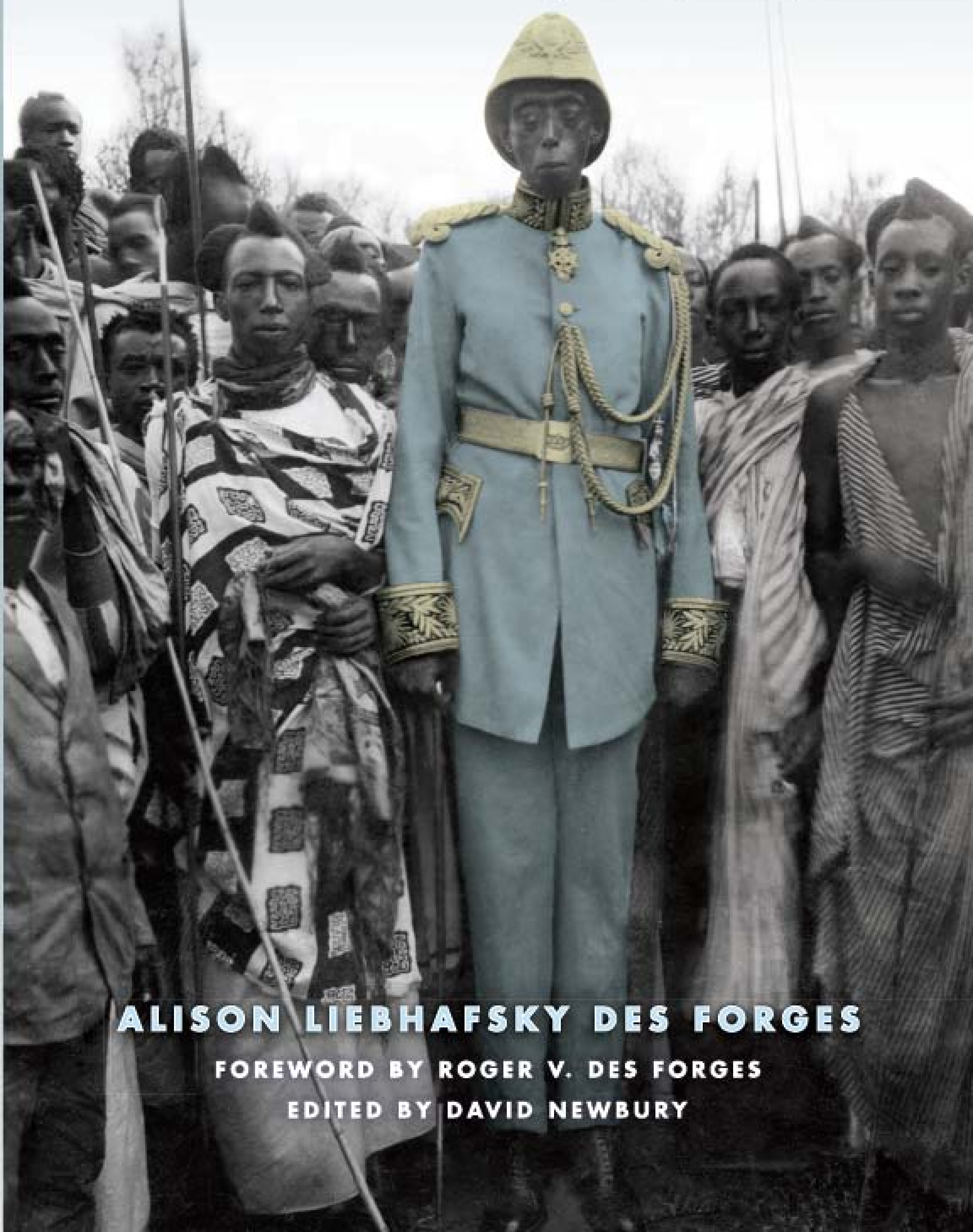
DEFEAT IS THE ONLY BAD NEWS

Rwanda under Musinga, 1896–1931



ALISON LIEBHAFSKY DES FORGES

FOREWORD BY ROGER V. DES FORGES

EDITED BY DAVID NEWBURY

Defeat Is the Only Bad News

Yuhi Musinga

Defeat
Is the Only Bad News

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Alison Liebhafsky Des Forges

Edited by
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Roger V. Des Forges

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For
ROGER

Inkigi imwe ntigira inzu
One pillar does not make a house

For
ALEXANDER and JESSIE

Who shared in the post-doctoral research

For
the RWANDAN PEOPLE

Who have endured more than their share
of twentieth century catastrophes

And for
ALEXA, MAIA, and KAI

In hope for a more peaceful and just
twenty-first-century world

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Foreword

Alison became interested in the history of the central African polity of Rwanda in the summer of 1963 when she volunteered to teach Rwandan refugees living in what was then still called Tanganyika. Perhaps influenced by her paternal grandparents' origins in the German-speaking part of the Austro-Hungarian empire that became Czechoslovakia and by her maternal grandparents' heritage in Scotland, she devoted the rest of her scholarly life to understanding the culture, politics, society, and economy of Rwanda, which features rich oral traditions, fierce court struggles, complex social formations, and a largely agro-pastoral economy.

The first fruit of that academic quest was her doctoral dissertation, titled "Defeat Is the Only Bad News," perhaps in recognition of the strongly pragmatic and achievement-oriented strain of Rwandan political culture that had helped protect the kingdom from the worst ravages of the slave trade but also resulted in tensions that manifested themselves in periodic outbreaks of political and social violence. Instead of quickly revising and publishing that text, Alison devoted the next stage of her career to raising and educating our two children in an integrated public school system, supporting and assisting me in my own efforts to understand the history of Henan province in central China, and conducting further research in 1981–82 on the history of Rwanda prior to the reign of Musinga. She also taught courses on African history at the University at Buffalo and other institutions and published a book chapter on a Rwandan rebellion.

At the end of the 1980s, as our kids completed high school and entered college imbued with their mother's quiet passion for justice, and as my own interpretation of Chinese history matured in part under the influence of Alison's work on Rwanda, she volunteered her services first as a member of the Board of Africa Watch and then as a consultant to

the African Division of Human Rights Watch. She drew on her deep comprehension of Rwandan history to lead an international investigation into the severe human rights abuses in northern Rwanda that presaged the genocide that broke out in 1994. In that catastrophe, elements near the top of state power responded to an invasion by an army of earlier refugees by mobilizing a significant portion of the population to target the Tutsi minority within the country along with their friends and protectors. Alison used her intimate familiarity with the history, language, and politics of Rwanda and her consummate skill in advocating policies at the national and international levels, as well as in the scholarly and public domain, to save as many victims of the cataclysm as possible and to bring to justice those who violated international human rights law, on both sides of the conflict.

Although Alison and her colleagues at Human Rights Watch were unable, before her sudden and untimely death, to persuade the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda to live up to its United Nations mandate to prosecute crimes of war and crimes against humanity as well as crimes of genocide, the struggle goes on to achieve even-handed justice in one venue or another for all of the victims of the Rwandan genocide. Even while frequently testifying at national and international tribunals as an expert witness, Alison also found time to write *Leave None to Tell the Story*, a major report based on her research and that of her colleagues. The book has already been translated and published in French and German and is now scheduled to be published in Kinyawanda. This will bring one of the most comprehensive and respected accounts of the genocide to wider attention among the Rwandan people who have the largest stake, after all, in the proper interpretation of those historical events. That book, along with this one, will stand as two of the most important memorials to Alison's twin legacies of loving life and seeking justice. It is with great humility as well as pride that I have responded to David Newbury's kind invitation to write this brief foreword.

On behalf of our whole family, I want to thank David for his generous commitment of time and energy to lightly editing the manuscript so as to take account of more recent scholarship while remaining true to Alison's original purpose and achievement. I am also grateful to Scott Straus and Lars Waldorf for organizing the conference at which David Newbury and Filip Reyntjens, among others, appraised Alison's scholarship. I hope that these scholars and others will eventually be able to take

advantage of Alison's archive, including the results of her research in 1981–82, to make further contributions to the historiography of Rwanda.

Roger V. Des Forges

Buffalo, New York
4 May 2010

Editor's Preface

On 12 February 2009, a plane crash took the lives of fifty people, including that of Alison Liebhafsky Des Forges. She had been best known for her eloquent and informed witness on the 1994 genocide and its aftermath in Rwanda. However, in addition to her exemplary work on human rights issues in Central Africa, Alison was also a scholar. *Defeat Is the Only Bad News* is her PhD dissertation, presented to Yale University in 1972.

Seldom is a work of this nature published so long after it is written. However, in this case there are important reasons for doing so, for this study provides an invaluable entry to the historical context within which her later work on human rights and social justice was carried out. It is also an important contribution in its own right. Africans, of course, had long known of their own history, but Des Forges's dissertation was one of the first scholarly works to move beyond the colonial writings on Rwanda and to examine carefully the internal dynamics of the royal Court of the kingdom at the time of European arrival. It was also one of the first to draw extensively on oral testimony in addition to working with a wide range of missionary documents, colonial archives, and secondary sources.

But *Defeat Is the Only Bad News* is important for its content as well as for its method. Through her detailed study of the intricacies of the royal Court at a crucial time in its history, Des Forges provides one of the most comprehensive and lucid accounts available of an African political elite facing the dual challenges of the early twentieth century: the establishment of colonial rule and the presence of large numbers of Christian missionaries. These were turbulent years, as first Germany then Belgium pursued an aggressive plan of colonization in the country, and missionaries challenged the ritual foundations that had sustained kingship in Rwanda. Against this backdrop, the Rwandan Court served as the stage for a drama of Shakespearean proportions—or so it becomes in Des Forges's skillful prose. By drawing on valuable oral accounts,

missionary diaries, and a variety of other sources Des Forges illuminates the intense atmosphere of intrigue, shrewd calculation, ruthless betrayal—and sometimes murder—that characterized the Court at this pivotal moment in its history.

Thanks to the University of Wisconsin Press, this is being published largely as it was originally presented as a dissertation. As editor, I have done only minor copyediting to the text. To place Musinga's reign in broader context, I have provided an introduction summarizing elements of Rwanda's precolonial history. The original thesis included a prefatory section outlining the contours of Rwandan social structure as understood in the 1960s. However, our understanding has much evolved since then. Therefore, at the beginning of chapter 1 I have presented a revised summary (set in a different font, to distinguish this from the author's original). I have also provided an epilogue, outlining Musinga's career in exile and discussing some of the changes that characterized the reign of his son and successor, Mutara Rudahigwa.

This project originated at a conference organized in Madison, Wisconsin, to commemorate the many contributions of Alison Liebhafsky Des Forges. I wish to thank Scott Straus and Lars Waldorf for organizing the conference, and the attendees of that conference, including many of Alison's former colleagues and close friends, for their contributions. Gwen Walker of the University of Wisconsin Press has been exemplary in her support and her ideas. Thanks, Gwen, for your insights and your patience! I also want to thank Tom Spear, one of the editors of the series in which this appears, for his encouragement and his perceptive comments. Tanya Buckingham of the Cartographic Laboratory at the University of Wisconsin provided expert help with the maps. I'm honored to express special appreciation to Jan Vansina and René Lemarchand for their extremely helpful comments on editorial matters. Finally, I wish to extend my heartfelt gratitude to Roger Des Forges for his invaluable support throughout the project, even amid his many other duties.

Author's Preface

Historians of African societies have often been caught up in depicting the most clearly dramatic confrontations in recent times, those between the Africans and the Europeans who came to rule them. They have given less attention to penetrating the complexities of relations among the Africans, and to understanding how the divisions among them influenced their attitudes toward the foreign challenge. Struck by the changes introduced by Europeans, they have also failed to remark on the continuities that link events of the relatively recent past with earlier developments. Even within the range of European African relations, they have usually focused on such crises as the initial conquest or later armed revolts, from which the Europeans emerged victorious because of their superior military technology. Relatively few historians have cared to examine how Africans dealt with Europeans throughout the quieter periods of colonial rule. The assumption seems often to have been that a society that produced no armed revolts, or at the least no organized movements of opposition, was a society whose people had lost the will or ability to resist foreign rule.

The reign of Yuhi V Musinga offers rich material on the intricate rivalries that had long pitted the Rwandan Court against the powerful notables who ruled in its name. It also provides excellent examples of the centuries-old struggle between the Court and its agents, who were trying to extend their control outward and downward, and the ordinary people, who opposed such expansion of central power. Musinga's reign was the period when Rwanda first came under colonial rule. The arrival of the Europeans affected the interplay of intrigues at Court and the expansion of its power over the people. At the same time, the way in which Rwandans dealt with these foreigners was conditioned by the development of their internal conflicts.

A Rwandan proverb says "defeat is the only bad news." For Rwandans, Europeans were not the only adversaries, and armed confrontation

was not the only way to fight. They were concerned too with the conflicts among themselves and with the struggle of wits in which they engaged the foreigners. As the Rwandans faced the foreigners, as the notables faced the Court, and as the people faced their rulers, all were determined to avoid any bad news.

Author's Acknowledgments

Since this work is a study of Rwandan history, my first and largest debt is clearly to the one hundred and two Rwandans who so enthusiastically shared their knowledge of their past with me. Their names are given in the appendix. I could not have understood what they had to say to me without the ever-patient assistance of Joseph Rwabukumba, a most gracious guide through the intricacies of Kinyarwanda and the complexities of Rwandan social relations. Simon Bizimaana, Michel Bagaragaza, and André Ngombyire also helped me greatly in learning their language and in locating the best historians among the old men of the country. Many officials of the government of the Republic of Rwanda and many members of the clergy of the Catholic Church and of the Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique assisted me in a multitude of friendly ways. I especially appreciated the permission given by Archbishop André Perraudin to consult the records in his keeping. J. M. Crossey, Curator of the African collection at the Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, kindly supplied my many research needs while I was abroad. Professor Marcel d'Hertefelt arranged for my association with the Institut National de Recherche Scientifique in Rwanda and shared with me the experience of his own long period of research there. Professor René Lemarchand aided me immeasurably by making available for consultation the valuable J. M. Derscheid Collection of Belgian documents.

I have appreciated the kind encouragement of Professors Leonard Thompson and Wm. Roger Louis, who supervised this study. My mother, Sybil S. Liebhafsky, contributed long hours of careful typing to this work. I owe most of all to my husband, Roger V. Des Forges, without whose help this work would never have been done.

Editor's Note

This text is in large part the dissertation of Alison Liebhafsky Des Forges as originally presented to the Yale University Department of History in 1972. Because the author was not able to revise the dissertation for publication, I have addressed some very minor issues of copyediting. I have also added more explicit titles to the chapters originally headed only by proverbs, and I have inserted section headings in the text to aid the reader.

The citations have been retained in their entirety. However, to allow a smoother flow of the text, they have been grouped at the end of paragraphs (except where a specific quotation requires a specific reference) and placed as endnotes. Occasionally, I have added to the notes relevant publications that have appeared since the dissertation was written. Where more precise references are required in the notes, the reader is referred to the original dissertation.

I have added occasional explanatory footnotes to the original text to identify individuals, places, or issues that might not be familiar to a broader readership than that for which this dissertation was originally intended.

Kinyarwanda is a lovely and poetic language, and an elegant and refined art form. In part, this derives from its flexibility, and I draw on that tradition. Here, Kinyarwanda terms have been italicized in the first usage only. For the first and second noun-classes (referring to singular and plural personal references) the terms of reference begin with "umu-" (singular) or "aba-" (plural). To make the work more accessible to a wider readership, I have followed the conventions of the International African Institute (IAI) and replaced these Kinyarwanda prefixes with "mu-" (singular) and "ba-" (plural): for example, "mugaragu" and "bagaragu." Similarly for clan names: for example, "Banyiginya" rather than "Abanyginya" (elided where necessary, so "Bega" is the plural for "Ba-ega").

References to ethnic groups also follow IAI conventions, omitting all prefixes; hence "Hutu" instead of "Umuhutu" or "Abahutu."

However, there are exceptions; I have retained the IAI convention of prefixes for references associated with regional groupings, even when applied to an acknowledged social group; hence "Bakiga" (the people of the mountains), "Bashiru" (the people of Bushiru), and so forth. I have also generally omitted the Rwandan prefix in terms such as "umwami" or "abagaragu"; they appear as "mwami" and "bagaragu." However, there are some deviations from this practice for common cultural terms where an altered form would make no sense; I have therefore retained the full form for "ikoro" (prestations/taxes), "ubuhake" (a form of cattle clientship), "uburetwa" (required work for a patron), and "akazi" (colonial forced labor). Where the term refers not to a person but to a quality, I have retained the full Kinyarwanda prefix; thus, "ubwami" refers to the concept, the essence, of "kingship."

Following IAI convention, the "c" is pronounced as in "ch" in English: Rucunshu is pronounced "Ru-CHUN-shu." Conventions on the transliteration of Kinyarwanda terms have evolved over time; here I omit double vowels and diacritical signs: e.g., "mwami," not "umwaami."

Finally, in Kinyarwanda transcriptions every syllable is vocalized, with the emphasis normally on the penultimate syllable; hence, for example, "Save" is pronounced "SAH-vay."

Editor's Introduction

Situating the Rwandan Court at the Time of Musinga's Accession to Power

A soft rain was falling at Rucunshu late in the afternoon on a day near the end of November 1896. But the desultory weather belied the political intensity of the moment as several armies gathered at this hill near central Rwanda; this engagement was the culmination of an intense confrontation between two well-armed factions following the death of Kigeri Rwabugiri, one of Rwanda's most renowned warrior kings. In the heat of the battle to follow, an eminent member of the royal Court of Rwanda hoisted a young teenage boy to his shoulder and declared him king. Yuhi Musinga had acceded to power in Rwanda.

Musinga, however, had not been the designated heir to Rwabugiri. Six years earlier Rwabugiri had named another son, Rutarindwa, as his co-ruler. But each ruler needed a queen mother to exercise power, and with the earlier death of Rutarindwa's mother, Rwabugiri had appointed his favorite wife to serve as Rutarindwa's adoptive mother. Her name was Kanjogera, and as a member of the Bakagara lineage of the Bega clan she was destined to be a powerful figure at the Court for many years. Kanjogera, however, already had a son of her own. It was he, Musinga, who would accede to power at Rucunshu following fifteen months of strategic maneuvering on the part of Kanjogera supported by her two brothers, Kabare and Ruhinankiko, and their allies, in a rapidly shifting political field of constant negotiation and competing loyalties that characterized the Court of the day.

Rwandan royal traditions portray an ancient, stable kingdom in this area near the center of Africa. But in the violent aftermath of this coup d'état the ruling lineage of the Nyiginya dynasty was nearly annihilated. Far from the official image of a long series of carefully ordered royal successions, Musinga's accession was the seventh of the last eight reigns

in which royal succession had diverged from the ideological norms of the kingdom. Such intense competition revealed the violence at the heart of the Court and shattered the image of a peaceful society unified by custom and law and united in a powerful social coherence that transcended distinctions of ethnicity, race, and class.

The coup of Rucunshu did more than define a royal successor, however. It also reasserted the power of an important aristocratic lineage, one of several whose positions had been eroded under Rwabugiri's reign. And it did so at the time of another momentous change for the kingdom: the first official German representative was to arrive at the Court four months after the coup of Rucunshu. Closely coinciding with the establishment of European power in the region, the cataclysm—or the triumph—at Rucunshu was to initiate a period of great uncertainty at the Court that was to last for a decade.

The political struggles to flow from those events form the focus of this book.

Over a reign of almost thirty years Musinga's father, Kigeri Rwabugiri, had initiated intense military activity abroad. His campaigns were directed to the south, the southwest, the west, the northwest, the north, and the southeast. Many locales within Rwanda itself also felt the effects of Rwabugiri's almost continual mobilization for war. Associated with these campaigns, the expanding demands for food, livestock, construction materials, and personnel (notably as porters for armies incessantly on the move) had extended Court power into many regions hitherto spared such intrusive presence. Along with Court personnel and military occupation came the introduction of a political hierarchy and cultural stratification that affected local relations in these areas. However, such conquests often did not last beyond Rwabugiri's lifetime; many areas occupied by Rwabugiri's armies rejected the rule of the Rwandan Court immediately after Rwabugiri's death. At the time of the coup of Rucunshu, therefore, the Court was preoccupied with its attempt to retain (or regain) control over such regions. This is the immediate background to the events at the Court so vividly portrayed in Des Forges's work.

In addition to his external campaigns, Rwabugiri had also instituted significant internal transformations, most notably in his attempts to diminish the entrenched power of the aristocratic lineages of the royal Court. The coup that replaced Rwabugiri's designated successor with

the young Musinga was part of the process by which one of those powerful lineages sought to reassert their status. Those who engineered the coup were members of the Bega clan, the most powerful competitor to the royal lineage itself. Such a succession struggle abrogated the ideological norms of proper succession. It also refuted the image of Rwanda advanced by the Court historians and anthropologists writing near the end of colonial rule, who portrayed the polity as a peaceful, ordered, and ancient kingdom with an administrative apparatus equally (and impartially) effective throughout the domain of state power.

As background to Des Forges's study, and by way of introducing the social contours of Rwanda to the reader, the first pages of her dissertation summarized the accepted social contours of precolonial Rwandan society as a set of clear, static, and standardized administrative institutions. The content of her dissertation, however, belied any simple model of such a cohesive society. Her careful research revealed far more than the seizure of power by a kinship group competing with the royal lineage. By examining the intense politics at the Court over a range of important issues, her study unveiled the contested relations with many regions as the Court sought to extend its rule over peoples in the southeast, in the north, in the northwest, and in the southwest—areas where the majority of people were opposed to rule by the Rwandan royal Court at the turn of the twentieth century, and in some cases adopted outright resistance. At the time of European arrival the Rwandan state was not firmly established throughout its claimed domains, nor did it incorporate all those societies sharing Rwandan cultural foundations.

Despite the use of Kinyarwanda as a language shared by most in the region, this was not a homogeneous culture zone. Within the state domain, the Court adjudicated disputes and determined access to land, pasture, and (sometimes) material goods. In the northern areas, however, it was the interaction among kin groups that was essential to politics; lineage identity ensured access to land; lineage leaders adjudicated conflict and organized political action. In other areas, along the forested crests of the Nile–Congo watershed, kin groups were less politically salient. Instead, political life in these regions focused on a series of small, ritually based polities whose organizing principles were markedly distinct from those that defined the Rwandan Court. Significant differences in political culture, therefore, marked the different societies that comprised the region.

In other ways, too, the general vision of Rwandan social structures at the time Des Forges wrote differed from our current understandings

of these issues. Rwandan Court historians and European anthropologists promoted an image of a static social structure that accounted simultaneously for the kingdom's coherence and for the class distinctions, political hierarchy, and occupational diversity found within it. Cattle-keeping and farming were considered mutually exclusive domains, associated with different social (or "racial") groups, with each defined by its own relationship to political power in this hierarchical kingdom. In this idealized imagery Tutsi pastoralists were seen as recent immigrants from the north, arriving around 1500 CE, while Hutu agriculturalists were assumed to have preceded Tutsi immigrants into the area by some five hundred years. To complete the image, the "aboriginal" population, referred to as Twa, were portrayed as marginalized to the remaining forest areas.

In this schematic social architecture it was postulated that distinct waves of migration—with each successive wave conquering the previous inhabitants—led naturally to the rigid hierarchy that marked late colonial society, in which a Tutsi royal Court ruled over a Hutu subject population and a small Twa population of forest dwellers. In this representation, Tutsi were said to have introduced the essential elements of Rwandan culture: cattle, religion, forms of poetry, dance and music, and even kingship itself. According to this ideological construct, what tied the society together was not the political power of the Court alone—although that was significant—but the social institution of *ubuhake*, represented by the transfer of a cow from a (Tutsi) patron to a (Hutu) dependant. According to this view, the desire for cattle was assumed to be so great that Hutu were willing to subordinate themselves to a political superior to acquire access to the usufruct of a cow. In turn, they owed labor, produce, and specialty goods to their overlord, at his behest. (And their cattle could be reclaimed by the patron, at his demand.) Since all cows presumably belonged ultimately to the king, all subjects—as clients—now became dependents of the king. And since all Hutu had to seek cattle from Tutsi, the class hierarchy was clear: ubuhake became seen as the cultural glue that provided cohesion to a disparate society formed of groups that were perceived as distinct in racial, historical, and cultural terms. These attributes were presumed to be homogeneous throughout Rwandan culture, meshed in perfect complementarity, and enduring through time. Incorporating ethnic hierarchy, occupational diversity, and political centralization into a clear and comprehensive model, this vision formed a perfect static image—one that met the goals of the colonial administration as well as those of the Court and justified

the parameters of colonial rule. That was the image of Rwanda as understood at the time of Alison Des Forges's research.

Des Forges did not directly reassess the social characteristics of the received ideal model. Indeed, in a succinct introduction her original thesis reaffirmed this image as a backdrop to her discussion of the strategies of the royal Court at a time of monumental change. Nonetheless, her presentation did provide the tools with which to arrive at a different understanding of Rwandan social dynamics. As the key to understanding Rwandan norms, it portrayed individuals thinking on their own terms and acting through their own agency. It drew directly on oral, as well as written, sources, not on anthropological models or Court ideology; her work was among the first in this region to give such rigorous attention to oral sources. It tapped into missionary diaries and correspondence as well as German sources and conventional archival collections. It portrayed competing political factions, not monolithic ethnic categories, as crucial to understanding political process. Her analysis saw ambition and agency, not custom and social rules, as significant. In short, by offering a clear account of a complex reality, this work dispelled the myths of "the omnipotent king," on the one hand, and of the king "captured by custom," on the other.

Instead, this work showed Musinga struggling with factions and personal antagonists at the Court. In her account, the king was never passive even when he did not always prevail. By presenting history based firmly on empirical sources, by showing individual growth (and failure), and by highlighting the competition of ambitious factions, she privileged careful analysis as the key to understanding Rwandan history. Nonetheless, despite the evident scholarship of the work, this was not a methodological essay. It was and is primarily a historical narrative—an engaging story of a young king struggling to claim his place in a conniving Court and trying to navigate the narrows between Court demands and European power. In the end, it is that dramatic story, of near epic dimensions, that makes this study so compelling.

