anna, who looked after the sleepers, were the subject of this investigation. They organised an excursion to Ssisa and Nkumba hamlet on January 14 and 22, 1906 purposely to treat the sick. From the early 1907 to the end of 1908, the situation worsened. To emphasise,, Muwemba described the above two years as being very tense at Kisubi Hospital, for the sleepers, a single home and fourteen huts were set up, which could hold 70-80 patients simultaneously. Following the seminary's relocation to Masaka, the sisters made use of the space by converting it into four wards, totalling 120 beds. Fourteen smaller rooms were built for those in the final stage of illness, with lost memory.[83] These charitable acts comforted the sick and attracted many Christian and non-Christian survivors to embrace Catholicism.

Women provided charitable assistance to the sick, orphans and the poor. Lay women started charity works at Nalukolongo orphanage house in early 1886, following the White Father's ransoming of Munaku from slavery. Fr. Lourdel established an orphanage and entrusted it to Munaku as its mistress. The orphanage began with 40 girls but increased to 80 by the end of 1886. As the White Sisters arrived in 1899, the orphanage was transferred to Lubaga mission station. In 1954 the Litle Sisters of Jesus established themselves at Nalukolongo purposely to continue the works that had been started by Lourdel Mapeera and Munaku Mathilda of charity. They lived an exemplary Samaritan life in the community and reminded both the Christian and non-Christian to care for the refugees, the needy, the elderly and abandoned children. These

[82]Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Africa Missionaries, Pilgrimage in the Footsteps of Our Predecessors in Mission 150, 9.
[83] Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Africa Missionaries, Pilgrimage in the Footsteps of Our Predecessors in Mission 150, 9.

charitable acts rejuvenated the Christian spirit of saving those in need and won a big group of converts to the church.[84]

The Franciscan Sisters were a female religious order that treated smallpox patients, founded Nsambya Hospital in 1903, and provided medical care in territory under the control of the Mill Hill Fathers.[85] The White Sisters took charge of the Buganda region's health department, which was run by the White Fathers, starting in 1899. According to the missionary evangelistic mission, the human being is essential and "whole." They promoted physical, mental, and spiritual well-being. Women collaborated and extended to both Christians and non-Christians medical attention and cleanliness training at their health camps. Native lay women were the first to tend to the sleepers on the islands of Ssese and Buvuma. A special ward for the sleepers was set up by the sisters at Lubaga Hospital.[86] With 673 patients at first, it became the first hospital to have such capacity. Some of the patients were referred to them from Mengo Hospital which had no ward for them. By treating and spreading the gospel, religious women were fulfilling bishop Lavigerie's orders of having a health care unit attached to and operated by each mission station, visiting the sick in the neighbourhood of the mission, which was the most efficacious in bearing abundant fruits of salvation.[87]

Women contributed technical expertise and leadership in the management of hospitals and dispensaries.[88] They built medical facilities, worked to enhance living conditions and hygiene, and advanced the health sector as a whole. Once the first mission station was established at Kabaka Muteesa I's request, Fr. Lourdel Mapeera built the first dispensary in Nabulagala. Medical knowledge was lacking among White Fathers. In 1899, they turned to the White

[84] Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Africa Missionaries. *Pilgrimage in the Footsteps of Our Predecessors in Mission 150,* 30.
[85] Rugyendo, et al. Uganda Martyrs Day 2023, 47.
[86] Interview with John Bosco Mutakirwa. Interviewed at Lubaga Hospital, Murch 18, 2024.
[87] Tusingire. *The evangelisation of Uganda: Challenges and Strategies*, 101
[88] (Interview, Janet Irine, 70 years, 19, April, 2024.

Sisters, a female religious organisation affiliated with their Missionaries of Africa, who were skilled in providing medical care. On their arrival, nuns provided the required medical service and relocated the dispensary from Nabulaga to Lubaga in order to run it more efficiently. The dispensary was initially located beneath the tree.[89] A hut was later constructed and turned into a ward. Within a few years, it transformed into hospital, with an enlarged space added to manage the sick with transmissible illnesses. All under the direction of Sister Restituta, with the help of a loyal indigenous widow named Catarina. Additionally, they taught catechism and prayers to people seeking medical care. The hospital discovered that it was essential to the church's growth.[90]

In July 1900, Lubaga Hospital gained more than six new beds. Numerous fatal illnesses struck at the same time over the next six years, including widespread malaria, regular smallpox and plague outbreaks, and a particularly terrible kind of sleeping sickness that killed over 200,000 people, especially in the lake regions.[91] At the time, Lubaga Hospital had few human resources. Mengo Hospital, which had been in operation since 1897, directed patients to Lubaga Hospital because it lacked the Ward to deal with the sleepers. The women were successful in treating 7000 outpatients at the 20-bed Lubaga hospital in just three months. To increase the number of lives saved, the White Sisters enlisted native Baganda women, provided them with intense training and conducted research on local herbal medicine. This initiative produced midwives like Tereza Nandago, Mukkubo, and Katalina (Catalina) Nakyanzi. Later, in 1938, 1940, and the 1950s, they worked at the antenatal and reinforced the nursing staff and maternity department. The care given to the medical seeking patients attracted more converts.[92]

[89] (Interview, Janet Irine, 70 years, 19, April, 2024.
[90] (Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Africa Missionaries, 2019), 25.
[91] Rubaga Hospital. "Rubaga Hospital Centenary 1899-1999", *Service With Love 100 Years Rubaga*, 12.
[92] Rubaga Hospital. "Rubaga Hospital Centenary 1899-1999", *Service With Love 100 Years Rubaga*, 12.

A German bacteriologist named Robert Koch came to the Ssese Islands to investigate sleeping sickness and look for ways to treat it because of the women's professional and methodical supervision of the medical facility. Sr. Philomena joined other women mainly to assist Sister Anna in dressing the "Babotonga" (Sleepers) in the dispensary. A qualified midwife had joined the team in 1924, and by 1926, the Lubaga hospital had forty three beds and a regular medical supervision from Mulago Government Hospital. In 1933, a chamber in the freshly built hospital was reserved for the royal family's medical care at the king's request. This encouraged a lot of people to use the same facility for both health care and baptism. By securing government funding in 1936 and 1937 expressly to build a maternity ward, they also proved their worth in the medical system. In the end, those who sought medical care were converted and evangelised.[93]

The number of women with sexually transmitted infections, premature newborns, and postpartum mortality decreased as a result of their efforts.[94] Sr. Gyerdi, Philip, and Paula, who joined the health centre, provided close supervision and assistance, which led to this outcome. Women at Lubaga hospital led to the collaboration between the Muslim Ahmadiya Missionary movement and the Catholic Missionary health department from 1933 to 1954. This saw Dr. L.D. Ahmad from Pakistan, practising in Kampala in 1927, joining sisters at Lubaga Hospital. Together they provided medical aid to the needy, particularly the impoverished. This strengthened ties between the two faiths. He visited the hospital twice a week but in all emergencies, he could be called for help and he never faltered[95] This improved the health status of people as Lubaga hospital had grown big with 60 beds.

Women influenced the construction of St. Francis Nsambya Nursing Training School in 1921. Affiliated with Nsambya Hospital, which began operations near the sister's Covent eighteen

[93] (Interview, Janet Irine, 70 years, 19, April, 2024).
[94] Interview with John Bosco Mutakirwa. Interviewed at Lubaga Hospital, Murch 18, 2024.
[95] Rubaga Hospital archive. Rubaga Hospital, 1999), 14.

years ago under a mango tree. The first health school run by the Catholic Church.[96] It generated the medical professionals required to handle women's obstetrical challenges, produced medical professionals such as midwives and medical assistants who worked in government and Catholic-founded institutions as medical assistants, vaccinations, gland examiners for sleeping illness, clerks, and native nurses. They worked in the Department of Reproductive Health and Demographic Delivery at Villa Maria Hospital, where they weighed and provided care for malnourished and underweight children. Instructed parents on how to feed their undernourished children (*refer to appendix: 3*).[97] Mother Kevin took the initiative to establish the two mentioned institutions at Nsambya. She also served as superintendent not only in the Nursing Training institution but also for all the Catholic health institutions responsible for signing the Annual Medical and Sanitary Report submitted to the Uganda Protectorate. Important to observe, the trainees were also instructed Christian education and attended church services.[98]

There were 27 native female nursing students enrolled at the training institute by 1930, but later enrolment grew. The Superintendent's optimism was rekindled by the presence of trainees at the various antenatal clinics of the several hospitals, including Villa Maria, Nkokonjeru, Nagalama, Gayaza, Kisubi, Katende, and Rubaga. Given that health professionals could now provide guidance and advise to pregnant women attending antenatal clinics, she foresaw a better future for moms. According to the archive report, pregnant women in the area understood the need of going to clinics. As such, fewer women suffered miscarriages during the antenatal

[96] Interview with Mukibi Joseph. Interviewed at Lubaga on 4th July, 2024.
[97] Villa Maria Hospital Records Office, 1958/9 Antenatal Annual report
[98] Rubaga Archive. Rev. Mother M. Kevin, Annual report of the Nsambya Maternity Training School, 1930.

period. In addition to teaching mothers how to improve the welfare of their children, the trainees assisted with caesarean section deliveries, African midwives did crucial work.[99]

Women religious institutions such as the Bannabikira and the White Sisters taught indigenous people how to use Western medications.[100] They advised and warned Baganda women about the risks of simultaneously exposing children to traditional and Western medicine through clubs, village visits, and community events. The White Sisters' diaries of 1914 documents the practice to have existed. Their memoirs also indicate that religious women never explicitly prohibited parents from using traditional medicine.

Sisters were able to prevent the indignation that would have followed their counselling. Their efforts were successful, as seen by the region's agency in using the healthcare system, particularly in the neighbourhoods surrounding Villa Maria. Women's research led to the development of African cures. They gathered the medicine from the forest, which was their pharmacy, dried, ground, and either dispensed or kept it as powder.[101] The research was spearheaded by the Bannabikira, who also used African medicine. To encourage cooperation between hospital nurses, midwives, and traditional delivery attendants, an association was founded following independence. It also offered foundational instruction in hygienic practices during childbirth and taught how to use gauze and gloves to Traditional delivery attendants. This collaboration resulted in Traditional women's birth attendants to refer mothers to hospitals if they observed that they might experience problems during pregnancy or delivery. Sisters criticised the mix of biomedical medicine with indigenous medicine, but they never opposed the use of indigenous medicine in its entirety.[102]

[99] Rubaga Archive. Rev. Mother M. Kevin, Annual report of the Nsambya Maternity Training School, 1930.
[100] Bras Hilde. *African Histories of Population and Health: A plea for an Integrated Approach,* (Published in Amsterdam, University of Groningen Press, 2023),25.
[101] Bras. *African Histories of Population and Health: A plea for an Integrated Approach*,25.
[102] Interview with Felicia Wanyana. Interviewed at Bwanda, Masaka, 06/07/2023).

