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Reading revolution in late colonial Buganda

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This article explores the intellectual project of dissenting Protestant Ignatius K. Musazi, a key organiser of social protest in late colonial Buganda. Scholars of Uganda have positioned dissenting politics in the 1920s and 1940s alongside Bataka activism. But there were no less than two bodies of political dissenters in the 1940s: Bataka protesters and Musazi's Farmers' Unionists. While Musazi and Bataka both sought to push Buganda's colonial chiefs toward the margins, their projects were conceptually different in one important respect: whereas Bataka used Buganda's pre-monarchical past to critique Buganda's hierarchy and colonial power, Musazi imagined a distinctly royalist past where moral kings ruled Buganda with equity. Looking closely into Musazi's project, this article uses biography and emerging methods in global intellectual history to suggest new ways of enriching Uganda's social history. In particular, it uses Musazi's annotated library to show how global history and theological text were conterminously used to inform a certain moral philosophy of monarchy that was conceptually shaped by Bulemeezi's royalist past, Harold Laski and the biblical prophets.

Keywords: Buganda; Uganda; Musazi, Ignatius K.; Bible; literacy; global intellectual history

Introduction: political dissent in Buganda reconsidered, c. 1900 to c. 1945

Buganda's colonial monarchy was polemical, a contested body politic. Competing activists used history differently to complicate the past and to imagine dissenting visions of the state. Difference constituted a dynamic discursive arena, where discriminating land policies, agronomy, political restructuring and different religious allegiances and literacy precipitated new forms of doing politics. Individual actors and their respective communities imagined and debated monarchy from different perspectives and to very different ends.

The disproportionate distribution and privatisation of land in early colonial Uganda intensified local debate among Ganda activists concerning well-ordered monarchy, resulting in the Bataka controversies of the 1920s. Land controversies paralleled growing economic grievance among rural farmers,¹ where distress was exacerbated by colonial cotton regulations. Indeed, due to its ideal climate, Uganda was the second largest producer of cotton in Britain's empire by 1939 – second to India.² With rising global demands for cotton in the early twentieth century, Ganda chiefs placed increasing pressure on farmers to produce. No later than 1909, *ssaza* (county) chiefs appointed assistants to travel throughout their respective districts to

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enforce cotton regulations.³ The manner in which Baganda cotton inspectors dealt with rural famers caused considerable alarm among colonial officials. The superintendant of the cotton department noted: “These men often deal with peasants in a most high-handed way, calculated to make cotton culture distasteful rather than attractive to the natives.”⁴

By the late 1940s, the *ssaza* of Bulemeezi, to which I will return, was Buganda’s largest producer of cotton.⁵ Here and elsewhere, farmers complained increasingly of cut earnings at the hand of Indian ginners, who became a focal point of political resistance in the mid-twentieth century. In a letter sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, A. Creech Jones, leading organisers of the Uganda African Farmers’ Union (UAFU), Ignatius K. Musazi, Erieza Bwete and Peter Sonko, complained that farmers had failed to receive “amelioration and removal of an oppression which brinks to sheer robbery and [have not received] any redress from the Police who are responsible to see that any violation of the cotton ordinances be brought to book”.⁶ The triumvirate spoke of “open robbery” and ginners who “accumulated enormous wealth at the expense of the illiterate cotton growers”.⁷

Increasing economic tension accompanied broader political concern. The *Nnamasole* Affair, the acquisition of land for Makerere College and the resignation and assassination of *Katikkiro* (Prime Minister) Martin Luther Nsibirwa impelled seismic political change in Buganda.⁸ Social shift instigated unrest in 1945 and 1949, when activists organised protests to restore social order, to cleanse Buganda’s monarchy of corruption, first in Entebbe and then throughout Buganda.⁹ On 15 January 1945, “groups of intimidators were at work bringing pressure to bear and assaulting those who remained at work”.¹⁰ The Enquiry into the disturbances summarised: “They [protesters] were armed with sticks and stones and attacked Indian property as well as their servants. They invaded private dwellings including those of Europeans. Their object clearly was to force every African to stop work.”¹¹ The following day, riots climaxed when after 110 European and 48 Asian Special Constables were deployed, a police officer was shot and killed by a demonstrator.¹² In September 1945, *Katikkiro* Martin Luther Nsibirwa was assassinated at St Paul’s Cathedral, Namirembe.¹³ For Musazi, a leading organiser of protest, the disturbances of 1945 defined the political timbre of the second half of the decade, including the eventual 1949 disturbances.¹⁴

Scholars of Uganda have positioned dissenting politics in the 1920s and 1940s alongside Bataka activism. For example, Holly Hanson argues that in the 1920s, *bataka* (hereditary clan heads), royals, spirit mediums and in some instances chiefs, argued for “multiple structures of power that had characterized Buganda in the past”.¹⁵ To dispute colonial land policies and Apolo Kagwa’s centralising political project, observes Hanson, dissenting activists imagined a past when kings mediated their power through acts of reciprocity with clan heads.¹⁶ Carol Summers, in her research on Buganda’s dissenting landscape in the 1940s, argues that Bataka constructed “a vision of citizenship rooted in the rights and responsibilities of grandfathers and grandsons [...]”.¹⁷ To marshal dissenters, activists used generational sensibility and “deployed understandings of power, identity, and connectedness rooted in specifically Ganda understandings of the relations between grandfathers and grandsons”.¹⁸ In so doing, activists employed the language of generational and moral responsibility and rights to rebuff “inequitable hierarchies”.¹⁹

Hanson's and Summers' research is important and shows how activists such as Jemusi Miti and Ssemakula Mulumba used Buganda's pre-monarchical history to anchor political critique. But there were no less than two bodies of political dissenters in the 1940s: Bataka protesters and Musazi's Farmers' Unionists. While Musazi and Bataka activists both sought to push Buganda's colonial chiefs toward the margins, their projects were conceptually different in one important respect: whereas Bataka used Buganda's pre-monarchical past to critique Buganda's hierarchy and colonial power, Musazi imagined a distinctly royalist past where moral kings ruled Buganda with equity. Whereas Bataka in the 1940s sought to reorient Buganda's political order around self-identified clan heads, Musazi aimed to create space where Buganda's morally endowed kings could faithfully execute justice. Musazi believed that disparity was the result of a monarchy stifled by political compromise, that inequalities would not take place if Buganda had a strong monarchy to protect the economic and political interests of their kingdom's rural citizenry.