But it is also a story with limitations. It has a clear focus on an African royal Court; it is not a social history that incorporates the visions of multiple classes. This is not a colonial history; European actors and imperial policy enter only where they directly affect the workings of the Court. Nor is it a religious history, although at times missionaries

and even local religious movements play salient roles in the processes at Court. Yet even with its clear focus on the important factions at the Court, the analysis contributes in crucial ways to each of the thematic domains mentioned above. It explores Court relations with non-elites. It illustrates the implementation of European colonial policies. And it is informative on missionary history and the role of religious movements in mobilizing people to political action. In these ways it is relevant for more than Rwandan history alone; it deepens our appreciation of the challenges facing other African societies at the time of European establishment by its focus on the personal politics of what Des Forges called "the most important process of our time": the manner in which European power came to dominate much of the world outside Europe and North America.

Part of that process is shown in the way Court goals and the colonial vision converged; even as the Court and the colonials contested particular aspects of power, they each needed each other. Their convergence is best shown in the way the Rwandan state extended control over regions that resisted central Court rule: in such areas the Court sought to assert its authority by drawing on colonial power, while colonial authorities sought to extend their influence through the expansion of Court institutions. In illustrating such collusion, three regions emerge as important: the southeast, the north, and the southwest.

Until the mid-nineteenth century Gisaka, in the southeast, had formed a kingdom of its own, independent of, and sometimes antagonistic to, the Nyiginya kingdom. Firmly incorporated within Rwandan state structures only in the late nineteenth century under Rwabugiri, Gisaka enters into Des Forges's study as an arena of Court contestation in two episodes. One relates to the very early years of the twentieth century (1900–1902), with the Nyiginya Court's attempt to assert authority over those local leaders who challenged the right of the Court-delegated chiefs to make extractive demands on the population. To the local people these demands were simply part of the Rwandan Court's ongoing effort to conquer Gisaka, and they resisted such overtures. But there was another factor involved, related to the presence of outsiders. This particular episode occurred within the complex unfolding of relations between the priests of two distinct mission stations within the same Catholic missionary order. One mission, at Zaza, was located in Gisaka; the other, at Save, was not far from the Rwandan royal Court. As the people of Gisaka turned to the local priests for protection against the demands of the new Nyiginya chiefs—in some ways treating the priests

as their new chiefs—the priests at Zaza in Gisaka had to choose between what they saw as social justice, on the one hand, and the general policy of missionary support of the royal Court, on the other. They chose the former. However, the priests at Save, who frequently dealt directly with the central Court and who relied on the Court to help expand missionary influence, saw the issues differently. Their support of the actions of Court-appointed chiefs put them in opposition to their fellow priests in Gisaka. By tracing out this conflict Des Forges in chapter 3 unveils two more general features of Court expansion: the conflict it evoked within the missionary order, and the long, slow, and sometimes contested process by which local inhabitants—with their own histories, their own resources, and their own loyalties—were incorporated into the Nyiginya administrative grid. In the event, this particular conflict was resolved only by the involvement of German administrative officers. But the internal political ramifications on the Court were important as well: because different Court actors had taken opposing stances on the issue, the resolution of the episode significantly affected the fortunes of powerful personnel within Musinga's entourage—including some at the apogee of Court power.

The same theme of contested domination in Gisaka recurs in chapter 7. The late 1920s saw a convergence of multiple crises in southeast Rwanda, where a devastating famine placed severe demands on the people. Because of the famine, almost half the population either died or fled. Their plight was aggravated by the actions of the Court chiefs who expropriated the marshlands to ensure pasturage for their cattle. But these swamps were also important to the local people who had always turned to the marshes in times of drought to cultivate their own crops. The drought of 1927–29 aggravated the conflict between the power of the Court officials and the needs of the local population. Though acting tardily (and eventually only under the spotlight of international news reports), the colonial administration understood that in such a crisis it was important that Court officials not seal off resources essential to the population. Like the missionaries, the colonial administration was caught between its social responsibility to the local people in distress, on the one hand, and its political preference for "indirect rule," supporting the Court-delegated chiefs, on the other.

But there was another—international—dimension to this as well. During World War I Belgium and Britain had jointly driven the Germans out of Rwanda. After the war Britain had claimed Gisaka as its own territory (in part as a potential route for the proposed Cape-to-Cairo

railway). On their arrival, the British officers found the local people flocking to them, as potential protectors against the exactions of the Nyiginya chiefs. Newly established in the region, the British found it convenient to deal with the local Gisaka authorities, who themselves held legitimacy in the eyes of the local inhabitants through their ties to the former ruling line of preconquest, independent Gisaka. This presented the Belgian administrators (and the Nyiginya Court) with a layered crisis: a serious drought and the consequent competition between Court chiefs and local cultivators over access to marshland resources; British occupation, threatening Belgian integrity over this recently acquired "Rwandan" domain; and a local revolt against Nyiginya chiefs, as the British officials recognized the authority of the members of the former ruling aristocracy independent of the Nyiginya Court. Once again, as in 1902, this episode was to have significant ramifications at the Nyiginya Court; the aftermath of the famine of the late 1920s was to be related directly to Musinga's deposition a few years later.

The ongoing struggle for the Court's control of Gisaka is testimony to the lack of uniformity of the Rwandan cultural unit, an image central to the ideology of a homogeneous state. A separate episode that belied the image of social harmony in precolonial Rwanda appears in chapter 5, dealing with the Court's relations to the people of the north. Unlike Gisaka, this was a heterogeneous region with no claims to any previous political unity. While Gisaka social structures were based on political premises similar to those of the Nyiginya Court, the people of northern Rwanda were organized along very different principles. Lineage autonomy, not central control, was the dominant political feature of the region. Once again the image of a single "Rwandan" culture was an intellectual image severely at odds with the empirical realities. While Rwandan armies had sometimes raided into those areas, the Nyiginya Court had never successfully incorporated these Bakiga—the people of the mountains—into its administrative domain; what resources came to the Court from this region were the result not of voluntary tribute but of forced extraction.

The Court's ultimate conquest of this region was a long and complicated process, imposed in the end only through the vigorous efforts of German military forces guided by Nyiginya Court officials. As in Gisaka, missionary activities here were heavily entwined with the process. But where the local missionaries in Gisaka generally supported the claims of the local people, the missionaries in the north were strongly supportive of a central Court presence. Once again, with their different relations to

the royal Court the missionaries were divided, with different mission stations taking different stances: Rwaza in the north differed from Zaza in the southeast.

Other factors were also relevant. This region had frequently served as a staging area for challengers to Musinga's claim as legitimate successor to Rwabugiri; its resistance was a constant reminder of the contested legitimacy of Musinga's reign. It was also an area where independent Europeans had operated at will—more often as brigands than as traders. It was an area with its own multiple social cleavages and with many lines of competing political divergence. It was an area of strong religious traditions in opposition to state rule—with one notable movement led by a female medium. With all its heterogeneity, and with all the violence involved in its conquest, this region—especially in its relations to the royal Court—brought into question the image of internal harmony and social cohesion within the Rwandan polity.

Des Forges alludes to many other details that contradict the idealist image of Rwandan homogeneity. The people of Bushiru, in the northwest, mobilized around a Catholic priest to oppose Court exactions and drive out the king's delegated chiefs. The far southwest—a virtually conquered region—served as a political base for the son of one of the most powerful scions of the Court to advance his own Court ambitions. By accumulating resources and gaining the loyalty of other Court actors, he became a formidable force of his own—even, at one point (as Des Forges notes in chapter 6), politically challenging the king's authority there. Certain small polities of the west and southwest retained their own independence well into the 1920s, before being conquered by Court military units acting with full Belgian support. In its detail—but also with its coherent analytic threads—such a Court history, therefore, dissolves the earlier assertions of a homogeneous Rwandan social organization and instead opens up more complicated vistas, complex issues, and new understandings.

The larger context of dynastic history is also important in situating early twentieth-century competition at the Court. This is, emphatically, the study of a single reign at a specific moment of Nyiginya dynastic history. But this study is noteworthy for more than just a single reign. By attending to the internal debates, the stratagems and the factions at the Court, as well as by accounting for the changing and complex relations with

different regions, Des Forges opens the way to a new understanding of other reigns as well.

Musinga was part of a ruling line that some royal enthusiasts say goes back to a celestial origin almost a thousand years ago; they argue that the kingdom developed inexorably over the years as the exemplar of state organization in the area. But historical data suggest something different. The empirical evidence makes it clear that this was a region of greater political diversity, more fluctuating fortunes, and a shorter royal chronology than the conventional image conveys. By the early eighteenth century Rwanda was one of a few preeminent dynasties in the area, but its emergence as a state was no linear development; defeat and decline were a part of the record as well as growth and expansion. Thus, the history of the Nyiginya royal line differs from the model of an ancient state in several particulars. It was, first, only one of several dynastic units in the region. It consolidated its power only relatively recently—from the mid-eighteenth century. It went through periods of challenge—even regression—as well as of triumph. And it emerged out of struggle, not destiny.

The key components to the development of the Nyiginya dynasty seem to have resulted from the convergence of several cultural traditions. The legitimacy of the state rested on the authority of a set of independent ritualists at the Court (even though the Court constantly sought to co-opt, contest, or control these actors). The historical roots of this feature of royalty derived from societies farther to the west, across Lake Kivu and beyond—ironically, from societies disdained as "uncivilized" by Rwandan Court culture in more recent times. Overlaid on this cultural foundation, a second influence derived from conceptual elements associated with political traditions to the northeast. (The particular role—and title, *umugabekazi*—of the queen mother within the Rwandan royal Court provides an example.) The development of military organizations associated with the dynasties located in the grasslands of eastern Rwanda and beyond the Kagera River provided a third foundation. Finally, the westward movement of the political core of the Nyiginya dynasty into what is today central Rwanda brought these armies into contact with societies of quite different cultural organization. From such interactions emerged the development of a particular set of royal rituals, of a strong sense of hierarchy—and of a Court culture distinct from

(and one that they considered superior to) people of different cultural backgrounds.

Whatever the cultural roots of royalty may be, the Nyiginya dynasty as we recognize it today derives from a period around the beginning of the eighteenth century, associated in the royal chronicles with the reign of a king named Ruganzu Ndori. In the traditions relating to his reign, three elements stand out. First, it was a time of mobility; Ruganzu is portrayed as traveling in triumph across the geographical landscape, conquering all the areas now included within the postcolonial state of Rwanda. Contested relations with earlier inhabitants form the second theme attached to his reign; his travels are said to have been marked by military conquest, especially in the western areas so crucial to the composition of kingship. Finally, having established himself in central Rwanda, he is said to have conquered or co-opted several local authorities as ritual protectors of the kingdom; they became hereditary ritual authorities of the Nyiginya kingdom even as they often retained sovereign authority over small domains of their own, independent of Court control. Associated with these ritualists, it is said, a new drum was crafted—as the symbol of royalty. In short, Ruganzu's reign is associated with the conjunction of eastern and western components, with the convergence of the military and ritual components, and with the construction of royalty itself. This period—the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries—is when the kingdom began to take on the geographical, military, and ritual dimensions we associate with it today.

A second period of growth was associated with the reign of Cyilima Rujugira, in the mid-eighteenth century. It was an unusually complex time, one in which the kingdom was threatened from the outside and which was witness to internal conflict among serious competitors to power; indeed there may have been a change in descent line at this time, for Rujugira was probably a usurper. Nonetheless, from such political challenges there emerged a new institutional skeleton to the kingdom. In external relations, this was a time of the rapid growth of armies, both in number and in their internal organization, as they recruited large numbers of porters and requisitioned huge quantities of cattle and grain. In time, this allowed armies to move long distances, extending the reach of the Court. These patterns of requisition also became forms of embryonic administration, deepening the presence of the Court in the areas they occupied. Armies were assigned to a specific terrain, often on the borders of the expanding state. They also became associated with specific herds of cattle to ensure the upkeep of their members, with

particular social groups to provide for them. But internal consolidation was also associated with this process: while some army organizations long preceded Rujugira, from his reign they seem to have taken on a more self-conscious corporate pride. Enduring army leadership structures emerged, and specific army histories are retained from this period, as these became social corporations in the true sense of the term.

At the time of Rujugira's reign in the mid-eighteenth century the Court also became more involved both with popular religion outside the confines of Court personnel and with the development of a more elaborate set of Court rituals. The Ryangombe cult, widely celebrated across the broader region, seems to have become more widespread in the country at this time. Given both the questions of legitimacy associated with Rujugira's accession and the increasing intrusion of military demands at the local level, this cult—and in some respects a movement—may indeed have served as a focus for alternative loyalties to the state. Consequently, the dynasty may have felt it politic to incorporate a resident "leader" of this cult at the Court. Whatever the causes, from Rujugira's reign the Court began to appoint its own official celebrant of the Ryangombe cult as part of its own ritual domain. Moreover, the internal culture of the Court was transformed in other ways. From multiple sources, we know that Court poetry, dance, and etiquette (all associated with more formalized army training) became increasingly emphasized at the Court. This period saw the development of the formal ritual code (the *ubwiru*). Even the establishment of a definitive cycle of royal names—with four royal names succeeding one another in each cycle—showed an increasing self-consciousness of the Court as a class of its own. In short, the mid-eighteenth century, coinciding with the reign of Rujugira, was, as one historian notes, "a time of the recasting of royal ideology."

The early nineteenth century was also a time of significant change, associated with the reign of Gahindiro—yet another king who came to power in a disputed succession. This period saw a different kind of growth at the Court, with increased factional competition, the emergence of dominant Court actors, and the growth of a few lineages as powerful political factions. Again, because of an irregular succession there was a preoccupation with legitimacy, and hence with the presentation of royal ritual. Following a smallpox epidemic that took the lives of several *biru*—ritual officials who together formed the essential "ritual corporation" of the kingdom—the Court increased the number of ritualists to guard against a similar calamity occurring in the future. In the

process, the king appointed candidates of his own to nonhereditary positions as biru, thus ensuring that henceforth each king could appoint some of his own ritualists. Such a change reduced the independence of the biru and introduced competition among lineages and political factions to be named to positions of "official ritualist."

Consequently, what most marked the Court at this time was the growth of factional competition, with the result that powerful Court actors began to reach beyond the Court confines and assert power over populations in the rural areas. Fueled by increased demands for material goods at the Court, such an expansion of the interests of powerful Court actors underscored the need for new relations of Court notables with subservients who could provide material goods, labor, and luxury items. This period saw the first extension of client ties, and over time—at least in the central areas—there developed new forms of land claims, new administrative procedures, and the elaboration of new forms of cattle clientship (including ubuhake). Such powers over the local populations were extended to outlying areas only slowly and in an uneven fashion; in many areas these were introduced only much later, during colonial rule. This process of tightening control over rural people also led to the increasing consolidation of aristocratic lineages at the Court. Competition among them was most intense over issues of royal succession, in part reflected in the fact that for five of the next six royal successions the queen mother would be drawn from a single clan—something not accepted in the official royal code.

Thus three periods, each associated with three long reigns—those of Ruganzu, Rujugira, and Gahindiro—resulted in major institutional developments at the Court: the establishment of the coherent kingdom, the refinement of Court institutions (including both army formations and ritual ideology), and the extension of Court power over the population. Each of these periods of institutional consolidation corresponded with a crisis at the Court, for each of these kings appears to have been a usurper who came to power by military force. That required an explanation, so each crisis of legitimacy brought a subsequent refinement of Court ideology and a further development of royal ritual. With greater focus on military matters, violence increasingly became the currency of the Court politics, reaching its apogee in the late nineteenth century.

By the late nineteenth century a complex set of tactical maneuvers at the Court had brought to power an extraordinary personality—Sezisoni, to be enthroned as Kigeri Rwabugiri. He was ambitious, decisive, and ruthless, whether in his executive actions at the Court or in his

military expeditions abroad. In both domains he showed little respect for custom—and little respect for human life. Under Rwabugiri, life at the Court could be dangerous even for those close to the king: he sent to execution his own mother, his biological father, and many other powerful courtiers. Outside the Court, increasing demands on the population in many areas made life much more difficult, as Rwabugiri's armies constantly sought provisions for their continual campaigns and as Court chiefs constantly sought to acquire prestations for the Court.

Over his long reign Rwabugiri was almost constantly engaged in military endeavors: he occupied Gisaka in the southeast and sent expeditions and raids far beyond the traditional Rwandan culture zone—defined by the speakers of Kinyarwanda—to the north, the northwest, and the west. But, as we have seen, his unexpected death left a political vacuum at the core of the political behemoth he had created. During his lifetime he had sought to avoid such an outcome by enthroning one of his sons, Rutarindwa, as co-ruler during the last years of his reign. But the deeper culture of the Court he had established prevailed over the prescribed processes; on his death the Court entered a period not of a smoothly defined transition of power to the designated successor, but of intense political maneuvers that eventually led to the death of Rutarindwa and brought to power the young Musinga, supported by his ambitious mother and her two brothers.

This was the context in which Musinga acceded to power: the aftermath of a militarized epoch under a ruthless king; the accumulation of frustration among many factions at the Court; the creation of a Court culture of intense calculation; and a state under duress, as many neighboring societies, occupied or attacked by Rwabugiri's armies, sought to reclaim their own autonomy. Furthermore, this period saw two particular new developments. One was the annihilation of one of the Court's premier army units by an armed force from the Congo (then part of Belgian king Leopold's "Congo Free State"). Another was marked by the arrival of new agents within Rwanda: some were evangelicals garbed in the long white gowns of the "White Fathers" missionary order, some were armed "traders," and some were formed of a new set of armed intruders, as first a set of interlopers intervened from the Congo Free State and then the German East Africa authorities extended their power to these areas, originally attractive as a potential labor pool.

Musinga's Court thus faced significant challenges. How it addressed them, and how these multiple demands affected internal relations at the Court, form the essential focus of Alison Des Forges's book.

Glossary of Rwandan Terms

akazi. Forced labor, usually done, with little or no pay, for the colonial administration

baja (sing., muja). Servants, slaves, captives of war

barungu (sing., murungu). Employees of the Europeans, often distinguished by their foreign dress

basemyi (sing., musemyi). "Those who speak"; interpreters

basumbwe (sing., musumbwe). Traders, generally from East Africa

batora (sing., mutora). Agents of the Court who collected bananas for beer and animals for divination

guhakwa. To pay court

gutora. To select, choose-out; used especially to refer to the White Fathers selecting people who would have to take religious instruction

ibihunikwa (sing., igihunikwa). Provisions; the part of a harvest that was given to the munyubutaka

ibisimba (sing., igisimba). Wild beasts; used to refer to Europeans

ibituku (sing., igituku). Red things; used to refer to Europeans

igikingi (pl., ibikingi). The smallest unit of command granted by the Court; includes the right to control use of the land

igisonga (pl., ibisonga). Representative of a notable

ikizungu. Ideas and things of the Europeans

ikoro. Tax collected by the batware for the Court, a recognition of royal sovereignty

imana. The divine essence that shaped the universe

inama. Councils of leading Christians

Inkemba. "The Destroyers," or "The Predators," warriors of the Court who attacked the Bakiga of the north

itolero. The elite corps of a military regiment

inyangarwanda. Haters or repudiators of Rwanda, often used to describe Christian converts

Kinyarwanda. The language spoken by Rwandans

mugaragu (pl., bagaragu). The weaker person in the clientship agreement marked by the exchange of cattle

mugome (pl., bagome). A rebel

muhinza (pl., bahinza). The royal Court term applied to the rulers of the small states within the Rwandan kingdom; usually seen as having control over the elements or the fertility of the soil

mukarani (pl., bakarani). Clerks, or chiefs or sub-chiefs who began their careers as clerks

munyubutaka (pl., banyabutaka). Officials named by the Court to control the distribution of arable land and to collect a return on its use

munyumukenke (pl., banyamukenke). Officials named by the Court to control the distribution of pasture land and to collect a return on its use

mupfumu (pl., bapfumu). Diviner

mutware (pl., batware). Commander of an ngabo

mwami (pl., bami). The supreme ruler of a kingdom

mwiru (pl., biru). Guardian of royal traditions, ritual specialist

ngabo. A military organization, a regiment; used also as a tool of administration by the Court

ntore. A young warrior; a member of the elite corps of itolero

shebuja. The patron and protector in a clientship agreement marked by the exchange of cattle

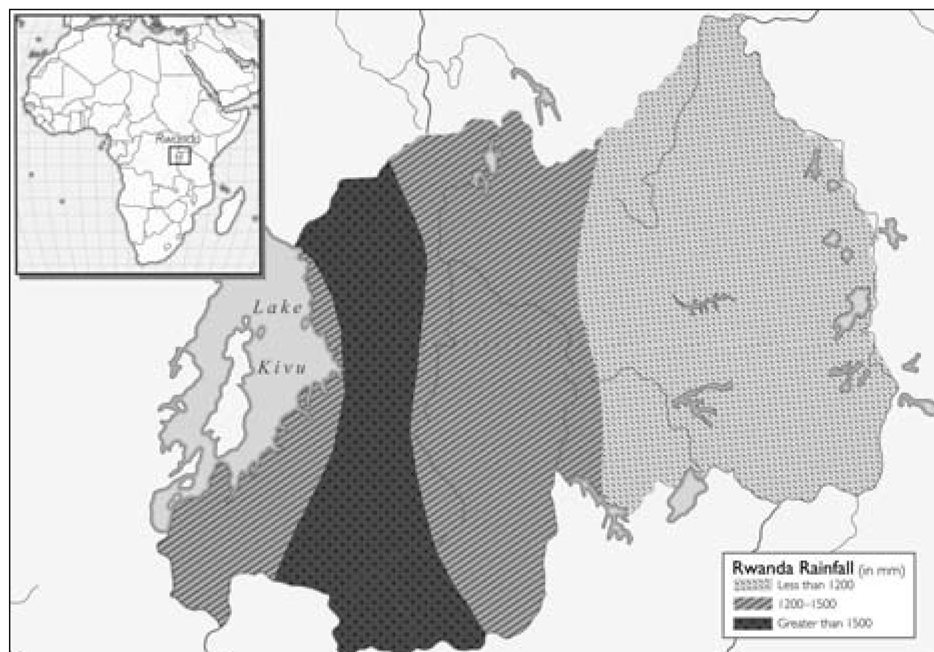
ubuhake. A clientship agreement whereby a powerful person undertakes to protect a weaker one; marked by the grant of cattle

uburetwa. Labor done in return for the use of land, originally within the framework of clientship

ubwiru. The ritual code of the kingdom, prescribing the rituals to be performed by Court

umuganura. The formal ritual ceremony during which the first fruits of a harvest are presented to the mwami

Defeat Is the Only Bad News


Lake
Kivu
Rwanda Rainfall (in mm)
Less than 1200
1200–1500
Greater than 1500

Rwanda: Selected Administrative Districts c. 1931
Mutara Region
Biumba Town
Spellings correspond with colonial orthography
UGANDA
TANGANYIKA
BELGIAN
CONGO
Lake
Kivu
Mulera
Ndorwa
Mutara
Ruhengeri
Rwankeri
Buberuka
Buberuka
Biumba
Buyaga
Mubari
Kisenyi
Bugoyi
Bushiru
Bukonya
Kibari
Rukiga
North Buganza
Bumbogo
Buliza
Kanage
Kingogo
Ndiza
Kigali
Rukoma
Bwanacyambwe
South Buganza
Budaha
Kibuye
Bwishaza
Nduga
Rukaryi
Mirenge
Kibungu
Marangara
Migongo
Rusenyi
Nyantango
Kabagari
Mayaga
Bugesera
Gihunta
Nyanza
Busanza
Cyesha
Impara
Bunyambiriri
Shangugu
Bufundu
Buhanga-
Ndara
Bukunzi
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Nyaruguru
Buyenzi
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20mi
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1

A Tumultuous Transition

The Accession of Musinga

Ikanura amaso ntiryima ingoma.
[To eye the drum longingly does not win it.]*

In late 1896 Yuhi Musinga acceded to power as king of Rwanda.† Located just south of the equator in central Africa, on the highlands that mark the geographic backbone of the African continent, this was a region of remarkable ecological diversity, and therefore was home to a variety of occupational specializations: pastoralism in the open grasslands to the east; agriculture in the fertile highlands of the north, the center, and the west; and hunting and trapping in the forests of the mountainous areas. But because Rwanda lacked certain key resources (iron and salt among them), a set of well-trafficked trade networks was also a part of

*This proverb and others used in this work are from Nkongori and Kamanzi, *Proverbes du Rwanda*, 57. The drum is the essential symbol of kingship. Physically the royal drum ("Karinga") is the central focus to the royal rituals legitimizing kingship. Metaphorically, the term refers either to the kingdom or to a particular reign—the claim to power.

†The original dissertation began with an overview of the social structures of precolonial Rwanda and a summary of royal history. As explained in the introduction, however, research carried out since the time of Des Forges's fieldwork has greatly enriched our understanding of these features. This section replaces the author's original introductory section, drawing on work published since the dissertation was written.

the economic landscape, connecting various regions of Rwanda with neighboring societies. As a generally fertile and well-watered region this area had, over many centuries, attracted people from several physical stocks and different cultural backgrounds. From such ecological variety and such a diversity of immigrants, significant cultural and occupational differences had emerged in the region.*

The expansion of the power of the royal Court brought with it a simplified set of social identities, recognizing essentially three ethnic categories within its domain: Tutsi, Hutu, and Twa. For the first European observers, too, such diversity begged for simple clarification, and they imposed their own conceptual apparatus, both within and beyond the domain of royal power. Late-nineteenth century European intellectual frameworks posited race as the essential criterion by which social and physical diversity was categorized. Therefore, the diverse physical stocks and evident occupational differences in this region were conflated into the three categories recognized by the royal Court; these were then redefined as racial groups, with each corresponding to a single economic specialization and applied to the region as a whole: Hutu as agrarians (later estimated at about 85 percent of the population), Tutsi as pastoralists (about 14 percent), and Twa as hunters (about 1 percent). Complicated forms of personal identity and small-group mobility were represented within a simplified history of "ethnic migrations" in which these three groups, presumed to be of distinct racial stocks, were said to have entered the area in successive coherent "waves," with Twa followed by Hutu followed by Tutsi, resulting in a clear ethnic/racial hierarchy. In this simplified vision, each succeeding group dominated its predecessor groups, resulting in a layered political and social hierarchy. Within this conceptual universe, earlier social identities and more precise histories were categorized as of atavistic, local interest only; such was the power of colonial hegemony that only "national" units were what counted.

*For an overview of the precolonial history of this region, see D. Newbury, "Precolonial Burundi and Rwanda."