At Kitovu, Nkozi, Lubaga, Kisubi, and Villa Maria, females provided both non-surgical and surgical care without endangering nursing care duties like immunizing community people. They cured syphilis, which had killed many pregnant women's unborn infants. This was done in every hospital mentioned. The majority of the specialists were needed at the rural hospitals, primarily Nkozi and Villa Maria. Because of the incredibly poor health standards in villages, they recorded the greatest number of syphilis patients. similarly, at Kitovu hospital. Which started as a First Aid Post 1955 by the religious women of Medical Missionaries of Mary. After Bishop Kiwanuka invited them during his 1955 tour to Ireland. They helped those in need and at risk by providing healthcare services.[103]

The Grail women were invited because the archdiocese needed more skilled personnel in the social and medical domains. They were invited by Archbishop J. Cabana. They started doing social, educational, and medical work in the Masaka diocese at Bishop Kiwanuka's request. Marie Therese McDermit, a senior surgical nurse, and Loraine Machan, a nurse who had previously worked in South Africa and Basutoland, were added to Lubaga Hospital when it was taken over in 1953.[104] Additional personnel arrived in 1954: Dr. Magdalene Oberhoffer, the first resident physician with expertise in tropical medicine and hygiene; Elisabeth Weigand for general management, administration, and laboratory work; and Mary Mackey to support the nursing team.[105] Women improved the hospital capacity, got rid of mud wattle buildings and established new modern ones through the funds they acquired from existing resources,

[103] Charles Kirumira Kizza. *Comparative Analysis of Unit Cost of Managing the Top Five Common Conditions and Diseases in Maternity Ward: A case Study in Kitovu and Villa Maria Hospitals,* (Kampala, MA Thesis, Kampala International University, 2013),8.
[104] Interview with Keeya Joseph. Interviewed at Catholic Church Gomba, 28th August, 2023.
[105] Interview with Felicia Wanyana. Interviewed, at Bwanda, 06/07/2023.

government, overseas benefactors and local donors but above all, turned it into a conversion centre for the Catholics leading to the growth of the church.[106]

Women's contributions to the growth the Catholic Church in Buganda extend beyond the fields of religion, education, and health to encompass the economy. By providing economic assistance to the church, women from a variety of backgrounds, including Christian families, women's religious organizations, lay apostolate movements, and laity, have made significant contributions to the evangelisation of Buganda. The females, contributed financially and materially to the growth of the Buganda Catholic Church. Missionaries needed money and other material support for a variety of projects, including schools, convents, hospitals and seminaries, and orphanages like that at Nalukolongo which was established in 1886, in this regard, women paid the church tithe and offerings which supported the mentioned projects. In addition, the wives of the chiefs provided food for missionaries throughout the early years of the Catholic foundation. Food from their fields was organised by their spouses, and some people gathered it from the community. It was then packaged and distributed to seminaries, catechumenates, and the orphanage centre at like that at Nalukolongo, which were under the control of the church.[107] In order to achieve their objectives, Lavigerie had counselled the White Fathers to spend as little money as possible, eat the same foods, and fit in with society, indeed they socialised when they entered Buganda. Later, in 1894, the church employed women and girls who spent much of the day cultivating food for the missionary boys, Fathers and seminarians.[108] Furthe, Keeya noted that, by the time late 1940 to 1960 they grew up seeing religious sisters and other women and girls at the parishes cultivating food and trees.[109] Lourdel wrote about them.[110] Transformed the mission land they found covered in bush into beautiful

[106] Interview with Felicia Wanyana. Interviewed, at Bwanda, 06/07/2023.
[107] Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Africa Missionaries, Pilgrimage in the Footsteps of Our Predecessors in Mission 150, 25.
[108] Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879 – 1925,* 18.
[109] Interview with Keeya Joseph. Interviewed at Catholic Church Gomba, 28th August, 2023.
[110] Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879 – 1925,* 18.

banana groves, magnificent plot of potatoes, peas, maize, casava, sugarcane and coffee. They also cultivated trees and fruits. A number of Baganda adopted the cultivation of the new crops which uplifted their standards if ling. Up to the contemporary epoch, the church has been associated with fruit trees and large banana plantations.

The White Sisters travelled with gifts that they provided to their newly converted people during pastoral visits to communities while they were teaching catechism in Villa Maria and other locations.[111] They imparted farming and handicraft skills to them; these hands-on training helped the indigenous people become more conscious of the urgent need for development. In different places, the nuns presented gifts and sacred objects, including rosaries, to their devotees. More significantly, however, religious women helped Baganda become more economically independent by teaching them skills like reading, accounting, home administration, and dressmaking.[112] As a result, many people were drawn to interact with the sisters and eventually joined the church but more so it improved people's welfare. Both political officials and converts received gifts from the Missionary Sisters, along with everything they would require to succeed in their new evangelistic endeavours.[113]

The white Sisters, like Sr. Frances Borsia raised money specifically to aid in the evangelisation effort. Although the white Sisters had little money, at the time they arrived in Buganda, they nevertheless used the little and constructed a few schools and acquired supplies like books and pens to help their students, who were mostly the less fortunate, receive Christian education, as the strategy of soliciting money from overseas was unsustainable.[114] They therefore considered

[111] Ashe. *Two Kings of Buganda: or Life by the Shores of Victoria Nyanza* 1890,69.
[112] Interview. Keeya Joseph. 87 years, retired Catechist and Teacher, Gomba, 28th August, 2023.
[113] Interview with Keeya Joseph. Interviewed at Catholic Church Gomba, 28th August, 2023.
[114] Sr. Tereza Avilla, Mary Vicent and Sr. Trereza Francis Namirembe. *Bannabiikira Sisters Celebrate a Hundred Years of Service in Religious Life: A History of the Congregation,* 33.

other options in order to survive. However, it was challenging because missionaries from both the Catholic and Anglican churches had established a certain level of independence from the start. They therefore had a hard time. Even the area they had entered relied on a barter trade system for its survival.[115] Abidi says that from 1948, the sisters of Mary Reparatrix trained the community women in health care, cooking, weaving, knitting and elementary home economics which helped to raise their economic performance that later benefited the church as women were able to manage business, save money and supported church work.[116]

It is important to recognise that most of the women's followers were also impoverished. The church acquired Munaku in 1886 as a result of the third wave of evangelism in Buganda, which was characterised by women's freedom of movement and their pursuit of religious instruction and baptism. The White Fathers trained Munaku purposely to champion community development. Later, Munaku engaged the women at the orphanage center and other non-residents in cultivating and growing of food that fed the catechumens and Fathers.[117] The nonresident women and girls practiced farming activities in their own families. On the resident women at the orphanage center, Lourdel wrote, "Our black girls" had already turned the mission land they found covered in bush into stunning banana groves and gorgeous plots of coffee, sugarcane, peas, potatoes, maize, cassava, and corn. This was done in order to save the money that missionaries were spending.[118]

According to Waliggo, Lourdel told the Director of Holy Children on July 1, 1888, that the "principal work of women in Buganda was cultivation." In fact, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that women fed the catechumens, seminarians, and White Fathers at Kisubi, Bukalasa,

[115] Sr. Tereza Avilla, Mary Vicent and Sr. Trereza Francis Namirembe. *Bannabiikira Sisters Celebrate a Hundred Years of Service in Religious Life: A History of the Congregation*, 34.
[116] Abidi. *he Role of Religious Organisations in Development of Uganda*, 15.
[117] Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879 – 1925,* 121.
[118] Interview with Felicia Wanyana. Interviewed, at Bwanda, 06/07/2023.

Katigondo, and Lubaga.[119] Second, if the food and time that the women gave directly to the church Fathers and other organizations connected to the Roman Catholic Church were calculated in monetory terms, it would show that women had contributed significantly in the form of resources, including money and time, to the church. This was unpaid labour, which emphasised how economically beneficial women were in the development of the catholic church in Buganda.[120]

Women produced church oil and provided food for the sick, which reduced church maintenance expenses. According to Fr. John Ssajjalyabene (Jo van de Ven W.F.), by the time Streicher arrived at Villa Maria in 1891 and was appointed bishop in 1897, there were five groups of devout women. The first and second groups were involved in spiritual and health matters, respectively, but we were interested in the third group, which dealt with growing food to feed the sick and children. This group of women relieved the Fathers of the burden of raising money needed to purchase food specifically for the sick and needy.[121] In order to extract oil for the sanctuary lights, they also planted sesame trees.

They were responsible for providing food, women dedicated a significant portion of their day to growing food for the White Fathers and their mission boys.[122] They spent most of their day cultivating food for the fathers, their mission, and those of the boys. They transformed the mission land they found covered in the bush into beautiful plantains of banana, potatoes, sugarcane, coffee, peas, maize, and cassava, which Lourdel looked at as the principal work of women in Buganda.[123] This prevented the early church from going through severe financial

[119] Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879 – 1925,* 18,121.
[120] Immaculate Nansubuga, Feminis in Uganda, (Published by Fundación Mujeres, 2011), 6.
[121] Sr. Nassali Flora Norah and Sr. Anjeri Ancilla Angela. *The Daughters of Marry- Bannabikira Sisters Bwanda: 100 Years of Service*, 34.
[122]Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879 – 1925*,111.
[123] Interview with Felicia Wanyana. Interviewed at Bwanda, Masaka, 06/07/2023.

difficulties, which created humble time for evangelisation. Later the Buddu community using the skills they had practically, acquired on the church while caring for the church plantains shared them with other community member who also engaged in farming leading to good harvests, the surplus was placed on the market, which helped them raise school fees and money they offered to the church. "We learnt from our mothers the White Sisters how to cultivate fruits, and shared the same skills with other community members" Sr. Ssempala Francis Damian remarked. [124]

During the period of religious strife (1890 –1892) many women left their areas of influence and moved to Buddu at the three-mission station, where they cared for the Fathers and provided food for all resident catechumens. In the province in issue, for example, Matilda Munaku and her daughters provided food to the increasing number of individuals who sought refuge at the missions.[125] By now, the missionaries in Buganda realised that women would be more crucial to their faith's survival than men. Men's social and political responsibilities caused them to be so mobile that it was difficult for them to predict the future and lead stable lives. Munaku, among others, played a key role in hiring labourers and received others from the White Fathers. By 1938, one hundred eighteen (118) women were working as full-time labourers at the seminary stations. However, the number of these labouring women at the various stations increased according to the needs and space available.[126]

Women of all ages and backgrounds made a commitment to serve the church and God. They helped fund the church's self-help programs, and the mission stations never employed staff to keep their grounds and buildings clean. These women provided free labour, and the "Lady" (*omukyaala),* who served as a liaison between them and the missionary fathers, was their

[124] Interview with Francis Damian. Interviewed at Buyege, 10th December, 2023.
[125] Interview with Felicia Wanyana. Interviewed at Bwanda, Masaka, 06/07/2023.

[126]Waliggo. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879 – 1925,* 18,111.

supervisor. As a result, when the British colonialists established the cash economy in Buganda and other parts of the Uganda protectorate, mission stations changed into gathering spots for women who helped cultivate crops like cotton and coffee. Women cultivated cash crops in large quantities, such as cotton and coffee as they got mobilised in their Christian communities by missionaries and chiefs. They planted and harvested these crops in their families, generating a reasonable income that they use to meet their family's needs.[127] A portion of this income was used to fund Church operations, which led to the Church's growth. They also engaged in the same work at the mission station's land while at the mission, women developed a spirit of cooperation, which could be attributed to the shared faith, and meals they had as lay Christian. When social clubs were introduced in the late 1940s and early 1950s, especially by Bishop Kiwanuka, this made the concept easier to grasp and foster economic developmental ideologies.[128]

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter examined the role of women in the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda, specifically looking at the role of women in the evangelisation and conversion, and socio-economic growth of the Catholic Church. In the women's efforts to contribute to the evangelisation and conversion in the Catholic Church in Buganda. This study found out that the females played a significant between 1892 to 1962. They embraced catechism lessons, baptised, participated in worship, prepared the young to be baptised, endured persecution while spreading the Catholic faith, attended Sunday service together with their children. They served as sacristans, congregation religious women, and lay leaders of various social groups. Founded the first women's religious organisation in sub-Saharan Africa, the *Bannabikira* Sisters

[127] Wrigley. Kingship and State, the Buganda dynasty, 26.
[128] Interview with Felicia Wanyana. Interviewed at, Bwanda, 06/07/2023).