This article uses new sources to rethink Buganda's moral landscape during the 1940s, focusing on Musazi's intellectual project in the late 1930s and mid-1940s. Looking closely into Musazi's project, this article uses biography²⁰ and emerging methods in global intellectual history²¹ to suggest new ways of enriching Uganda's social history. In particular, it uses Musazi's annotated library to show how global history and theological ideation were used to inform a particular political philosophy of monarchy. In the late 1930s, Musazi and mostly Bulemeezi dissenters – identified as *Abazzukulu ba Kintu* (the Descendants of Kintu) – used global history and biblical exegesis to rethink Bulemeezi's royalist past, primarily, and Bataka grievance from the 1920s to a lesser extent. Dissidents were *Abazzukulu ba Kintu*, the political heirs of Buganda's proto-mythical king. Marginalia illuminates the creative processes that Musazi used to build upon this past and conceptualise Buganda as an equitable monarchy, a moral kingdom governed by just sovereigns. Like Israel's community in Egypt, Musazi believed that Buganda's citizenry was oppressed by powerful chiefs. Through the practice of reading, Musazi imagined Buganda to be a kingdom "at war", in need of "fundamental change". Musazi and demonstrators argued that Buganda's powerful chiefs sought to corrupt their kingdom's young sovereign, to eat Buganda's kingship – "*okulya Bwakabaka*".²² To contest Buganda's hungry chiefs, Musazi advocated the historical and moral revival of monarchy – not clan heads – conceptually guided by Bulemeezi's royalist past, Harold Laski and the biblical prophets.

Ignatius K. Musazi (1905–90): early biography and Bulemeezi royalism

Musazi's political sensibilities were first shaped by the peculiar social characteristics of Bulemeezi, Buganda's second most populated *ssaza*.²³ At the time of Musazi's birth in 1905, northern Bulemeezi was described as an outpost for Buganda in her perennial political and military struggles with Bunyoro.²⁴ Richard Reid suggests that by 1875 the *ssaza* chieftaincy of Bulemeezi, *kangaawoship*, was identified as a military command post.²⁵ And when the *ssaza* chiefs of Ssingoo and Bulemeezi were first described to Henry M. Stanley, they were portrayed as "military commanders in charge of certain stretches of frontier".²⁶ Ritual reflected bordered hostility and reminded Bulemeezi's chiefs of their vexatious relationship with their northern neighbour. One commentator in *Munno* suggested that when "*kangaawo*'s were

appointed they had to announce the spirit of the first dead *kangaawo*, Matumpaggwa, who reigned in the times of the King Mawanda [*sic*].²⁷ As part of this initiation ceremony, guests and chiefs assembled at night to eat the liver of a sacrificed cow, in which under no circumstance could a Munyoro participate.²⁸

Life in Bulemeezi was exigent. Nyoro campaigns into northern Buganda in the nineteenth century resulted in the seizure of slaves from Ssinga and Bulemeezi.²⁹ Due to constant military activity and forced migration, Bulemeezi experienced frequent plantation abandonment, resulting in the decline of agricultural productivity.³⁰ One Ganda proverb reflected the adversity of life in Bulemeezi: “The Balemeezi are similar to banana stalks left in the cooking pot.”³¹ In consequence, Balemeezi were characterised by tenacity, as those who did not possess *obuntubulamu*, Buganda’s highest virtue in public morality.³² *Obuntubulamu* was aspired to in speech and social etiquette. Deference toward elders and clansmen characterised social interaction.³³ By contrast, Balemeezi were renowned for shrewd manners. One proverb stated: “*Bulemeezi teva muto: eva musisiirwa*”, “There comes no simple/young child from Bulemeezi, only someone fully grown”.³⁴

The task of creating and defending military borders not only fostered tenacity, it instilled the importance of political hierarchy.³⁵ Geopolitical expansion presupposed a dynamic relationship between Buganda’s military chiefs and her monarchs. In Bulemeezi’s military culture, kingship was a vested interest that created intense feelings of monarchical loyalty. Musazi’s father, Nakyama Kangave, typified the tenacious and royalist spirit of Bulemeezi. Nakyama was a *ggombolola* (sub-county) chief in Bulemeezi, posted to the Buganda-Bunyoro border. As chief, he was referred to as “*omulinda buzibu*”, “one who waits for trouble”.³⁶ Following the religious wars in the 1890s, Nakyama played a reluctant role in apprehending *Kabaka* (King) Mwanga from Acholiland shortly before the latter’s deportation to the Seychelles.³⁷ Upon apprehension, Mwanga was detained in Nakyama’s village.³⁸ During Mwanga’s incarceration, Nakyama demonstrated monarchical loyalty through prepared banquets and prostration, which infuriated Buganda’s aspiring premier, Apolo Kaggwa.³⁹

Musazi’s royalist project was closely associated with the politics of his father and Bulemeezi.⁴⁰ Musazi’s heir, E.N. Musazi, recalled that his father had an unusually close relationship with Nakyama (see Figure 1).⁴¹ He suggested: “Some people said it was so because by the time of Musazi’s birth, his father was old.”⁴² Musazi, too, often confided to his children that his political affinity toward his father was a result of their relationship having been cultivated “at the time [Nakyama] had gray hair”.⁴³ In other words, a time when Musazi’s active politics could be guided by his father. Bulemeezi owned Musazi as a son and her political constituency – throughout his long political career – publically and consistently offered its support.⁴⁴ But to advocate the reform of Buganda’s Protestant monarchy beyond the borders of Bulemeezi and critique colonial power in the 1930s and 1940s, it was necessary for Musazi to re-imagine this inherited historical tradition. To do this, he used the tools that he acquired while preparing for Anglican ordination.

Ordinand training: God and global history

Bulemeezi was also Buganda’s largest Protestant county in the early twentieth century, where church membership statistics indicate religious fervour. The Church Missionary Society reported that by the 1907–08 colonial fiscal year Bulemeezi and



Figure 1. Nakyama Kangave and I.K. Musazi with family Bible, n.d. Courtesy of E.N. Musazi.

Buruli had 181 churches combined, with an average weekly attendance of 9260.⁴⁵ In Buganda, this accounted for 26% of all churches and 28% of total Protestant membership.⁴⁶ By 1939, *Lukiiko* (Buganda's parliament) reports estimated that there were 81,019 Protestants in Bulemeezi and Buruli, with 69,160 of these being Bulemeezi.⁴⁷ For Bulemeezi and Buruli, this constituted a 775% increase from the 1907–08 fiscal year.

Musazi and his father were no exception to Bulemeezi's Protestant fervour. Nakyama Kangave was a devout Protestant. When he recounted the religious wars in the early 1950s to George Shepherd – an American economist then working with Musazi's UAFU – he employed the rhetoric of “God's glory” and “God's wrath”.⁴⁸ With large portions of land to sell, he arranged for his son to pursue ministerial studies in England.⁴⁹

In 1925, Musazi matriculated at Trent College, Nottingham, after which he transferred to St Augustine's College, Canterbury, no later than October 1927.⁵⁰ Earlier at Trent, Musazi testified to a calling to missions.⁵¹ In a five-page letter to Bishop Willis, Musazi shared that at the age of nine he felt God's calling upon his life

to missionary service while in his father's village, a calling that "kept on knocking within".⁵² After Musazi's village experience, he enrolled at Mengo High School (later merged as King's College, Budo), where he was surprised to find two classmates with a similar calling. The three prayed regularly, asking God to make them "perfect to do His will".⁵³