That was the theory. Today we know that social mobility does not always occur as "migration." Instead, mobility often takes the form of individuals or social groups moving incrementally. When carried out over centuries, such processes create complex cultural landscapes, such as those that mark this region. Furthermore, the definitive link between occupation and cultural identity is not always as clear as this conceptual image presumes. In Rwanda, cattle-keeping and farming were complementary, not exclusive, activities; the skills required for each are not held by one social group alone. Individuals and households could—and often did—simultaneously tend cattle, till the soil, and trap game.

Historically, however, this was an area where regional differences were significant, as were people's loyalties to particular political authorities. Even at the time that Musinga acceded to power some of those local loyalties remained. Therefore, this geographically diverse region was also politically diverse, and for much of its

history included several distinct dynastic units. Nonetheless, over time one dynasty, associated with the Nyiginya clan identity, had come to dominate the politics of the region. That was Rwanda, the kingdom that Musinga would come to rule.[1]

The Nyiginya state was the product of a long political history. Long before the emergence of the dynasty, large areas of forest had been cleared by early arrivals, leading to lineage claims to the land known as *ubukonde*. The association of land with a particular lineage meant that sometimes *bakonde* (those who held land rights) would accept clients on their land—often people who had fled from elsewhere (from drought conditions, land shortage, or political demands). But in many areas such local autonomy was disrupted by the political expansion of the kingdom. This was especially true from the mid-eighteenth century, when the Rwandan king Cyilima Rujugira, beset by serious military challenges, reorganized the military structures of the state, establishing permanent standing armies (*ngabo*) on its borders.[2] From these "social armies," which included many people attached to them as porters and as providers of food, there developed three attributes that characterized the Nyiginya kingdom. The first was the expansion of the state itself, as these armies allowed the Court to extend its influence to new areas. The second concerned institutional development. Stationed far from their home areas, these armies established an administrative presence of their own, requisitioning food, workers, and porters from the local population. This was the beginning of an administrative structure of a state based on more than simply military campaigns, for these army institutions came to define a clear hierarchy separating power holders (the *ntore*, or army personnel) from servants (*bagaragu*, or clients). These distinctions became the core of a culture of hierarchy that marked the army units and became pronounced at the Court. With such self-conscious distinctions in place, the Nyiginya Court began to develop a strong sense of protocol, a status consciousness expressed through refined etiquette that was to mark the Court as separate from the society in an arena where class and status were very important.[3] Setting off the Court elite from the society in general, these differences were reinforced by language styles, particular food types, forms of personal bearing, leisure activities, and individual ornamentation (including clothing and hairstyles, as well as particular types of

bracelets and anklets). Along with this refinement of royal culture, the Court also developed its own ideology, one justifying the rule of the elite and expressed through a panoply of highly formalized rituals and a set of historical narratives explaining the origins of the dynasty. These elaborate ritual paradigms justifying royalty were the third attribute of Court development. By the early nineteenth century such features had become codified into a royal protocol known as the *ubwiru*, the ritual code governing various aspects of ritual and political practice and the legitimizing feature of royalty at the Nyiginya Court. The *biru*, those responsible for performing the rituals, had a privileged place at the Court.[4] Thus, the development of particular forms of army organizations, administrative institutions, and ideologies served as the foundation of the emerging Nyiginya kingdom.

The continued expansion of the kingdom in the early nineteenth century brought new developments, as conquest also implicated administrative norms. In the central areas of the kingdom, by the early nineteenth century a series of overlapping authority structures had developed, which applied to lineage

affiliation, to land, and to pasture (for cattle). For a given district, distinct delegated Court officials were assigned to each domain. *Batware*, originally army leaders, were increasingly assigned administrative powers over specific lineages, including military conscription and taxation (*ikoro*) in the form of cattle payments, agricultural produce, or luxury items such as mats of special reeds, woven fiber anklet/bracelets, or rare animal skins. Because an individual army chief could have several different assignments simultaneously (and because they were often reassigned), batware often exercised power through individual lineage networks in various regions. Other official delegates, called *banyabutaka*, were responsible for specific land grants (and the people living on them). Again, individuals at the Court could be assigned responsibility for multiple *ibikingi* domains to respond to specific demands for pasture. However, by the nineteenth century the kingdom had expanded—and so had the number of elite positions at the Court marked by possession of increasingly large cattle herds. In the early nineteenth century, during the reign of King Yuhi Gahindiro, the Court responded to specific requests for pasture by creating a new type of authority, exclusively responsible for pastureland. These delegates, *banyamukenke*, gradually extended their authority over cattle-holders. But they also served as a countervailing presence to batware and banyabutaka in any given region.[5]

The result was the emergence of a complex administrative mosaic that ensured the Court both bonding and flexibility. Such overlapping appointments established more complete Court authority over the people. With each delegated authority overseeing the actions of his colleagues, they also prevented any one regional chief from accumulating power that in the end might challenge the power of the Court (and potentially might lead to secession). A complex political balancing act emerged at the Court, reinforced by a system of parallel channels of power among ambitious appointees. Consequently, over the course of the nineteenth century the Court became increasingly important as the sole effective arena for political maneuvering. As Des Forges noted: "As the legitimacy of the Court's power grew . . . powerful men rarely opposed it openly but sought to control it from within."[6] Hence, the struggle for power and influence intensified at the Court, as illustrated in the manner of Musinga's accession to power.

One of the ways such power was exerted was through kinship alliance, and so lineages became influential networks at the Court. In this patrilineal society the royal lineage (the Bahindiro lineage of the Banyiginya clan) was one such channel. But other lineages were important as well, and these manifested themselves in three principal roles: as artisan specialists responsible for producing particular items for the Court—iron goods, ornaments, mats, or construction elements; as ritual specialists responsible for the well-being of the sovereign or the state; or as the lineages of the queen mother. In theory the royal heir was to be chosen from among the sons of a woman of a prescribed clan; the role of queen mother was supposed to alternate in a regular cycle among four particular named clans. But in practice, politics overcame prescription. From among these four "matridynastic" clans, one, the Bega, came to play a dominant role in the succession; by the end of the nineteenth century, three of the last four kings had been born to Bega mothers. Furthermore, all three of those sovereigns had come to power before their maturity, giving the queen mothers significant influence over the affairs of the Court. Thus political maneuvering often came strongly into play in the succession process, with lineages fiercely competing over the role of queen mother.

Such competitive maneuvers were crucial to the accession of Musinga. Rutarindwa, Rwabugiri's named successor and for ten years his "co-ruler," was the son of a woman of one matridynastic clan, the Bakono. But she had died young (by Court execution), and so Rwabugiri had named another woman, Kanjogera, as Rutarindwa's adoptive mother; she was expected to serve as queen mother on Rutarindwa's accession to power. However, the newly designated queen-mother-in-waiting already had an infant son of her own, who was also eligible to succeed Rwabugiri. And so it was she, along with two of her brothers in the Bakagara lineage of the Bega clan, who maneuvered to place the young Musinga in power. Having played a determinative role in the succession, these three actors—the mother and two maternal uncles of Musinga—remained extremely influential in the affairs of the Court well into Musinga's reign; indeed much of this story details Musinga's early subordination to them and his later struggle to free himself from the influence of these powerful personalities.

From the time of Rwabugiri, then, several conditions shaped the actions at the Court. One was the diversity of the society, including both the cultural variations on the ground and the high degree of social stratification that characterized Rwanda at the end of the nineteenth century. Another was the character of the Court, with its own formal etiquette and its own sometimes rapidly changing alliances. A third was the pervasive role of violence at the very core of Court culture at this time, as shown both in the Court's relations with those outside the Court and in the activities among Court members: Rwabugiri himself, for example, had ordered the execution of his own mother, his biological father, and several of the most influential actors at the Court; in another case, the head of a powerful lineage killed his sister (who was also the wife of the king of the day) with his own hands; and whole lineages were sometimes wiped out in political pogroms.[7] At the Court, politics mattered. Finally, it is important to recognize that the domain of the Court's influence varied over time, and these differences in the extent of Court influences were particularly marked between reigns. Many areas of what are now part of Rwanda had long been autonomous; indeed, some had actively resisted the extension of Court power into their domain, while others had a more ambiguous relationship to the Nyiginya state. In short, the current extent of the Rwandan state was defined in large part through the exercise of European power.

Rwabugiri combined an expansion of his authority outward with the intensification of his rule downward. Greater control at home enabled him to embark on military adventures abroad. Awarding prestigious combat assignments and distributing the fruits of victory allowed him to satisfy the ambitions of his notables, for military expeditions meant fame and renown in this highly status-conscious culture. His military activities also took him to many regions of Rwanda. These travels helped consolidate Court rule in those areas, for as he traveled he was accompanied by the Court, its numerous courtiers, and several armies, all of which made demands on the local population. In addition, campaigns abroad often brought in large quantities of spoils, notably cattle—valued both in themselves and in their utility as gifts, since bestowing a cow on another could be seen as establishing a hierarchical relationship between the two parties. In short, Rwabugiri's military

campaigns served many purposes over and beyond simple conquest and extraction. Equally important, they led to honor and wealth for those at Court, and resources with which individuals could expand and reinforce their client networks.

However, although Rwabugiri was almost constantly engaged in such activities, many of the areas conquered during his reign were only ephemerally incorporated into Rwanda. On his death many such areas regained their autonomy; they were part of Rwanda only while force made it possible. Nonetheless Rwabugiri's expeditions could have a significant effect on regional politics. In Kinyaga, in the southwest, and in some areas of the west of present-day Rwanda, for example, occupation by Court personnel was sufficiently enduring to establish a Court delegate as a powerful local presence, to restructure local clientship relations, and to put in place administration structures that endured after the king's death. But such areas were limited; following Rwabugiri's death in 1895 many other areas reclaimed (or tried to reclaim) their independence from Rwanda. It was only with European arms, as the Germans sought to reinforce the Court's claims and extend the influence of the Nyiginya Court during Musinga's reign, that many of these areas were reincorporated into Rwandan administrative structures. So the contours of Rwanda as we know it today are in many instances a modern creation, a product of Musinga's reign, in which Court agency was combined with the actions of missionaries and the power of the colonial administration. Under Musinga the state greatly expanded, as well as deepened.

Those are some of the important themes to be addressed in this work.

The Rwandan State at Rwabugiri's Death

The political system left by Rwabugiri was extraordinarily complex and flexible. In the most intensively governed areas of the kingdom, batware, banyabutaka, and banyamukenke shared authority, the first collecting ikoro taxes from men according to lineage, the others controlling the usage of land and collecting a return on it. At the will of the Court, the privileges of any one position could be held cumulatively with another, in the same or in another region. The areas of the commands varied greatly in size and were sometimes located in widely separated parts of

the kingdom. Ibikingi land grants were scattered throughout the holdings of the more powerful notables, allowing the Court to weaken their power and to keep track of local developments. The most important notables needed to be in constant attendance at the Court to defend themselves against possible intrigues by their enemies and so left the local supervision of their holdings to representatives, *ibisonga* (sing., *igisonga*), who might in turn further divide the command among their followers.

Even Rwabugiri did not impose this intensive administration uniformly throughout Rwanda. The biru, the guardians of tradition, controlled domains that paid nothing to the Court and even escaped the reach of the *mwami*'s justice. In some areas (such as Bukunzi, Busozo, Kingogo, and Bushiru) ritually autonomous leaders (referred to as *bahinza* in the Court lexicon, but as *bami* by the local population), often with renowned powers over the elements and the men under their command, were left undisturbed except for having to acknowledge the mwami's sovereignty and to pay him a token tribute. Small states or even powerful lineages profited from historical accident, their relative inaccessibility, or the great fighting ability of their men to become direct clients of the Court and so avoid the intermediate control of the notables. In general, rule by the Court was most effective in the heartland and shaded off in the outlying regions, especially in the west and north. In these outer areas the Court ruled only through its batware, who were satisfied with occasionally collecting ikoro by messengers who made rapid forays into the area. No agents of the Court resided permanently in such regions. Beyond these outlying regions, which were eventually encompassed within the twentieth-century boundaries of Rwanda, lay a still more amorphous area where the mwami exerted influence rather than governed. The autonomous rulers of areas now within the boundaries of Uganda and Congo had suffered once or twice from Rwabugiri's campaigns and sometimes sought to avert further invasions by sending occasional gifts to him.[8]

The central kingdom could be distinguished socially and culturally as well as administratively from the outlying regions. The heartland contained a far larger number of Tutsi, between 10 and 15 percent of the total population. Tutsi eventually held most of the important commands, although several Hutu had been granted great wealth and power by Rwabugiri, and many others served as ibisonga or representatives of more influential notables. Although the Tutsi, especially the most powerful among them, preferred to marry among themselves,

many of the people of the central kingdom were of mixed Tutsi-Hutu stock. Indeed the terms "Tutsi" and "Hutu" had come to describe class more than racial origin since wealthy and influential Hutu were absorbed into the aristocracy and poor Tutsi fell into the group of Hutu. Such mobility was usually marked by the marriage of the newly rich or newly poor man with a woman of the class they were entering; the transformation would be fully accomplished one or more generations later when people ceased referring to its having occurred.[9]

The elaborate language and sophisticated art forms of poetry, music, and dance so highly developed at the Court were universally admired and imitated by the people of the central kingdom. In addition, the extension of *ubuhake* cattle clientship with its clear distinctions between superior and inferior had influenced people's behavior. Fear of losing a powerful protector led inferiors to agree with the strong and to comply with their orders even if they found these repugnant. A resourceful client, however, retained a certain freedom: if he chose his words carefully, he could satisfy both his own and his patron's honor; if he planned his actions carefully, he could achieve his own as well as his patron's ends. Inferiors often realized the possibilities of turning rivalries among the powerful to their own advantage and often skillfully played one against another.[10] Rwandan reliance on ambiguous language and the employment of ruse later angered more straightforward Europeans. Few were as perceptive as one who remarked that Rwandans saw communication as a "not ignoble contest between two intelligences."[11]

The relatively small number of Tutsi who lived in the outlying regions had moved there in search of pasture for their cattle and in hopes of escaping the demands of the Court and its agents. They remained ethnically and culturally more distinct from the Hutu, yet dealt with them on a basis of greater equality. Distant from Court, they paid less attention to the fine points of culture so much admired by their counterparts in the central kingdom. Local Hutu communities, still concerned primarily with the affairs of their lineages or small states, had developed peculiarities of language and behavior that set those of one region apart from those of another as well as from the people of the heartland. Both the Tutsi and the Hutu of the outlying regions resisted the extension of control by the Court and resented the cultural and social arrogance of the people of the center.

Although variations in administrative arrangements and social and cultural patterns divided the regions, the people of Rwanda shared certain basic ideas about the relations among men and between men

and the forces that governed the universe. They understood clientship arrangements, whether expressed in terms of land or cattle. They accepted the existence of a creative force, *imana*, which could be made manifest in objects or men. Many of them participated in worship of the *Imandwa*, a group of spirits said to provide more immediate help in the trials of life than the beneficent but passive imana. Most of them respected the authority of the mwami even as they sought to evade his power. And virtually all of them expressed their ideas in Kinyarwanda, the shared language understood throughout the kingdom despite its regional variations.

The Downfall of Rutarindwa

As Rwabugiri grew older, he became concerned with providing for an orderly succession that would guarantee the gains in power and territory he had made. Hoping to break the pattern of children being installed as bami, he ordered that his heir, Rutarindwa, a young man in his twenties, rule together with him during the last years of his life. Rutarindwa was enthroned as co-regnant in December 1889, taking the reign name of Mibambwe.*

Since Rwabugiri had killed Rutarindwa's own mother some years before, he now named another wife, Kanjogera, to serve as Rutarindwa's queen mother. According to tradition, substitutes chosen to act as queen mothers had to be of the same lineage as the natural mother of the mwami and could not have sons of their own eligible to rule. In addition, a more recent restriction prohibited women of the Bakagara lineage of the Bega clan from acting as queen mothers because some members of the lineage had been permitted to learn part of the ubwiru (the esoteric royal code).

In appointing Kanjogera, Rwabugiri ignored all these stipulations. She was a Mwega (singular of Bega) of the Bakagara lineage, while Rutarindwa's own mother had been of the Bakono clan. She also had a young son, Musinga, fathered by Rwabugiri and so eligible to succeed.[12]

*Royal names succeeded one another as part of a cycle of four "reign names" in a prescribed fashion: Mutara, Kigeri, Mibambwe, and Yuhi; in theory, in alternate cycles Cyilima was substituted for Mutara, though this was not followed with Musinga's succession.

Some notables, including some biru whose advice was being disregarded, accused Rwabugiri of being blinded by his great love for Kanjogera, who was his favorite wife. But Rwabugiri's head probably played as much a part as his heart in determining his choice. By naming a Mwega queen mother for a son related to the Bakono, he could associate the powerful Bega with the throne without giving them control over it. Rwabugiri died suddenly in late 1895, just as his troops were embarking on an expedition against Bushi on the west side of Lake Kivu. Despite rumors that the impatient Bega had poisoned the great warrior, he actually died from illness.[13] Rutarindwa took power with apparent ease, unaware that Kanjogera and her brothers, Kabare and Ruhinankiko, had already begun secretly to plot his downfall.

Rutarindwa had been in power about six months when his authority was challenged openly, not by the Bega but by a Belgian officer named Georges Sandrart. Lieutenant Sandrart, who had been quelling a mutiny of soldiers in the eastern part of the Congo Free State, had crossed with several hundred Congolese troops into the southwestern corner of Rwanda. After establishing a fortified camp on the hill Shangi on the shores of Lake Kivu, Sandrart had tried to win the allegiance of local notables to the Congo State. Rutarindwa sent several thousand of his best warriors under the experienced commanders Bisangwa and Muhigirwa against the invaders.[14] Armed with spears and bows, the Rwandans charged unsuccessfully: the Congolese had the advantage of superior position and more efficient weapons. After his troops were driven back, Bisangwa supposedly dispatched a messenger to Court, asking: "When one is defeated abroad, one returns to his own country; when one is beaten at home, where does one go then?"[15] The Rwandans attacked twice more before Sandrart killed Bisangwa with a bullet through the head and thus dispersed the Rwandan troops.

Rwandan warriors had once before been defeated by an enemy armed with guns. The German explorer Count G. A. von Götzen, the first European to travel through Rwanda, had turned back a small force sent against him by Rwabugiri in 1894.[16] But this defeat had caused little stir because so few were killed and because Rwabugiri had refused to acknowledge the attack as an official expedition. At Shangi, Rutarindwa had been committed to expelling the invaders. But the hundred or so warriors who fell there included some of the best of the kingdom. The battle quickly became known as a disaster that symbolized the supremacy of European weapons over Rwandan ones and, by implication, European power over Rwandan power. This demonstration of weakness

gave rise to such tales as the one that recounted that Sandrart had not even moved from his chair when the Rwandans had attacked but had merely motioned to his wife to halt the assault. Sandrart, of course, had had no wife with him and, from the Belgian point of view, his victory resulted from courageous effort rather than casual nonchalance; nonetheless, the tale indicates how unequal the Rwandans thought the contest had been.[17]

Several weeks after the Shangi battle, a German officer from the newly established station at Bujumbura, Burundi, arrived to notify Sandrart that he was violating German territory as defined by the Congolese–German Agreement of 1884. Rather than do battle, Sandrart withdrew from Rwanda. The German officer returned directly to Bujumbura without passing by the Court to explain why he had expelled Sandrart and his troops.[18] Although the Belgian officer had left, the impression of the weakness of the Court and its armies remained and encouraged the Bega in their plot to install Musinga as mwami. Bisangwa had been the most powerful of three notables charged by Rwabugiri with protecting Rutarindwa. His death made it easier for the Bega to dispose of the other two, Mugugu and Sehene. Before being killed, Mugugu sent a warning to Rutarindwa that "they are cutting off your arms and you do not realize it."[19] Despite such warnings, Rutarindwa took no decisive action as the Bega gradually isolated him.

By December 1896 the Bega were confident of their strength. Rutarindwa had just moved the Court to a new location on the hill named Rucunshu, in the region of Marangara, not far from the center of the kingdom. While constructing his residence, Rutarindwa was living in an ordinary house, more modest and less easily defended than a royal residence with its large and sturdily built enclosure. Taking advantage of this temporary weakness, Kabare gave the signal for the attack one day in the late afternoon. The two sides were about evenly matched, and they fought fiercely. The sudden arrival of reinforcements who sided with the Bega turned the battle in their favor. Kabare seized his nephew Musinga, a boy of twelve or thirteen years old, and lifted him in the air, proclaiming him as the true mwami. As the attackers acclaimed Musinga, increasing numbers of Rutarindwa's supporters deserted him. The legitimate heir, seeing no hope of escape, killed himself. His relatives and loyal followers then killed each other or committed suicide. At the last, one of them set fire to the house in which they had taken refuge and where many of the precious possessions of the dynasty had been stored. Apparently destroyed at this time was Karinga, the great drum

that symbolized the mwami as ruler of Rwanda. According to tradition, no mwami could legitimately rule without it. When the damage was assessed after the battle, and the loss of Karinga was reported to Kabare, the pragmatic plotter is said to have responded, "We have the mwami; we can make the drum."[20]

The Troubled Accession of Musinga

Near the end of February 1897, Musinga and Kanjogera were officially enthroned, the son taking the reign name of Yuhi V, the mother, Nyirayuhi. Those biru who had opposed the illegitimate transfer of power had already been eliminated by Kanjogera, Kabare, and Ruhinankiko. Those who remained obliged the Bega triumvirate by performing the necessary formalities to mark the beginning of a new reign.[21]

A few weeks after the completion of the ceremonies, the Court was visited by a Captain Ramsay, who was accompanied by two other German officers and three hundred armed soldiers. Ramsay had been ordered by the governor of German East Africa to open the area to German trade. He found the Court suspicious and reserved. Although it readily provided him with supplies, it declined to receive him immediately. Impatient after a delay of two days, Ramsay mustered his officers, soldiers, and brass band and marched into the royal enclosure. Passing through a thousand or so men, all completely silent and all armed with spears, Ramsay uneasily entered the official residence.[22] He assumed that the middle-aged man who met him wearing fine skins and a beaded headdress was Yuhi Musinga. The man who played the role of mwami, however, was actually Mpamarugamba, a notable in charge of the worship of the Imandwa spirits at the Court. In ordering him to replace Musinga, Kanjogera and her brothers must have reasoned that the powerful ritualist would be more able than a vulnerable boy to withstand whatever mysterious forces the visitor could call into play. Mpamarugamba was assisted by a "gigantic" notable who must have been Ruhinankiko.* Kanjogera herself may well have followed the proceedings from behind a screen, but she did not dare to meet the European.

*Ruhinankiko was approximately 7 feet 2 inches tall according to Ramsey's estimate (in "Über Seine Expeditionen"), and that of R. Nturo (interview).

Ramsay recounts that after he had explained his mission, Mpamarugamba agreed to accept German protection and a German flag. The acting mwami then complained vigorously about Belgian incursions into Rwandan territory.[23] In return for protection from the German Empire, Ramsay requested a guarantee of Rwandan loyalty in the form of a pact of blood brotherhood. Mpamarugamba revealed not the least dismay at this suggestion, although blood brotherhood was perhaps the most solemn engagement which a Rwandan could undertake and was certainly not to be entered into lightly with such a strange partner. He glibly explained to Ramsay that since he was a monarch and since Ramsay was a great man and representative of a powerful king, it would hardly be appropriate for them to execute the pact as ordinary people did, by cutting their skins and ingesting a few drops of the other's blood. Instead, with the aid of Ruhinankiko, the dignitaries each proceeded to tie a long blade of grass around the waist of the other; then, as Ramsay put it, "we energetically shook hands and the blood brotherhood between the king of Rwanda and me was established."[24]

The German officer left the Court highly satisfied with what he called "the main political success of the expedition," completely unaware of how the Rwandans must have scorned his naive acceptance of a mock ritual with a false mwami. Much to the relief of the Court, Ramsay then headed south toward Burundi. At the last moment he decided not to leave Rwanda without trying to find the sources of its two main rivers, the Akanyaru and the Nyabarongo. Uncertain of Ramsay's intentions, the Court ordered its guides to keep him from finding them. He laboriously searched the southern part of Rwanda for ten days before admitting defeat. He finally left the kingdom without knowing that he once had been only a fifteen minute walk from one of the sources.[25]

Ramsay's caravan demonstrated a wealth and power that the Court realized could be useful in dealing with its enemies. The promise of German defense against the Belgians and their Congolese troops and against any internal threat must have encouraged the Court to accept graciously an arrangement it could not have refused. That the German officer required nothing concrete in return, and that he seemed so easy to manage with a combination of courtesy and deception, most likely reinforced the Court's willingness to enter into the agreement. The experience with Ramsay proved the advantages of dealing with the Europeans by diplomacy, just as the disaster at Shangi had demonstrated the impossibility of meeting them with force.