(Daughters of Mary Bwanda) that turned instrumental in spreading the Catholic faith. Females observed both individual and collective prayers, participated in adoration of the Eucharist, through those activities they contributed to the growth of the Church. They fed and turned their health and educational institutions into conversion centres leading to massive evangelisation of the people that women new converts to the Catholic Church.

In the socioeconomic sector, this study found that women first appeared as learners and later embraced the teaching profession where they taught reading, writing, arithmetic, ethos, circular and theology, to the people in the territory leading to mass evangelisation and conversion. women collaborated and co-founded with the White Fathers and Sister catechism schools, and formal girls' educational institutions such as Villa Maria Primary Shool, St. Thresa Bwanda Girls Primary, St. Thresa Bwanda girl's Secondary and later established tertiary training schools such as Bwanda Primary Teacher Training School and they were instrumental in oversseeing these institutions develop. It was these institutions which nurture the future African clergies that led to the growth of the Catholic Church. Women produced food that sustained the seminaries, convents, clergies, catechumenates, and the schools they established. They provided free labour in all the church activities they engaged in. They planted fruit and trees, which were later utilised in advancing other Catholic Church's projects. Established social clubs that served as revenue streams for themselves, and saved paid the tithe. Women transformed the dispensary into hospitals, designed and built the necessary facilities and fixed in them technology. These included among others Lubaga, Nsambya, Villa Maria, and Kisubi hospital. A Catholic Medical Bureau was established in 1954. They practiced compassion by tending to the sick, the impoverished, and the abandoned. Trained native African women into health professionals; midwives and nurses in their own founded institutions. Established partnerships with other medical organisations and individuals, including Dr. L.D. Ahmad of Pakistan and Robert Koch from Germany. It is however important to note that women

contributed significantly to the growth of the Catholic Church, all these were put in place to support the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda. It is important to observe that women played a vital role in the Church's expansion both in population and parishes, 1892 to 1962.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE CHALLENGES CATHOLIC WOMEN FACED IN THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE GROWTH OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN BUGANDA, 1882 TO 1962

5.0 Introduction

While women contributed immensely to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda during the reviewed period (1882-1962), as was covered in the previous chapter, this success came at a cost. It is the intention of this chapter to analyse the challenges women encountered in their efforts to support the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda as laity, religious women, lay apostolate movements, Christian families and catechist women. Throughout the history of the Catholic Church in Buganda, women played an essential role in evangelisation. They supported the church's ecclesiastical, educational, and health care sectors and strengthened its economic department between 1882 and 1962. However, as discussed below, women had to overcome some challenges in their efforts to assist the Buganda Catholic Church's growth in order to guarantee the church's success.

The first barrier to women's involvement in the growth of the Catholic Church was exclusion from participation in any church-related activities especially during the first five years following the founding of the Catholic Church in Buganda (1879–1885)[1] and the 1890s. Exclusion was mainly from European Christian Missionaries who provided formal Christian education during the early years of the church. Unfortunately, there were no females among the first five catechumens to receive Christian education yet education was a requirement for one's baptism and subsequent participation in church related activities. This meant that the first wave of Catholic conversion that occurred between 1879 and 1885 had no females which

[1] (Isaiah Rwanyekiro, Dominic Dipio, Lilly Dricilu et'al, 2015), 44.

deprived women of any opportunity to associate with the young Catholic Church.[2] Women exclusion was also evident even when the clear structures of formal education were established in 1898, characterised by Catechist schools, village schools, vernacular schools, central schools, and High schools. This school system followed an androcentric trend that eliminated women from accessing formal education.[3] Although the, initiatives to have women participate in church related actives begun in 1882, when the first Baganda male converts reached out to women for their evangelisation. This happened only happened after the missionaries had gone into self-exile in Tanganyika in November, 1882.[4] Thus females had to wait until 1885 when they were received in the Buganda Catholic Church.

Although Women later got an opportunity to participate in the Catholic Church from 1885, they experienced marginalisation that characterised the church leadership. They were excluded from the hierarchy and did not participate in decision-making.[5] This was due to widespread illiteracy and the impact of clericalism in the Catholic world and Buganda Catholic Church in particular. Illiteracy and clericalism contributed to the relegation of women from the church's hierarchy, limiting their services only to provision of audience during prayer, worship and attending social clubs. Catholicism was and is patriarchal in traditional philosophy, belief and practice, as such could be unreceptive and oppressive to women in society.[6] Therefore, marginalisation of women had its roots in the origins of Western civilisation, which got planted to Buganda. By 1899 Whites Sisters had arrived but none of them can be traced in the Catholic Church's history to have played a leadership role in the church neither at the parish nor at the Vicariate level. The Baganda male traditionalists and the colonial mentality further reinforced

[2] Rooijackerers. *The beginning of the White Fathers' Mission in Southern Uganda and the Organisation of the catechumenate 1879 – 1914*, 28.
[3] Ssekamwa, ed. *History and Development of Education in Uganda*, 220.
[4] Kawesa. *Uganda Martyrs: The Flourishing Seeds of Christianity in Africa*, 39
[5] Interview with Maria Pastory. Interviewed at Mulago Covent, 01/2024
[6] Zinkuratire. African Christian Studies, 22.

female marginalisation in Buganda's Catholic Church leadership during that period.[7] This isolation of women meant that their audience as followers and their ideas generated in women organisations were not considered in the church's decisions, until 1939 when bishop Kiwanuka was appointed.

Bishop Kiwanuka's liberation campaign for women, thought was criticised within and outside the Catholic church, was based on four pillars; Improving higher education for women and girls, discarding oppressive cultural practices against women, the role and position of a true Catholic family and empowering women in politics and national economy. However, Kiwanuka's influence did less to aid women in penetrating the church hierarchy. The church prioritised hierarchy, clericalism, and institutional self-perseverance instead of tapping women's gifts.[8] This limited the society and church from seeing the important role women played in animating behaviours, shape perception, and orient people towards a large and wider meaning of Catholicism, simply because they had been isolated in the course of the church establishment in Buganda.[9]

The consequences of religious persecution and wars in Buganda, which started in late 1885 and lasted until 1892, were felt by women. The religious wars hindered the expansion of the Catholic Church and resisted women's attempts at evangelization.[10] This period was characterised by tension, terror, migration, and the slaughter of Christian converts. Waliggo contends that Nalumansi was the catalyst for the initial persecution (1885–1886), except that, according to custom, women were rarely penalised for offenses that were deemed serious by them. As illustrated earlier, after being baptised by Lourdel in 1886, Princess Nalumansi

[7] Borruso. *2000 Years of Christianity in Africa: An African Church History*, 221.
[8] Deo Rugyendo Arinaitwe, et al. Uganda Martyrs Day 2023, 46.
[9] Interview with Appolonia Mugumbya. Interviewed at Bunnamwaya, 11/07/2023.
[10] Interview with Catherine Nakatudde. Interviewed at Katigondo Covent07/202.

preached against the traditionalists' unfaithful practices, including reliance on charm and amulets, which she believed were creations of Satan. She set fire on all the traditional relics that had been given to her care.[11] The chiefs wanted Nalumansi put to death but Mwanga intervened to save her. But it partly raised the anger of the traditionalists and the king. As they realised the strength of the Christian's ideology, they called for strict measures to be taken against the converts' acts, which led to the Uganda Martyrs' murder and that of Nalumansi on August 2, 1888. This put many women at risk of joining Catholic faith.[12]

According to Faupel, four young girls, including Rachael Binimumaso, witnessed the actual martyrdom, they tried to hide close to the execution site in order to observe the person being slaughtered.[13] The four girls were cruelly punished for their curiosity after one of the executioners noticed them and informed the chancellor. Initially, they were imprisoned in a hut close to the scene of the martyrdom, where they could observe the vultures descending from a large tree to feed on the remains of the martyr. They were later found guilty and subjected to inhuman cruelty.[14] Both believers and unbelievers were frightened when some of them had their hands severed and their eyes gouged out.[15] Another civil war broke out in September 1888, and the White Fathers were driven out of Buganda along with a few young girls they believed would become the church. The old women who stayed, like Munaku's mother, were taken by the Muslims and did not return until after the Christian victory. Others who were kidnaped got murdered for practicing their faith like Musubika. During this period, the British approached Buganda from the northeast, which made the Catholics turn south for safety.

[11] Lubega, Robert Mugga and Faustin Mugabe. Uganda Martyrs, 82.
[12] Muwemba. *A Short African Church History*, 96.
[13] Faupel. *African Holocaust, the Story of the Uganda Martyrs*,188.
[14] Interview with Felicia Wanyana. Interviewed at Bwanda, Masaka, 06/07/2023.
[15] Faupel. *African Holocaust, the Story of the Uganda Martyrs*,188.

The 1888 Muslim revolution had a multifarious impact on the economic contribution of women.[16] The war featured a temporary alliance between the Muslim chiefs and Christian chiefs. However, upon its success with the dethronement of King Mwanga, the Muslims embarked on the process of Islamisation 1888-1889, which paralysed the economic activities among counties like Busiro, Kyadondo, and Mawokota. It forced many Catholics to abandon their plantains, and homes as they sought refuge in Buddu. The Bannabuddu who were already exposed to the Christian missionaries at the capital under the influence of their Christian chiefs and pages, hosted the refuges Christians mainly at Villa Maria Mission station and in the Christian chiefs' enclosures. The responsibility of feeding the refugee Catholics fell in the hands of women, they cooked and fed them. This revolution altered the pre-revolutionary economic activities women had engaged in including handcraft and the opening of new lands where mission stations had been established. It further restrained women's efforts from sparing time for church activities due to the increased persecution. But above all it made Buddu to become the centre of food and cash crop production as women settled down to produce what can sustain the refugees.[17]

Women apostles, catechists, sacristans and religious women congregations such as the White Sisters and *Bannabikira* were undermined and undervalued in the process of executing church work.[18] Their rights, dignity and the indispensable contribution to the church, families, and society they served, were not entirely appreciated. In the church, they were offered fewer opportunities compared to boys and men. There were practices that despoiled and degraded women in the church and state in the name of ancestral and church traditions though after two decades women became the backbone of the Catholic Church in terms of numbers. They were

[16] Rwanyekiro et al. Uganda Martyrs Day 2023,43.
[17] Muwemba. *A Short African Church History*, 106.
[18] Interview with Felicia Wanyana. Interviewed at Bwanda, Masaka, 06/07/2023.

never accepted to take gospel readings and sit near the pulpit.[19] They sat separately, and made separate queues to celebrate the eucharist. Women lay leaders of the several social clubs met regularly on Sundays discussed what affected them but had nowhere to send them in the church hierarchy and were less recognised by the societal traditional leaders.[20]

Women's work in churches was also constrained by famine that struck Buganda in 1899 to 1901. The White Sisters arrived at a time when the region had been hit by a dry spell that resulted in food shortage. Yet on their arrival and settlement at Lubaga hill, the White Sisters attracted a number of girls and old women whom they trained in prayers, writing, reading and arithmetic. Some of these girls and women stayed with them, they were fed on the food provided to the sisters by the White Fathers. However, due to shortage of food supplies, bishop Streicher requested the sisters to send back the native girls to their parents. This meant that, such girls could not contribute to the development of the church.[21]

Women's input to religion was also impended by the approach of producing a modest woman for the society. It resulted in to the creation of a group of women ignorant of the Biblical and magisterial texts which made society to be fed on the Western religious cultural ideas which portrayed females as by nature "inferior", "deficient" lazy and tempting and therefore dangerous to men.[22] Buganda lacked women theologians hence the emergence of a group of leaders like elsewhere in Africa who could not see and imagine women executing anything other than marginal activities and agencies such as cleaning the church, decorating and attending church services separately. This kind of Western orientation was easily accepted in a patriarchal Buganda. It was this setting which marginalised women to the extent that they