As an ordinand, Musazi acquired a particular skill-set to mine texts, not the least the Bible. Examination for Orders required demanding exegetical assignments on biblical passages. Musazi exegeted passages from Isaiah and translated Greek texts, such as portions of Mark's gospel and the Acts of the Apostles – passages that contained political implication.⁵⁴ Musazi, moreover, wrote papers and sermons on Christology, pneumatology, pastoral theology, religious education and the question of race in relation to Christianity.⁵⁵ In her recent study on St Augustine's College, Hilary M. Carey shows that St Augustine's three-year programme emphasised ancient languages.⁵⁶ In the school's early curriculum, first year students studied the history of the Bible, the Greek gospels, Latin and apologetics.⁵⁷ In the second year, students studied Bishop John Jewell's *Apology of the Church of England* (1562), Christopher Wordsworth's manual, *Theophilus Anglicanus*, the Thirty-Nine Articles, as well as Hebrew and additional Greek.⁵⁸ In their final year, students continued to study language, the history of Christian mission and Joseph Butler's *Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed* (1736).⁵⁹

Musazi used his courses to reflect upon the political implications of early Church history. In Acts, global dissemination of the gospel was considered a "liberating idea" by Musazi,⁶⁰ a phrase he used four times to describe inexorable propagation, a time when Christians used conversion to resist political power. Musazi first used the phrase to describe Pentecost, when early Christians were believed to have first received a supernatural ability to speak different languages for the purposes of evangelisation.⁶¹ In his second and third usage, Musazi applied the phrase to Acts 4.18–20, where Peter and John were commanded by hostile rulers to cease evangelisation. In response, the two replied: "we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard".⁶² In its final usage, Musazi employed the phrase to refer to the diffusion of "the word", made possible by a persecuted diaspora.⁶³ In short, Musazi used ante-Nicene history to reflect upon a "going to and fro" for the dissemination and increase of knowledge.⁶⁴ In Acts, Musazi noted a subversive political community that used conversion to undermine empire and entrenched religious elites,⁶⁵ a moral language that he could easily translate to conceptualise Protestant dissent in Bulemeezi.

Musazi's studies coincided with his growing interest in global political struggle and the relationship between faith and politics, an interest he cultivated while at St Augustine's. After all, St Augustine's founder, Edward Coleridge (1800–83), situated his political nationalism alongside the English Church, an agenda he inherited from his forebear Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834).⁶⁶ Musazi's stay in England coincided with the general strike of May 1926, which shaped further his developing sense of social activism.⁶⁷ Organised by the Trade Union Congress over low wages and poor working conditions among coal miners, the strike demonstrated to Musazi the importance of protest and labour strikes – strategies he incorporated in the 1940s. Further, the general strike fuelled Musazi's growing interest in the history of peasant struggle in nineteenth-century France. And he returned to Uganda considering Émile François Zola one of his favourite writers and activists.⁶⁸ Indeed, his deep appreciation for Zola resulted in effort to persuade his sister to name her son,

Émile. Having failed to convince his sister, he lobbied the name of his second favourite French writer, Victor Hugo, and succeeded.⁶⁹ Musazi studied French⁷⁰ and read Zola's *J'Accuse!*, the central literary document of the Dreyfus Affair (see below).⁷¹

Abazzukulu ba Kintu: The reform and revival of monarchy

Musazi completed ordinand requirements at St Augustine's, but was not permitted to remain in England for ministerial appointment. He was instructed to return to Uganda for six months of local parish ministry, which "annoyed Musazi greatly".⁷² Musazi later expressed to George Shepherd that "he could not accept ordination because of the discrimination against Africans by the Church of England",⁷³ frustration further exacerbated by circumstances surrounding an engagement he had with an English woman.⁷⁴ After returning to Uganda, Musazi taught at King's College, Budo, where he worked from 1928 to 1933. Initially, Musazi read additional books required by the Church,⁷⁵ but formal ministerial pursuits ceased after the Bishop of Uganda expressed strong disapproval toward a homily Musazi preached.⁷⁶ After Budo, Musazi slowly transitioned into full-time politics, concerned increasingly by an evident disparity between Mmengo elites and rural farmers.

Musazi believed that social inequality was the result of a monarchy stifled by political concession. And to advocate the reform and revival of Buganda's monarchy, Musazi and a cadre of dissenting Baganda established *Abazzukulu ba Kintu* (the Descendants of Kintu) in 1938.⁷⁷ The immediate circumstances surrounding the formation of the organisation were economic, political and historical. Economically, members of Uganda's first registered trade union, the Uganda Motor Drivers' Association (whose membership largely constituted *Abazzukulu*),⁷⁸ critiqued the colonial government's plan to restrict African-owned public transportation services.⁷⁹ Politically, *Abazzukulu* reacted strongly against the Native Administration Ordinance, which if passed would "amalgamate the Native Government of Buganda with any of the other Native Administrations of the Protectorate".⁸⁰ For *Abazzukulu*, this was reasoned "absurd", a ploy to undermine Buganda's sovereignty.⁸¹ In Buganda's long history, *Abazzukulu* politicking reflected the forceful, discursive character of Bulemeezi royalism, in the first instance, and earlier Bataka critique in the second. Like Bataka, *Abazzukulu* argued that Buganda's regents were no longer concerned for the welfare of ordinary Baganda.⁸² However, their project was noticeably different in at least one important respect – *Abazzukulu* aimed to situate political authority alongside Buganda's kings, not clan heads. On 19 September 1938, for example, Musazi and *Abazzukulu* forwarded a 19-page missive to *Kabaka* Daudi Chwa, whom they believed should rise up and defend the rights of Buganda's exploited commoners. *Abazzukulu* accused Buganda's regents of intimidating members of the *Lukiiko*, mismanaging kingdom estates and misappropriating revenues.⁸³ *Abazzukulu* argued that chiefs no longer cared for the "interests of the people in general and their business enterprises in particular".⁸⁴ Out of fear of compromising potential promotion, chiefs no longer represented the interest of their people.⁸⁵ As sons of Buganda's proto-mythical king, Kintu, *Abazzukulu* appealed to their current king for justice: "We suffer injustice; we dread the future; will your Highness then now turn a deaf ear to our miseries? It is the duty of our Protector to guard us against any evil."⁸⁶ In so doing, *Abazzukulu* hoped that Buganda's king would resurrect Kintu's moral project.