Only a month or so after Ramsay had left the country, Kanjogera and her brothers were faced with a serious revolt in the south. Muhigirwa, a son of Rwabugiri, had tacitly agreed to the coup by withdrawing the forces he commanded from Rutarindwa's side shortly before the attack at Rucunshu. After the coup, he had recognized Musinga as mwami. But Muhigirwa's submission turned into revolt after intriguers convinced him that the Court intended to kill him. Since the Bega triumvirate were executing many whom they supposed to be their enemies, Muhigirwa had good reason to fear for his life. To rally support against the Bega, Muhigirwa proclaimed his own son mwami. The forces under Muhigirwa's command were the strongest in the kingdom, so the Court met his challenge first through political maneuvering: by threats or promises of rewards it won over many of his most influential followers. When the two sides finally came to battle, Muhigirwa's forces were greatly outnumbered. After a brief skirmish, Muhigirwa killed himself.[26] Muhigirwa's revolt touched off a second uprising in the northeastern part of the kingdom. One of Muhigirwa's followers led devastating attacks against the supporters of Musinga but failed to win the much needed allegiance of two sons of Rwabugiri, Baryinyonza and Burabyo. After defeating Muhigirwa, the troops of the Court moved to the northeast and captured his supporters and the two princes who still professed their loyalty to Musinga.[27]

The main thrust of the northeastern revolt lay not in the raids by Muhigirwa's followers but in a simultaneous and perhaps coordinated insurrection called Ruyaga, the "Tempestuous Wind." Its leader, Mutwewingabo, rallied the support of a large Hutu lineage, the Bateke, who lived dispersed in Buganza, Rukiga, and Buyaga.[28] The Bateke were said to have rescued from troops of the Court one of Rwabugiri's wives, named Muserekande, a woman originally from Buha but who had subsequently lived in the region of Bwanacyambwe.[29] With her was her son by Rwabugiri, Biregeya, who was still a child. The Court believed that the Bateke wanted to place Biregeya on the throne. At about the same time another of Rutarindwa's supporters, Sebakara, who had fled to the northwestern province of Bugoyi, began inciting the people in that area to revolt against Musinga, prophesying that Biregeya would soon be enthroned as mwami. Although Sebakara was given refuge by the people of Bugoyi, his prophecy was not widely accepted.[30]

Mutwewingabo and Sebakara, and perhaps their closest followers, may indeed have wanted to win the throne for Biregeya. But most of the

Bateke and people of Bugoyi were interested not so much in replacing one of Rwabugiri's sons by another as in rejecting royal control over their regions. Their uprisings sparked others throughout the parts of northern Rwanda that had first been brought under firm royal control by Rwabugiri. The Hutu rose up in movements that were local and short-lived under the leadership of their lineage heads. They aimed only to expel representatives of the Court who had recently taken up residence in their regions or to chase off notables who had arrived to collect the ikoro.[31]

The troops of the Court first put down the rising of the Bateke, dealing them such a severe blow that they were never again an important lineage. Similarly, Muserekande and Biregeya were supposed to have drowned themselves to avoid capture by the troops that pursued them into the Nyabishambi swamp in northern Rwanda. The troops next swept westward through Buberuka, Mulera, Bugarura, Bushiru, Buhoma, and Cyingogo to Bugoyi. Under the guise of reestablishing royal control, they pillaged and burned the possessions of all in their path, whether or not they had actually rebelled against the Court. In most of these provinces, the people met the attack as they had met previous raids and as they would meet later ones: they gathered their most valued goods and fled to the hills or the forest. But when the troops tried to move from Cyingogo into Bugoyi, they were driven back by the people of that region. Later reinforced by additional troops, the royal forces attacked again and overcame the resistance. The troops—called *Inkemba*, "The Predators," by the people of Bugoyi—so devastated the region that it suffered a serious famine soon after.[32]

Even after the troops had returned in triumph to the Court, Kanjogera and her brothers feared the loss of their power. For all the ruthless ambition shown in their coup, the trio, and particularly Kanjogera, were disturbed by the supernatural implications of their act. If legitimate, the mwami embodied imana. This sacred force could be passed only from a mwami to his chosen successor. As a Rwandan poet expressed. it: "Whoever will possess royalty receives it from the hands of his father. Therefore do not pretend that a revolution could deliver the Drum."[33] The Bega had seized power and they had recreated the drum, Karinga, but they could not convince themselves that they had captured imana.

Their specific fears of retribution centered on the spirits of those who had been slaughtered in the coup and its aftermath. Throughout most of Musinga's reign, he and his mother participated in rituals and sacrifices to appease these spirits. They sometimes would simulate being

killed and buried or being burned alive in hopes of persuading the spirits that those responsible for the killings had died and that those who continued to live were innocent. These ceremonies took place most often in times of crisis, which were thought to have been called down on the Court by the spirits.[34]

Unconvinced themselves, the Bega all the more energetically tried to persuade others that Musinga ruled legitimately. Their arguments were filled with contradictions: if Rwabugiri had meant for Musinga to rule, why had he named Rutarindwa co-regnant? If Rutarindwa had illegitimately seized power, why had Kanjogera served as his queen mother and her brothers as his advisers? If Rutarindwa had not been correctly enthroned and acknowledged, why had Musinga been proclaimed as "Yuhi," instead of as "Mibambwe," the reign name that must be taken by the successor to a Kigeri? After witnessing the Court's suppression of Muhigirwa's revolt and the risings in the north, neither the notables nor the people at large dared openly challenge the inadequate justifications for the coup. But, as Kanjogera and her brothers realized, some leading notables remained secretly loyal to the legitimist cause, either from sincere dedication, personal interest, or a combination of these motives. In addition, as the Biregeya movement in the north had shown, those who wished to reject royal control might seize on the issue of legitimacy as an excuse for revolt. Among the opponents of the Court, Musinga was sometimes covertly called "Cyiimyamaboko," "It is force that rules the country."[35]

Biregeya came to embody the fears of the Court. The truth about this supposed son of Rwabugiri and Muserekande was soon lost in the maze of half-truth and legend that grew up around him. Although Muserekande seems without doubt to have been a historical figure, there is some question whether she ever gave birth to a son; or, if she did, whether he was still alive by the time of Rwbugiri's death. Those who argue against his existence point out that no one recalls the time and place when gifts were presented to Rwabugiri to congratulate him on the birth of this son, a custom that was usually observed at each royal birth. Nor do any details remain about Biregeya's place of residence or education. Others believe that he did live, relating that he was captured with his mother by the troops of the Court and then rescued by the Bateke. Of those who would accept his existence at the time of the Bateke revolt, some hold that he died with his mother in flight, others that they escaped successfully to Nkore.[36] The actual truth about Biregeya is not nearly so important as his existence throughout the early part of

Musinga's reign as a symbol both for the Bega and their opponents, epitomizing the fears of the one and the hopes of the other.

In dealing with the real and imagined threats to the new regime, the Court was hindered by a division in its own ranks. Kabare and Ruhinankiko, the two brothers who had allied with Kanjogera in seizing power, began to struggle for ultimate influences over the queen mother and her young son. This rivalry focused first on the fate of Baryinyonza and Burabyo, the two sons of Rwabugiri who were accused of having been ready to join Muhigirwa's revolt against the Court. Ruhinankiko, who was particularly close to Baryinyonza, tried to save the two, reminding Kanjogera how Baryinyonza had allied with them at the time of the coup. But the queen mother was swayed more by the arguments of Rutishereka, a Munyiginya who had joined the Bega party and who was closely tied to Kabare. A bitter enemy of Baryinyonza, Rutishereka convinced Kanjogera that one or the other of these sons of Rwabugiri might someday supplant her own son on the throne. By order of the queen mother, the two princes were killed in 1897.[37]

For about a year Rutishereka's protector Kabare remained highly influential, but gradually Kanjogera began to resent his power. As Kabare began to lose favor, Ruhinankiko attacked Rutishereka. In March 1898 Ruhinankiko persuaded Kanjogera that Rutishereka was using sorcery against her in an attempt to placate the spirits of his fellow Banyiginya killed at Rucunshu. Shortly thereafter, Rutishereka was accused of rallying support for Biregeya in his domains in the eastern region of Gihunya. Seeing his favorite increasingly threatened, Kabare asked Ruhinankiko to help protect him. Ruhinankiko responded that he would try to save him in the same way that Kabare had tried to save Baryinyonza—that is, not at all. Kabare went to warn his client, telling him: "Pull your clothes tightly about you so that you will not lose them if the wind knocks you to the ground."[38] In June, Kanjogera confronted Rutishereka. He professed his great loyalty to her, reminding her how he had turned from the leader of his own family, Rutarindwa, who had greatly favored him, to support the Bega. Kanjogera is said to have answered, "Since you have betrayed such a benefactor, who could trust you now?" She ordered him executed. Kabare, who had been so closely associated with the supposed traitor, saw his influence diminish; he was replaced at the side of the queen mother by Ruhinankiko.[39]

Afraid that the killing of Rutishereka alone might not sufficiently intimidate potential enemies, Kanjogera ordered fifteen other members of his lineage executed at the same time. Although the Bega sometimes

used the promise of rewards to win supporters, they relied primarily on execution and pillage, or the threat of them, to ensure obedience during these first troubled years. A score of unfortunate notables and their kin were killed between 1897 and 1900, while others, including sons and brothers of Rwabugiri, saved themselves only by fleeing to Burundi. This reliance on terror gave rise to the legend that Kanjogera personally cut down her enemies with a large sword; she was said to have become so dependent on this weapon that she kept it close at hand throughout her life and even insisted that it be buried with her after her death.[40]

The Bega installed Musinga as mwami at a period when the kingdom of Rwanda was at its greatest territorial extent and when the powers of its ruler were at their height. The demands of the mwami were justified by an ideology that made him the source of all wealth, while his orders were executed by a complex and flexible network of institutions that responded readily to his direction. But the gains in royal power had enormously increased the rewards of controlling the Court and had spurred conflicts among factions eager to enjoy them. In winning the drum, the Bega, the most powerful lineage of notables, had defeated Rutarindwa, who represented the Court. But even as they made Musinga mwami they were establishing the grounds for a new struggle between the Court and notables. As a child Musinga obeyed his mother and her brothers, but as a man he would seek to reassert the interests of his father's lineage and to restore the independence of the mwami.

2

The Catholic Church, the German Administration, and the Nyiginya Court

> Uhongera umwanzi amara inka.
> [He who offers reparations to his enemy will lose all his cattle]

Although the attention of the Court was focused mostly on its internal struggles, Kanjogera and her brothers carefully watched the installation of European soldiers in the southwestern corner of Rwanda. Since the border between the Congo Free State and German East Africa had not yet been fixed, both German and Belgian officers established outposts near Shangi in 1897 and 1898. Aside from of their original appropriation of the land for their posts and occasional demands of supplies and labor from the people in their immediate vicinity, these Europeans asked nothing from the Court or its subjects. They wanted only to establish a claim to the territory, not to govern the people of Rwanda.[1]

Richard Kandt, a German physician who arrived in Rwanda in 1898 to search for the sources of the Nile River, was the first foreigner interested in developing closer contacts with the Rwandans.* After

*Richard Kandt (1867–1918) was exceptional in German colonial service, both as a Jew and as the first civilian administrative authority, referred to as the Resident of Rwanda (1897–1913). But he was far more than an administrator. Among other interests he was a psychiatrist, a sensitive ethnographer, an accomplished botanist and a gifted writer. His classic book *Caput Nili* (subtitled "a sentimental voyage to the sources of the Nile") is respected not only for its comprehensive local-level observations but also for its

traveling for a year in and around Rwanda, he took up residence near Shangi. Eager to explore the complexities of the Rwandan social and political system, Kandt began studying Kinyarwanda, the language common to all Rwandans.[2]

The indifference of most Europeans to learning about Rwanda accorded well with the desires of the Court. Dealing with foreigners had always been the exclusive privilege of the mwami and his most trusted deputies. Other Rwandans were not to cross the frontier or to communicate with representatives of foreign rulers. Now that foreigners had penetrated Rwanda, the Court hoped to control their contacts with the ordinary people through notables who were assigned to them, supposedly to see that their needs were met. Other notables obeyed the orders of the Court and avoided contacts with the Europeans.[3]

The notables were just as happy not to have to deal with the strangers, whom they called *ibisimba*, literally "wild beasts," an expression that incorporated ideas of contempt as well as fear. One European arriving at the Court several years after the establishment of the protectorate commented with pleased surprise on the "almost distinguished manners" of the notables. Little did he or his fellows suspect that they failed to elicit a similar judgment in return. Carefully schooled in civility and self-discipline, the Rwandans of the Court often criticized the Europeans for brutal or rude behavior. The notables realized, of course, that some Europeans were more important than others. When dealing with those of high rank, they hid their scorn for them behind a polite exterior. Only when they came in contact with someone like Kandt, whose small caravan revealed his relative poverty, did they show their contempt. The Court failed to provide him with customary gifts of welcome, while the young men of the royal entourage more openly taunted this weak European by offering him old potatoes and rotten bananas for provisions.[4]

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great literary merit. He seems to have been both trusted by the Court (as the first European introduced to Musinga) and respected by the population: even in recent times he was remembered with affection by the people of Kinyaga (his principal personal residence) as a peaceful, respectful person (and one who spoke Kinyarwanda). After his departure from Rwanda, while tending to victims of gas warfare in Poland during World War I, he himself was stricken by a gas attack. His lungs and throat were severely affected; he died of tuberculosis a painful nine months later, in April 1918. See Reinhart Bindseil, *Rwanda und Deutschland seit den Tagen Richard Kandts* (Berlin: Bietrich Reimer Verlag, 1988).

The Arrival of the White Fathers: Testing the Court

Unlike the notables of the central kingdom, other subjects of the mwami overcame their repugnance to the ibisimba and sought protection from them. When the German explorer von Götzen had visited Rwanda, he had traveled through the eastern part of the kingdom known as Gisaka. Gisaka had been an independent kingdom under its own dynasty until its conquest by Rwanda in the mid-nineteenth century. Immediately after the conquest, the mwami had allowed the aristocracy of Gisaka to continue governing the region, although he had destroyed the ruling dynasty. Musinga's father, Rwabugiri, had sought to extirpate local loyalties and enrich his own favorites by replacing the indigenous notables with men from the central kingdom. The people of Gisaka resented these recently imposed rulers and so enthusiastically welcomed von Götzen and a later traveler named Ramsay. They hoped to win the aid of these "mami-kings" against the powerful mwami of Rwanda.[5]

Within the central kingdom, those who hoped for protection from the strangers dared not accord them such a joyous reception. Instead, they sought out the foreigners privately when the notables were absent. Kandt wrote of the Hutu:

> In the presence of their lords, they were sober and reserved and tried to avoid our questions. But as soon as the Tutsi had turned their backs on our camp, they were willing to tell us everything that we wanted to hear and much that we did not because I could do nothing about the numerous grievances about which they complained, their lack of rights, their oppression.[6]

Kandt refused the role of protector, mocking the Hutu who "could only whine and complain like women" after having let themselves be subjugated by the Tutsi. He casually suggested that they try "self-help." In northwestern Rwanda, Kandt found the Hutu still vigorously resisting the extension of rule by the Tutsi, but not at all interested in his assistance. In these outlying regions, the roles were reversed: it was the notables, insecure in their authority and distant from supervision by the Court, who sought his protection.[7]

The early attempts to secure the protection of Europeans foreshadowed what would happen when a larger number of foreigners intent on making closer contacts with the people came to live in

Rwanda. Preparations for sending such a group began the year after the protectorate was established. Roman Catholic missionaries of the Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique, usually known as the "White Fathers" because of their customary white cassocks, decided to open a mission station in Rwanda. The French cardinal Lavigerie had founded the order in 1868 exclusively for work in Africa, and he had instilled in his missionaries his own belief that Christianity would be widely accepted in a country only when it was adopted by the chiefs.[8] He emphasized over and over that "in winning a single chief you will do more for the advancement of the mission than in winning hundreds of poor blacks."[9] The key to winning the chiefs lay in taking their power seriously, making certain that they realized that Christian teaching would support their authority. Lavigerie decreed that the chiefs were not to be held to absolute obedience of such laws of the church as monogamy; they should begin the four-year preparation for baptism without having to make any sacrifices. Should they later withdraw when sacrifices were required, many of their subjects who in the meantime would have been attracted to the church would continue their instruction.[10]

At the turn of the century, Monsignor Jean-Joseph Hirth supervised the White Fathers who were working in the Vicariate of Southern Nyanza,* which stretched from Lake Kivu in the west to Mount Kilimanjaro in the east. From his headquarters in German East Africa, Hirth witnessed the initial success of the White Fathers in the neighboring kingdom of Buganda.† Hopeful that a similar or even greater victory might be won in Rwanda, Hirth directed several Fathers to establish a post at Katoke in Bushubi to serve as a base for opening contacts with the Rwandan Court. The envoys whom the Fathers twice sent to

*"Nyanza" here refers to the early European name for Lake Victoria, Victoria Nyanza, not to the specific hill called Nyanza where the Rwandan Court was located from 1899.

†In 1889 the Catholics had been driven out of Buganda (on the northern shores of Lake Victoria) in the course of a civil war that had divided the country largely along sectarian lines, first pitting Christians against Muslims, and then Anglicans against Catholics. In the process, as the Catholic faction had been driven from positions of power the priests had sought refuge at the southern end of Lake Victoria. It is from there that Hirth planned his mission to Rwanda; the experience of the White Fathers in Buganda had made him acutely aware both of the importance of gaining the adherence of the local authorities, and of the threat to Catholic evangelical objectives posed by competing Protestant missions.

Rwanda were received well by the Bega rulers, who in turn dispatched twenty representatives to convey their greetings to the White Fathers. Since the Rwandan representatives undoubtedly also gathered as much information as possible about the Fathers, Kanjogera and her brothers were well aware of their activities by the time that the first Fathers arrived at the Court in February 1900.[11]

En route the Fathers' caravan had passed through Burundi, stopping at the German posts at Bujumbura and Shangi. Since the Germans approved of the establishment of missions, the district officer, Captain von Bethe, had sent his own interpreter ahead to prepare the Court for the arrival of the missionaries. To be certain that the Court understood that the Germans meant to back the Fathers in their request for a place to settle, he also delegated two of his soldiers to accompany the caravan. The German message was clearly received by the Bega rulers, who understood the Fathers to be clients of the Germans, charged with handling their spiritual matters.[12] The realization that the Fathers were especially concerned with the supernatural did not, however, lead them to underestimate the extent to which the Fathers might become politically involved. They assumed that the European missionaries, like traditional Rwandan diviners, could have a great influence on political decisions.

At Court the Fathers met with Ruhinankiko, Kabare, and Musinga's stand-in, Mpamarugamba, whom they took to be the real mwami. After the missionaries had declared their desire to teach the Rwandans their faith and had requested land on which to settle, Kabare took the lead in trying to persuade them to accept a location in either the northwestern province of Bugoyi or in Gisaka, in the southeast, both far removed from the Central Court.[13] Still allowed to participate in royal councils, though with much reduced influence, Kabare perhaps hoped to regain the favor of Kanjogera by restricting the missionaries to the outskirts of the kingdom.[14] But true to their instructions to locate as near as possible to the center of power, the Fathers rejected these places so distant from Nyanza, where the Court had taken up residence. In the end the Court conceded them the right to settle at Mara or Save, two hills in the southern province of Bwanamukari.[15] Although closer to Nyanza, these hills were known for their troublesome inhabitants; Rwabugiri had pillaged Save three times for defying his orders.[16] The Court hoped that the Fathers would rapidly become discouraged in such an inhospitable setting.[17]

Speaking for the regents, Mpamarugamba also specified that the Court was interested in secular learning. At some time in the future, a Father could come to teach the reading and writing that seemed to be

such useful tools in dealing with Europeans. But religious teaching was to be only for the Hutu and Twa. The Tutsi were not to be approached; they were the men of the mwami and of him alone.[18] While thus consciously or unconsciously blocking the strategy of the Fathers, the Court also indicated that even at this point it realized that full acceptance of the new faith might be inconsistent with complete loyalty to the mwami. Unable to refuse outright the clients of the Germans, the Court sought to compromise by allowing them to instruct the ordinary people while at the same time prohibiting them from preaching to the Tutsi, whose allegiance the Court most valued.

The Fathers were disappointed at this restriction. As one put it, they had found the young men at Court "the most interesting yet encountered . . . with an intelligent air, aware, curious, but yet discreet and proper in their behavior."[19] But they were soon occupied with building their post at Save and with getting acquainted with the neighboring people. Afraid of the newcomers, the people agreed among themselves not to give the Fathers wood or water, hoping that they would thus be driven away. The Fathers first won the trust of the children, tossing them beads, a valuable trade item, and asking them to bring food. Cyitatire, brother of Musinga, commanded the region of Bwanamukali and so was charged by the Court with helping the Fathers in their establishment. Under his orders, the people of the area brought materials and built the Fathers' first shelter. In these early weeks, no other *mutware* visited the mission, although many sent Hutu representatives with gifts of welcome.[20]

The Hutu rapidly learned to trust the Fathers. Before the first month was out, the sick were arriving for medicine, and by the second month the Fathers were remarking that "there [was] always a great crowd at the station of those who work, sell and complain."[21] Even more important to the Hutu than the medicine and trade goods was the potential protection that the Fathers might give. In April the missionaries took in about fifty children for religious instruction, commenting that they could easily have had a thousand if they had had the means to care for them. The Father Superior wrote that the children had come "to pay court," *guhakwa*, and referred to instructing his "clients," *bagaragwa* [*sic*].[22]* The Hutu, particularly those near the station, succeeded in capitalizing

*Like *guhakwa*, *bagaragwa* is the Father's term; it should be *bagaragu*.

on the opportunities created by the arrival of influential strangers without incurring the attendant risks.

Suspicious about the missionaries from the start, the Court began to be alarmed at their success in attracting the Hutu. In May 1900 the Fathers remarked that the Hutu seemed to acknowledge only their authority. The Court was further concerned because of the friendship that had developed between the missionaries and Cyitatire. As a potential rival to Musinga, Cyitatire had been distrusted at Court ever since the coup in 1896. Although he had finished assisting the Fathers and had left Save in March, he still had not returned to Nyanza by May. Because his aid to the missionaries had gone beyond what the Court thought was necessary, he feared accusation as a traitor and possible death at the hands of Kanjogera and her brothers. To counter the Court's growing alarm, the Father Superior asked it to send several of its most trusted *batware* to live near the mission and to see that the Fathers were "the whites of Yuhi [Musinga] and not of Kyitatire."[23]

Kayijuka and Kaningu, the two young batware sent by the Court, overwhelmed the Fathers with gifts of cattle, goats, and produce.[24] But at the same time, the local Hutu repeatedly warned the Fathers that these batware had come to attack the mission. The Fathers dismissed these rumors as attempts of the Hutu to keep them from allying with the batware. There was, however, a kernel of truth in the rumors. The Court itself did not want war, but it warned the Fathers that there were some batware who opposed its policy and wished to attack. In protesting its good intentions to the mission, the Court frankly declared that it was the friend of the White Fathers because they were the friends of Captain von Bethe.[25]

Those who wished to attack also realized that German support was essential to the mission. They hoped to take advantage of the withdrawal of the German troops who had temporarily left Shangi, in the far southwest, to defend part of the Burundi–Congo frontier against a threatened attack from the Congo.[26] As the Father Superior commented, it was fortunate for the mission that the border conflict was quickly resolved. Otherwise, the militant faction might have won control at Court and launched an attack on the mission.[27] By June the German troops had returned to Shangi. At this time Kabare was sent to command the troops garrisoning the southern province of Bugesera against raids by Cyoya, a powerful notable from Burundi. Although the need for a capable commander at the frontier was real enough, Kabare's designation to fill the position was generally regarded as an exile from Court. It is possible he

had led the faction that advocated use of force against the Fathers. If so, this commission to defend Bugesera was both a punishment and a convenient way of preventing him from causing further trouble in central Rwanda.[28]

Although the Court itself had not planned to attack the mission, it had taken the Fathers' invitation to send observers to Save as a useful opportunity to curb unobtrusively the growth of the missionaries' influence. Its representatives Kayijuka and Kaningu discouraged the Hutu from visiting the station. After complaining about this, the Father Superior succeeded in having the batware recalled to Nyanza. As soon as they left the area, the Hutu returned in even larger numbers to the station, probably seeing the White Fathers as victors in this power struggle with the Court.[29]

Several months later, the Court and the missionaries faced off again in a trial of strength. In August the Fathers heard the rumor that Njangwe, one of their young Rwandan followers, had been killed at Nyanza. Although one version of the story indicated that he had been condemned for a theft committed sometime in the past, the Fathers were more inclined to accept another explanation, that he had been killed because he was a "mugaragwa" [*sic*] of the missionaries.* They were determined to secure punishment of the guilty party or at least some compensation for the killing; they believed that if they did not, the Hutu would stop coming to the mission.[30]

The Court, for its part, maintained that the young man had not been killed, but that his whereabouts was temporarily unknown. Kanjogera and Ruhinankiko were strongly attached to Kayijuka, who was accused of the killing, and did not wish to punish him. Still, the possibility that the Fathers might ask the Germans to intervene in the case made them unwilling to refuse satisfaction to the missionaries.[31] At this time the Court continued to be threatened by raids of the Barundi, which Kabare and his troops had not been able to end completely. It was rumored that the Barundi were sheltering the contender Biregeya, who was awaiting a propitious moment to cross the border and unseat

**Mugaragwa* was the term used in the mission diary; it should have been *umugaragu.*

Musinga. Indeed, there were some who said that Biregeya was already at Save, where he was being protected by the White Fathers, who were willing to support his claim to the throne.[32]

Reluctantly the Court decided to reach an accommodation with the Fathers. To handle the delicate negotiations, it turned to Richard Kandt. The Court reasoned that Kandt was close enough to the White Fathers to be able to influence them but that he also stood enough apart from them to be able to represent the interests of the Court.[33] During his two years in the kingdom, Kandt's admiration for its social and political system had developed into a sympathetic relationship with the Court. Carrying on research in an unostentatious fashion—he traveled without the large caravans and numerous soldiers who accompanied most Europeans—he had demonstrated to the Rwandans that he trusted them. Kandt must also have seemed more perceptive than his compatriots to the Rwandans: of the foreigners who visited Nyanza between 1897 and 1900, Kandt was the only one to declare that Mpamarugamba was obviously a fake. Before arriving in Rwanda, Kandt had inquired among neighboring peoples about the approximate age of Musinga. Having everywhere been told that he was an adolescent, Kandt had no difficulty realizing that the forty-year-old Mpamarugamba was only playing the role of mwami. Several weeks before the Njangwe affair, the Court had finally acknowledged that Kandt was correct and allowed him to meet Musinga. From this time forward, Musinga himself met Europeans when they came to Nyanza.[34]

Kandt agreed to serve as intermediary and arranged for the Fathers to accept a compensation of forty cattle to be paid by Kayijuka. On the order of the Court and under pressure from Kandt, who was temporarily living near Kayijuka's residence, the mutware paid the fine, all the while maintaining his innocence.[35] Ten days later the missing Njangwe was found: he had been on a trading expedition to the northwestern province of Bugoyi. When Kayijuka appeared with his supposed victim at the mission, the Father Superior immediately admitted his mistake and tried to return the cattle that had been paid as compensation. Kayijuka refused to accept them, declaring that the Father had demanded them mistakenly but not maliciously and that "one does not take back what one has given to his shebuja."[36] The embarrassed Father kept the cattle, but in return loaded Kayijuka with gifts. As Kayijuka said:

> What he then gave Kayijuka was simply immeasurable. You cannot know really how much it was: all the Hutu who had accompanied

> him [to the mission] had to carry something. You know yourself . . . , how numerous is the following of a prince. Kayijuka had even to give up his hammock* so that they could take home all that he had received from the Father.[37]

Kayijuka had originally been accused by an enemy who had hoped to bring the rising young mutware into disrepute with the Fathers, the Court, or both. But in the end, Kayijuka emerged the winner: his standing at Court did not suffer, and his ties with the Fathers were stronger than ever. Though graciously acknowledging the missionaries to be his patrons, he had in effect put them in his debt by refusing to take back his cattle. His gift of cattle did not make them his clients, but it did oblige them to see him as a generous and loyal follower whom they should support. Kayijuka was to draw upon this support throughout his life.[38]

Gisaka, the Church, and the Court

The Court had been all the more anxious to settle the Njangwe case because at this time it was being faced with serious unrest in Gisaka. In 1897 Ramsay had remarked on the hostility between Rwandan rulers and the people of Gisaka, predicting that if Rwandan policy toward Gisaka did not change, the area might well revolt. Bishop Hirth, traveling through the same region in October 1900, also described how the people of Gisaka were suffering from exploitation by many Rwandan notables who had arrived to live off the region. At the time of his journey, inadequate rainfall and the resulting scarcity of food were contributing to the general discontent.[39]

The leader of the nascent revolt, a man named Rukura, tried to rally the dissatisfied to his cause by claiming to be descended from Kimenyi IV Getura, the last great king of Gisaka. Although his claim was probably unfounded, a growing number of the people of Gihunya province† were willing to accept him as a "mwami."[40] He was apparently also supported

*Instead of traveling by foot, the notables were often transported in hammocks carried by Hutu clients.