[19] Interview with Appolonia Mugumbya. Interviewed at Bunnamwaya, 11/07/2023.
[20]Waliggo. *Struggle for Equality: Women and Empowerment in Uganda,* 6.
[21] Interview with Appolonia Mugumbya. Interviewed at Bunnamwaya, 11/07/2023.
[22] Agbonkhianmeghe. *The Church We Want: Foundations. Theology and Mission of the Church in Africa*. 179.

had to sit separately during worship in the Catholic Church until the 1960s. All that limited societal realisation of women's potential in the spreading of the gospel despite the early establishment of the Bannabikira Sisters and other religious women groups that had the objectives of spreading the gospel, uplifting the women's standards of living and position in society.[23]

Religious women or nuns faced resistance, discrimination and threats from their congregation leaderships who extracted transfers and expulsion orders directed to end their religious careers.[24] Most of the Catholic religious women who suffered from this kind of oppression were the naturally gifted evangelists, talented in leadership, good catechists and church apologists. They were looked at as a threat not only to the conservative clergymen but also to their own leadership. In 1954 the fifth supreme council of the Bannabikira Sisters transferred Sr. Amedeo back to Bwanda Sanatorium intentionally to restrict her ability from founding new religious women associations and movements that served to improve the spiritual lives of the laity. Such women were not understood by their contemporaries. Amedeo's passion for evangelisation made her use dram and sound the drum as a method of mobilising Christians and non-Christians mainly the young to assemble for prayers and worshipping, this made many to despise her. Her establishment of a church and school at Bweyo won for her rebukes from her superiors. The same was the case to many other women who sacrificed their lives for the expansion of the church. Ssekamwa notes that;

> Sr Amedeo was taken to Bwanda Convent, the seat of the Congregation and the Superiors accused her of opening various branches of Religious Movements. One day, two of them called her, and one of them attacked her saying, 'Never open up any Religious Movement, you will be dismissed once you do it again.' The other superior asked Sr Amedeo, are you mad?" This must have brought confusion and silent suffering in her".[25]

[23] Interview with Appolonia Mugumbya. Interviewed at Bunnamwaya, 11/07/2023.
[24] Businge. *Martyrs and Unknown Christian Witnesses: Hoima Diocese and Beyond*, 72.
[25] Ssekamwa. *History and Development of Education in Uganda*, 221.

Compared to men, women obtained a lower quality of domesticity education. Different forms of education for men and women were the aims of colonialists, missionaries, and Baganda traditionalist men. To keep women out of the workforce, the trio promoted a gender-based educational system that restricted women's contributions to the growth of the church and the community at large. To depoliticise women, the British colonial rulers persuaded missionaries to educate women in domesticity with a view that having modest women who did not pursue freedom in the same way as African men did would limit their political participation.[26] Thus, the British favoured a curriculum that focused on formal agriculture, cooking, and craft production through social groups for women in Buganda. This excluded women from public office hence they had no salary and savings to support the church developments. As such, by as late as 1940s, Buganda's patriotic activities had not secured the backing of women. In a similar vein, the Baganda men preferred marrying a modest woman. They believed that a woman who had received education at a young age was not adaptable as a wife. Ssekamwa, observed that,

> Many men wanted women to keep a low profile in society. Many of such men felt that a woman who had attended school while still a girl was not amenable enough as a wife. She was prone to showing off due to her knowing a bit too much. Two sayings developed in Luganda in 1910 namely, Nnakapanka, ng'omukazi asoma ebbaluwa" and, Atijja nga Maria omubatize. (A school educated girl or woman is presumptuous).[27]

Women lacked funds needed to facilitate the development of girl's education in terms of school requirements such as books and pens. Due to financial constraints, women's efforts to advance education were limited. Even when the White Fathers entrusted the White Sisters with the responsibility of managing female education, little could women achieve since they operated on a tight budget and lacked real power for decision-making.[28] As previously mentioned, the

[26] Aili, A New Look at Colonial Women: British Teachers and Activists in Uganda, 1898-1962, 2.
[27] Ssekamwa. *History and Development of Education in Uganda*, 221.
[28] Interview with Felicia Wanyana. Interviewed at Bwanda, Masaka, 06/07/2023.

British colonial authority didn't fund not only women education but the entire education system in Buganda. This left the development of female education in the hands of the White Sisters for the first forty-five years. They had to look for stationery which was scarce at the time, and assemble furniture out of their insufficient resources without any help from the government. At the time they struggled to communicate overseas purposely to raise funds and other school requirements from their friends, relatives in their home countries and Buganda. Even the secured donations were inadequate to independently support and sustain their operations[29] including the feeding of learners and payment the teachers mainly after 1926. The church health institutions experienced a similar challenge of limited funds to buy health equipment required to diagnose the various affections.[30] The few courageous Catholic women who volunteered and cared for the sick as observed before, provided free labour and had congested timetables that involved evangelisation through instructing patients in their Catholic faith, providing them with palliative care, monitoring and feeding them. Due to the limited funds, there were no physicians at Rubaga hospital at first. It started to receive a visiting physician from Mulago in 1920s.[31] As a result, women nurses and other health experts got exhausted while handling the many victims of sleeping sickness who were abandoned by their relatives.

The church lacked professional educationalists which impacted the training and participation of women in the community.[32] The Catholic and Protestant missionaries who championed education in Buganda were specialists in preaching the gospel. For example, the White Father's charisma was not in being educationalists.[33] They were good at teaching catechumens and founding elementary formal education. They could not proceed beyond that level. As mentioned earlier, the White Fathers placed the management of female education under the

[29] Interview with Felicia Wanyana. Interviewed at Bwanda, Masaka, 06/07/2023.
[30] Rubaga Hospital. "Rubaga Hospital Centenary 1899-1999", *Service With Love 100 Years Rubaga*, 12.
[31] Interview with Janet Irine. Interviewed at Lubaga Hospital, 19th April, 2024.
[32] Ssekamwa. *History and Development of Education in Uganda*, 221.
[33] Waliggo. *Struggle for Equality: Women and Empowerment in Uganda,* 75.

White Sisters. They were also few in number and at the same time, White Sisters were handicapped in undertaking higher education for the girls just like their male counterparts. Most of the schools they pioneered were catechumenates schools, which evolved into formal elementary schools yet the Protestant missionaries had invested in both elementary and higher education. It was in 1924, when the White Fathers realised that they had lagged behind the Protestant missionaries and the Catholic Mill Hill Missionaries in providing higher education. This made bishop Streicher and the White Sisters to cofound Bwanda Girl's Teacher Training School in 1924, the first Catholic high school for girls in Buganda. Up to 1950s, it was the only high school for girls managed by the White Fathers. Waligo argues that the establishment of Bwanda Teacher Training School coincided with the government order, that demanded all denominations to have a Teacher Training College for boys and girls.[34]

Long distances to receive and provide education services coupled with poor transport networks. Schools were few and far away from the learners and teachers. They both travelled long distances to access schools, in some cases passing through thick forests and wetlands. As a result, majority of the children, both boys and girls, went to school at a late age.[35] The long distances and poor transport network turned out to be a challenge to the community. Parents got afraid that unscrupulous young men could persuade and entice their daughters on a daily long journey to and from school into committing sexual acts, yet it was an abomination and a source of shame for any girl to conceive from her parent's home. These challenges threatened parents as some resorted to sending their daughters to school for a shorter time and once they reached marriage age, parent could withdraw them from school and look for young men to

[34] Waliggo. *Struggle for Equality: Women and Empowerment in Uganda,* 75.
[35] Interview with Maria Pastory. Interviewed at Mulago Convent, 08/01/2024

marry them. A practice which came to persist in society and impended women from furthering their education.[36]

Poverty was an obstacle to supporting girls' education. This limited women's contribution to the Catholic Church. First many Baganda were not educated and therefore were not employed by the colonial government to earn salary, secondly, peasants who belonged to the lower class were affected by the terms of the Buganda Agreement of 1900. The agreement divided land into two ownership crown and mailo land. The result was the creation of a group of landless Baganda. It also came with the payment of taxes. As most of the land had gone into the hands of the chiefs, some people could not manage to grow commercial crops like cotton and later coffee that could enable them earn money for paying school fees. Other Parents sold their labour or rented land from the landowners to earn a living, this meant that education of children was never given a priority. Given the struggle that families underwent to sustain their lives after their land had been deprived off them by the terms of the Buganda agreement, majority gave up on paying schools fees. Worse still, the belief among the traditionalist Baganda that indigenous schooling and household practices were more appropriate for the girl child made poor families chose to educate their males at the expense of the daughters. The Baganda also considered children a source of labour hence sending them to school meant losing their labour services. As Immaculate asserts,

> Parents in Kiteredde, which is now in the Kakiri sub-county Naddangira Catholic Parish, as well as those in Villa Maria and nearby settlements like Bweyo in Masaka, considered sending their daughters to school as a means of robbing them of their labour. Many girls in Buganda spheres were left uneducated due to a combination poverty which obstructed them from contributing to the growth of the catholic church.[37]

The year 1894 was not only marked with political events, was also characterised with the spread of new diseases which created havoc figured in the European explorer's accounts and those of

[36] Ssekamwa. *History and Development of Education in Uganda*, 221.
[37] Interview with Immaculate Vicent Ferrerio Nakiyimba. Interviewed at Villa Maria Covent, 06/07/2023)

the Christian missionaries that impended women's contributions to the health sector particularly between the years 1890s, 1930s, 1940s and 1962.[38] For instance, the Black Quarter disease, Pheuro-pneumonia, East Coast fever, rinderpest and sleeping sickness reduced the population of both humans and animals. Massive sleeping sickness epidemic in particular struck Buganda between 1895 and 1906 in which the Catholic Church which women served was not spared, since it was part of the wider territory that experienced the mentioned diseases, which affected women at the frontier of serving the church. Consequently, women suffered from tension and panic during and after the sleeping sickness pandemic had hit the area. For instance, between 1905 and 1908 sleeping sickness threatened not only the lives of the people at Kisubi dispensary (founded in 1903 by the White Fathers) but also of the care givers. Bishop Streicher, the Apostolic Vicar withdrew five sisters from Lubaga to Kisubi to combat the plague that had claimed the life of two volunteer care givers.[39] From the beginning of 1907 to 1908 sleeping sickness worsened, Muwemba referred to the same period as years of great tension at the Kisubi mission. The situation compelled the Catholic Church to close the medical centre, Fr. Superior informed the sisters on 6th November 1907 that the directors at Lubaga ordered "all patients at Kisubi to be taken to the government hospital at Buwanuka, a place today found in Wakiso district Naddangira Catholic Parish, but the mission station remained operational.[40] Therefore, the scourge of sleeping sickness, leprosy and Malaria at Kisubi threatened volunteer evangelists and care givers for the needy and abandoned sleepers.

Transport and communication problems coupled with threats from wild animals limited women's efforts to extend health services in the community. The poor roads in many remote

[38] Rooijackers. The beginning of the White Fathers' Mission in Southern Uganda and the organization of the Catechumenate 1879 – 1914, 36.
[39] Interview with Felicia Wanyana. Interviewed at Bwanda, Masaka, 06/07/2023.
[40] Muwemba. *A Short African Church History*, 144.

areas impeded women from carrying out health journeys.[41] The Buganda terrain favoured two means of transport, road and water transport before the beginning of the twentieth century. Later railway came and passed through a few villages up to when vehicles started to be used. Some of the roads were impenetrable and went via thick forests and waterlogged lands as was the case in Buddu, Busiro, Singo and Kyagwe. They were also associated with wild game which made it difficult to extend medical services to people. Sister Damian narrated that "as our friends were on the journey from Bwanda the periphery of Buddu enroute to Mbarara they faced the lions only to be saved by God from the wild animals but it was terrible for them."[42] These challenges affected women who were passionate in extending health camps to the sick and needy.