Why did *Abazzukulu* assert political authority alongside kings, and not clan heads or commoners? One reason is because Balemeezi activists directionalised the movement. As shown, Musazi was a son of Bulemeezi. Also, earlier Bataka, Bulemeezi-based activists, *Kangaawo* Samwiri Mukasa and his son, Shem Spire Mukasa, Daudi Chwa's personal secretary,⁸⁷ were important leaders in Musazi's movement.⁸⁸ Another important organiser of the movement was Revd Reuben Spartas Mukasa (see below), whose Orthodox devotees in Buganda were primarily Balemeezi.⁸⁹

Musazi and Samwiri Mukasa embodied the Protestant fervour that characterised activism in Bulemeezi, where, like Catholic politics in Buddu,⁹⁰ religious allegiance and local politics were closely unified. In 1938 – as *Abazzukulu* was being organised – Balemeezi church leaders and *ggombolola* chiefs developed a consolidation fund to simultaneously fund priests, the *kangaawo* with his assistants and a *mutaka* (clan head). The stated intent of the fund was to further peace and stability in the county.⁹¹ For Bulemeezi's ministerial trainee, Musazi, and former Bible translator *Kangaawo* Samwiri Mukasa, the Bible provided extensive moral capital from which to reconceptualise Buganda's monarchy, language that activists readily employed in their lament to *Kabaka* Chwa:

We are the only most precious heritage bequeathed to Your Highness by Kintu; we are the only people on the earth whom the Good God has placed under your protection and governance. But still, your humble servants and petitioners will not loose [*sic*] heart; we know that in your lifetime your right hand will ever stretch out to defend us[.]⁹²

For Musazi and his colleagues, Buganda's kingship was reasoned an equitable monarchy established by a God believed to be “no respecter of persons”, one “who inspires men with truth and justice to work and live for the welfare and protection of their fellow men”.⁹³ Rendering themselves the political heirs of Kintu, Bulemeezi's *Abazzukulu* activists used the Bible to imagine a monarchical revival to contest corrupt rulers.

By using the Bible to contest Buganda's monarchy, Musazi and his political community employed a practice that Ganda Christians had come to use to complicate historical claims made by Protestant chiefs who used the past to legitimise the exercise of power in Buganda's colonial state, especially Apolo Kaggwa. This point warrants emphasis. Recent scholars, such as Neil Kodesh, argue that Protestant Baganda used their Bibles and biblical teaching to “consolidate their position at the apex of the reconstituted political order”.⁹⁴ But Protestantism clearly was not a hegemonic community in Buganda and neither was the Protestant Bible used only to consolidate power. In 1939, Revd Bartolomayo Zimbe published his extensive history, *Buganda ne Kabaka*. His use of scriptural reasoning throughout the work demonstrates the extent to which early Protestant converts mined the Bible for a moral grammar to imagine competing claims of political authority within *Protestant* Buganda.⁹⁵ The purpose of Zimbe's history was to complicate Apolo Kaggwa's functional histories, *Bassekabaka be Buganda* (1901) and *Ekitabo Kye Mpisa Za Baganda* (1905). Zimbe noted:

We read these books [*Bassekabaka* and *Empisa*] with great interest and appreciate that without them it would be difficult for us to get the history of Buganda at present. [. . .] In this book I intend to write about other things which you cannot find in those books, and I have attempted to correct those I found untrue [. . .]⁹⁶

Kaggwa had used his books on Buganda's precolonial monarchy to historicise his political project,⁹⁷ to present a lineage of administrative kings committed to social progress. In so doing, Kaggwa positioned himself as a faithful executor of a project to which he could historically point.⁹⁸ Unlike Kaggwa, when Zimbe talked about Buganda's monarchy he talked about the morality and responsibility of power:⁹⁹

The meaning of this name Kintu is “Kintu kya Mukama” The person of God (Katonda). The Baganda distinguished Katonda (God) as the creator of all things in the world: people and animals. Accordingly, Kintu was called “Muntu wa Mukama” and when a person stabbed his enemy while fighting in the battle he would refer the blame to the Kabaka; saying, “Kulwa Kabaka” meaning I have killed you but on behalf of Kabaka because I have no power to kill the man of God. They know that God gave only Kabaka the power of killing another person and also to give judgement to the people. Even [as] a person stabbed an animal whilst hunting would say “Kulwa Kabaka” (on behalf of the Kabaka).¹⁰⁰

Like *Abazzukulu*, Zimbe did not create an historical narrative steeped in the language of Bataka. His project focused on an equitable living monarch – *Buganda ne Kabaka*, Buganda and the [living] King. Through the biblical reinterpretation of Buganda's past, Zimbe aligned Buganda's historical kingdom along an existing morally endowed monarch, bringing into question Kaggwa's history of dead kings – *Bassekabaka*.¹⁰¹ A history of a living moral monarchy in contrast to a history of deceased administrative kings – the difference could not be more stark.

Dissenting activists used biblical interpretation together with world history to critique missionary Christianity and colonialism. As referenced, *Abazzukulu* was an early political platform for Revd Reuben Spartas Mukasa, whose Orthodox project was shaped by text and a certain interpretation of world history. Born in the late nineteenth century, Spartas began his formal education at an Anglican school in Nakanyonyi.¹⁰² Spartas' exceptional performance was recognised by Archdeacon Daniel, who arranged for Spartas to live in his home at the diocesan theological college in Mukono (now Uganda Christian University), where Spartas completed his primary education in a nearby school.¹⁰³ From Mukono, Spartas earned a scholarship to attend King's College, Budo, where he considered pursuing priesthood in the Anglican Church.¹⁰⁴ However, “during the course of his reading [...] he discovered that ‘Anglicanism was a mere branch of the true Church’”.¹⁰⁵ In due course, while serving in the King's African Rifles during World War I, Spartas read Marcus Garvey's *Negro World*, where he learned about the African Orthodox Church in America before establishing the Orthodox Church in Uganda.¹⁰⁶ Mukasa used the history of Orthodoxy – a more ancient faith – to critique the colonial state and Anglican paternalism.¹⁰⁷

Like Spartas, Musazi used global intellectual capital to critique colonial rulers. As discussed earlier, by the time Musazi returned from Britain, he had familiarised himself with the history of European dissenting politics. And in the late 1930s and 1940s, Musazi argued that if Britain was going to govern Buganda, it was expected that they would rule in the historical (imagined) tradition of British justice. In a 10-page letter sent to the Secretary of State concerning the high-handed dismissal of leaders within the *Lukiiko* by the colonial government, Musazi expressed prayerful hope for the application of “the principle of human liberty [...] English justice and fair play”.¹⁰⁸ Moreover, Musazi used language that closely resembled Émile François Zola's to critique British policy. The dismissal reminded Musazi of Captain Alfred

Dreyfus' controversial sentencing and, to chide Uganda's governor, Musazi used a format that paralleled Zola's open letter to President Faure:

[I]f anyone lying under the flag of the British Justice can be dismissed without having his case first tried by the Lukiiko, and if this becomes a custom, many people are liable to suffer a doom when those People in authority know very well that they can do whatever they like without being checked.¹⁰⁹

Following this initial letter to Uganda's governor, *Abazzukulu* produced further correspondence, drawing explicitly from seventeenth-century English Civil War history:

We are decided and determined to fight their [British] tyranny, although remains unchecked for ever; unceasingly in the same way as was done by the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England and Scotland; Oliver Cromwell, in 1654–1659, when he said to the tyrant Parliament that “Begone and make room for better men”. So, unceasingly, we will fight for our country and our constitutional Kabaka, as long as we live under the UNION JACK which bespeaks of Justice, Freedom and Fair-play.¹¹⁰

Abazzukulu's use of English history is innovative and illustrates how African intellectuals could rethink the canons of official history, using global history to engage in a wider sphere of local political debate. Oliver Cromwell is not used to advocate the dissolution of Buganda's political monarchy. By contrast, the abolition of the Stuart monarchy is referenced to draw attention to colonial injustice. By undermining the moral integrity of Britain's colonial project, Kintu's “descendants” questioned the social practice of Britain's imperial monarchy, using the terms of colonial protection to advocate for the rights and power of Buganda's own monarchy.