†The former kingdom of Gisaka was formed of three semi-autonomous provinces: Mirenge, Gihunya, and Migongo. In November 1900 the White Fathers had established a mission at Zaza in Mirenge (the western-most of the three provinces). Gihunya was the central province.

by some Barundi, including Cyoya, the main instigator of raids by Barundi into Bugesera, the province that adjoins Gihunya. In Gisaka, Rukura had become allied with an American trader named Spears, but also called by the Swahili name of Bwana Mzee [Mr. Old Man]. Spears, whose illegitimate trading activities were opposed by the Rwandan Court, may have hoped for the establishment of an autonomous Gisaka where he would have greater freedom to carry on his business. In 1897 Rukura, already hopeful of winning power in Gisaka, had persuaded a German officer to give him a letter authorizing him to rule there as a subordinate of the Rwandan mwami.[41]

Realizing that Rukura might once more enlist the protection of the Germans, the Court sought help from Kandt. Kandt agreed that Rukura must not be allowed to sever Gisaka from Rwanda and advised the Court to seek the aid of the White Fathers as well. In late September 1900 Ruhinankiko, the most powerful man at Court, and his nephew Rwidegembya, whose influence was fast growing, appeared at Save to request the protection of the missionaries for the Court. Ruhinankiko was most concerned since the uprising was centered in Gihunya, which was under his own command. The Fathers, considerably disturbed by the as yet unsettled Njangwe case and by the recent pillage of one of their caravans in Gisaka, refused the Court's request that they write to the governor of German East Africa asking him to prevent Rukura

from taking control of Gisaka. Their decision reflected not only anger at the Court but annoyance with Kandt as well, who they believed sided too much with the Court.[42] The Court, unaware of how greatly the Fathers differed with Kandt, believed that the missionaries had refused to support it only because they were displeased with the Court's handling of the Njangwe and pillage cases. The Fathers reinforced this impression by lecturing Ruhinankiko and Rwidegembya on the need for prompt action in these affairs.

Discontent in Gisaka abated somewhat at the end of 1900. But the Court had learned a lesson: relations with the Fathers must be improved in case the revolt should flare up once more. Beginning in October 1900, the Father Superior noted in his diary that the Court seemed "better disposed" to the mission and had ordered that it be supplied with much-needed building materials. Several months later the Fathers were permitted to install their leading catechist at Nyanza, where he was to teach secular lessons to the notables. Soon the catechist was even being questioned at Court about religion. At Save itself, the Father rejoiced that there was a "great movement of conversion" taking place on all the neighboring hills. In January 1901 the mwami announced that he wished his people to take instruction, a sentiment the local notables promptly echoed. The Father Superior reported that approximately three thousand postulants, mostly Hutu but including some Tutsi, had learned the basic tenets of the faith. But even in their rejoicing, the Fathers wondered if the movement showed the sincere desire to convert or simply an obedience to royal orders. Whereas those who had first visited the mission had trusted the Fathers with their children, these later visitors were mostly adults who hid their children from the missionaries. It seemed that although these men had no choice but to take instruction themselves, they feared exposing their children to "Nina rufu" [*Nyina urupfu*, Mother Death], who was said to live at the mission and to subsist on a diet of Rwandan children.[43]

In March 1901 Rukura and about one hundred followers, most of whom were Baganda, began to cause serious disruption in Gisaka. Most of the Tutsi of the Abarasa regiment, who were natives of the Gisaka province of Gihunya, decided to support him. Seeking the protection of the White Fathers, who, shortly before, had founded a mission in Gisaka at Zaza, Rukura showed them the three-year-old letter from the German officer naming him to command Gisaka. Rukura claimed, however, that the letter authorized him to rule the region independently, not as a subordinate of the Rwandan mwami. The Father Superior at Zaza, refusing to recognize the authorization, advised Rukura to leave the

area since several Rwandan regiments were already in Gisaka and were preparing to attack him. Discouraged at the refusal of aid from the Fathers and intimidated by the prospect of a battle with the royal regiments, Rukura retreated across the border into Bushubi.* Fearing reprisals for their support of the rebel, most of the leaders of the Abarasa regiment fled to Burundi, taking with them several thousand of their cattle. Since the retreat was effected quickly, only the rear guard of the rebels actually engaged with the advancing Rwandan troops.[44]

In May the German officer Lieutenant von Grawert was still concerned enough about discontent in Gisaka to make a show of force in the region. Arriving from Bujumbura with a contingent of troops, he traveled around Gisaka ordering the people of the region to obey the Rwandan Court. Whether the Court specifically requested this expedition is unclear, but it certainly welcomed the expression of German support. While in Gisaka, von Grawert arrested the trader Spears, obliged him to make restitution for ivory and cattle that he had taken more by force than by rightful trade, and expelled him from Rwanda. Von Grawert also conducted a punitive expedition against Cyoya, who had been successfully raiding cattle in Bugesera. The German officer confiscated more than a thousand cattle from him, one-third of which he kept for the government and two-thirds of which he presented to Musinga.[45]

The Court was very pleased with the simultaneous settlement of these three problems in southeastern Rwanda. It believed that the support the Fathers had refused in September but granted in March had been essential in turning back Rukura and causing the Germans to intervene. Satisfied with the outcome of its policy of good relations with the Fathers, it sent messages of thanks to Save and Zaza; to the Zaza Fathers, whose help had been most crucial, it also sent an ivory tusk and a cow.[46]

The Court, the Church, and the Colonial Administration: The Mpumbika Affair

With the uprising put down and no other crisis of similar magnitude in view, the Court tried to discourage the interest in the missions it had

*Bushubi was an independent kingdom east of what is now Burundi and southeast of Rwanda; in 1901 Rukura was captured there and imprisoned by the Germans. After his subsequent release, he did not attempt any further incursions into Gisaka.

been fostering for six months. This was easily done with the Tutsi of the Save area: those who had frequented the mission during the critical months, apparently only because ordered to do so, soon stopped visiting the Fathers. Many of the Hutu, however, having once been given the opportunity to develop ties with the powerful Europeans, were not anxious to return to complete dependence on their Rwandan lords. Pressed by the Court and notables to visit the missionaries, they had been forced to overcome their initial fears about them; after several months of contact with the Fathers, they became convinced of the advantages of continued association with them. When the notables found their orders to cease visiting the mission were having little effect, they resorted to threats and force, which were more successful. By August 1901 attendance of the Hutu had declined enough for the Fathers to be concerned about it.[47]

The situation in Gisaka presented the Court with more formidable problems of control and diplomacy. Although Rukura was safely disposed of, the Court understood the depths of dissatisfaction among the people and indigenous notables of Gisaka, and it dreaded the emergence of a new rebellious leader. Most afraid was Ruhinankiko, who incorporated the interests of the Court and those of Rwandan notables holding domains in Gisaka. Of all the Rwandans with commands in the area, he had been the most discredited by the uprising because the Abarasa, which had led the rally to Rukura, was one of the army regiments assigned to him.

Among the Gisakan notables who had not fled to Burundi, most feared that the Rwandan notables would use the uprising as an excuse to deprive them of even more of their domains, whether or not they had participated in the rebellion. Many were so afraid of reprisals by their Rwandan superiors that they did not even dare visit them to pay court or receive orders. Of the notables who had escaped to Burundi, some were quietly beginning to pave the way for a peaceful return to their homes while others were still hoping to rekindle the flames of revolt. Some of these notables had taken refuge with Cyoya, who was obviously an enemy of the Rwandan Court.

All parties—the Court, the Rwandan batware, the notables of Gisaka (whether at home or in exile), and even Cyoya—sought the support of the Fathers at Zaza. Although the missionaries had stood with the Court against Rukura, the Court and Rwandans feared (and the notables of Gisaka hoped) that they might be persuaded to change their stand. During the months following Rukura's retreat, all the contenders courted the Fathers with visits, compliments, gifts of cattle and ivory, and the provision of men and material for the construction of their station. One of

the most skillful was Mpumbika, a descendant of a mwami of Gisaka. He commanded several hills, including that of Zaza, and his friendly compliance with the desires of the missionaries eventually assured him of their support. Mpumbika apparently had been one of the notables most implicated in Rukara's uprising. Apart from his alleged involvement in this affair, his growing alliance with the Fathers and his potential strength as a leader—he had many supporters in the province of Mirenge, where the Zaza mission was located—caused alarm and hostility among the Rwandan notables. Ruhinankiko, eager for a scapegoat and anxious to stamp out any desire for independence among the notables of Gisaka, came to see Mpumbika as a serious threat to the Rwandan Court.[48]

In March 1902 the Court executed several men of Gisaka and pillaged others who were accused of plotting revolt. Then, with tension rapidly growing in Gisaka, the Court summoned Mpumbika to Nyanza. The endangered notable convinced the Fathers that the Court was certain to kill him if he went. Perhaps too tied to Mpumbika to realize the gravity of their move, the Fathers undertook to protect him. They wrote to the Court to plead his case, in the meantime advising him to stay in Gisaka. The Court refused the Fathers' appeal and insisted that Mpumbika be sent to Nyanza within a month. With his refusal to answer this summons, Mpumbika set himself apart as a *mugome*, a rebel. The Court announced that by associating himself with Mpumbika in this refusal the Father Superior was also a rebel, and so it forbade all the notables of the area to have any further contact with the mission.[49]

The Father Superior wrote to the German officer at Bujumbura and to his own superior, Bishop Hirth, for assistance. In the meantime, as the people of Mirenge province began preparations to fight in support of Mpumbika, the Fathers began to realize the seriousness of the situation. When the Court sent an envoy to make a local investigation, the Fathers sent back with him a message that they believed was conciliatory: the mwami was master in his own country and could do as he wished, provided that he did not make war; that, the Fathers could not allow.[50]

Not reassured by this message, the Court decided to try to use the Fathers of Save against the Fathers of Zaza. It delegated Kayijuka, long since restored to the favor of the missionaries, with the gift of a cow and calf, to explain its position to the Save Fathers. When Kayijuka urged them to continue supporting the Court against any local Gisakan leader, the Fathers affirmed their intention to do so. Two weeks later, in an effort to ease the tension between the Court and the Zaza mission, one of

the Save Fathers replaced the Father Superior of Zaza. En route to Zaza, the new Father Superior visited the Court to assure it of his absolute neutrality in the "rather delicate" situation in Gisaka. But once in charge of the mission, the Father Superior found it impossible to disengage from the commitments his predecessor had already made. The next month he wrote to the Save Fathers asking them to intercede at Court to prevent Mpumbika from losing command of the hill Zaza. With the new Father Superior thus engaged in the cause of the Gisakan notables, the number of people coming to Zaza to complain against the Rwandan notables grew each day. Apparently receiving no satisfaction on the question of who was to command the hill Zaza, the Fathers barred some of the mwami's cattle from pastures on the hill. This move must have caused shock and anger at Court; after all, did the land finally belong to the Rwandan mwami or to the Catholic Fathers? The Court asked the Save Fathers to see that the cattle were returned to the pastures and to warn their colleagues at Zaza about the notables of Gisaka who were trying to sow discord between the Court and the missionaries.[51]

By July the Court had decided to resolve the Mpumbika case. The mwami recalled forty of his cattle that Mpumbika held from him, saying he no longer wanted him as a client since he clearly preferred the support of the White Fathers. The Father Superior realized that he could not handle this issue personally, so he sent Mpumbika to present his case to Captain von Beringe, who had recently been appointed district officer at Bujumbura. Mpumbika apparently argued his case well, since he returned with a letter to the Court indicating that he was not to be deprived of his cattle. The mwami appealed once more to the Fathers at Save, asking them if he could no longer do as he wished, if he were no longer master in his own kingdom? At the same time the Court sent off sixty envoys to present its side of the case to von Beringe.[52]

The envoys spent two months paying court to the German officer and returned to Rwanda only in September when von Beringe himself came to visit the mwami. By this time the officer was undoubtedly fully informed of all the royal complaints about both the people of Gisaka and the White Fathers. He came with instructions from the governor of German East Africa to cooperate completely with the mwami, whom he was to regard as the ultimate authority in Rwanda. He was not to interfere in Rwandan internal affairs except at Musinga's request.[53] When the Father Superior of Save learned that von Beringe was at Nyanza, he went to ask him to permit the founding of a new station, preferably at the Court, and to order the mwami to build schools near

the present stations and to encourage his people to attend them. The Fathers, who had heard that von Beringe was friendly to the missions, were astonished that he refused all their requests. He replied that were they to establish a station at Nyanza, the Court would simply move away; that the Fathers had enough stations in Rwanda for the moment in any case; that to build schools would serve no purpose; and that the mwami could neither prevent nor encourage his people to learn—each was free to do as he wished. Even more surprising was that the officer supported the Court's demand that Mpumbika come to Nyanza at once and sent three soldiers to see that the summons was obeyed. Before leaving to continue on to northern Rwanda, von Beringe did assure the Father that Mpumbika need spend only two months at Court, performing the customary services for his ruler; he would later return to Gisaka, still with hills to command, although the number might be reduced since the mwami felt that he had too many.[54]

Confident of German protection after these victories over the Fathers, the Court moved to make an example of Mpumbika. Although it merely imprisoned the notable himself, thus observing German wishes that he not be harmed, it executed fourteen of his clients and friends as soon as Mpumbika and his entourage arrived from Gisaka. The executions were supposedly ordered by Ruhinankiko and were carried out by one of his favorites.[55] In November the campaign against the notables of Gisaka continued within Gisaka itself, with several more killed, wounded, or pillaged. The Zaza Fathers, who greatly regretted the execution of Mpumbika's men, in part because they saw that their prestige would suffer because of it, became involved once more. "Doing everything possible to prevent a war," the Fathers protected some notables and saved the property of others, including that of Mpumbika, who was still held prisoner at the Court.[56]

When von Beringe learned of the killings, he ordered his subordinate Lieutenant von Parish, who was stationed at Shangi, to investigate the case. Whether from convenience or from a desire to give an impression of solidarity with the missionaries, von Parish held his inquiry at Save. After concluding that the Court was responsible for the slaughter of men whose safety had been implicitly guaranteed by von Beringe, von Parish traveled to Nyanza in early January 1903 to impose a fine of forty cattle on the mwami. Musinga protested that he had not even known of the killings until after they were over. Mpumbika himself supported the testimony of the mwami and asked that he not be fined for the killings. This may well have been one case proving the truth of the

proverb *ntihica umwami hica rubanda*: "It is not the mwami who kills, it is his followers." But when von Parish continued to insist that Musinga must take ultimate responsibility for the actions of his subordinates, even for a subordinate as powerful as Ruhinankiko, the mwami yielded and paid the fine.[57]

Power Struggles at the Court: Kabare and Ruhinankiko

Since the arrival of the Europeans, the Court, aware of its own limitations, had dealt skillfully with the problems and advantages created by the presence of the powerful strangers. Unable to ban the Fathers, it had restricted their impact by relegating them to Save and by isolating them from the Tutsi. Playing on the missionaries' desire for good relations, it had cut them off from Cyitatire, the one Tutsi in the area who constituted a threat, and had won from them a declaration that they were the "whites of Yuhi, not of Kyitatire." Concerned by the unrest in Gisaka, the Court reached an accommodation with the Fathers over the Njangwe case; when this proved insufficient to guarantee the support of the missionaries in Gisaka, the Court engineered an impressive movement to the church in the Save area while proving more hospitable to the Fathers at Nyanza. The result was that the Court found greater support from the Fathers, and German intervention had soon repressed the Gisaka uprising, expelled the troublesome trader Spears, and punished the Court's enemy Cyoya—all to the benefit of the mwami. The Court then exercised its control over the new adherents of the Save mission, forcing many of them to withdraw from their association with the Fathers, while at the same time it wooed the Zaza Fathers, who occupied a crucial position in the still delicate Gisaka situation. When the Fathers at Zaza switched their support to local Gisaka notables, the Court spent several months maneuvering to win them back, working through their colleagues at Save. When all else failed and the test of strength drew in the Germans, the Court won their support against both the Fathers and the people of Gisaka.

But then the Court, seriously misjudging the extent of German support, executed Mpumbika's followers and brought upon itself punishment by the Germans. Although it had previously yielded to European demands (as in the Njangwe case), and had curried favor with the foreigners to secure their aid (as in the Gisaka uprising), the Court had never before been obliged to recognize the full implications of the

submission that it had made to the Germans in accepting the protectorate. While the Shangi battle had shown that the mwami lacked the force to exclude foreigners from his country, the Mpumbika affair demonstrated that he no longer had the power to administer the kingdom with the autonomy he might wish. The Court was forced to accept that there was now a superior authority that might not intervene often in internal affairs, but that *could* intervene when it willed to do so.

Kanjogera, still the controlling force at Court, held Ruhinankiko responsible for the crucial misstep that had led to the German assertion of authority. She began to be swayed by those who argued that Ruhinankiko's policy of accommodation with the Europeans was too costly for the benefits it procured. As Ruhinankiko's policy came under attack, his opponents massed for a challenge to his leadership. Although he had displaced his brother Kabare as Kanjogera's chief adviser and had had him relegated to Bugesera, Ruhinankiko had never been able to destroy Kabare's power completely. Among the royal entourage there were still many who preferred Kabare, who was apparently the more affable of the two. Their ranks were swelled by all those who sought revenge for the killings and pillage engineered by Ruhinankiko in 1899 and 1900, or who hoped to profit from the reassignment of domains that would inevitably follow from the replacement of one favorite by another. Ruhinankiko was accused of cutting the Court off from the people and of exploiting the wealth of the country for his personal profit or that of his clients.[58]

In February or March 1903 Kanjogera recalled Kabare from Bugesera. By April the confrontation between the two brothers was clear. For nearly two years, members of the two factions, evenly matched in strength, struggled openly at Court, insulting and accusing each other almost daily. Tension was so high that no notable came to Court unarmed. From the time that Kanjogera recalled Kabare, she seemed to be leaning to his side, but she was reluctant to commit herself too definitively to one or the other. Musinga, on the other hand, clearly favored Ruhinankiko. He may well have realized that if he were ever to assume effective leadership, he would need strong allies in wresting control from his mother and her family. Ruhinankiko, who had been cast in the role of protector of the Banyiginya ever since he tried to save Musinga's brothers Baryinyonza and Burabyo from execution by Kanjogera and Kabare in 1897, was more likely to fill that role than Kabare, who seemed tied to the interests of the Bega.[59]

Standing with Musinga and Ruhinankiko were two leaders of the Banyiginya: Sebuharara, an extremely personable mutware, and his cousin, Cyaka. Musinga's great affection for Sebuharara made it difficult for Kabare to dispose of him. Many of the Court feared that if they acted against the mwami's favorite during these years when he was just becoming aware of his own power, they might stand to suffer once he gained full control of the kingdom. Musinga's hand, and thus that of Ruhinankiko, was strengthened by the presence at Court of the Indengabaginizi, the regiment that was then in training as nucleus for a new army. Because Musinga himself was a member of this regiment, the young men who belonged to it felt a special loyalty to him. Openly rejecting the authority of their leader Ruhararamanzi, who belonged to Kabare's faction, they swore that they would assassinate Kabare himself if he ever harmed one of their number. Musinga also promised that if any one of them were killed, he would avenge him as soon as he took effective command of the kingdom. Kabare, however, skillfully eliminated the threat posed by these young men by gradually dispersing the members of the regiment back to their home regions.[60]

In October and again in November 1903, Kabare's men and Ruhinankiko's men engaged in small battles in Gisaka, but intervention by the Zaza Fathers kept the fights from becoming serious. By January 1904 Kabare was powerful enough to send Sebuharara and Cyaka away from Court, depriving them of most of their domains.[61] Afraid for their eventual safety or anxious to secure what possessions remained to them, the two tried to flee north to Ndorwa, accompanied by many of the young members of Sebuharara's regiment, the Abashamba. They were met by troops of the Court at a hill called Rwata, where the two leaders and hundreds of their men lost their lives after inflicting heavy losses on the Court warriors.[62]*

By eliminating Sebuharara and Cyaka, Kabare had greatly weakened Ruhinankiko. Ruhinankiko's cause suffered further in September 1904 when leaders of the Abarasa regiment who had been implicated in

*Apparently, some of the group had escaped the day before and sought help from a German officer who was camped about twenty-five miles away, but he arrived too late to save Sebuharara and Cyaka, who had burned themselves to death in a house when they saw their cause was lost (Kagame, *Les milices*, 124, 136–37).

the Gisaka uprising and who were still in exile in Burundi sent word to the Court that they would like to return to Rwanda but feared Ruhinankiko's vengeance. This message reminded Kanjogera of Ruhinankiko's failures in Gisaka and at the same time tempted her with the return of important men who would support the Court—once Ruhinankiko were removed from it.[63] Still Kabare hesitated, seeking stronger backing for his final move. In November 1904 he reputedly asked von Grawert, who was then at Nyanza, to allow him to kill Ruhinankiko and several of his supporters "who wanted to rule in place of the king." Von Grawert supposedly refused, suggesting that he merely deprive them of their commands instead. Finally, in January 1905 Kabare emerged victorious: Ruhinankiko lost all but a single hill of his domains and was ordered not to appear again in the inner enclosure reserved for the elite at Court.[64] Kabare replaced all of the leaders of Ruhinankiko's faction with men from his own following. But, perhaps because of von Grawert's refusal to sanction Ruhinankiko's execution, Kabare refrained from the killings that had usually followed such a shift in political fortunes. In fact, his elimination of Cyaka and Sebuharara and their men in April 1904 had marked the end of the bloody era that began with the coup at Rucunshu in 1897.

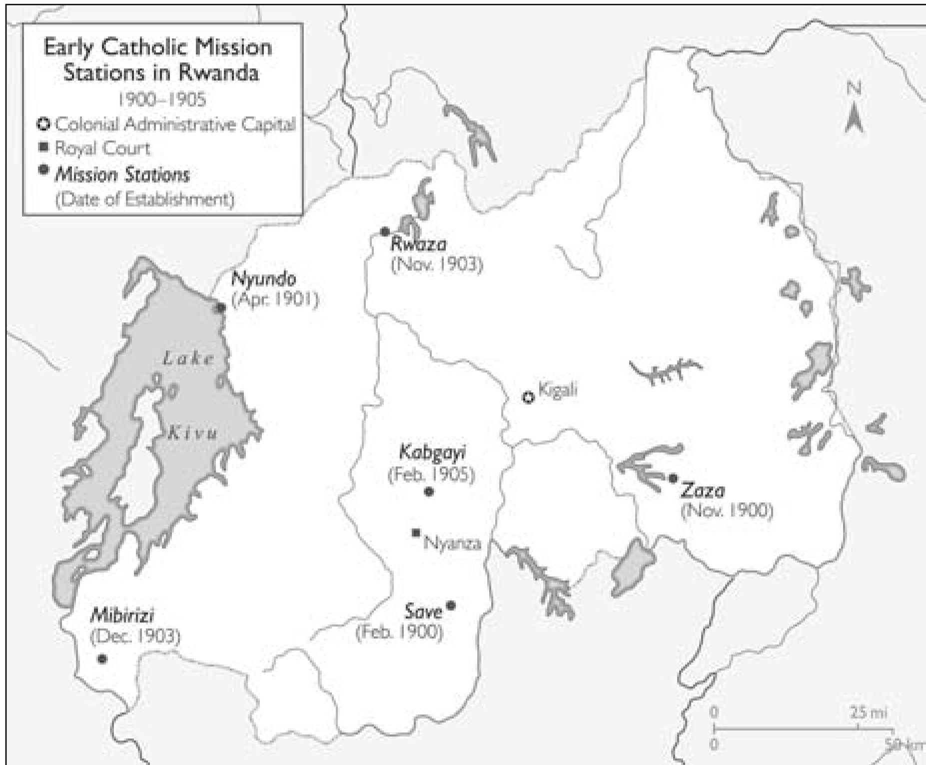
3

The Missionaries, the Court, and the Local Community, 1904–1910

Inkehwe ikubitirwa mukwayo.
[A man without a protector is beaten up to the door of his own house.]