Women travelled long distances to provide health care to the various people in Villages especially the needy children and impoverished in areas of Villa Maria, Bumanji and Kisubi. In extending medical work in Villa Maria and the surrounding areas, women passed through threatening environments on foot.[43] The Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Africa commonly known as the White Sisters took exhaustive journey purposely to visit the sick who could not walk to the dispensary, the queen mother, who had eye trouble, the Mill Hill Missionaries at Nsambya, the chiefs and all those who invited them. Muwemba, argues that at times the sisters would go off for a week and the Baganda women and girls including Angela Kyabalongo, Anne and Irisa would accompany them to guide and help them during their stay in village.[44] The Grail staff also ran regular outpatient clinics and supervised maternity centres in distant parishes. Lubaga doctors made weekly visits to Nkozi hospital in the late fifties until there was

[41]Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Africa Missionaries, Pilgrimage in the Footsteps of Our Predecessors in Mission 150,9.
[42] Interview with Francis Damian Ssempala. Interviewed at Mulago, 10th December, 2023
[43] Interview with Catherine Nakatudde. Interviewed at Katigondo Covent, 06/07/2023).
[44] Muwemba. *A Short African Church History*, 144.

a resident doctor. Also, centres such as Bikirawere regularly visited and supervised by doctors from Lubaga. This was before; the Republic of Uganda was born.[45]

The lack of enough medical experts like doctors and nurses hindered women's progress in the healthcare industry under the church. Merely two individuals endeavoured to offer medical care to the entire Baganda population which was estimated to be at three million between 1899 and 1902.[46] It was Sr. Restetute who took over the pharmacy and dispensary at Lubaga on November 25, 1899, with the help of Elizabeth Nansamba, who was the first native health support staff. Language issues were a challenge to Sr. Restetute and other later White nuns from freely interacting with the patients who sought medical attention at the facility, which worried them. However, the native Baganda women catechists Munaku and Angela conducted and gave Luganda lessons to the White sisters once Bishop Streicher saw that problem. They were able to learn the language, needed to communicate with the patients.[47] Besides, there was shortage of medicine within Buganda resulting from the 1939-1945 World War II, it led to delayed supply of medical requirements from overseas mainly Britain. At a time, Buganda was experiencing an outbreak of pneumonic plague "the most fatal as well as the most directly infectious form of plague." It was hazardous to the patient's attendants and visitors. Two White Sisters, Sr. Richild who was in charge of the hospital at the time and Sr. M. Aloyse head of the Lubaga convent, became very ill in December 1941. While caring for a Munnabikira sister afflicted with the plague, they became infected. The two sisters had no chance of surviving, according to Dr. Ahmad, a doctor with extensive knowledge of this deadly type of plague. At Lubaga Hospital, they were kept apart. The nursing care was taken up by another Franciscan sister from Nsambya Hospital, but the sisters' condition worsened. Dr. Ahmad and two other

[45] Anne Nakabiri Nganda, 125 Years of Community and Faith Rooted HealthCare: Lubaga Hospital Jubilee, 22.
[46] Kristopher Cote, From Control to Disorder: Cotton Cultivation and Colonial Rule in Buganda, 1900-1949, (Nova Scotia, Dalhousie University, Master, Thesis), 2007, 26.
[47] Rubaga archive. Emmanual Cardinal Wamala, Message for Lubaga Hospital Centenary Celebration. Rubaga Hospital Centenary, 1899-1999, (Kampala, unpublished, 1999)

physicians, along with one of Kampala's medical centre who had been called when they were in serious condition, clarified that the only medications available at the time were inadequate to impact their recuperation. It was challenging to acquire medications from Britain at the time. After losing her industrial monopoly during the six years of World War II, Britain shifted its economic policy toward its colonies. Britain now restricted her exports to colonies that included Buganda and concentrated on raising domestic standards. Bishop Michaud of Lubaga was prompted by this to resume praying for their healing.[48]

From the beginning, neither of the Lubaga or Nsambya modern Catholic medical centres had structures to house the dispensaries. Additionally, there were no staff quarters. These dispensaries were first established outdoors due to a lack of infrastructure.[49] Sister Janet said, "Lubaga Hospital started under the tree, Sr. Restetuta operated from there, giving tablets to the sick under the shade of the tree on this Lubaga Hill."[50] Later a hut was erected and later transformed into a ward. Four more huts were added for patients with contagious diseases. Sister Restituta was assisted by Catarina a native devoted widow. Catarina replaced Elizabeth Nansamba who tried to hide the dreadful fear she had of the sleeping sickness the disease). Before, Catarina intervened, Angela Kyabalongo, who feared nothing offered to replace Elizabeth. She was temporarily allowed to aid but later she returned to her task of instructing catechumens. This switch in workers who had no medical experience also destabilized hospital activities, but did not deter the health institution under the church from evolving. Indeed, the medical work had started. On 9th August 1902 Sisters arrived at Villa Maria, they took charge of the hospital still in making that had been started by devoted women, the veranda of the convent was used as the first outpatient clinic, and many sick people went for treatment. This

[48] (Rubaga Centenary 18-1999), 14.
[49] Interview with John Bosco Mutakirwa. Interviewed at Lubaga Hospital, Murch 18, 2024.
[50] Interview with Janet Irine. Interviewed at Lubaga Hospital, 19th April, 2024.

obliged the construction of new buildings to shelter the growing number of children and the sick mainly those who suffered from sleeping sickness that had hit the land in 1902.[51]

Women's work at Buvuma and Ssese Islands was interrupted and stalled following the colonial government order through the chiefs for the evacuation of the entire population on the Islands. Settlement, hunting, and fishing were banned in the mentioned affected areas. This saved lives but in the long run abandonment of the affected areas to bush and game turned to be breeding grounds for tsetse flies between 1911 to1920. Women who used to care for the sleepers at Bumanji left to work at the Villa Maria camp of sleepers. This impacted the Buganda region and the Eastern region of Busoga provinces in the British Protectorate of Uganda.[52]

Rigidities among Baganda, who had a negative attitude towards Western medicine was another challenge women faced in extending service in the territory. Convincing their patients to use western medicine was not easy. There was thus a high-rate death rates of both children and their mothers. The cause of death among pregnant women was connected to poor hygiene related to the use of herbal medicine and the limited number of health workers yet, the population was ever-increasing. This affected the quality of the services extended to the patients. While examining the various maternity reports of pregnant women the researcher found some reports which were not properly filled and not signed which could be linked to overworking, this was observed mainly between the late 1930s and the early 1940s.[53] Further, the reports also portrayed a number of premature death of children ranging from 5 to 7 days This was clearly exhibited in the hospital records of July 1952 to February 1962.[54]

[51] Rubaga archive. Sr. Getrude, The White Sisters in Uganda
[52] Tourigny. *A Century of Trials and Blessings*, 17
[53] Rubaga Records, Maternity report, Del 1938-1952
[54] Rubaga Hospital records, Maternity report 1952-1963

Women were prevented from taking part in the economic activities that helped the Catholic Church in Buganda flourish because to cultural economic repression.[55] The Buganda tradition prohibited women from inheriting any property or owning land. However, in the pre and colonial eras, a person's position and value were decided by their property. What was appropriated to the church in terms of services, cash, and other goods was also decided by the ownership of resources in the community. Traditionally, women were also in charge of producing the food needed to support the family, caring for and nurturing the children, and ensuring the man's well-being at home. As a result, women's time to participate in the church's business operations was constrained. Additionally, women's mobility was limited by their husbands and culture. The explanations for women's lack of participation in the church's economic endeavours focused on its expansion. Consequently, women's economic contributions were lower during the early years of the Catholic Church's founding (1879 to 1886).[56]

Females traversed thick forests and waterlogged swamps looking for raw materials necessary for the production of crafts such as mats and decoration materials which they donated to churches to solve the seat arrangements and beautification of the churches. They also suffered from men’s repression, women always sought permission from their husbands to engage in any church activity. Even when it came to the handcrafts and the savings accrued from them, women reported it first to their husbands for acceptance before they made their contribution to church. Women were over worked, besides taking care of their family gardens, they had to spare time to provide free labour to clean the church, and its compound, as well as engaging in social clubs under the influence of the Catholic Church. It became difficult for them to balance

[55] (Interview. Felicia Wanyana. 93 years, 06/07/2023).
[56] (Interview. Felicia Wanyana. 93 years, 06/07/2023).

all the activities and some were oppressed by their husbands who never wanted to take part in any activity related to the church.[57]

Women struggled to cut down the thick forests and bushes without aid from their husbands. They used simple technological tools and methods to produce food which depended on natural vagaries that sustained their families, orphanage population, clergy and catechumenates. During rainy season, women overworked themselves, as they ploughed, planted and weeded crops. Having excelled in agrarian, some Baganda women like Eliza were sent beyond Buganda spheres to Bukumbi by Bishop Streicher to produce food, this caused their separation from their relatives, travelled and crossed the waters of Lake Victoria, but their energies were not paid.[58] All these points to the economic burdens women faced.

In an oral interview with Sr. Maria Pastory, she narrated that, during the war of 1892, women were transferred to Buddu at the three mission stations. They were divided into groups; some served the White Fathers, cultivated food for them and the resident catechism learners. While others taught catechism to others. This was work without pay. Many joined the wives of chiefs in their enclosures feeding the large number of Catholics therein. As stability was regained in the kingdom, the White Fathers mobilised women and taught them how to grow vegetables which was new to them. Fr. Girault in the diary of the White Fathers explained that they reaped crops of wheat and had bread occasionally. They had limited knowledge in the new crops they planted between the late 1890s to 1902 supplied to them by the White Fathers. Under difficult conditions women learned how to plant wheat, rice and how to cultivate and extract rubber. Rubber was later planted on a large scale in some mission stations like Nandare and Kisubi. The church financial challenges were resolved by acquiring the voluntary unpaid women such

[57] Interview with Immaculate Vicent Ferrerio, Nakiyimba. Interviewed at Villa Maria Covent, 06/07/2023)
[58] Interview with Nabbaka Joan. Interviewed at Bumanji Parish, 28, March 2024.

as Munaku, Maria Nabwami and Veronica Munakutanyiiga, who served at Lubaga, Villa Maria and Kitovu, 1890.[59]

The redistribution of land and the signing of the 1900 Buganda agreement negatively impacted women's contribution. In 1889 October, the Protestants and the Catholics divided chiefly offices, land and subjects approximately equally between the two groups. But due to either Kabaka Mwanga's bond with Catholicism or the general ascendancy of the Catholic group, by 1891 the Protestants found their position disintegrating as commoners and sub-chiefs converted to Catholicism. The converts continued to cultivate Protestant land, paid their rent and taxes to Catholic chiefs and would perform corvee to Catholic chiefs. This threatened the Protestants to the extent of engaging the colonial government to redistribute land. One can ask, how did this affect women economically? Though women never owned property in Buganda, the great activity of tilling and cultivating food fell in their hands. Those who had converted from Protestantism to Catholicism yet were scoters and farming land that belonged to the Protestant chiefs now paid their land dues to their new Catholic chiefs, an act unaccepted by Protestants. They demanded all those who had converted to Catholicism to vacate their land if they were not paying land dues to them. Many of the new Catholic converts lost their plantains as well as residential homes as the colonial government was called to intervene. The intervention of the colonial government marked the integration of Buganda into the world capitalist system. It was also preceded by wars of pacification, epidemics, famine, conscription of war service and a sharp drop in population as well as by higher incomes for some more consumer goods and the introduction of schools and hospitals. All that made the economic performance of women very difficult between 1888 and 1900. But it partly contributed to the signing of the 1900 Buganda.