Reading revolution: Harold Laski and the prophets

Musazi's private library shows that to imagine his politics in the 1940s, he continued to use global history and the Bible. Musazi's existent library of 100 books is the vestige of a collection once far more voluminous.¹¹¹ In his 1927 copy of H.M. Gwatkin's *Early Church History*, Vol. II, Musazi recorded that the book was the only one remaining from a personal library of 300 volumes destroyed in 1966.¹¹² From his library, one can see that Musazi was an avid reader. His library indicates that he was actively engaged in reading from the time of his education at King's College, Budo, in the early 1920s to at least 1987. Among the 82 texts I have analysed – texts he actually autographed – no fewer than 2156 passages are underlined and 297 annotated.¹¹³ In the library are two books that Musazi clearly read more than any other – an English Authorized Bible used from 1924 to at least 1946, and an English Book of Common Prayer used during the same period.¹¹⁴ With no fewer than 1321 underlined passages and 226 annotated texts combined, Musazi's Bible and prayer book constitute roughly 62% of all underscored text and 76% of all annotation in the library. Next to the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer, Musazi's most read book was Harold Laski's *Reflections on the Revolution of our Time* (1943), which he read in 1944.

Marginalia raises interpretative questions about literacy and textual criticism in colonial Africa. Social historians of Africa tend to emphasise the public, political utility of text – interpreting reading and literacy as a social process of self-positioning.¹¹⁵ As this study also shows, Musazi and other activists in the late 1930s

mined their books to inform social critique, to find words *to use*. But words and the development of personal libraries are not only functional tools that actors use to practise empirical politics.¹¹⁶ Textual marginalia provides a rare glimpse into the life of the mind, the constitution of a particular subjective reality.¹¹⁷ In the creation of annotation, subjective being (expressed in marginalia) and social context (the text being annotated and the social purposes for which it is chosen) is comprehensibly and simultaneously observable.¹¹⁸ In turn, marginalia provides unique insight into the heart and mind of a social subject.¹¹⁹ By analysing *how* Musazi responded to a particular text through the creation of marginalia, the historian observes what later Wittgenstein rendered, “a social conscious activity of the mind”.¹²⁰ When Musazi read text, he observed, took notes and intellectually and emotionally responded to narrative with meaningful reflection and commentary that paralleled the discursive character of his public activism during the late 1930s and mid-1940s. Annotation and underscored text, therefore, reflect meaningful and intentional action, discourse and embodiment of a peculiar epistemological paradigm.¹²¹ In the remaining discussion, I will focus on Musazi’s most read texts in the 1940s, Laski’s *Reflections* and the Bible. Musazi’s marginalia in these texts show how he reasoned alongside global history and theological metaphor to conceptualise local politics in the 1940s.

In 1944, on the eve of protest in January 1945, Musazi was reading Harold Laski (1893–1950),¹²² Labour parliamentarian and lecturer at the London School of Economics and Political Science.¹²³ Laski’s *Reflections* was published in 1943 and is one of only two books dated to the 1940s that remain in Musazi’s library.¹²⁴ Musazi’s copy of *Reflections* contains 12 annotated passages and no fewer than 53 underscored sections; Buganda’s political landscape is specifically referenced five times.¹²⁵ The first four read:

Laski text: The challenge to our system of values is, if this argument be correct, the outcome of our failure to maintain the right to hope; and that failure, in its turn, is born of the fact that our relations of production do not enable us to exploit with sufficient adequacy the forces of production at our disposal. [. . .]

Annotation: Yes So it is in Buganda now.¹²⁶

Laski text: [. . .] and we are entitled to conclude that where, to-day, that development is not organized it is because those who refuse to attempt it have vested interests enlightenment would weaken.

Annotation: True with Buganda of today.¹²⁷

Laski text: For any society in which the few are so wealthy and the many so poor that their minds are driven to perpetual consideration of their wealth and poverty is, in fact, a society at war, whether the fight be open or concealed. It is a society, once its power to expand is arrested, which cannot think in terms of a common interest because whatever is taken from one class is given thereby to another.

Annotation: Is Buganda not challenged!¹²⁸

Laski text: The public opinion of this country is ready for fundamental change. Its traditional habits have been profoundly disturbed.

Annotation: Buganda too¹²⁹

Annotations show that Laski's political metaphors captured Musazi's economic and political critique on the eve of protest. Musazi and his colleagues believed themselves economically and politically undercut by corrupt Baganda with vested interest, Indian ginners and colonial bureaucrats. Appropriately, Musazi's marginalia emphasised public morality and justice, equality and emancipation. Alongside Laski, Musazi reasoned a kingdom adversely impacted by "relations of production", a polity ruled by leaders whose "interests Enlightenment would weaken". Consequently, Buganda was considered a "society at war", a kingdom "ready for fundamental change". Moreover, Musazi used Laski to resituate economic struggle in Buganda beyond the historical contingencies of eastern Africa:

Laski text: [. . .] It is expressed again in the French Revolution by the *Enragés*, and by those who, with Babeuf, made the last despairing effort to recapture the fraternity for which men hoped in the great days of 1789 when those "petty lawyers and stewards of manors" whom Burke regarded with such contempt, legislated a new world into being. We catch again the same accent in the spacious dreams of 1848 and, above all, in that supreme optimism which enabled Marx and Engels, in a hundred pages, to trace the whole pattern, past and future, of human evolution. It is present, again, in that sudden sense of emancipation felt by the whole world when the Russian people struck off the chains of Czarist despotism. [. . .]

Annotation: True[;] May it come in Buganda of today?¹³⁰

Laski's Marxist historicism captured a compelling narrative to imagine colonial critique and peasant struggle. But like his earlier reflections on the dissolution of the Stuart monarchy, Musazi does not use Laski's analysis of French and Slavic monarchs to bolster republican ideology. To the contrary, for Musazi the moral critique of colonial and chiefly power was intimately bound with the political revival of Buganda's monarchy, an ideal he cultivated by reading his Bible.