In the struggle for power at the Court, Kabare could argue that although Ruhinankiko had mustered European support at critical junctures, he had not managed to restrain the growth of European power. While the Court was occupied with internal dissensions, by the end of 1903 the Fathers had established three more stations in addition to those existing in Save and Zaza, one without the Court's consent.[1] The three, Nyundo, Rwaza, and Mibirizi, were all distant from the Court at Nyanza, but in combination with Save and Zaza they formed a chain encircling the kingdom. Besides supporting enemies of the Court like Mpumbika, the missionaries had gone so far as to expel several notables from the domains they had received from the Court. The Fathers then appointed replacements of their own choice or assumed command of the domain themselves. On such an occasion, one Father commented that rule by the missionaries could give nothing but satisfaction to "these poor people." He continued: "Certainly no harm could come from this transfer of authority into the hands of a true Father of a religion whose motto is 'Justice and Fraternity.'"[2] By 1904 word of the power of the Fathers had spread even to Burundi and the Congo, where rulers facing difficulties sent pleas for help to stations in Rwanda.[3]

As Kabare's influence with Kanjogera grew, he persuaded her that the Court must act more vigorously against the missionaries. When the Fathers at Zaza placed a catechist in Buganza, an area of eastern



Rwanda highly prized by the Court for its fine pastures and its historical associations with the birth of the dynasty, the Court immediately demanded an explanation of this action, which had been taken without its consent. The Fathers answered in a conciliatory fashion that they did not plan a permanent establishment in the area, so the Court let the matter drop temporarily. But when the catechist continued his preaching, Kabare ordered his house burned and the teacher driven out. At about the same time, the Court dispossessed Mpumbika, indicating to the Fathers that it was planning to take a firmer stand against their clients. Even Kabare was forced to acknowledge the impossibility of an outright attack on the well-guarded missions. Instead, in February 1904, he began a campaign of harassing messengers and caravans traveling to the missions: this hampered the work of the Fathers while warning Rwandans that the Court disapproved of any association with them.[4]

The Court resented the arrival of foreign traders—European, Arab, Indian, and East African—as much as it did the installation of the

missionaries. Until the mid-nineteenth century, foreign traders had been excluded from Rwanda and had had to exchange their goods at the frontier. Musinga's father, Rwabugiri, had permitted a certain number of East African traders, known as *basumbwe*, to enter the kingdom and to trade after having paid tribute to the Court. At the beginning of Musinga's reign, the Court still regarded the right to trade as a grant it gave to its clients, Rwandan or foreign, and from which it could draw a profit. Even transactions among Rwandans at the few Court-established markets in the northwest and southwest were supervised and taxed by Court appointees.* Not understanding or not wishing to recognize the Court's prerogative, the Germans did not require traders who entered Rwanda after the establishment of the protectorate to observe the customary procedures. Nor did they impose regulations of their own: in their eyes, Rwanda was open to all who cared to trade there. By 1904 several hundred traders had come to take advantage of the opportunities.[5]

Some of the caravan leaders, especially the Europeans, visited the Court on their own initiative, either because they wanted an escort to requisition provisions for them en route or because they realized the Court had accumulated the greatest concentration of resources with which to buy goods. But many of the smaller traders held that the potential aid or purchases by the Court would be outweighed by the demands that it would make in return. They avoided Nyanza altogether. Caravan leaders who did not secure Court representatives to accompany them sometimes traded for the supplies they needed, but more often they simply expropriated provisions from the local people. Traders who hoped to sell cloth or beads in return for cattle or cattle hides found that most Rwandans valued their cattle more than the foreign goods. To stimulate the desire to trade, the foreigners resorted to force or threat of force. As a German official commented, the Rwandans had no defense against the demands of the traders unless they were ready to use violence themselves. Many of the East African traders were from Buganda and were at least nominal Christians; they usually sought shelter at the

*That is in part why external traders mostly avoided formal markets overseen by Court officials; in the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century most commerce was carried out through individual barter by itinerant traders. See D. Newbury, "Lake Kivu Regional Trade," 6–30; Lugan, "Echanges et routes commerciales," 33–39; Lugan, "Les réseaux commerciaux au Rwanda," 183–212.

missions and then made use of their link to the Fathers to extract more provisions or to force more trade with the reluctant people of the area.[6]

Troubled though Rwandans were by persistent and demanding traders, they never suffered the ravages of large-scale slave trading. Rwandans had long kept in bondage some of their fellow countrymen or foreigners captured in war. But generally they treated these servants (known as *baja*) well, sometimes adopting them into their families. During the reign of Rwabugiri a limited trade in slaves from west of Lake Kivu and from northwestern Rwanda began to develop. Some East Africans and Arabs came to buy slaves at a market at Kivumu in north-central Rwanda, but they never made raids of their own to obtain victims.[7] As elsewhere in Africa, the trade was most vigorous during times of famine, when people were obliged to sell others to obtain food for themselves. Occasionally Rwandans sold children from their own households or lineages, but such a sale was condemned by the rest of the community. More often the victims were strangers or orphans with no kin to protect or avenge them. Although some of the traders may have paid court to the mwami, they apparently did so as general traders rather than as slave traders. The Court, at least under Musinga, did not acknowledge that the trade existed within the kingdom. Rwandans regarded the traffic as shameful, to be carried on as privately as possible, Tutsi notables, however, sometimes aided the traders in making purchases in return for part of the profits.[8]

Because external traders who disregarded the authority of the Court had first dared enter Rwanda in the wake of the Germans, and because many of them found refuge with the Fathers, the Court saw them as clients of the Europeans. Like messengers and porters traveling to the missions, these clients were far more vulnerable than the Europeans themselves. Hoping both to frighten the traders into leaving Rwanda and to demonstrate its resentment at the traders' patrons, the Court began attacking East African, Arab, and Indian traders in May 1904. By the following September, between one and two hundred traders (and their servants and wives) had been killed and all their goods pillaged.[9] The district officer, Captain von Grawert, was in Rwanda at the time of the first attack. As yet unaware of the abuses committed by the traders, he retaliated against the Rwandans who had assailed them, pillaging and burning homes and crops for two days. While von Grawert was at Nyanza, however, the Court won him over to its position; when he returned to Rwanda in June and July, he refused to aid traders who had survived Rwandan attacks or to punish the Rwandans who had assailed

them. As von Grawert's refusal to support "his men" became known throughout the kingdom, Rwandans interpreted it as a victory for the Court. Probably with the encouragement of the Court, some spread the story that von Grawert had become a *mugaragu* (client) of Musinga and would henceforth do his bidding. The longer and further the story circulated, the more fantastic it grew: some related that the Court had actually killed the German officer.[10]

The Extension of Royal Power to the North

During the months when the Court was beginning its attacks on clients of the Europeans in central Rwanda, Fathers at the northern mission of Rwaza had been experiencing growing difficulties with their "Bakiga" neighbors.* The Bakiga had originally welcomed the Fathers, hoping that the foreigners would ally with them against the Tutsi notables who were trying to extend their control over the area. Rwabugiri had raided this region several times, forcing some of the lineages to submit and pay ikoro prestations to him and his batware. Other lineages, however, had retained their independence: Court notables who ventured onto their hills were fortunate to escape with their lives, to say nothing of the tax revenues. The Fathers recognized that an alliance with the Bakiga against the notables offered the greatest promise of immediate success for the mission. But their superior at Save, Monsignor Hirth, had insisted that they cooperate with the notables even at the risk of alienating the local population. In accord with his instructions they tried working through the local leaders, but the representatives of the Court saw these autonomous authorities as rivals, not supporters, and gave them little help. Nor were the Fathers any more successful. When they tried to get one notable to requisition wood for construction from the Bakiga, he answered their request with "a twisted little tree cut in three pieces."[11] Despite the evident ill-will of the Court notables, the Fathers continued to advocate for the extension of their control over the area, thereby losing the favor of most local people. Within several months of the missionaries' arrival, Bakiga were refusing to come to work or to sell

*The people of these regions did not always accept the Hutu–Tutsi social parameters of the Court; instead there was a greater shared identity among people in these regions as Bakiga, "the people of the mountains."

food at the mission. Those who associated with the Fathers were scorned and beaten, sometimes even by the men of their own lineages.[12]

The Bakiga resented the missionaries not just because they were supporting the Court notables but also because they were themselves becoming demanding rulers instead of the *babyeyi*, or "parents," that they had originally promised to be. Rwaza had been the one mission founded without the consent of the Court. Having no Rwandan Court authority to grant them land, the Fathers had simply appropriated the property they wanted. Although they paid the original holders of the land, the dispossessed resented being forced to leave the property that had belonged to their lineages for generations. Other Bakiga saw the Fathers' actions as a dangerous precedent that might one day result in the loss of their own holdings.[13] Because the missionaries needed a great many workers for their construction projects, and because the Bakiga refused to present themselves voluntarily to work for salaries, the foreigners obligated the local notables or lineage heads to provide them with eight hundred to a thousand workers per day. The Fathers rewarded those who supplied the laborers and even gave a minimal salary to the conscripted laborers.[14] But the Bakiga felt that the payments hardly compensated for the loss of their autonomy and the obligation to work for the interlopers whom they feared and hated. In relying on forced labor as in appropriating land, the Fathers were following patterns established by Court notables who had moved into other regions. The Bakiga around Rwaza who were aware of these procedures elsewhere but who had not yet submitted to such demands from the Court notables found themselves obliged to endure them from the Europeans.

When faced with resistance to their demands or with attacks on their permanent employees (mostly East Africans), the Fathers and their several dozen armed guards did not hesitate to execute punitive raids. When German troops were in the area, they called upon them as well for help in establishing their version of law and order around Rwaza. In late July 1904 the Fathers launched such a raid in response to cries of distress from several of their workers, who claimed to have been assailed without cause while cutting trees in the forest. In fact the incident had developed when the Bakiga tried to resist arbitrary demands by the Fathers' men for beer and livestock. But in this case, as in many others, the Fathers did not suspect the abuses committed by their workers. Instead they severely punished the Bakiga, killing several and destroying homes and crops.[15]

Coming after several similar incidents in the preceding months, this attack pushed the Bakiga to unite against the foreigners. For two weeks

they alternately laid siege to the mission and defended themselves against the raiding parties sent out by the Fathers. They were encouraged by the rumor of von Grawert's death, which reached the area of Rwaza at this time. As soon as the Fathers realized the seriousness of the attack, they summoned help from a nearby Belgian post (in the Congo) and from the mission at Nyundo. Aided by the Belgian officer and the two Fathers from Nyundo (who had brought with them a force of two hundred Rwandans), the Rwaza Fathers set out to take vengeance on their assailants. The people in the immediate vicinity of the mission quickly realized that safety and profit lay on the side of the Fathers. Mobs of a thousand and more swelled the ranks of the attacking missionaries and joined in pillaging their less fortunate neighbors. The most valuable booty captured was of course cattle. The Fathers kept some for their own herd and gave others to the Fathers from Nyundo; then, like Rwandan batware back from a military expedition, they distributed the rest to their most valorous followers.[16]

The Fathers, who had not yet been able to establish good relations with the notables, mistakenly attributed the decision to attack the mission to these representatives of the Court. Such was the hostility between the notables and Bakiga that if the notables had proposed an attack, the Bakiga would probably have abstained. The Bakiga even took advantage of the general unrest following the attack to kill several envoys sent by the Court to the area. Once the attack had been launched, however, the notables encouraged the Bakiga to rid the area of the Fathers if they could. While pretending to help, the representatives of the Court did their best to handicap the Fathers in the struggle: the guides whom they provided misled the Fathers' raiding parties; the warriors who were supposed to be helping in an attack disappeared quietly over the nearest hill. The notables, like those in central Rwanda, harassed messengers traveling between missions. They stripped one unfortunate of his European-style clothes, symbol of his allegiance to the Fathers, and sent him naked on his way.[17]

Adjudicating—or Avenging—Conflict between the Missions and the Court

News of the violence at Rwaza may have briefly revived hopes at Court of expelling the Europeans from Rwanda. In early August the Fathers at Save heard that twenty bulls were being sacrificed daily at Nyanza to determine if such an attempt could succeed. Whether these

rites actually took place or whether this rumor, like many then circulating, was just another effort by the Court to frighten the Fathers and their followers, the Tutsi did not take advantage of the trouble in the north to attack missions in the center of the kingdom. But they did continue to assail traders and the messengers and porters of the Fathers during August and September. In late August the Court was even so bold as to prevent two government soldiers from landing their boat on the shore of Lake Kivu.[18]

When a caravan traveling to Zaza was pillaged in August, the Fathers raided the area where the attack had occurred. At the homes of several representatives of the Court, they retrieved much of the material that had been taken. They also took several prisoners before being driven away by a volley of arrows. When they reported the incident to Monsignor Hirth in Bukoba, he secured thirty soldiers from the Germans to accompany the caravan that he sent to Zaza several weeks later. While passing through the region of the first attack, this caravan also encountered trouble: in the ensuing battle, the soldiers killed at least ten men, captured others, and pillaged many cattle. They delivered one prisoner, the brother of a local notable, to the mission where the Fathers held him for ransom—for fifteen cattle, a sum which they computed would pay the cost of the ammunition they had used in punishing the area.[19]

After the Fathers at Rwaza had beaten off the attack of the Bakiga and the Fathers at Zaza had taken such harsh reprisals against the assailants of its caravans, the Court reassured the Fathers at Save that it had no intention of making war on any of the missionaries. It also promised them that their envoys would in the future travel freely throughout the kingdom. By late September the Court knew that von Grawert had been apprised of the incidents of July and August and that he would soon be at Nyanza. Aware of the war that the Germans had waged the previous year in Burundi against its uncooperative mwami, the Court dreaded similar punishment, Musinga sent gifts of cattle to the Fathers, even accompanying one such tribute with the declaration that he was the mugaragu of the missionaries. In this way the Court hoped to win the protection of the Fathers against possible German reprisals.[20]

Although willing to show submission to the missionaries, the Court was not yet so frightened as to bow to their wishes completely. On instructions from von Grawert, Musinga heard the case of the Zaza Fathers against the notables whom they held responsible for the pillage of their caravan. One of the accused had already committed suicide during his confinement at the mission. Musinga freed all the rest with the comment

that Tutsi simply did not steal. He did, however, deprive one of the accused of his four domains in Gisaka and gave them to the Zaza Fathers in compensation for their losses.[21]

Despite the fears of the Court, von Grawert arrived with the intention of restoring stability rather than meting out punishment. As he informed the Fathers, he did not believe it worthwhile to make war for the sake of a few cloth merchants. The German officer hoped to avoid any open conflict that might lead neighboring colonial powers to think that German control of Rwanda was ineffective. He was also concerned about the internal political situation. Von Grawert's fellow officer at Bukoba had reported that he had been asked for assistance by the clients of Ruhinankiko's protégés Cyaka and Sebuharara who had survived the attack by warriors of the Court at Rwata the previous April. According to the survivors, Kabare wanted to oust both the Europeans and Musinga himself from the kingdom. As von Grawert may have realized, this account was distorted by the survivors' hopes of winning German support for Musinga and Ruhinankiko, whom he favored. But the report did alert von Grawert to the seriousness of the divisions that split the Court. Fearing that punishment of the mwami might precipitate total collapse, he preferred to be lenient in his judgment of the Court. The district officer was convinced that the attack at Rwaza had been a spontaneous local movement, so he had no trouble absolving the Court of any responsibility in it. He did acknowledge that the Court had sparked the attacks on traders in central Rwanda and ordered it to pay five hundred cattle to merchants who had lost their goods. He blamed the killings of merchants on several of Kabare's clients who were brought to Nyanza in chains and given twenty-five lashes each.[22]

Von Grawert then left Nyanza for several weeks to tour the rest of Rwanda. At Rwaza, where the threat to European lives had been real and where no considerations of Court politics were involved, he carried out devastating reprisals on the Bakiga who had attacked the mission. In the end the Fathers themselves had to ask mercy for some of their neighbors. The German officer further drove his point home by threatening that if the mission were ever attacked again, he would return to inflict similar damage every six months, just before each harvest, until the people of the area perished.[23]

During von Grawert's absence from Court, some of his soldiers (probably from East Africa or Burundi) used the opportunity to humiliate the Tutsi prisoners left in their charge. They forced them publicly to eat chicken, the food of Europeans, which the Tutsi considered

loathsome. The many important notables who were obliged to witness this act chorused in the background *Ishyano mu Rwanda*, "What a terrible thing for Rwanda." Later the soldiers forced the Tutsi notables to lower themselves to the level of the Hutu agrarians by cultivating crops. These insults may have made an even greater impression on the Court than the soldiers' killing several prisoners who were supposedly trying to escape. Kanjogera was so horrified by these reprisals that she reportedly fled Nyanza, while Kabare was supposed to be making his own preparations to go into hiding.[24]

After von Grawert and his men had left Rwanda, and the immediate sting of the humiliations they had inflicted had eased, the Court could look with some satisfaction on the results of Kabare's policy of firmer resistance. If the Court had hoped by a combination of harassment of the Europeans' clients and rumors of attacks to induce the Europeans to leave, this aspect of their policy had failed. But their campaign against traders had cleared Rwanda completely, if only temporarily, of all foreign merchants except two white men. The Court and many notables had profited handsomely from the pillage of the caravans of the traders and missionaries. When in 1905 small groups of traders began drifting back into Rwanda and again causing difficulties, the Court complained to von Grawert's representative, Lieutenant von Nordeck, who had them arrested and beaten at Nyanza. After von Nordeck had left, the Court felt he had authorized it to deal with traders as it wished: their regiments continued to capture and abuse all those who displeased the Court.[25] In March 1905 von Grawert obtained an ordinance from the governor of German East Africa closing Rwanda to all traders except those licensed by the Germans. One condition of receiving such a license might be the obligation to pay court to Musinga before beginning to trade in Rwanda.[26] This probably reflected the desires of the Court, which did not wish to halt all trade but rather to control it for its own profit.

The two white traders who had continued their commerce in cattle during the worst attacks against foreign merchants were an Austrian named Schindelar and a Boer named Pretorius. Unable to secure the kind and quantity of cattle they wanted for the prices they were willing to pay, the two resorted to taking hostages, beating notables, or simply raiding the most attractive herds. When von Grawert had been in Rwanda in October 1904, he had acted on the Court's complaint against these two and had required them to make restitution for the cattle stolen. When they later resumed their commerce in northern Rwanda, the

Court hesitated to act directly against them and again called for German aid. In the meantime, the Bakiga of the north executed their own form of justice, killing forty-nine of Pretorius's men, confiscating his cattle, and driving him from the region stripped of even his personal possessions. Lieutenant von Nordeck arrested Schindelar and Pretorius and allowed Musinga to try them. The mwami decided to take two-thirds of their cattle as compensation for the damage they had done, permitting them to keep one-third.[27]

The Fathers turned the Schindelar-Pretorius case to their own advantage. For several months they had been trying to persuade the Court to grant them yet another mission site, one in the very heartland of the kingdom. After two brusque refusals from Kabare, the missionaries asked von Nordeck to pressure the Court into making the concession. The officer threatened to release the cattle traders unless the Court consented to the new foundation. Finding the propaganda of the Fathers less obnoxious than the continued confiscation of the cattle of the kingdom, the Court agreed to the new mission. Von Nordeck then enforced Musinga's judgment against the traders and expelled them from Rwanda. Both he and the Fathers recognized how hostile the Court was to the new mission, so von Nordeck provided a temporary guard of soldiers for the post, which was established at Kabgayi, not far north of Nyanza.[28]

Missionary Enterprise and the Mobilization of Hutu Labor

During the height of the 1904 crisis, when rumors proliferated that the Court would attack the missions, the number of Hutu attending classes at Save had dropped by 50 percent, while the people near Zaza were refusing instruction altogether. When the Hutu near Rwaza attacked that mission, the people of the vicinity who had been associating with the Fathers quickly deserted them. As these incidents showed, Hutu were attracted to the missionaries primarily because the foreigners appeared powerful; when they saw the power of the Fathers waver, their loyalty to them did not last.[29]

Like the notables, the Fathers first demonstrated their power in an area by requisitioning goods and services from the Hutu. The demands of the missionaries for labor for their initial temporary installations, burdensome though they were, could be met by the people of the immediate vicinity.[30] When the Fathers began to plan for grander and more

permanent structures, however, they realized that the labor required far exceeded what they could obtain through pressure on local notables or lineage heads. They would have to appeal to the Court, which could mobilize thousands of men through the Court's ngabo, or regiments, the organizations used traditionally to call upon men for fighting or porterage in war, or for building the residences of the mwami or the batware.

When in July 1905 the Fathers at Save decided to begin constructing the first permanent church in the kingdom, they requested the Court to arrange the transport of several hundred giant trees from a forest three days distant from the mission. The Court reluctantly named several of its notables to supervise the work, giving them authority to call up some of the ngabo of southern Rwanda. For four months approximately ten thousand men were forced to labor for the new church. This "work of the Romans," as a Father proclaimed it, caused serious problems from the start. Although the porters received a small payment for their work, they complained that the Fathers must be trying to push them to revolt by burdening them so heavily.[31]

The notables, better paid for their services, nonetheless used the opportunities offered by their positions to enrich themselves even further at the expense of the Hutu. They excused from the labor all who would bring them gifts, imposing the remaining burden on those too poor or too stubborn to bribe them. Such a procedure limited the number of workers available and so delayed the entire project. When the Fathers impatiently demanded greater efficiency, the notables began hiding the felled trees deep in the forest where the Fathers could not hope to find them.[32] As difficulties grew, the Fathers themselves interfered with increasing frequency in the transport. Such interference distressed the Court, because it demonstrated even more clearly that the missionaries were the real authority demanding the labor; as one Father noted, the Court was becoming known as the servant of the foreigners.[33] Since Save was only one of six stations, the Court saw similar demands being made at all the others. Indeed, the Fathers at Zaza at one point planned to ask the Court to provide one hundred thousand men for its construction projects, but they later dropped the plan.[34] The immediate effect of the Fathers' oppressive requisitions was "disastrous" for the mission, as one missionary commented, but in time these demands—showing the power of the missions to command men—resulted in just that increased respect for the Fathers which the Court most feared.[35]

The Dilemma of Proselytization

During their first years in Rwanda, the Fathers asked a different kind of service from the people in their vicinity, one that previous authorities had never demanded. Anxious to win converts, the missionaries and their catechists visited the neighboring hills to urge the Hutu to come to the mission for instruction. However, in many cases they overstepped the line separating encouragement from requirement, sometimes inadvertently but more often purposely. As the Father Superior of Save wrote in March 1902: "It is indeed certain that with the Negroes more than with others, *salviter* which inspires trust is necessary, but also *fortiter* which inspires fear is required, because if one does not push them a little (*compelle intrare* [the Latin actually means to force them to enter]) they will greatly delay the moment of their conversion."[36] This pressure rather than any enthusiasm for the new religion brought many Hutu to the missions. A Father at Save lamented, "[we have] very many who have taken instruction, very many who come to the mission [but] . . . rather few, perhaps 300, show themselves to be frankly for God."[37] Indeed, many who were studying the catechism continued to perform the ceremonies of the Imandwa belief system.*

After a visit to the Rwandan missions in 1903, Monsignor Hirth decided that the Fathers had been relying too much on pressure in making converts. He ordered them to withdraw the catechists whom they had placed on neighboring hills, to send home catechists who came from outside Rwanda, and to permit only informal proselytization by Rwandan converts among their own relatives and friends.[38] This more gradual approach was itself abandoned after 1907, perhaps because the arrival of a contingent of Protestant missionaries in that year stimulated fears of losing large numbers of Rwandans to the "heretical" faith. Once more, the Fathers began calling at the homes of the Rwandans; once more, they obtained small holdings on the more distant hills where

*The Imandwa represented a set of religious belief patterns followed across the Great Lakes region. These practices transcended separate family ritual practices, combining many independent spirits and mediums into a coherent religious family, and backed by traditions explaining the relationships among the diverse Imandwa spirits. See Berger, *Religion and Resistance*; de Heusch, *Le Rwanda et la civilisation interlacustre;* and *Lyangombe.*

their catechists could live and teach those who found it difficult to come often to the mission.[39] This system of pressure operated efficiently for years, although it was severely criticized by the Regional Superior of the order:

> The Negroes are often inclined to believe that [those] . . . who come to us to receive religious instruction are thus fulfilling a duty [*corvée*] which is due to us, like requisitions of a different kind are due to temporal chiefs, native or European. . . . Catechists, . . . tempted to see themselves as soldiers or agents of government, are sent by the missionaries into the villages to gather the inhabitants together voluntarily or by force to give them instruction for which they feel no need and which they are not in the least disposed to receive. . . . Nor is it rare for the pressure and use of force to come directly from the missionaries who automatically register children and young people . . . and even old people for catechism or school, oblige them to come to the mission on certain days, and become angry when the drafted recruits lack the desired assiduity and even have recourse to violent methods to obtain this assiduity.[40]

As the Superior concluded, the system would "win no hearts," but it did substantially increase attendance at the missions. Rwandans called this aggressive proselytization *gutora*, "to select" or "to choose out." Gutora had customarily described a mutware's selection of the young men who were to be his ntore, the elite warriors of his regiment. To be chosen might mean wealth and prestige; but in any case, the invitation could not be refused. In the same way, the Hutu did not dare refuse outright "selection" by the Fathers. Rather they tried simply to disappear or to hide their children when the missionaries or their men were seen approaching. Or they pleaded illness or extra work as excuses to stay at home. When the Hutu could find no excuse, they acquiesced in studying the tenets of the faith or the letters of the alphabet as they accepted cultivating for their traditional superiors or doing obligatory labor at the mission.[41]

Nor did the notables usually openly oppose the Fathers' attempts at converting their subjects, bitterly though they resented them. They knew that Hutu who began instruction would soon regard the Fathers as patrons. When the notables were obliged to provide laborers for the mission, they could take some comfort in this use of their men being temporary and occasional. But when the Fathers began pressing people to come for instruction, the notables knew that they were exacting a more permanent commitment for regular attendance at the mission.