[59] Interview with Maria Pastory. Interviewed at Mulago, 08/01/2024.

The Buganda's economy remained underdeveloped between 1920-1930 and the modern history of Buganda was found covered in the vicious circle of poverty, disease and ignorance.[60]

5.2 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the challenges women faced in promoting the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda between 1882 and 1962, namely in the fields of religion, education, health, and the economy. Women were marginalised in every area of the church, and the arrival of Catholicism was androcentric, marked by patriarchy and clericalism. Tropical diseases, religious persecution, martyrdom, and poor communication and transportation systems all hampered women's attempts to advance the church. Furthermore, women were subjected to domesticity education, which depoliticised and barred them from entering the workforce, as a result of colonialists, Baganda traditionalists, and missionaries' pursuit of the exclusionary policy. Women had to travel great distances to obtain and impart education, they had few teachers, and received little funding. In terms of health, women faced threats from the spread of new diseases, lacked laboratories and equipment, were overworked, and had few medical professionals. Cultural inflexibility prevented women from inheriting and holding property, which hampered their economic progress. Persecutions from 1885 to 1892 forced them to abandon their gardens, and they also had to deal with the land problems and taxes brought on by the Buganda Agreement of 1900.

[60] Interview with Catherine Nakatudde. Interviewed at Katigondo Covent, 06/07/2023.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

This study focussed on the participation and contribution of women to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda, between 1882 and 1962. The researcher was motivated by the limited information on the early female Catholic converts, lay leaders, evangelists, women catechists, religious women and their contributions to the growth of early Catholicism in Buganda which did not constitute to the already existing scholarly works. Most studies have concentrated on the stories of male pioneers such as the first male converts, the first male catechists, the first indigenous Catholic priests, and the first indigenous bishop south of the Sahara and their contributions to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda.

Through a reconstruction of the historical documents and an examination of empirical data from oral and archival sources, this study demonstrates that women participated and contributed to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda between 1882 and 1962. The archival and oral information obtained from key informants presented experiences and accounts of women's role in the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda which ended their underrepresentation in the growth of the Buganda Catholic Church in the period understudy. It is in this context that, this chapter summarises the information and discussion of the key findings in the various chapters of this thesis on women and the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda, 1882-1962.

The study begins by illustrating the Buganda environment in which women participated and contributed to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda between 1882 and 1962. The third chapter of this thesis, sought to identify the women who participated and contributed to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda, 1882-1962 revealed that, the first female converts to be baptised were; Marie Bwenjera and Ann Zawabulangi baptised by Fr. Lourdel on

November 17th, 1885, at Nalukolongo missionary station. These were followed by Clara Batudde, Eugenie Namirembe, and Marie (Andrea Kaggwa's daughter) who were baptised on November 19th, 1885 and on November 23rd, 1885 Agnes Lubuga was baptised. Fr. Lourdel christened Cecilia Nankya, Cathaline Walise, and Donatilla Bukirabuziba on 7th December 1885. The other group of women converts comprised of Noe Batulekeddeki christened on 2nd April 1886, followed by Princess Clara Nalumansi baptised on 21st April 1886. On April 27, 1886, Jean Nakayima and Felicien were also baptised and on August 22, 1886, Mathilda Munaku, the sister of Mawaggali, a later Ugandan martyr and Eugenie, were baptised at Nalukolongo mission station by Fr. Lourdel.

Although Waliggo, the earlier church history scholar, argued that none of the king's men who were murdered for their newfound Christian religion were women, this study debunks such a conclusion as it revealed that, women were martyred for confessing their faith. Among the lay readers, Clara Nalumansi, the princess and Musubika of Buddu, were women heroines of Christian martyrdom. Clara Nalumansi was the first woman in the history of the Buganda Catholic church to be martyred for confessing her new faith. She was also the first woman to be married into a dispensation for a religious cult before she was murdered. Musubika of Buddu, a catechumen was murdered by her husband for practicing and confessing her Catholic faith. By the time Musubika was murdered, she had not received baptism and it was the reason why only one name was captured in this study. The two heroine women 'opened gates' for other women who were determined during the early days of the Church in Buganda to sacrifice their lives for the love of their faith. Many women willingly accepted persecution for instance Maria Kikuva (Kikuwambazza) who belonged to the Mityana Church, when her husband (Kalemba Mulumba, a future Uganda martyr) was captured, voluntarily surrendered herself to the executioners to be killed for her faith; however, Mbugano, the expedition's captain, objected and ordered her to be severely beaten and imprisoned.

This study also identified two women namely; Munaku and Euguene to have been the first African women missionaries to their fellow Africans. Some of the other women identified in this study were the first indigenous religious women (nuns) among others they included: Virgin Yatuwaamaanyi, Cecilia Gwaliweemirembe later (Sr. Ursula); Anna Kirivaamuuki, later Sister Anna; Angela Kyabalongo, Agathe Simanyibwendiba Namirembe, Teresa Musubika, Monica Gwebuyiira and Dalia Nampa. Of all the women, this study delved more on six who played a significant role in the development of the Catholic Church: Princess Clara Nalumansi, Musibika, Maria Mathilda, Angela Kyabalongo, Namutebi Anna Maria (Mother Antoinetta), and sister Amedeo. They served as sacristans and nuns in addition to volunteering as catechists, representing all other women history did not consider but were influential in the church's development.

The role of women to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda between 1892 and 1962, was established as envisioned in objective two of this study. The study examined the contributions of women to the growth of the Catholic church in Buganda through four lenses: religious, educational, health, and economic. Whereas earlier scholars such as Waliggo, Pirouet, and Thoonen, have extensively shown how males participated and contributed to the growth of the early Catholic Church in Buganda, the analysis of the findings in this study revealed that, from 1882, women embraced Catholicism through attending catechumenate classes conducted by the first Baganda male converts which later qualified them to be baptised by the White Fathers starting in November, 1885. They exhibited their strong faith in their new Catholic religion by participating in prayers, Sunday worship, adoration of the eucharist, and they cared for the refugees, needy and sick mainly at the orphanage centre Nalukolongo, which women had cofounded with the White Fathers. From 1895 women emerged in the Catholic Church as catechists, they prepared those to be baptised, instructed the young and old in religious education as well as in Catholic and cultural values. Women like Mathilda Munaku

and Angela Kyabalongo taught others reading skills, writing and arithmetic, they also trained the White Missionary Sisters in their local language. Women's efforts for evangelisation led to the formation of catechists' noviciate in 1901.[61] By 1906, there were 77 women catechists working in 25 missions, and by 1907, there were 140. In 1908 the foundation was canonically recognised and out of the catechist women, eleven novices were chosen and began training as nuns, which led to the establishment of the Bannabikira (Daughters of Mary) Sisters in 1910, the first indigenous group of women south of the Sahara.[62] This produced female apostles that joined the missionaries in evangelisation of Buganda, and helped the church in Buganda acquire its diocesans, one of the major factors in the indigenisation of the Buganda Catholic Church.

It was also found that, women courageously endured persecution which positively led to the growth of the church. This thesis identified women among others, Clara Nalumansi, Musubika of Buddu, and Rachael Binimumaso, whom the archival memoires exposed to have experienced direct and indirect torture, from the traditionalist and Muslims, but bravely, remained faithful to their new faith amidst martyrdom, spread the Catholic doctrines, virtues, won a number of many none Christians to the extent that even when they transferred their residence to Buddu province, their Christian chiefs established enclosures that were used to instruct catechism. These attracted many converts into the church. Further, through examination of archival memoirs such as baptism registers of 1885 to 1887, some women such as Munaku Matilda and Eugean were revealed to have served as "missionary women" to their fellow Africans. They served in different capacities and locations, while executing church activities. For example, Munaku was portrayed to have been influential in founding the first women and girl's catechist school at Nalukolongo in 1886. Archival and oral sources have it

[61] (Tereza Avilla, Mary Vicent and Sr. Trereza Francis Namirembe. 2010), 37.
[62] (Silvano Borruso. 2009*)*, 221.

that women Co-founded with the White Fathers the first girl's teacher training college at Bwanda 1924. They also influenced the foundation of both St. Joseph Nsambya Nursing training school, 1923 and Rubaga Nursing Training School in 1956. This thesis revealed that women founded and transformed most of the Catholic health care institutions from dispensaries to hospitals, equipped them with infrastructures and equipment, these health institutions included; Rubaga, Nsambya, Villa Maria and Kisubi and Kitovu and Nkozi. In 1934, under women leadership and collaboration, the Catholic Medical Bureau was formed. Similarly, women trained as nurses and midwives, thereafter, they championed the usage of Western medicine in Buganda, attracted experts from Germany, like Dr. Robert Koch and Dr. L.D. Ahmad from Pakistan. Women economically, supported the church, as they were at the centre of the cultivation of food that maintained the catechumenates, convents, clergies, and seminaries. They provided free labour for the execution of the church's activities, planted trees which later were used in church construction projects and extraction of oil used in the Church and opened the new proposed sites for the construction of new mission stations or parishes in the region.

Objective three of this study aimed at examining the obstacles women faced in the participation and contribution to the growth of the Buganda Catholic Church between 1882 and 1962. This dissertation has established that, from the foundation of the Buganda Catholic Church in 1879, there was exclusion of women from participation in any church-related activity especially during the first five years (1879–1885). Exclusion was mainly from European Christian Missionaries who provided formal Christian education during the early years of the church. There were no females among the first missionaries who came to evangelise Buganda, among the first five catechumens to receive Christian education, there were no women yet education was a requirement for one's baptism and subsequent participation in church related activities. This meant that the first wave of Catholic conversion that occurred between 1879 and 1885

had no females which deprived women of any opportunity to associate with the young Catholic Church.[63] Women exclusion was also evident even when the clear structures of formal education were established in 1898, characterised by Catechist schools, village schools, vernacular schools, central schools, and High schools. This school system followed an androcentric trend that eliminated women from accessing formal education.[64] Although the, initiatives to have women participate in church related activities begun in 1882, when the first Baganda male converts reached out to women for their evangelisation. This happened only after the missionaries had gone into self exile in Tanganyika in November, 1882. Thus, females had to wait until November, 1885 when they were received in the Buganda Catholic Church.