Musazi's 1944 reading of Laski is thematically consistent with two biblical passages annotated during the same period. Following the 1945 disturbances Musazi was deported to northern Uganda,¹³¹ where in July 1946 he believed that God "revealed" to him the meaning of Isaiah's "trust fast".¹³² Isaiah's prophecy reinforced Laski's ideals of social justice and emancipation:

Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? when thou seest the naked, that thou cover him; and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh? [. . .]¹³³

In the same year, Musazi read Amos, a book in the Hebrew Bible that explores a shepherd's prophecy in the ancient Levant. Amos castigated Israel's elites, those "[t]hat pant after the dust of the earth on the head of the poor, and turn aside the way of the meek".¹³⁴ For Amos, monarchical opulence at the expense of the poor resulted in "a famine in the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the Lord", or what Musazi simply called "A Hungry World".¹³⁵ Throughout Musazi's Bible, these dated themes are consistently annotated. It is apparent that Musazi focused his reading on the interdependence of political justice and the necessity of morally robust monarchies, which helps explain why Musazi

imagined Buganda as a place where just kings should hold corrupt chiefs, Indian gingers and colonial officials accountable. In biblical narrative, God used kings to redress social rupture, particularly in the Hebrew Bible. And with the Bible's repeated critique of corrupt monarchs – often for the purpose of restoring and strengthening monarchy – it is little wonder why the Bible was Musazi's most annotated text.

Musazi annotated the themes of justice and kingship in Daniel and the canonical gospels, where kings and kingdoms are morally condemned for failing to advocate for the poor and economically oppressed. In Musazi's annotated texts, political kingdoms progressed or collapsed according to their ability – or inability – to ensure social rectitude. In Daniel, Musazi focused mostly on chapters two, four and seven, which record a series of Nebuchadnezzar's and Daniel's dreams, and Daniel's subsequent political interpretation. In Daniel 2.44 Musazi noted Daniel's claim that unjust kingdoms on the earth would collapse eschatologically with the advent of God's equitable kingdom. In Daniel 4.3, 4.34, 7.13–14 and 7.27, Musazi annotated "Everlasting Kingdom", "His Kingdom from generation to generation", "His Kingdom not to be destroyed", and "Whose Kingdom is an everlasting Kingdom".¹³⁶ God's kingdom was compared with the Exodus narrative recounted in Daniel 9,¹³⁷ where in Israel's deliverance from social oppression, Musazi observed a "Righteous God" and a political template for Buganda.¹³⁸ Similarly, in II Chronicles 18.1–3 and 19.2 Musazi observed divine judgment exhibited toward corrupt monarchs and rulers.¹³⁹ In Isaiah, again, he specifically noted that God removed royalty from power for refusing to protect and provision for agrarian communities.¹⁴⁰ Failure to care for the disenfranchised was intrinsically linked to the "perishing of kingdoms and nations".¹⁴¹ For Musazi, God's work on earth – and in consequence, the function of political monarchy – was to facilitate a "habitation of justice".¹⁴²

In the New Testament, Musazi noted how state sovereigns interacted with John the Baptist and Jesus. In the Markan narrative, John the Baptist loses his life on account of corrupt sovereigns in the royal palace. The Baptist was arrested for speaking against conjugal infidelity between Herod and his brother's wife. Initially, John was protected from Herod's lover's desire to have him executed. As Musazi noted, Herod feared John because he was a "just man".¹⁴³ However, through a bizarre sequence of promises, Herod executed John. For Musazi, this reflected the historic struggle between just peasants and corrupt royals. John and Herod's confrontation was considered a "moral battle",¹⁴⁴ and having defined this narrative as moral, Musazi applied the story to his immediate political context, annotating: "live as it was 1,900 years ago".¹⁴⁵

Matthew 27 tells the story of Judas' suicide and Jesus' trial and crucifixion. In the text, the governor who tried Jesus' civil case, Pilate, is portrayed as someone who knew with some degree of certainty about Jesus' innocence before his accusers. In this regard, the story is not unlike Herod and John the Baptist. Regardless of Jesus' innocence, though, Pilate capitulated to the demand of the masses due to "fear".¹⁴⁶ In Musazi's words, Pilate "fear[ed] to do justice".¹⁴⁷ But whereas Pilate refused to administer justice due to political expediency, Musazi noticed Jesus' willingness to confront Judas, the corrupt and bribed. In Matthew 26, Jesus exemplified for Musazi the "courage of a true man".¹⁴⁸ In short, just monarchs were obliged to care for their subjects, protecting them from ill-informed masses and royal politics. Clearly Musazi understood Pilate and Herod as corrupt for having failed to do either; again, themes easily translatable in Buganda's moral landscape.

Conclusion: complex conceptions

Musazi's remaining library illuminates some of the different discursive layers that undergirded his evolving political philosophy in colonial Buganda. Musazi's sophisticated project was well situated within the long history of Bulemeezi's royalist past. But his advocacy cannot be merely reduced to the politics of a particular region or long history. Nor can his project be strictly bound to one discursive register. Musazi's activism was conceptually guided by a particular historical genealogy, but it was also informed by – though not limited to – a critical interaction with various revolutionary moments in global history and monarchical-focused themes in biblical narrative. As such, Musazi's social project was politically and theologically coterminous: theology shaped the political and the political informed the theological – neither was epiphenomenal. And holding these varied and complex knowledge bases in tension, Musazi practised a conceptually expansive politics; one intellectual project out of many in Buganda's polemical kingdom.

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Notes

1. For the most useful economic analysis see: Jørgensen, *Uganda*.
2. Uganda National Archives, Secretariat Minute Papers (hereafter UNA SMP) A46/1054/224–25 P.E. Mitchell, Governor, to Malcolm MacDonald, Secretary of State for the Colonies, August 3, 1939. Cf., UNA SMP A45/199 "Report on the Cotton Growing Industry in Uganda," June 11, 1909; and UNA SMP A43/346 "Cotton and Its Cultivation in Uganda (Botanical and Scientific Department)," 1907.
3. UNA SMP A45/422 Acting Superintendent, Cotton Department, to Chief Secretary to the Government, December 30, 1909.
4. *Ibid.* For further discussion: UNA SMP A46/1054/210–13 "Notes on the Cotton Situation in Uganda," June 1938.
5. UNA SMP A43/200/1 Leakey to Deputy Commissioner, August 27, 1907.
6. British National Archives, Colonial Office Records Series (hereafter BNA CO) 536/216/1/11 Musazi, Bwete and Sonko to A. Creech Jones, May 6, 1948.
7. *Ibid.* Cf., BNA CO 536/216/1/66 Musazi to Jones, February 11, 1949.
8. For fuller treatment see: Mulira, *Troubled Uganda*. Cf., Pratt, "The Politics of Indirect Rule"; Apter, *The Political Kingdom in Uganda*; Fallers, *The King's Men*; Low, *Buganda in Modern History*.
9. "Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances which Occurred in Uganda during January," 14.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*, 15.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Ssewagaba, "Lwaki Katikkiro."
14. BNA CO 536/223/4 I.K. Musazi, "Some Observations on the Kingdom Report," May 1950.

15. Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, 203 and 217.
16. *Ibid.*, 212–16. Cf., Kodesh, *Beyond the Royal Gaze*.
17. Summers, “Grandfathers, Grandsons, Morality,” 428. Cf., Summers, “Radical Rudeness.”
18. Summers, “Grandfathers, Grandsons, Morality,” 428.
19. *Ibid.*
20. Cf., la Hausse, *Signatures of Nationalism*.
21. Cf., Zachernuk, *Colonial Subjects*; Bayly, *Recovering Liberties*; Kapila, *An Intellectual History for India*.
22. “Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances which Occurred in Uganda during January, 1945,” 10.
23. Shortly after Musazi’s birth, colonial reports recorded Bulemeezi’s population at 78,881. In land, Bulemeezi constituted 1442 square miles, Buganda’s fifth largest *ssaza* (UNA SMP A44/255 “Report of the Kingdom of Buganda,” 1907–08).
24. Reid, *Political Power in Pre-Colonial Buganda*, 183.
25. *Ibid.*, 209.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Royal Commonwealth Society Collections, University Library, Cambridge 126/IV/S1/318–25 “The Ancient Acts of the Rulers of Bulemezi,” *Munno*, n.d.
28. *Ibid.*
29. Reid, *Political Power in Pre-Colonial Buganda*, 117.
30. *Ibid.*, 37.
31. “*Abalemeezi nkolo: ziremedde mu ntamu.*” The stocks of the banana were typically eaten only during famine and not highly valued (Walser, *Luganda Proverbs*, no. 30).
32. Interview, Fred Guwedeko, February 25, 2010, Makerere University. See also: Karlström, “Imagining Democracy,” 486. The term also received considerable treatment in *Munno* in the early twentieth century and was generally thought of as “implying the possession of courtesy, compassion, good breeding, culture, etc.” (Murphy, *Luganda–English Dictionary*, 44). Cf., Mulira, *Troubled Uganda*, 7.
33. Summers, “Radical Rudeness.”
34. Walser, *Luganda Proverbs*, no. 1013.
35. Interview, Kangaawo Gideon Kisitu, January 14, 2010, Nakulabye.
36. Interview, Hugo Barlow, November 11, 2010, Munyonyo (Kampala).
37. Interview, Simba S. Kayunga, November 25, 2010, Makerere University. For Nakyama’s account see: Shepherd, *The Early Struggle for Freedom and Unity in Uganda*, 36–38.
38. Interview, Hugo Barlow, November 11, 2010, Munyonyo (Kampala).
39. *Ibid.*
40. Interview, Nick Ssali, November 17, 2009, Radio One (Kampala).
41. Interview, E.N. Musazi, December 11, 2009, Timina (Luwero).
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Ibid.*
44. “*Musazi ye President: Ab’e Bulemezi Bwe Batyo Bwe Bagamyé,*” *Uganda Eyogera*, October 9, 1956, 1. Cf., Interviews: Nick Ssali, November 17, 2009, Kampala; and Kangaawo Gideon Kisitu, January 14, 2010, Nakulabye.
45. UNA SMP A44/255 “Report of the Kingdom of Buganda,” 1907–08.
46. *Ibid.*
47. Rubaga Diocesan Archives 99.2 “*Bulange-Enju-Y’Olukiko Mmengo; Emitwe Egy’omwaka,*” 1939.
48. Shepherd, *The Early Struggle for Freedom and Unity in Uganda*, 37.
49. Audrey Richards Papers, London School of Economics (hereafter ARP) 7/4/71 Audrey Richards, Field Notes, January 24, 1956. Cf., Reid, *Political Power in Pre-Colonial Buganda*, 209.
50. Archives of the Bishop, Uganda Christian University Archives (hereafter UCU BA) 1/66.2 Knight, St Augustine’s Warden, to Bishop Willis, October 15, 1927. For additional discussion on St Augustine’s College see: Carey, *God’s Empire*, 271–86.
51. UCU BA 1/66.2 I.K. Musazi to Bishop Willis, March 16, 1927.
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Ibid.*

54. UCU BA 1/66.2 “Examination for Priests’ Orders,” 1929. For example, students were asked to translate Acts 3.21 from Greek to English: “ἄχρι χρόνων ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων ὧν ἐλάλησεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων ἀπ’ αἰῶνος ἀποφρονητῶν[.]” The passage speaks to a universal social and political restoration of heaven and earth, a theme Musazi notated in his personal Bible (Ignatius K. Musazi Library, copies in personal possession (hereafter IKML) English Bible/Revelation 20.4–5, annotation).
55. UCU BA 1/66.2 “Examination for Priests’ Orders,” 1929.
56. Carey, *God’s Empire*, 279.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid.
60. IKML English Bible/Acts 2.1–4, annotation.
61. Ibid.
62. IKML English Bible/Acts 4.18–20, annotation.
63. Ibid. /Acts 8.1–4, annotation.
64. Ibid./Daniel 12.4, annotation.
65. Musazi’s formal studies of early Church history were complimented by his extensive interaction with a *global* Church. From its founding in the nineteenth century, St Augustine’s had been a training ground for colonial diocesan clergy and “native” ministers (Carey, *God’s Empire*, 275–6), a tradition the school upheld at least until the mid-twentieth century. For instance, in 1953 St Augustine’s student body was comprised of students from no less than 13 countries from around the world (UCU BA 1/179.9 K. Sansbury to Anglican Archbishops and Bishops, December 1953. Students were represented from: East, West and Central Africa, Canada, Ceylon, England, India, Hong Kong, Japan, Mauritius, New Zealand, Pakistan and the United States). And it is reasonable to suggest that St Augustine’s student body constituted a diverse international body during Musazi’s time of study (Cf., Carey, *God’s Empire*, 285).
66. Carey, *God’s Empire*, 272–3.
67. Interview, Hugo Barlow, November 11, 2010, Munyonyo (Kampala). Cf., “Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances which Occurred in Uganda during January, 1945,” 9 and 11.
68. Interview, Hugo Barlow, November 11, 2010, Munyonyo (Kampala).
69. Ibid.
70. UCU BA 1/66.2 Knight, St Augustine’s, to Bishop of Uganda, October 15, 1927.
71. Jensen, *Emile Zola’s J’Accuse!*, 5.
72. Interview, Hugo Barlow, November 11, 2010, Munyonyo (Kampala).
73. George Shepherd to Jonathon L. Earle, January 24, 2010.
74. ARP 7/4/71 Audrey Richards, Field Notes, January 24, 1956. Richards noted that the woman in question was English, whereas family members recalled Musazi identifying the woman as a daughter of a British parliamentarian (interviews: Hugo Barlow, November 11, 2010, Munyonyo (Kampala); and E.N. Musazi, December 11, 2009, Timina (Luwero).
75. UCU BA 1/66.2 E.S.D., CMS, to Bishop of Uganda, n.d. Musazi was asked to read two works by John Paterson Smyth: *The Bible in the Making in the Light of Modern Research* (1914) and *A People’s Life of Christ* (1920). Additional readings included: on biblical studies, commentaries on St Matthew’s gospel and I Corinthians; on prayer, Charles Neil and J.M. Willoughby (eds.), *The Tutorial Prayer Book: For the Teacher, the Student, and the General Reader* (1912/13); on doctrine, Griffith Thomas, *The Catholic Faith: A Manual of Instruction for Members of the Church of England* (1920); on church history, Henry Melvill Gwatkin, *Early Church History to A.D. 313*, Vol. II and Edward L. Cutts, *Turning Points of General Church History*. In mid-January 1930, Musazi requested the Bishop of Uganda to bring the required books to him at Budo (UCU BA 1/66.2 I.K. Musazi to Bishop of Uganda, January 13, 1930).
76. ARP 7/4/71 Audrey Richards, Field Notes, January 24, 1956. To date, Musazi’s homily has not been located.
77. ICS 29/1/5/3 “Who’s Who of Buganda’s Troubles,” n.d. David Apter dated the founding of Abazzukulu to May 28, 1938 (Apter, *The Political Kingdom in Uganda*, 203).
78. Apter, *The Political Kingdom in Uganda*, 203.