Since each notable measured his prestige in terms of the number of men he commanded and computed his wealth partly in terms of the amount of service that he could get from them, the required religious instruction challenged their power even more drastically than did the Fathers' requisition of laborers.[42] By the time the gutora system was in full effect just before World War I, some notables were seeking to preserve part of their power by compromising with the Fathers. They offered to divide their men with the missionaries, as batware had customarily shared their subjects with newly appointed rivals who were seeking men to expand recently established regiments: if the notables sent all the men from one hill for instruction, the Fathers would agree not to proselytize on another.[43] But the missionaries, true to their perceived duty to convert all, steadfastly refused such arrangements. Relying on German orders that each man was free to take instruction, they continued to exert pressure that guaranteed that all who wished to convert and many who did not would attend their classes. When forced into a confrontation with the Fathers over the issue, notables publicly ordered that any of their subjects who wished to take instruction could do so; then they exercised their imagination to the full, devising ways secretly to impede the Hutu from complying with the Fathers' invitations.[44]

Throughout Rwanda the Fathers exerted pressure both to satisfy their material needs and to oblige the Hutu to learn their dogma. In the outlying areas where the control of the Court was not yet well established—at Mibirizi, Rwaza, Zaza, Murunda, and Rulindo—the missionaries demonstrated their power even more directly. Either from a desire to help their followers or from a sense of obligation to keep the peace, they frequently became entangled in local disputes within or between lineages or between Court notables and their subjects. They also found it necessary to defend their property or messengers from attack in these areas where even notables sometimes could not travel freely. The Fathers themselves owned and used guns. In addition, during the early years, several stations employed armed East African guards to assist the Fathers in defending the mission or in keeping order in the region.[45] When the Fathers at Rwaza set out to punish those who had attacked the mission in 1904, their small contingent was joined by large mobs of people from the neighboring hills who were eager for the opportunity to plunder under cover of the Fathers' guns. Fathers at other stations almost invariably attracted similar support whenever they attacked Hutu who had harmed the interests of the mission or who persisted in troubling their neighbors. In some cases the missionaries actively encouraged such

groups to join them, summoning them with the customary sounds of drum and horn that announced warfare; sometimes they just could not prevent the mobs from following them. Unable to control these volunteers, the Fathers stood by while they pillaged the supposedly guilty parties to their own satisfaction. Some of the first adherents of the Rwaza mission recalled that the prospect of pillage was the major force attracting the early supporters of the mission.[46]

The White Fathers' Local Relationships

The Fathers preferred to settle all but the most serious disputes with minimal involvement by the German authorities. Most of their stations were too distant from German posts to be able to count on prompt aid, but even at Mibirizi and Nyundo, where there were posts nearby, the Fathers hesitated to call on the officials. Indeed, on those occasions when the missionaries did summon government troops to attack an area, the Hutu realized clearly the part played by the Fathers in their punishment.[47]

But there were other tensions as well between the two forms of control. Although the Germans had originally favored the establishment of missions as an inexpensive and efficient means of instituting European control over Rwanda, they had learned from the Mpumbika affair and similar cases that the Fathers could cause grave problems or exacerbate conflict. The Germans also suspected that the missionaries, who were mostly French-speaking if not of French nationality, would rather have Rwanda governed by a frankly Catholic power, Belgium or France. That the Rwandans sometimes called the Fathers *Abafaranza*, "French-speakers" or "Frenchmen," and that the Fathers did not effectively discourage this practice stimulated this suspicion.[48] The Fathers in turn resented the German distrust but never found the means to dispel it.*

The Fathers' use of violence, whether independently or through government troops, naturally caused greater resentment among its victims than did their more pacific exercises of power. But by the same

*Although the order was international, including some Germans and Luxembourgers serving in Rwanda, most White Fathers in Rwanda were indeed French (and some were from Alsace, where resentment of Germans ran especially deep). Cardinal Lavigerie's religious base was in Nancy, in northeast France, not far from the Alsatian border.

token, the use of violence taught the Hutu to fear and respect the Fathers more rapidly and dramatically. After many of the attacks, the victims appeared at the mission with gifts to "make their submission" to the Fathers. In some instances the gifts were meant only to guard against similar reprisals in the future, but in others the tribute was the first step toward a continuing association with the mission. As one Rwandan remembered it, the Fathers attacked to proselytize.[49]

The results of each intervention or punishment varied according to the circumstances of the case and the wisdom of the Fathers involved. Sometimes a missionary could restore harmony to a lineage torn by conflict, or stop short a battle by intelligently manipulating the parties involved. But at other times, Fathers not wholly competent in the language or ignorant of the local customs or over-anxious about their own prestige could bring danger or injury to themselves and others. In one of the worst such cases, a disputing lineage that was certain of the Fathers' support used the cover of a supposedly peaceful conference with its enemies in the mission yard to fall upon them, killing several while the Fathers stood by helplessly.[50]

Rwandans quickly realized the utility of associating themselves with the Fathers in order to be able to call on their support against all who oppressed or threatened them. From the time a mission was founded, the Hutu of the area sought the protection of the Fathers against the representatives of the Court who ruled them. Many used attendance at the mission as an excuse to refuse all customary obligations to the notables. The Hutu tried this maneuver most often after the Fathers themselves had secured some relaxation of customary obligations for potential converts to facilitate their attendance at instruction.[51] In other cases Hutu rejected all orders of their *shebuja* (their patrons in an ubuhake cattle contract), saying that they now had new patrons who would protect them from any reprisals by the old. When engaged in disputes with kin or neighbors, Hutu relied on the aid of the Fathers as well to ensure victory.[52]

Since conflicts whether between superior and inferior or between peers often culminated in judicial cases, one of the contenders usually asked a missionary to hear the case. Although Rwandans recognized and respected judicial expertise, they knew that the settlement of cases depended more on the respective strength of the parties involved than on the technicalities of precedent or even the facts of the case. The man who secured a powerful protector to hear his case ordinarily won it. The Fathers, who were both powerful and easily manipulated because of

their relative ignorance of language and law, made ideal judges for their adherents. Their popularity as judges grew until some Fathers were called upon to hear cases virtually every day. The Father Superior at Rwaza, for example, dealt with so many cases and found their complexity so great that he kept a register of decisions for future reference.[53]

Like influential Rwandans who were ordinarily shebuja as well as notables, in addition to exercising authority in the vicinity of their stations the Fathers also dispensed wealth to their clients. Most Fathers regarded traditional ubuhake as an impediment to their work because, as one Father wrote, "A chief who has a cow has control over the man who has borrowed the cow";[54] the clients of notables most hostile to the missions would not lightly displease their shebuja by taking instruction. But some of the missionaries—perhaps recalling the dictum of the founder of their order, Cardinal Lavigerie, to "Be apostles, be nothing but that, or at least be nothing except to that end"[55]—decided that they could become shebuja themselves. Using the cattle they had purchased or acquired through punitive raids, they secured bagaragu of their own to work for, instead of against, the spread of Christianity. The missionaries encountered serious problems, however, when they tried to use the cattle to control the behavior of their clients. When they recalled their cattle from clients who displeased them, as Rwandan shebuja did, they found that the dispossessed rejected their teaching as well as the missionaries themselves; having become Christian to obtain a cow, they saw no reason to continue accepting their shebuja's religion once the relationship had been dissolved. After several years' experience with this kind of religious ubuhake, one Father bemoaned the reliance on grants of cattle: "What harm these cattle have done to this poor mission!" adding later that "many . . . [had] received baptism almost solely to receive the profit of a cow."[56]

The Fathers also had land to distribute to their followers. The grants originally made by the Court to the missions had been vague in terms of the boundaries and the rights attached to them. Before 1903 the Fathers apparently held their land at the pleasure of the Court, probably sending some form of payment to Nyanza once or twice a year. After 1903 the Fathers urged that their tenure made permanent and unconditional. With German support they arranged over the next several years to purchase their holdings from the Court for cloth or currency. The property

at Save was 200 hectares; at Kabgayi, 120; and at Zaza, between 100 and 125.[57]

Such extensive holdings in the densely populated kingdom necessarily encompassed the arable land or pasture of some Rwandans. The Fathers sometimes permitted the original occupants to remain on the land without further arrangement, but more often they expropriated the property, paying them for the land itself and for any crops on it. In areas where the land had not yet come under the control of the Court or wealthy Tutsi, the Hutu resented the expropriation as much as they would have similar action by representatives of the Court. The Fathers invariably found the land exceeded their own needs, so they then granted the remainder to those who solicited it, often the very people whom they had dispossessed.[58] This was the same way in which notables extended their control over the holdings of Hutu lineages. The Fathers also distributed plots to Hutu who had left their original holdings because of conflict with their kin or with their superiors, to strangers from other regions, even to Christians who came from outside Rwanda.[59] The Court apparently expected the missionaries to grant land to their followers as its notables did to their men: when Kanjogera dispossessed a Christian and the Fathers complained to Musinga, he answered that the Christian was their man; they could easily grant him a part of their own holdings. If the Fathers revoked their grants of land, the results often resembled the consequences of their recall of cattle. At Save one of the "most devout" Christians returned cross and rosary to the Fathers after they had taken back part of the land that they had granted to him.[60]

As distributors of land, the Fathers were banyabutaka (notables in control of the land) as well as shebuja (patrons through cattle clientship) to the men on their property. Like banyabutaka, the missionaries collected payment in labor and crops for the use of the land.[61] Originally unaware of the complexities of the Rwandan political system, the Fathers failed to recognize that a man had multiple obligations to several authorities. Instead, they assumed that as banyabutaka they had exclusive control over their men and tried to prevent batware who ruled the same men as members of their ngabo from giving them orders. In so doing they created endless disputes with notables jealous of their own authority. Sometimes one party or the other called in German officials to sort out their conflicting claims.[62] Annoyed by the time lost and the bitterness engendered by these disputes, the Germans restricted the holdings acquired by the Fathers after 1908 to twenty or twenty-five hectares of sparsely populated land. The officials tried to require that the original

inhabitants leave the property immediately and permanently and that the Fathers no longer play the role of banyabutaka.[63] In some cases the missionaries ignored these restrictions, usually while trying to arrange questions of authority privately with the local notables. The Hutu did their best to hinder such attempts at arrangement because they wanted to use the confusion over their obligations to escape traditional duties.[64] These conflicts of authority damaged the interests both of local notables and of the Court itself. Since the batware had been granted the right to command by the Court, any incursions on their authority lessened its own suzerainty.[65]

In addition to the customary forms of wealth, the Fathers offered other valuables to their clients. The missionaries combated the slave trade by stopping all caravans passing in their vicinity and freeing the captives. At first, they sheltered the victims only briefly before sending them back to their homes. But perhaps because they believed the victims would only be subject to recapture, perhaps because they did not want to lose the opportunity to proselytize, the Fathers at Zaza began keeping at the mission those whom they had freed. Since they lacked the resources personally to care for and educate those freed, the missionaries assigned them to converts who were supposed to give them this attention in return for assistance in their homes and fields. Some of the "guardians" exploited and abused the freed slaves, who may have suffered as much from this Christian form of bondage as they would have from other more usual forms of servitude. The system never encompassed more than several hundred freed slaves and lasted only a few years, but it did reinforce the image of the Fathers as generous distributors of wealth—and benefits—to their favorites.[66]

The Fathers established rudimentary schools at all their missions to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic as well as catechism. Since the Rwandans at first saw no reason to prize European skills, the Fathers used material incentives to spur attendance. Sometimes the children were paid outright; at other times they received a salary in return for some work that they did after school hours. Young Rwandans gradually came to realize that European education guaranteed long-term as well as immediate benefits, especially after the establishment of the German Residency in 1908 and the ensuing growth in the business community increased opportunities for employment. The most promising of the young scholars found all their needs met by the Fathers. Some were sent on to higher studies at a seminary, while others were provided with jobs

with other Europeans. Those who remained in the employ of the mission were often given both land and wives by the Fathers.[67]

Rwandans from all levels of society saw the missionaries as dispensers of much coveted trade goods. The ordinary people sought beads and cloth, while the notables wanted such novelties as umbrellas or dog collars. The exchange of produce or livestock for these items was always easier and sometimes possible only for those who stood well with the Fathers. At Zaza such good relations depended on mastery of religious knowledge: those who brought produce to exchange for cloth could carry out the trade only if they could also recite the Lord's Prayer.[68]

From their very arrival the Fathers were said to have a capacity that could determine the fates of their Rwandan neighbors: the power to control rainfall. Musinga and his notables often turned to the missionaries when drought threatened, especially when the efforts of traditional rainmakers had failed. In several instances when rain was critically needed, large numbers of Rwandans began to take religious instruction, either spontaneously or on the orders of their superiors. They brought gifts, too, to encourage the Fathers to arrange for the rains; after the rain had fallen they brought more tribute to show their gratitude. Although the missionaries usually tried to explain that they did not cause the rain but merely prayed for it, they did keep on accepting the gifts and enrolling the supplicants in their classes.[69]

Rwandans were attracted by the power and wealth of the Fathers, not by their appearance or habits. One Rwandan recalled that when he first saw one of the Fathers striding across his hill in his long white robe, he was so horrified he wanted the earth to open and swallow him; when it did not, he ran as fast as he could in the opposite direction.[70] Rwandans sometimes called the Fathers and other Europeans *ibituku*, "red things," because of the unappealing color they assumed when exposed to the tropical sun. Most Rwandans, particularly the Tutsi and those most under their cultural influence, scorned eating as a vulgar bodily function not to be carried out or even discussed in polite society. The Fathers and the employees whom they brought from East Africa were plainly much concerned about what they put in their stomachs and had no compunctions about publicly satisfying their hunger. Among the foods that Rwandans found most disgusting were chicken and eggs; they kept chickens only to provide animals for divination. When the missionaries consumed these foods with such apparent relish, the Rwandans referred to them as hyenas or classified them as Twa, deemed inferior in

every way (and often taken to be forest dwellers outside of normal civilization); sometimes they were not counted as human beings at all. As fitting tribute to men who so forgot their dignity as to feast on such things, the Rwandans sometimes met European requisitions of food by giving them rotten eggs.[71] Since the Fathers had brought no cattle with them, some Rwandans assumed that they had not known this animal before their arrival in Rwanda. The donkeys and pigs that the missionaries had brought were seen as pathetic substitutes for the noble cow. As a sign of their disdain, when called upon to furnish the Fathers with cattle, Rwandans sometimes sent the most decrepit beast available, convinced that the Europeans would not know a good cow from a bad one. And indeed, in one case a Rwandan gave a "cow" to the Fathers, who graciously accepted it only to discover the next day that the "cow" was a bull.[72]

If Hutu found reason to ridicule the Fathers, all the more did Tutsi notables look upon them with contempt. The Europeans' assertion of racial and cultural superiority challenged the elite Tutsi's own claim to occupy the pinnacle of ethnic and cultural development. One European traveler noted that one could easily distinguish Tutsi from Hutu: the Tutsi with their finer sensitivities were so much more offended by the odor of Europeans that they covered their noses and mouths when in the company of the foreigners.[73]

At first most Rwandans scorned any of their fellows who associated with the Fathers. As the benefits of such association became increasingly clear, however, many grew more tolerant of those who sought protection or wealth from the missionaries, especially if this were done on a temporary basis for plainly defined ends. But they continued to call those who made a permanent commitment by converting to Christianity *inyangarwanda*, "haters or repudiators of Rwanda." Elite Tutsi condemned the inyangarwanda most consistently and harshly, but even Hutu preferred not to associate with them. Especially in the early years the converts were treated like Twa—excluded from sharing drinking straws or pipes with others, and ridiculed whenever possible. Their kinsmen and former friends refused the food and lodging customarily offered to even casual acquaintances. Parents exposed to such ostracism because they had allowed their children to attend mission classes sometimes subsequently resorted to beating or tying up their children to keep them from the mission.[74]

During their first two or three years in Rwanda, the Fathers relied on foreign employees, catechists from Buganda, and guards and laborers

from other parts of East Africa. As they attracted greater numbers of Rwandan followers, the missionaries used them to replace the foreign Africans. Rwandans who became catechists naturally were converts, but others who had not completed or even begun religious instruction sometimes attended to the material aspects of mission life. The employees of the mission, known as *barungu*, were usually distinguished from other Rwandans by their dress. Too much men of the world to use traditional skins or bark cloth, they wore lengths of woven cloth or discarded European clothing that they had obtained from the missionaries. Some Rwandans particularly recalled the little hats the barungu wore, perhaps old fezzes gotten from the Fathers who originally wore them as part of their habit.[75]

Christians in general, and particularly employees of the mission, from time to time used the power that derived from their association with the Fathers to intimidate their fellow Rwandans. Converts confiscated hoes from those who cultivated on Sundays, or beer intended for use in ceremonies of the Imandwa religion. Messengers and porters and guards of caravans extorted gifts or simply plundered along their routes. Those who requisitioned supplies or laborers for the Fathers collected produce or livestock from Hutu or Tutsi who wished to be excused from meeting the demands. One ambitious man at Rwaza built up a fine herd of cattle within a year by using this method. When the gutora system of enforced religious instruction was operating, catechists could require or excuse attendance at class, and many grew wealthy from this prerogative. Playing on the Fathers' known opposition to traditional divination or sacrifice, the catechists required gifts before allowing such ceremonies to be carried out in their vicinity. Some catechists forced notables to pay them well to avoid fabricated denunciations as enemies of religion.[76]

A number of enterprising Rwandans with no real association with the mission also learned to profit from supposed ties with the Fathers. Some had worked briefly for Europeans or traveled outside Rwanda and so could impress potential victims with a few words of Swahili or another foreign tongue. Others relied on material signs, such as religious medals, tools, or even pieces of paper that they had managed to acquire. Since the Fathers frequently did send their barungu along to make requisitions or supervise labor in an area, Rwandans had difficulty distinguishing the real from the imposter. At Mibirizi the Fathers adopted the usage initiated by the Germans of sending a bullet along with an envoy when they wanted goods or laborers. At least one Rwandan

profited from this by arming himself with a "rifle" made of a hoe handle and a sack of "bullets" made from reeds; thus equipped, he lived well for some time.[77]

Many of those victimized by real or supposed followers of the mission did not dare complain to the Fathers. Notables who themselves suffered or saw their people suffer exploitation ordinarily feared further problems if they complained, so they too kept silent. When the missionaries were informed of abuses committed by genuine adherents of the mission, they sometimes excused the exploiters with no more than a reprimand, especially if the offenders had managed to cover their crimes with a supposedly religious rationale. When the Fathers heard of illegitimate use of their authority by those with no tie to the mission, they invariably did their best to capture and punish the offender, but they learned of only a small portion of the incidents that actually took place.[78]

After Kabare's attempt to oppose more vigorously the spread of European power, the authority of the Fathers continued to grow as they requisitioned goods and laborers, used force to protect themselves and their followers, intervened in disputes and judged cases, and distributed wealth to their favorites. Exercise of power by their followers, real or supposed, magnified the impact of their own use of authority. By 1908 Musinga was writing to the Fathers *wategetze neza*, "you have commanded well," using the traditional term to describe their use of power. Some notables even acknowledged the Fathers' authority by giving them a portion of the tax they had collected for the Court.[79] Hutu had become so accustomed to viewing the missionaries as rulers that when asked to name who commanded the hill of Mibirizi, one replied, "We have no rulers but the Fathers."[80] At other missions the Hutu offered to stop cultivating when one of the Fathers died because this was the usual practice when a notable died.[81] Some of the Fathers accepted the role of ruler only with qualms, but others willingly and even eagerly assumed power. One Father complained querulously when faced with resistance to his orders, "These people of Gisaka respect no one, not God or parents or chiefs," failing to indicate in which category he placed himself. Another denounced a disobedient man as *igisome*, "rebel," traditionally applied to those who refused to recognize the authority of the mwami.[82]

Monsignor Hirth, as well as his superiors in the order, tried to restrain the growth of the missionaries' power because it hindered cooperation between the Fathers and the Court and notables. Letter after letter reprimanded the Fathers for their interference in secular affairs. One Father relaying Hirth's instructions wrote:

> Do not meddle in any aspect whatsoever of the affairs of the chiefs. We have no business interfering in judicial cases, questions of taxes or obligatory labor, movements or appointments of chiefs, decisions of the king or his important Batwale [batware]; this is not our mission and grace was not given to us for that. We must absolutely not seek to make ourselves feared, to command or to dominate; this is a dangerous error . . . [that] can only excite the animosity and defiance of the chiefs.[83]

The Fathers acknowledged in principle the wisdom of winning the notables rather than competing with them. They regularly preached and sporadically practiced the rule that the authority of the Court and its notables must be acknowledged. They sometimes went further and tried to win the friendship of the notables with gifts, such as grants of cattle or coveted pastureland.[84] But these occasional attempts at cooperation foundered on the Fathers' susceptibility to pleas by the Hutu for aid against the notables. The desire to protect a Christian or to attract potential converts, or the more general obligation to insure justice or to protect the prestige of the mission, led the Fathers into one dispute after another with the Court and notables. Once the Fathers had regularly exercised power, even abstention from involvement became a form of action: since the balance between contenders shifted so easily according to the attitudes of the powerful, refusal by the Fathers to intervene weakened the position of the man who had sought their help. Only at missions where Fathers had shunned secular questions from their very arrival in the area could they or their successors hope to keep their political role a small one. The Fathers at Kansi succeeded best in avoiding involvement, perhaps because their station was founded late enough—in 1910—for them to benefit from the experience of their confreres.[85]

As the power of the Fathers became more firmly implanted each year, the Court and its notables acknowledged the seriousness and permanence of the threat posed by the missionaries. The challenge of the Fathers resounded even in the names given them by the Hutu, such as *Mwami w'abahutu*, "the Mwami of the Hutu" and *Rukizaboro*, "Savior of the Poor."[86] Instead of persisting in efforts to force them to leave Rwanda, the Court and notables turned to developing ways to use the power of the Fathers for their own ends.

Kabare and Musinga, circa 1910

4

Musinga's Coming of Age, 1905–1913

> Ahaje ubwanwa haba hanze ubwana.
> [When the beard appears, childhood disappears.]

When Kabare won supreme influence at Court in late 1904, Musinga was a young man of twenty or twenty-one. He had already taken several wives and fathered two or three children.[1] According to Rwandan practice, Musinga should have attained full manhood when he had first married at the age of seventeen or eighteen. But after one of his visits at Court, Kandt commented that the mwami was not likely to free himself of the control of the Bega: "For I have seen too often how this boyish figure at every word looks anxiously to the giant figures of Ruhenankiko [Ruhinankiko], Rudegembja [Rwidegembya] among others, in constant fear of finding disapproval in their eyes."[2] Kabare's defeat of Ruhinankiko saddened and humiliated Musinga, who had much preferred the loser to the victor. When Kabare and the other Bega used Ruhinankiko's fall to kill or dispossess many important Banyiginya who had been associated with him, Musinga had no power to save his paternal relatives, not even those closest to him, like Sebuharara, who was killed in the April 1904 massacre. During the struggle for power, Kabare had dispersed Musinga's own guard, the regiment named Indengabaganizi; in so doing, he had deprived the young mwami of his one personal source of support as well as of the social companionship of his favorite comrades.

Musinga was a slender young man, about 6 feet 6 inches tall, but he did not otherwise conform to the aesthetic ideal of the Tutsi. His upper

teeth protruded and his eyes were too prominent. Extremely near-sighted, he often fixed his visitors with a myopic stare. Later in life he was to be fitted with European-made glasses, but he apparently never wore them regularly. He spoke slowly and rather softly. Like other Tutsi, he shaved the hair from his head except for two crescent-shaped patches. The direction in which the crescents faced were unique to him, a sign of his royal position.* When attired in the leopard skins and beaded headdress that symbolized his office, he made an impressive figure. In ordinary dress of loosely draped cloth tied at the shoulder he was not a handsome man, although the German who recorded that "he is the ugliest Ntussi that I saw in all of Rwanda" was surely exaggerating.[3]

The son of two powerful and strong-willed parents, Musinga must have learned to respect parental authority early in life. Had Kanjogera been simply a wife of Rwabugiri, Musinga would have seen his father only occasionally: the mwami, like his notables, endowed his wives with separate domains where they lived with their children and which the mwami visited at his pleasure. But since Kanjogera became queen mother after the enthronement of Rutarindwa as co-regnant in 1889, she and most likely Musinga as well frequently traveled with the mwami. The child undoubtedly feared his apparently omnipotent father, who was renowned for his quick temper. Musinga probably knew that although Rwabugiri favored Kanjogera over his other wives, his father did not especially care for him. The mwami bestowed on Musinga none of the real or ceremonial marks of esteem that he granted to some of his other sons.[4] His appointment of Kanjogera to reign with Rutarindwa demonstrated that he differentiated sharply between his attitude toward the mother and toward the son.

Musinga and His Mother

Although the shadow of Rwabugiri must have loomed over Musinga's early years, his development was far more closely guided by Kanjogera. She had had only one other child, a son who had died in infancy. If the relationship between them was like that in most Rwandan families, Musinga slept in his mother's bed until he was about three years old and

*The signs of royalty remarked on were symbolically important, but they were also new, most dating only from Rwabugiri's reign.

after that shared her house, sleeping behind a partition. Between the ages of ten and twelve, Tutsi boys ordinarily left their mothers' homes for the residences of their fathers' shebuja or batware. There they learned how to serve a patron and how to represent the interests of their fathers. If chosen to participate in an *itolero* (the elite corps of a regiment), they would be further trained in military, political, and literary skills.[5] Sons of bami were sometimes entrusted at this age to faithful servants or clients of the Court who were to provide for their security as well as their education. Musinga supposedly spent some time in the care of a Hutu client of Rwabugiri who lived in southern Rwanda. But by the time of Rwabugiri's last campaign against Bushi, which was cut short by his sudden death, Musinga, then about twelve years old, had rejoined the Court and participated in the attack.[6]

In Tutsi families the influence of the mother over her son often persisted even after he was thrust into the largely masculine world of the shebuja's or mutware's residence. Continuing maternal influence was accepted as understandable but not desirable in a society where a son's interests were tied first and foremost to the lineage of his father. Such domination by a mother was known as *ubukururamweko*, "trailing a woman's sash around after one's self."[7] Among the Tutsi, the Bega women of the late nineteenth century were said to be domineering mothers. As one Rwandan concluded after giving numerous examples, "You may know a woman is a Mwega if it is she who commands in the household."[8] But even among the Bega, Kanjogera was renowned as an exceptionally overbearing woman, perhaps because she had the intelligence to arrive at the ends defined by her strong will. She was a handsome woman, tall and well-built, but by her nature, "she was more man than woman."[9]

Kanjogera began building her influence while Rwabugiri was still alive. After his death and her participation in the coup, she became the most powerful person in Rwanda. Although apparently unwilling or unable to act completely independently, she first controlled the balance of power between Kabare and Ruhinankiko and then awarded victory in the struggle to Kabare. Like the other Bega who had planned the coup, Kanjogera feared the day when her son might develop a sense of loyalty to his father's lineage and would find the control of the Bega oppressive. Although bami theoretically could not reign without their mothers, many of them had found ways to limit or eliminate maternal influence. The implicit threat that Musinga might act independently once he became an adult made it all the more necessary for Kanjogera to control him closely when he was an adolescent. At the same time she knew that

should Musinga die, she would find herself deprived of all wealth and position. Haunted by fear of reprisals—supernatural or otherwise—by the Banyiginya, Kanjogera sought to protect her son as much as herself from any possible harm. Afraid of attack at night, she insisted that her son continue to sleep in her quarters, although according to custom he should have had his own house as soon as he became an adult. Tormented by the fear that she or Musinga might be poisoned, she often refused the food or drink that had been prepared for them, sometimes making those responsible for it consume it on the spot to prove that it had been safe.[10]

As Musinga became more mature, he increasingly resented Kanjogera's domination. Much of the bitterness between them resulted from the coup. Musinga knew his position depended on the intrigues of his mother and her kin, not on a right he had inherited from his father. Kabare and Kanjogera constantly interfered with his attempts to renew contacts with his paternal relatives, banning some of his brothers from the Court. Kanjogera was said to have once reproached Musinga for not expelling the Europeans from Rwanda; the mwami retorted that since her kin had decimated the ranks of the Banyiginya, he had no more reliable warriors to assist him in such a struggle.[11] Although Musinga sometimes privately maneuvered free of his mother's control, he never publicly opposed her. Throughout his adult life, he continued to defer to her "like a child," to accept her insults—she sometimes called him an imbecile—and even her blows without protest. The pattern of obedience established early had been established well.[12]

As the mwami, Musinga played the central role in the rituals that contributed so much to the awesome character of the Court. As one Father observed, the notables who were so arrogant and assertive when in their own domains became suddenly humble and obliging when face to face with their ruler at Court.[13] After having completed the private religious ceremony that began each day, Musinga would appear wearing his beaded headdress and would take his seat at the entrance of his residence to receive the requests and complaints of his notables. Only the most favored notables were permitted to enter the inner courtyard before the residence of the mwami, while their entourages, sometimes numbering fifty or sixty clients each, waited in the public area outside the enclosure. When pleas had been made and cases heard, Musinga would announce

the decisions. Then the drums would roll and the assembled notables would applaud, indicating their submission to the royal will. As one participant recalled, the mwami would then put aside his headdress: "one would say that today he is not going to kill us, that will be for tomorrow; this mwami . . . is a good patron today; when he takes off his decorations, the animal is no longer the leopard, now he is our kinsmen, although there is always something of royalty which remains with him."[14]

Although Musinga alone had the role of spokesman and so symbolized the power of the Court, most Rwandans knew that his voice had not been the only or even the predominating one in the decisions. Kabare took his place among the other notables when cases were presented, while Kanjogera followed the arguments from behind a screen within the residence. They were the final arbiters in deciding how to use the traditional methods of execution, pillage, and reward to secure obedience from the notables and their subjects.[15] As late as 1907 Kanjogera was still remarking, "If the Tutsi do not obey us, we will kill them"; but the Court had been using such drastic measures less and less since Kabare's assumption of power.[16] They depended rather on revoking commands from those whom they distrusted, often subdividing the domains into even smaller units to reward a larger number of supporters. The Court had at its command more subtle means as well: it could demand increased taxes or gifts from those who lacked respect, or it could retain at Nyanza any notable who seemed inclined to disobey. In one case the Court permitted an offending notable to return home only after the men under his command had filled several enormous baskets with beads and a large storehouse with hoes. The time required for the tribute to be gathered allowed the notable's rivals to gain strength in his region, while the requisitions necessary to meet the ransom ensured that he would lose support among his clients and subjects.[17]

While Musinga participated in these exercises of power against those his mother and uncle feared, he could not use the same methods against those he himself wished most to attack. He might occasionally persuade Kanjogera and Kabare to pillage some unimportant notable whom they had previously favored, but he would never be able to push them to harm their own major clients. So long as Kanjogera and Kabare retained widespread support from the influential and wealthy, Musinga could not hope to rule independently.