Further, by analysing archival and oral sources, this study revealed that women experienced marginalisation that featured the church leadership. They were excluded from the hierarchy and did not participate in decision-making. This was attributed to the impact of clericalism in the Catholic world and Buganda Catholic Church in particular, as well as to widespread illiteracy. These two mentioned factors contributed to the relegation of women from the church's hierarchy, limiting their services only to provision of audience in the church activities. Even when they met in their social clubs and passed a resolution, it simply ended there. Catholicism was and is patriarchal in traditional philosophy, belief and practice, as such it was unreceptive and oppressive to women in society.[65] Therefore, marginalisation of women in the Buganda Catholic Church had its roots in the origins of Western civilisation, which got planted to Buganda. It was shown that by 1899 Whites Sisters had arrived but none of them can be traced in the Catholic Church's history to have played a leadership role in the church neither at the parish nor at the Vicariate level. The Baganda male traditionalists and the colonial mentality

[63] (Marinus Rooijackerers. 2008), 28.
[64] J. C. Ssekamwa, ed. *History and Development of Education in Uganda*, (Kampala, Fountain Publisher, 2000), 220.
[65] (Victor Zinkuratire, 2003), 22.

further reinforced female marginalisation in Buganda's Catholic Church leadership during that period.[66] As this thesis has already indicated, isolation of women meant that their audience as followers and their ideas generated in women organisations were not central in the church's decisions, until 1939 when bishop Kiwanuka was appointed. But even then, Kiwanuka's liberal campaign to liberate women was criticised by the conservatives in the church. It was also found that women suffered from the consequences of religious persecution and wars in Buganda, which started in late 1885 and lasted until 1892. Women's attempts to practice the doctrines of their Catholic faith and evangelise were thwarted by the religious wars, which were characterised by tension, terror, migration, and the murder of some Christian converts which were the hallmarks of this era. Takulaba Maria Kikuva was the first to be brutally tortured, Clara Nalumansi was persecuted and killed, and Musubika was kidnapped when she was very young, sold into slavery, and then forced into marriage, where her Muslim husband killed her for practicing her faith. This threatened a number of women from embracing Catholicism which prevented the Catholic Church from expanding. Waliggo contends that Nalumansi was the catalyst for the initial persecution (1885–1886), except that, according to custom, women were rarely penalised for offenses that were deemed serious by them. As illustrated earlier, after being baptised by Lourdel in 1886, Princess Nalumansi preached against the traditionalists' unfaithful practices, including reliance on charm and amulets, which she believed were creations of Satan. She set fire on all the traditional relics that had been given to her care.[67] The chiefs wanted Nalumansi put to death but Mwanga intervened to save her. But it partly raised the anger of the traditionalists and the king. As they realised the strength of the Christian's ideology, they called for strict measures to be taken against the converts' acts,

[66] (Silvano Borruso. 2009),221.

[67] (Henry Lubega, Robert Mugga and Faustin Mugabe, 2021), 82.

which led to the Uganda Martyrs' murder and that of Nalumansi on August 2, 1888. This put many women at risk of joining Catholic faith.[68]

It was established that women lacked enough funding necessary to support the development of numerous programs, primarily those related to the health care system and girls' education, including infrastructure, books, and pens and human resources. Since women were operating on a limited budget and lacked actual decision-making authority, there efforts to promote education were so limited that when the White Fathers assigned women (White Sisters) the responsibility of managing female education 1899, they were unable to accomplish much. As already indicated, the British colonial authority didn't fund not only women education but the entire education system in Buganda. This left the development of female education in the hands of the White Sisters for the first forty-five years. Women were also in charge of the Catholic health department throughout the Buganda region. But this thesis found that since they worked on limited financial resources, it made it difficult for women to obtain the funds needed to set up infrastructure and purchase medical equipment necessary to diagnose affections or diseases, which complicated their work. Financial limitations also made it difficult for women to hire doctors, nurses, and midwives, among other health professionals. It was in 1920, when a doctor from Mulago Government Hospital was sent to Lubaga Hospital.

This study also revealed that economically, women were culturally excluded from property ownership and inheritance, which automatically relegated their positions and deterred their contribution to the growth of the church. At the family and religious levels, women were required to perform free labour; they tended to the plantains and tilled the soil. Though they dominated the agricultural sector, they had no control over harvests. The archival records,

[68] (Deogratias Muwemba, 2014), 96.

showed that women were negatively impacted by the Buganda Agreement of 1900, inequality and the unequal division of land. The monetary economy, which was founded on reliance on a single crop coffee, was too labour-intensive for women, as they also faced the price fluctuation of their coffees as Buganda had been integrated into the world economic market or system. As women's focus turned to cash crops at the expense of food crops, women struggled with famine in society. In search of supplies for crafts, women travelled great distances and waded through the dense jungles and flooded areas of Buganda. They also faced unemployment as a result of their lack of necessary labour or occupational skills throughout the colonial era, which could be traced from unequal education policies practiced by the missionaries and the colonialists. This limited their economic contribution of the church.

Therefore, this thesis offered a historical account of women's participation and contribution to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda between 1882 and 1962. It recognised the first indigenous Catholic women converts, catechists, and religious women. The thesis went on to highlight the contributions made by women in the areas of religion, education, health and economy in the, 1882 – 1962. Women taught reading, writing, arithmetic, ethos, circular and theological instruction. In church they practiced as catechists, sacristans, and started congregations of religious women and lay readers of various social groups. In economic perspective, women produced food to sustain seminaries, converts, clergies, catechumenates and schools they established. Initially, they converted dispensaries into hospitals by designing and building the necessary facilities and machinery among others like Lubagam Nsambya, Villa Maria and Kisubi. Despite the larger challenges women faced such as androcentric and clericalism, tropical diseases, religious persecutions, martyrdom, and poor transport and communication.

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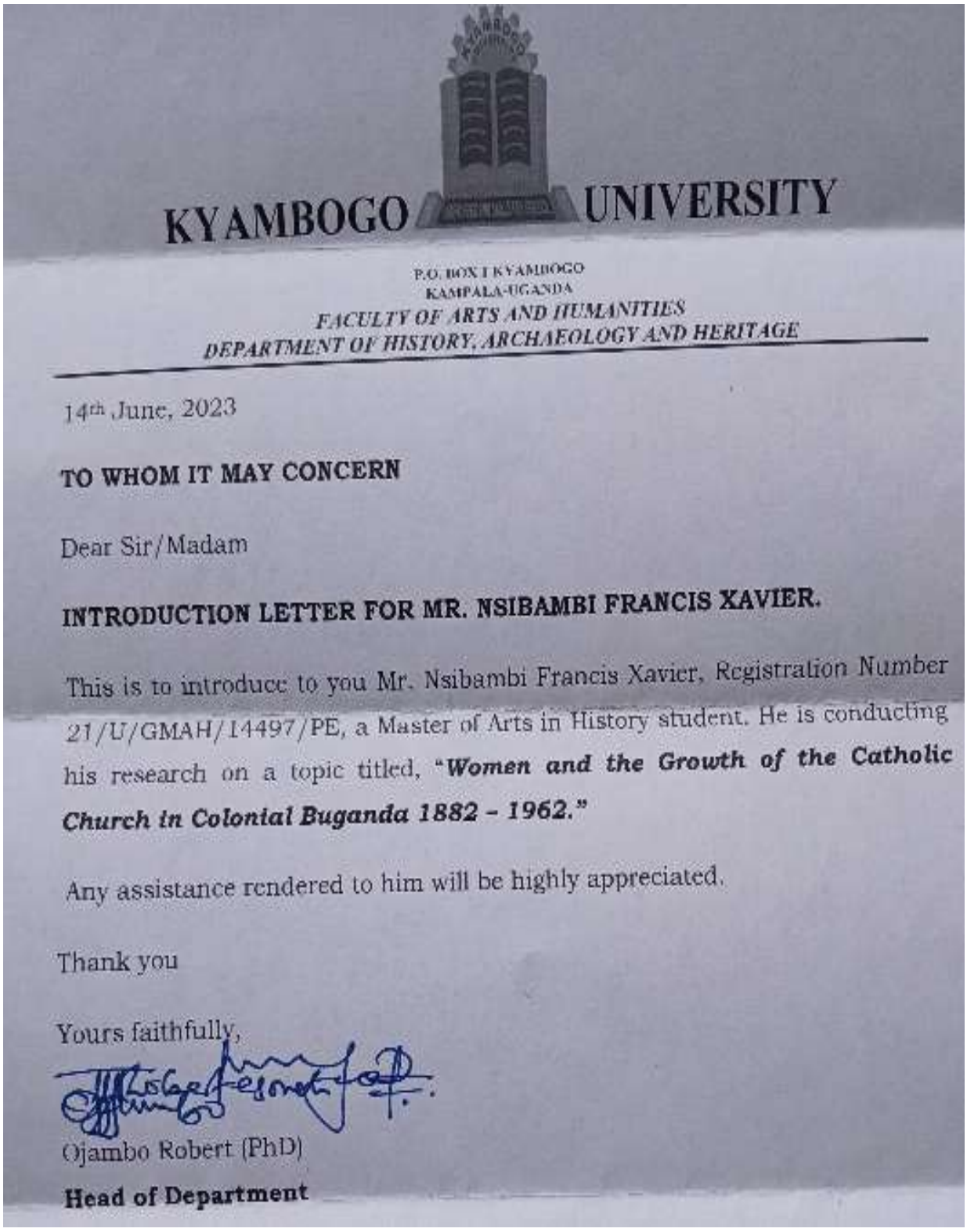
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APPENDICES:

Appendix 1: Introductory Letter



KYAMBOGO UNIVERSITY

P.O. BOX 1 KYAMBOGO
KAMPALA-UGANDA
FACULTY OF ARTS AND HUMANITIES
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, ARCHAEOLOGY AND HERITAGE

14th June, 2023

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir/Madam

INTRODUCTION LETTER FOR MR. NSIBAMBI FRANCIS XAVIER.

This is to introduce to you Mr. Nsibambi Francis Xavier, Registration Number 21/U/GMAH/14497/PE, a Master of Arts in History student. He is conducting his research on a topic titled, "***Women and the Growth of the Catholic Church in Colonial Buganda 1882 – 1962.***"

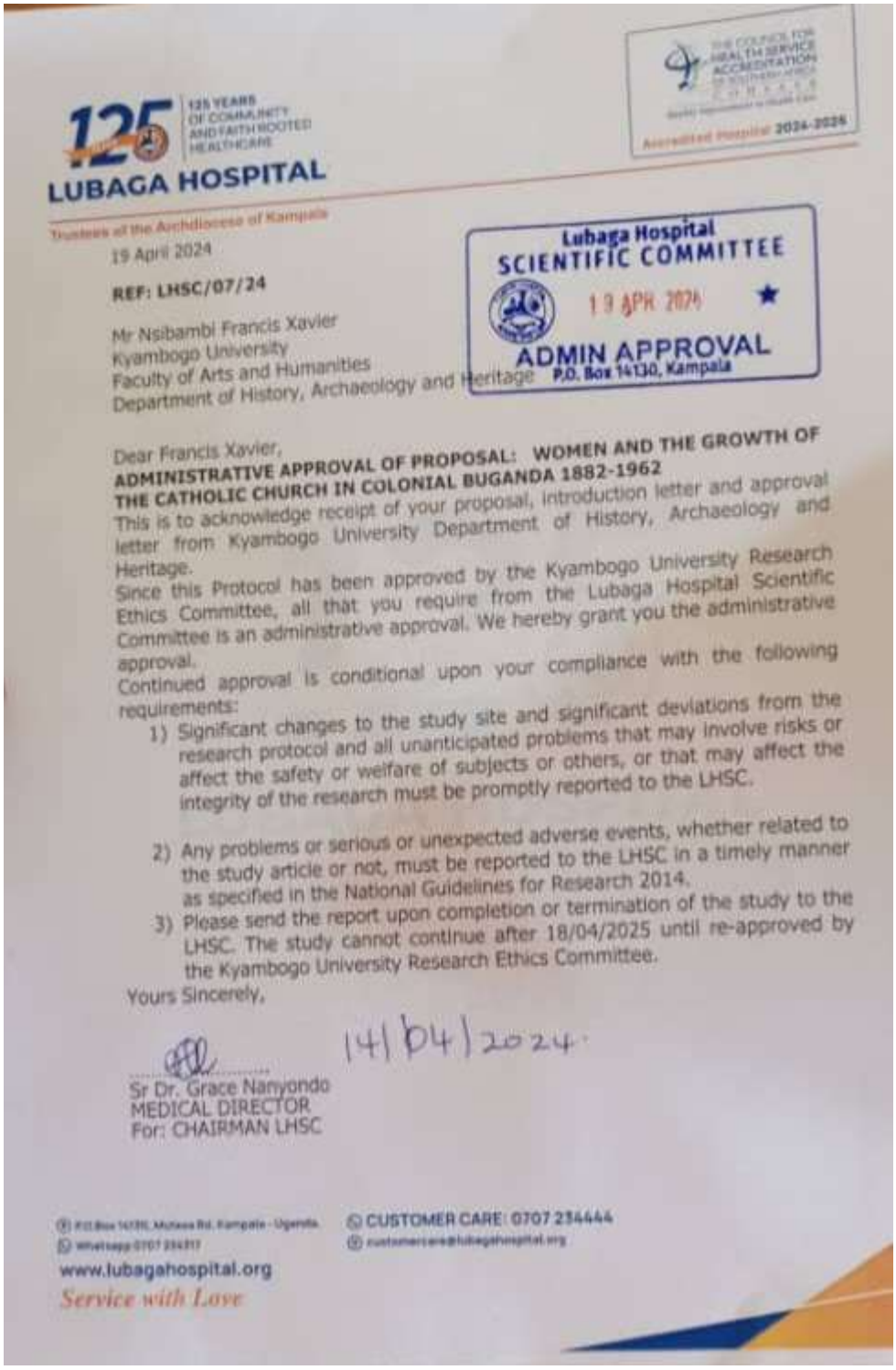
Any assistance rendered to him will be highly appreciated.