79. BNA CO 536/197/16 Descendants of Kintu to Daudi Chwa, September 19, 1938.
80. BNA CO 536/202/4/53 A.H. Cox to Ministers, Mengo, October 4, 1938.
81. BNA CO 536/202/4/ 2 Descendants of Kintu to Secretary of State, December 17, 1938.
82. BNA CO 536/197/16/1 Descendants of Kintu to Daudi Chwa, September 19, 1938
83. Ibid.
84. Ibid.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid.
87. Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, 217.
88. ARP 7/4/62–63 Audrey Richards, Field Notes, January 24, 1956; and Apter, *The Political Kingdom in Uganda*, 203. Cf., Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, 206–20.
89. By the mid-1940s, Spartas suggested that the Orthodox Church had approximately 4924 adherents in Buganda and an additional membership of 5367 in Busoga and Lango. In Buganda, Balemeezi devotees constituted 74% of Spartas' following (Revd Reuben Spartas Mukasa, "History," 1946). I wish to thank Derek Peterson for providing me with access to his notes on Spartas' history.
90. Waliggo, "The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Buganda."
91. UCU BA 1/41.12 Revd Canon Kezekiya Kaggwa to Bishop of Uganda, C.E. Stuart, August 8, 1938.
92. BNA CO 536/197/16/1 Descendants of Kintu to Daudi Chwa, September 19, 1938. God's "right hand" is associated with protection and favour in the Hebrew Bible.
93. Ibid.
94. Kodesh, *Beyond the Royal Gaze*, 65.
95. Cf., Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood*, 4; Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba*, 155 and 288–9; Peterson, "The Rhetoric of the Word"; Magaziner, *The Law and the Prophets*. See also: Lonsdale, "Jomo Kenyatta, God and the Modern World"; and Cabrita, "Politics and Preaching."
96. Zimbe, *Buganda and the King*, 1.
97. Rowe, "Myth, Memoir, and Moral Admonition," 21–2; Twaddle, "On Ganda Historiography," 91; Rowe, "Eyewitness Accounts of Buganda History," 62; and Kodesh, *Beyond the Royal Gaze*, 33.
98. Cf., Kaggwa, *Ekitabo Kye Kika Kya Nsenene*, 136–8.
99. Ibid., 122–33.
100. Zimbe, *Buganda and the King*, 8.
101. Kiingi et al., *Enkuluze y'Oluganda ey'e Makerere*, 844.
102. Welbourn, *East African Rebels*, 77.
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid.
105. Ibid.
106. Ibid., 78–9.
107. Ibid., 84.
108. BNA CO 536/202/4/2 Descendants of Kintu to Secretary of State, December 17, 1938.
109. BNA CO 536/202/4/6 The Kintu Descendants to Governor of Uganda, August 30, 1939. Musazi's language, here, closely resembles Zola's (Jensen, *Emile Zola's J'Accuse!*, 14–28).
110. BNA CO 536/202/4/5 The Descendants of Kintu to Governor of Uganda, September 29, 1939.
111. Interviews: E.N. Musazi, December 11, 2009, Timina (Luwero); Elizabeth Musazi, February 10, 2010, Kampala; and Mary Mulira, June 11, 2010, Kampala.
112. Musazi's library contains nine additional books from approximately the same period as Gwatkin's church history, and an additional 36 books published and/or autographed before 1966. As a frequent traveller who took books and papers with him, it is likely that Musazi kept portions of his library in various locations and then consolidated his collection after 1966.
113. In my analysis, one underscored unit constitutes an underlined sentence or cluster of sentences within a single paragraph. In instance of multiple underscore within a prolonged paragraph or section, numeration is typically interpreted.
114. Musazi's autograph indicates that the Bible was received in 1924. Two separate annotations are dated in 1946.

115. Cobley, "Literacy, Libraries and Consciousness"; Peterson, *Creative Writing*; Barber, "Introduction." The methodology of historians of Africa tends to follow Roger Chartier's approach: Chartier, "Reading Matter and 'Popular' Reading," 276. Cf., Chartier, *L'ordre des livres*.
116. For further discussion see: Brett, "What is Intellectual History Now?"; and Norval, "The Things We Do with Words."
117. Brett, "What is Intellectual History Now?," 119–20.
118. Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 1–39, 49–56, 219–40 and 341–63; and Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 265–491.
119. Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, ix.
120. Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, section 156.
121. Ricoeur, "History and Hermeneutics," 692; and Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa*, ix–xi. See also: Pocock, *Political Thought and History*, 108–10.
122. IKML Harold Laski *Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time*, pastedown, annotation.
123. Kramnick and Sheerman, *Harold Laski*. Cf., Morefield, "States Are Not People."
124. Musazi's library contains a copy of P.A. Wadia and K.T. Merchant's *Our Economic Problem* (Bombay: New York Company, 1945), which he autographed in 1948.
125. Additionally, Musazi referenced "Uganda" in relation to the Atlantic Charter (IKML Laski *Reflections*, 190, annotation).
126. IKML Laski *Reflections*, 179, annotation.
127. *Ibid.*, 185, annotation.
128. *Ibid.*, 186, annotation.
129. *Ibid.*, 190, annotation.
130. *Ibid.*, 184, annotation.
131. For further discussion see: "Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances which occurred in Uganda during January, 1945."
132. IKML Common Book of Prayer/Isaiah 58, annotation. In his Bible, Musazi recorded, "Revealed to me on 30/7/46 Kitgum Deportation."
133. IKML English Bible/Isaiah 58.6–7, underscore.
134. *Ibid.*/Amos 2.7.
135. *Ibid.*/Amos 8.11–12, annotation.
136. *Ibid.*/Daniel, varied annotations.
137. *Ibid.*
138. *Ibid.*/Daniel 9.14, annotation.
139. *Ibid.*/II Chronicles, underscore.
140. *Ibid.*/Isaiah 3.13–16, annotation.
141. *Ibid.*/Isaiah 60, annotation.
142. *Ibid.*/Jeremiah 31.23, annotation.
143. *Ibid.*/Mark 6.20, underscore.
144. *Ibid.*/Mark 6.21–28, annotation.
145. *Ibid.*
146. *Ibid.*/Matthew 27.24, annotation.
147. *Ibid.*
148. *Ibid.*/Matthew 26.15, 23 and 25, annotations.

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