Thank you

Yours faithfully,

Ojambo Robert (PhD)
Head of Department

Appendix 2: Letter to Access Lubaga Hospital Records



125 YEARS OF COMMUNITY AND FAITH ROOTED HEALTHCARE

LUBAGA HOSPITAL

Trustees of the Archdiocese of Kampala

THE COUNCIL FOR HEALTH SERVICE ACCREDITATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

Accredited Hospital 2024-2026

19 April 2024

REF: LHSC/07/24

Mr Nsibambi Francis Xavier
Kyambogo University
Faculty of Arts and Humanities
Department of History, Archaeology and Heritage

Lubaga Hospital
SCIENTIFIC COMMITTEE
19 APR 2024
ADMIN APPROVAL
P.O. Box 14130, Kampala

Dear Francis Xavier,

ADMINISTRATIVE APPROVAL OF PROPOSAL: WOMEN AND THE GROWTH OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN COLONIAL BUGANDA 1882-1962

This is to acknowledge receipt of your proposal, introduction letter and approval letter from Kyambogo University Department of History, Archaeology and Heritage.

Since this Protocol has been approved by the Kyambogo University Research Ethics Committee, all that you require from the Lubaga Hospital Scientific Committee is an administrative approval. We hereby grant you the administrative approval.

Continued approval is conditional upon your compliance with the following requirements:

1) Significant changes to the study site and significant deviations from the research protocol and all unanticipated problems that may involve risks or affect the safety or welfare of subjects or others, or that may affect the integrity of the research must be promptly reported to the LHSC.

2) Any problems or serious or unexpected adverse events, whether related to the study article or not, must be reported to the LHSC in a timely manner as specified in the National Guidelines for Research 2014.

3) Please send the report upon completion or termination of the study to the LHSC. The study cannot continue after 18/04/2025 until re-approved by the Kyambogo University Research Ethics Committee.

Yours Sincerely,

14/04/2024

Sr Dr. Grace Nanyondo
MEDICAL DIRECTOR
For: CHAIRMAN LHSC

CUSTOMER CARE: 0707 234444

www.lubagahospital.org

Service with Love

Appendix: 3



General Lines : +256 414 250 534/6
: +256 414 250 557/8
Minister : +256 414 251003
Minister of State : +256 414 251004
Permanent Secretary : +256 414 251002
Toll free : 0000 100 200/201/202
Email : ps@publicservice.go.ug
Web : www.publicservice.go.ug

MINISTRY OF PUBLIC
PLOT 12 NAKASERO H
P.O. BOX 7003
KAMPALA
UGANDA

THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA

In any correspondence on this subject please quote no.....

RIM 076/077/01

21st November, 2024
Mr. Nsibambi Francis Xavier
Master of Arts Student
Kyambogo University
KAMPALA
Tel: +256 776545444

PERMISSION TO ACCESS OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS FOR RESEARCH
Reference is made to your letter date 13th November,2024 on the above subject.

Your request to access the National Records Center and Archives for research purposes is hereby granted.

Please contact Mrs. Justine Nalwoga Lukwago, Assistant Commissioner Archival Services who will coordinate the research on Mobile Phone number 0772661982.

By copy of this letter, the Officer is informed accordingly.

Lillian R. Ariso
For: PERMANENT SECRETARY

C.C: Mrs. Justine Nalwoga Lukwago
Assistant Commissioner Archival Services

Mission: To Provide human resource policies, management systems and structures that facilitate effient and effective public se
for national development and improved quality of life in uganda

Appendix: 4 Princess Clara Nalumansi



This picture was taken by the researcher on the visit to Namugongo Nakiyanja Protestant religious site at the Museum and Archive Centre

Appendix: 5 Field Photo



Field Photo taken on, 06/07/2023 at Bwanda Bannabikira (Daughters of Mary) Sister's Head Quarters Masaka.

Appendix: 6 Field Photo



This field photo was taken on July 19, 2023, at Bugoma (Ssese Island), a chapel and monument dedicated to commemorating the arrival of Fr. Lourdel Simeon and Br. Amans Delmas in the Buganda kingdom on February 15, 1879.

Appendix: 7 Consent Form

Dear respondent,

You are invited to participate in a research study titled "**Women and the Growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda, 1882 – 1962."**

I am Francis Xavier Nsibambi, pursuing a Master of Arts in History at Kyambogo University. The purpose of this study is to examine the participation and contribution of women to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda between 1882 and 1962. This research study is a fulfilment of the requirements for a ward of the degree in mention. Your participation shall be in form of an in-depth interviews and a discussion related to the top. Please you were selected as a possible participant because of your experience related to women's contribution to the growth of the Catholic Church. With your permission the researcher will record the information for further reference.

The objectives of this study include; To identify the women who participated in and contributed to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda between 1882 and 1962, to establish the contexts of women's participation and contribution to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda between 1882 and1962 and to investigate the challenges women faced in their contribution to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda between 1882 and 1962.

There are no known risks associated with participating in this study. In the event you experience stress or anxiety during your participation in the study you may terminate your participation at any time. You may refuse to answer any questions you consider invasive or stressful. The potential benefit of participating in this study may come in the form of providing more inclusive support services. Your involvement in this research is entirely voluntary. Your present or future relationships with Kyambogo University, your employer, or the researcher will not be impacted by your choice to participate. You can still opt out at any moment without impacting those relationships if you originally want to participate. Records pertaining to the study will be kept private.

The researcher will not include any information that could be used to identify a participant in any published report of this study. Your information won't be used by the researcher for anything other than this research study.

Contact person on study team:	Nsibambi Francis Xavier, 0776 5454544	
Research Assistant	Nansubuga Nusifah	0706069227
Name of contact persons at University	Dr. **Dr. James Magezi**	0772389546
Dr. Deogratius Kyanda Kannamwangi		0772489618

Statement of Consent:

I have read the above information and feel I have understood the study well enough to make a decision about my involvement. By signing below, I am agreeing to the terms described above.

Name of participant…….……...

Signature of participant ……..……. Date…….

Thump print (those unable to sign) …… Date…….…….

Name of literate witness.…….

Signature of literate witness

……..

Name of investigator Nsibambi Francis Xavier

Signature of investigator ……

Appendix: 7 Interview Guide

INTERVIEW GUIDE

A. SELF-INTRODUCTION

I am Francis Xavier Nsibambi, an M.A. (History) student at Kyambogo University, with a registration number of 21/GHAM/14497/PE. I am conducting this interview to gather data for my dissertation, which is a requirement for obtaining the degree. The sole purpose of this interview is to gather information for academic purposes and no other. Please be assured that the researcher will treat any information you provide with the utmost confidentiality. The research topic is: "Women and the Growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda, 1882-1962". To begin, could you please introduce yourself?

A. WOMEN WHO PARTICIPATED IN AND CONTRIBUTED TO THE GROWTH OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN BUGANDA

1. Do you happen to know who the first female converts in the Catholic Church were in Buganda?
2. In your opinion, who were the prominent female Catholic converts between 1881 and 1900, between 1900 and 1930, and between 1931 and 1961?
3. Do you have any comments about these women you have mentioned either collectively or individually?
4. What were the specific religious and social practices/ status/role of women in Buganda prior to the arrival of Catholic missionaries?

B. THE CONTEXTS AND EXTENT OF WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION

1. How did the arrival of Catholic missionaries impact women's social status and roles in Buganda society?
2. How did the introduction of Catholicism affect traditional gender roles and power dynamics in Buganda society?

3. What role did women play in the growth and spread of Catholicism in Buganda?
4. Did women have access to education and leadership positions within the Catholic Church in colonial Buganda?
5. Were there any significant female religious leaders or influencers in the Catholic community in colonial Buganda?
6. Could you be knowing how women contributed to the religious life and the role they played in Education?
7. In your opinion, what role did the women play in the economic development of the Church?
8. How did women contribute to the growth and sustainability of the Catholic Church in the area Health.
9. What impact did the involvement of women have on the overall growth and development of the Catholic Church in Buganda?
10. In what ways did women actively participate in the spread and growth of Catholicism in Buganda?
11. Were there any notable female leaders or influential figures within the Catholic community in Buganda during the period?
12. How did the Catholic Church address women's issues and concerns in Buganda during the era?
13. Did the conversion to Catholicism provide women with new avenues for empowerment and agency in Buganda society?
14. What were the specific roles and responsibilities assigned to women within the Catholic Church hierarchy in Buganda?
15. How did women contribute to the growth and sustainability of the Catholic Church in the following areas: a) Religious life, b) Education, c) Family life, and d) Catechism?

C. THE CHALLENGES ENCOUNTERED BY WOMEN IN CONTRIBUTING TO THE GROWTH OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN BUGANDA

1. What specific societal, cultural and religious factors created obstacles for women in actively participating in the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda?
2. How did the structure of the Catholic Church in Buganda impact women's opportunities for leadership and decision-making within the religious institution?
3. Were there primary roles and responsibilities that were assigned to women within the Catholic Church in Buganda, and how did these roles affect their ability to contribute to its growth?
4. How did the Catholic Church's teachings and doctrines regarding gender roles and women's rights shape women's involvement and agency in the church's growth in Buganda?
5. What economic challenges were faced by women in supporting and contributing financially to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda?
6. How did the introduction of Catholicism in Buganda intersect with existing indigenous gender norms, and how did this affect women's participation in the church's growth?
7. What strategies did women employ to overcome the challenges and obstacles they faced in contributing to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda?
8. To what extent did women's education and access to formal religious training impact their ability to actively contribute to the growth of the Catholic Church in Buganda?

D. IMPACT OF WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE GROWTH OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN BUAGNDA

1. How did women's participation in Catholic church activities contribute to its expansion in Buganda?
2. What impact did women's involvement in education have on the spread of Catholicism in Buganda?

3. How did women's leadership roles within the Catholic Church influence its growth and development in Buganda?
4. What contributions did women make to the establishment and operation of Catholic schools and educational institutions in Buganda?
5. How did women's involvement in healthcare initiatives contribute to the growth and influence of the Catholic Church in Buganda?
6. What influence did women have on the transmission of Catholic values and teachings within families in Buganda?
7. How did women's participation in catechism programs and evangelisation efforts contribute to the expansion of the Catholic Church in Buganda?

E. CONCLUSION

1. Is there anything we didn't talk about that you would like to add?

Thank you for participating in this study