For some time Musinga had realized the possibilities of using the Europeans to strengthen his position at Court. Although neither Ruhinankiko nor Kabare had shown any willingness to learn the skills

necessary for ready communication with the foreigners, Musinga had begun to study Swahili in 1903 with a teacher provided by the Fathers. By early 1905 the mwami could converse easily in Swahili with the Europeans, the only person at Court able to do so.[18]

Following the attacks on traders and clients of the Fathers in 1904, Musinga successfully divorced himself from the anti-European stance of Kabare and Kanjogera. After investigating the incidents, von Grawert reported to his superiors, "Musinga's relation to the whole affair can only be described as praiseworthy."[19] Musinga's first attempts to improve relations with the missionaries were cut short by his mother and her kin. When Musinga accepted gifts from the Fathers in November 1904, agreeing to consider their request for a new mission site, Kabare and his nephew Rwidegembya took the gifts and returned them to the Fathers while at the same time rejecting the request. Several months later, Kanjogera removed a Christian from his command, replacing him with one of her favorite servants. When the Fathers protested to Musinga that her action violated custom, Musinga did not argue the question of rights but merely replied with regret that although he might be mocked for his impotence, there was nothing he could do to change his mother's decision.[20]

In July 1905 Musinga again tentatively explored the possibility of cooperating with the missionaries. He summoned a convert to Court to question him on the Fathers' attitudes toward himself and the Court and on their future plans. Satisfied with the convert's responses, Musinga promised the man a cow, thus accepting as client one of the inyangarwanda, the "repudiators of Rwanda," who were still deeply scorned by Kanjogera, Kabare, and their followers. In August the Fathers sent two new teachers to Nyanza to teach more Swahili and reading and writing to Musinga and fifty children of his notables. Musinga obliged the missionaries by agreeing to provide porters for the timber needed to build the church at Save. The Fathers responded with gifts they thought suitable for a ruler: an armchair covered in velvet and "an artistic bed with mosquito netting, mattress and curtains."[21]

Musinga and the White Fathers

This attempt at better relations foundered on the excessive demands and tactless behavior of the Fathers. Musinga feared the power they came to exercise through the massive wood-transporting operation, and

he resented their abuse of his notables who did not comply rapidly with the priests' orders. In addition, the Fathers offended Musinga and his counselors by disregarding his explicit prohibition against felling or damaging any of several kinds of trees that were associated with the spirits of past bami, or were thought for some other reason to embody imana, the dynamic force of creation. In one instance, the Fathers tried to dynamite one particularly venerable tree that was identified with the spirit of the great mwami Ruganzu Ndori. The Court and many ordinary Rwandans too must have been pleased when European technical skill proved insufficient to uproot the giant tree.[22]

In the early months of 1906 Musinga's growing distrust of the Fathers drove him once more into accepting the guidance of Kanjogera, Kabare, and their nephew Rwidegembya, who was increasingly favored by Kanjogera. Under their influence, Musinga came into conflict with the missionaries over their client Léon Rutwaza, a Tutsi who had lost his commands in land and cattle some time before to his uncles who were influential at Nyanza. Rutwaza had then sought employment and protection from the Fathers and had converted to Christianity. After their hard struggle to obtain a site at Kabgayi in central Rwanda, the Fathers had lacked the missionaries to establish the post immediately. In the meantime they erected some temporary buildings, which they left under the charge of Rutwaza, who was also to supervise building a more permanent station. The Fathers, like Rwandan notables, had taken charge of a new domain, then moved on to other areas, leaving a favorite to represent them. And like many such representatives in the absence of their superiors, Rutwaza abused his powers to increase his influence in the area, especially on the hills commanded by his uncles. When Rutwaza began demanding labor and gifts from Hutu, they complained to their customary superiors, who included Kabare and Rwidegembya. Since the area around Kabgayi was one of the major regions from which notables "drew their milk," Kabare and Rwidegembya were angered both by Rutwaza's exercise of authority and by the loss to him of wealth that might otherwise have been theirs. Musinga protested to the Fathers and asked them to withdraw Rutwaza from Kabgayi, but they took offense at the request and decided to defend their man. When the missionaries heard rumors that Musinga was planning to execute Rutwaza, one went immediately to Nyanza to express his anger at the accusations against his client: he even went so far as to threaten the mwami or anyone else who injured Rutwaza.[23]

To his dismay the Father found the Court unmoved by his intimidation. As he wrote, "After all we know it well; they are mocking us: they know that we need their help and they wish to show us that they alone command in Rwanda."[24] The new confidence of the Court rested on recent reassurances given them by the Germans. In September 1905, after an absence of three years in Germany, Kandt had returned to Rwanda "talking as if he were to be Resident," as one of the Fathers commented acidly.[25] In 1905 Rwanda and Burundi had each been put under a civilian Resident who was to exercise his authority through the mwami. Captain von Grawert was originally named to hold the two offices concurrently. Since he spent the greater part of his time in Bujumbura, he or his superiors had arranged for Kandt to act as a semi-official representative on the spot.[26] Musinga had granted Kandt some land in Nyantango, two days distant from Nyanza, where he devoted his efforts mostly to scientific research. But Kandt remained in close touch with the Court. His admiration for the Rwandan political system and his desire to aid the mwami in strengthening his authority made him an effective advocate for Musinga with von Grawert. When the official Resident visited Rwanda in February 1906, he had fresh in his mind the recent Maji-Maji rebellion that had devastated a large area of German East Africa. Kandt accompanied him to Nyanza, where the Court elaborated on all the recent demands of the Fathers. Von Grawert apparently indicated to the Court that he would make the Fathers moderate their requests and improve their behavior. And so, when a Father passed by Kabgayi right after von Grawert's visit at Nyanza, he heard rumors that the Resident would expel the missionaries from this new station, or that if he allowed them to remain he would forbid them to demand labor from the people on surrounding hills.[27]

Soon after Kandt presented the German message directly to the Fathers: the authorities feared another outbreak in East Africa that might spread to Rwanda; this was hardly the moment to offend the Court by excessive demands. The Germans would not support the requests of the missionaries, who thus had to win the cooperation of the Court by their own efforts, the more diplomatically the better. Kandt suggested that the Fathers remove Rutwaza and personally supervise all future construction. He warned them that von Grawert had been so annoyed at their involvement in political affairs that he had wanted to place a new military post in Rwanda, primarily to supervise them. Kandt had dissuaded him this time but predicted that he might not be so successful if the question arose again.[28]

The Court, the Germans, and the Missionaries

Faced with further trouble with the Fathers in the next months, Musinga again made use of Kandt and von Grawert. When the Fathers wanted to cut timber in the forest of Budaha, north of Nyantango, Musinga replied that this was impossible because he had already designated these trees for Kandt's use.[29] After reports of the Fathers' clients insulting, threatening, and even beating notables in their efforts to get trees transported reached Court, Musinga informed Kandt, who reprimanded the missionaries. When the Fathers again felled some of the sacred trees, Musinga protested to von Grawert, who delivered a stern warning to the missionaries to respect such trees.[30] The Fathers at Zaza sent several cases involving Christians to Court and urged Musinga to decide for the converts. The mwami handed the troublesome cases to Kandt who found the evidence insufficient and dismissed the whole affair. During 1906 the Germans also decided to prohibit any foundations of new missions in the near future. Whether or not this decision was made at Musinga's specific request, his complaints about the Fathers must certainly have helped persuade the Germans to take this course.[31]

Yet Musinga still turned to the Fathers for particulars. For example, as a symbol of his support for the mwami, Kandt had given him a gun. But when he neglected to provide sufficient ammunition, Musinga did not hesitate to request bullets from the Fathers.[32] In a like manner, the mwami wanted to use Kandt against the Fathers, but never at the cost of completely severing relations with them; after all, the Fathers could still help him against Kabare and might at some time be useful against the Germans themselves. When the Fathers took Kandt's admonition seriously and tried for better relations with Musinga, the mwami readily responded with compliments and gifts of cattle. When one of Kabare's clients accused the missionaries of again felling sacred trees, Musinga saw the accusation as a tactic to isolate him from the Fathers. He quickly accepted the explanation the Fathers gave of the affair, urging them not to take offense at the accusation and not to return the cow he had given them shortly before: to do so would demonstrate a clear break with the mwami and so would weaken him in his struggle against Kabare.[33]

During August and September 1906 Musinga continued his studies with a client of the Fathers, but of the fifty other Tutsi who had begun to learn with him, only three remained, probably indicating that Musinga was becoming more isolated by the anti-European group at Court. During his interviews with his teacher and with Rutwaza, who

had been restored to favor and who now served as messenger between Musinga and the Fathers, the mwami constantly inquired about the missionaries' beliefs, attitudes, and plans. His approach toward their dogma softened sufficiently for him to declare, "I do not hate your God; but I could never do what the Christians do." When dealing with the Europeans or their representatives, Musinga began receiving them alone for the first time, sending away even Kabare and Rwidegembya.[34]

In October Musinga obliged the Fathers by ordering that more trees be transported to Kabgayi. The notables subordinate to some of the most important men at Court, including Kabare and Rwidegembya, delayed or refused to execute Musinga's commands. When the mwami learned this, he was furious. Cooperation with the Fathers had become a test of strength between the young man who wanted to rule and his maternal relatives who wanted him only to reign. Musinga summoned all the disobedient notables and made them swear one by one on his spear that they would execute his orders. Impressed by this act, the notables then complied with his commands. Rutwaza, who had brought the report of their disobedience to Nyanza, wanted to return immediately to Kabgayi. But Musinga, anxious to demonstrate his control over a man of the missionaries and eager for the added support of his presence, insisted that he remain several days at Court.[35] To counter the charges of Kabare's party that the men of the missionaries were lost to royal authority, Musinga sought opportunities to show his control over them. He notified the Fathers, for example, that he wished converts to greet him with applause, as did all other Rwandans, a custom they had apparently been neglecting.[36] On another occasion Musinga asked Rutwaza to read a passage to him. The convert at first declined, saying he was barely literate. But when Musinga insisted and Rutwaza obliged by stumbling over a few words, the mwami congratulated him on his obedience and rewarded him with a watch, "a Zenith." Rutwaza had no interest in the watch, which he immediately sold, but he rejoiced to think that the "Zenith" was "the beginning of a cow," which indeed it was. Within several months this formerly outcast Tutsi had received the cow that made him a mugaragu of the mwami.[37] In December 1906 Musinga once more pleased the missionaries by declaring that he would like to see all his people learn to pray.[38] Soon after, he indicated his trust in converts by allowing one to serve as a royal drummer, a position of great ritual importance.[39]

Throughout 1907 and into 1908 Musinga continued to draw strength from his relations with the Fathers as he sought to wrest effective control

of Rwanda from Kabare and his followers. In January 1907 the fire that symbolized the vitality of the dynasty and which was kept constantly burning went out through the carelessness of its guardians. Alarmed at possible reprisals by the spirits of his ancestors, Musinga killed those responsible. Kabare's opponents accused him of having arranged the accident.[40] Although Musinga did not dare take up such a serious accusation, which would have allowed him to rid himself completely of his uncle, several months later he felt secure enough to revoke some of the domains commanded by Kabare and his clients. In July 1907 he also deprived Rwidegembya of some prized pastureland and granted it to the Fathers. In September Musinga decided that Kabare and Rwidegembya lived too far from Court to allow for careful observation of their activities. He ordered these two most powerful notables to build their homes at Nyanza itself on a site between the Fathers' school and the residences of some notables friendly to Musinga and the missionaries.[41]

The Missionaries as Mediators to Court Confrontation

As Musinga consolidated his hold on power, the threatened notables sought to protect themselves by improving their own relations with the missionaries. The Fathers suddenly found notables were willing to provide men and materials for their construction projects, and were eager to visit the mission, or to send their bagaragu (clients) or their ntore (young warriors in training at their residences) to pay their respects for them. Kabare took the lead in this movement. Although he did not deign to visit the Fathers personally, his ntore came to the Kabgayi mission nearly every day. By September 1907 so many notables were visiting Kabgayi that the missionaries sent the least important of them away without the long conversation that Rwandans held to be the essence of courtesy. In an astonishing contrast to the lamentations of even six months before about the aloofness of the notables, the Fathers now complained that the flood of Tutsi visiting them was interfering with the daily work of the station.[42]

Even when relations between Musinga and the Fathers had deteriorated in 1906, the mwami had sought to retain some tie with the missionaries; so later, when relations improved, he did not abandon his vigilance toward them. As one of the Fathers remarked perceptively, Musinga's installation of Kabare and Rwidegembya next to their school at Nyanza was meant to control the missionaries as well as the notables.[43]

As he had done earlier, Musinga from time to time delayed providing promised men or materials to remind the Fathers that his cooperation was essential to getting what they needed. And as before, he turned to Kandt and von Grawert when he felt the missionaries were interfering with the exercise of his power.[44]

In July 1907 there arrived a new group of Europeans, Protestants of the Bethel-bei-Bielefeld Mission, who offered Musinga yet another prospect for balancing the power of the Fathers. When the leader of the mission, Pastor Ernst Johanssen, first visited Nyanza to request land for a station, Musinga inquired carefully into the differences between his group and the Catholics. Most importantly, he wished to know if the Protestants would try to expel the Catholics.[45] Through contacts with Christian traders from Buganda, to the northeast of Rwanda, Musinga must have known about the grave conflicts engendered in their kingdom by differences between Protestants and Catholics. Seeing the utility of encouraging competition among the missionaries, Musinga refused the sites proposed by the Protestants and instead granted them land near the Zaza station. When the Protestants requested a second post the next month, Musinga did his best to place them near Save, but he finally allowed them to settle at Kirinda, a day's travel northwest of Nyanza.[46]

In 1907 Musinga was eager for good relations with the Fathers too because he hoped they would shield him from possible dangers arising from the planned visit of the Duke of Mecklenburg, a member of the German royal family who was to come to Rwanda in August. Musinga and the Bega feared that every powerful European who visited the Court might end their illegitimate reign and place a new heir on the throne. Because Mecklenburg came with an impressive expedition of more than six hundred soldiers and porters, and because von Grawert exaggerated the nobleman's importance to ensure his warm welcome, his visit sparked especially great fear at Nyanza. Rumors multiplied: some said the duke was himself a personification of the lost Biregeya; others said he was bringing the prince with him to install on the throne. Throughout the kingdom the usual conversation and visits among notables gave way to collecting hundreds of pounds of food and hundreds of goats and fine cattle for Musinga to present to the nobleman. Musinga summoned all his major bagaragu and their clients to Court, threatening to recall his cattle from any who did not come. Between six and eight thousand notables gathered at Nyanza to protect their mwami, who some believed would be taken captive by the powerful German. Kanjogera supposedly fled Nyanza, while Kabare appeared only once briefly during the duke's visit.[47]

Tension reached a peak when Musinga presented his gifts to the duke; the procession of bearers took almost an hour. In the Rwandan context of clientship, where acceptance of gifts by a shebuja indicated approval of his client, the duke's acceptance of Musinga's tribute would mean his continued support for the mwami. However, even after Musinga's gifts had been accepted, he could not relax: he was said to find it impossible to sleep while there was a single European in his capital, and now he found himself surrounded by ten of them with all their accompanying soldiers and servants. The only incident that marred the visit was an attack on one of the duke's messengers who was following the expedition to Court. When the mwami learned of the incident, he condemned to death the accused assailant, a mugaragu of one of his most favored notables.[48]

The strain of dealing with the Europeans and their implicit threat to the rule of Musinga and the Bega produced a sharp reaction at Court in the weeks following the visit. Musinga, said to be disgusted by the smell of so many Europeans and so many European things, ordered bags of toilet soap given him by the Germans removed from his storehouse and thrown in a nearby swamp. He wanted only to be left in peace to recover his composure. The notables too responded to the passing of the danger. Some talked of how the Europeans had not dared harm their ruler, while others released their repressed resentment on followers of the missionaries. A member of the expedition, the ethnographer Jan Czekanowski, who had remained at Court to do research, received no cooperation from the mwami or the notables. Despite his persistent inquiries, they refused to recount to him the history of the kingdom. Perhaps because they were appalled by Czekanowski's careful attention to the bones of victims of Court executions, which lay unburied in a cave near Nyanza, they refused to allow themselves to be measured for his charts.[49]

Six weeks after the duke had left, a messenger of the Protestants stole some goods and insulted one of Musinga's bagaragu while en route to Court. Musinga restrained his anger long enough to inform the Protestants of their man's misdoings. When the Protestants sent back word that Musinga should punish the accused, the mwami and his notables gave vent to the anger that lay below their polite exterior in dealing with the foreign interlopers. First Musinga, then the notables, beat the man until they were exhausted. Rwidegembya and Kayondo, another Mwega just coming into prominence, punished the accused most harshly. As the notables beat the man, they expressed the idea that attacking the client of a strong man serves the same purpose as attacking the patron himself: "It is a European whom we are beating," they

said. Musinga supposedly declared that he had had to execute one of his men who had robbed the duke's messenger, and now he would kill one of the Europeans' men who had dared to injure his client. He hoped thus to regain the respect of those who had been mocking him, saying that he was afraid of the Europeans and that he was their man. After the accused had been executed, the spirits of the notables soared. Some pointed out the cadaver to a Father and told him that the mwami would do the same to him if he did not obey.[50]

Having somewhat reestablished the balance with the Europeans through this execution and having gradually won power from Kabare, Musinga ended 1907 as *mugabo ukomeye*, a strong and mature adult.[51] From this time on, Kabare's importance declined slowly but steadily. Aware of Kanjogera's attachment to this brother, the mwami never dared oust him completely from Court, but he did manage to limit him to the role of elder statesman. Although only middle-aged, Kabare was frequently ill and could devote less attention to public affairs. Kanjogera, anxious for him to preserve his health, nagged him regularly about drinking too much, but his condition continued to worsen. In 1909 he left Court voluntarily for the first time since the coup and spent months resting at his residence at Gisanze, near the Save mission.[52]

Seeking to strengthen his ties with the Fathers, Kabare called two Christians to Gisanze and asked them to represent him at Save. During the conversation, Kabare offered beer to the converts, thus breaking the resolve he and many other Tutsi had maintained of not sharing a drinking straw with the inyangarwanda, the "repudiators of Rwanda." When later questioned by a nephew about why he had done so, Kabare reminded the young man that his own father had been among the first to drink with a Twa who had been ennobled by Rwabugiri. Clearly, a pariah who had assumed great power was by definition no longer a pariah.[53] Throughout the next two years, Kabare maintained friendly relations with the Fathers, giving them cattle and even visiting their church. Musinga meanwhile countered his advances to the missionaries with his own gifts.[54]

The conflict between the young ruler and his once all-powerful uncle never openly exploded. Kabare grew steadily weaker until his death in March 1911. By this time Musinga was firmly in command. Those influential at Court, including Rwidegembya and Kayondo, were then exerting their power through the mwami, not in opposition to him. But if Musinga had triumphed over the Bega men, he had not freed himself of the Mwega woman. On several occasions rumors spread that

the mwami was seeking a site for a new residence and would return to the pattern of shifting capitals followed by earlier bami. Such a system would have permitted him to assign a residence to Kanjogera and to live separately from her.[55] But none of the attempts at relocation ever brought results. When Kabare died, Kanjogera became persuaded that Musinga's half-brother, Cyitatire, had poisoned him. So powerful was she that the mwami had to advise Cyitatire to leave Nyanza until Kanjogera's desire for vengeance subsided; he could not guarantee the safety of even a member of his own father's lineage against his mother's wrath.[56]

The Court's Growing Alliance with the Germans

The visit of the Duke of Mecklenburg symbolized rising German interest in Rwanda and marked a turning point in relations between the Court and the Germans. Since the establishment of the protectorate, the German presence had been limited in extent and intention. Each of the military posts at either end of Lake Kivu had had only one European officer—sometimes not even one was present—and a small number of East African troops. The military were to prevent any infringements on German territory from the neighboring Belgian and English colonies and to keep the peace; they were not to intervene in local political affairs. The civil administration, represented informally by Kandt, usually took a stand in internal affairs only at the request of the mwami or after great pressure from the missionaries. The soldiers had required labor and supplies from the Rwandans in their vicinity, as had traveling officials, but even these material demands had not seriously burdened the Rwandans or offended the Court.

While the costs of the German presence had not been excessive, the advantages had been substantial, providing the Court with support against rebellious subjects and over-assertive missionaries. Several months after the duke had left, the knowledgeable Kandt was officially named Resident, replacing von Grawert. After assuming office on December 31, 1907, Kandt began planning for his new capital at Kigali in the center of Rwanda. Musinga recognized that an administrative center in the heart of the kingdom would mean more intensive European control, thus altering the balance between the costs and benefits of association with the Germans. For the first time in his relations with Kandt, he sent him the cow and calf that customarily accompanied the request of a mugaragu to his shebuja, asking the new Resident not to construct

the capital at Kigali. Kandt refused the request and pushed ahead with his plans.[57]

The vast requisitions of labor and materials for building the town first demonstrated the greater interference with Rwandan life that Musinga had feared. To create the orderly though small capital he wanted, Kandt made use of 32,000 work days for construction and another 28,000 for transport, mostly for wood from the distant forests of Bushiru. The construction workers received a minimal salary, while the porters received nothing. When the post of Gisenyi was being developed into a town a year later, labor was also obligatory and unpaid, although there then existed regulations forbidding such a procedure.[58] Kandt continued to allow caravans of traders to appropriate their supplies en route, as did all officials of the administration. As Kigali grew into a market center, the number of trade caravans increased. In 1910, 2,117 caravans with more than 20,000 men came to Kigali; the Rwandans had to provide all these men with food, water, and firewood. In 1911 the Resident recognized that this burden was excessive and ordered traders to pay for their supplies. Given the lack of supervision by the Germans, probably few actually did so.[59]

Except for Kandt, none of the Germans who served in Rwanda seriously tried to learn Kinyarwanda or to study Rwandan customs.[60] Their ignorance and their way of life as colonial officers cut them off from what was taking place around them. Their resulting impatience when orders were not efficiently executed often led them to resort to force, which they believed to be a language easily understood by all. The policy only aggravated matters. As their demands increased in number, so did the occasions when they were not fully or promptly met, and so did the number of resulting punitive attacks on Rwandans.[61]

Subordinates of the Germans, like the followers of the Fathers, frequently abused the authority given them by their superiors. One of the worst cases took place in Bugoyi when government soldiers killed four Hutu, injured many more, and devastated a large area in their attempts simultaneously to requisition laborers and to make a profit for themselves. The victimized Hutu appealed to the Fathers at Nyundo, who intervened for them with the commanding German officer at Gisenyi. The commanding officer was so horrified by what he learned in investigating the affair that he publicly reprimanded his second in command, also a German, who had supposedly been supervising the soldiers. This dismal affair ended with the junior officer going into the woods and shooting himself.[62]

However, relatively few Rwandans were so fortunate as to have missionaries in the vicinity to come to their defense. The great majority had no choice but to obey orders or to flee. Occasionally the victims were pushed beyond the limit of endurance and took their own revenge. Such was the case in the northwestern province of Kivuruga, where a soldier raped a girl and then held her for ransom. The fiancé and kinsmen of the girl killed the soldier. While acknowledging that the soldier had committed a crime, Kandt felt that he must uphold German prestige by punishing those who had killed him. Realizing, however, that the ignorance of the local officials made it impossible for them to discover the actual killers, Kandt authorized an attack that destroyed the homes and crops of the entire region.[63]

As the mission stations had done before them, the German posts spawned a great number of pretended employees who exploited their fellow Rwandans. One of the most ambitious operated in an area near the northwestern mission of Murunda where few Europeans ever passed. Aware that the Germans were beginning to build roads in other parts of Rwanda, this entrepreneur claimed to be authorized to construct a road across the region. His persuasive powers were so great that he mobilized the needed workers and materials and did indeed build a small road. He carried his enterprise a step further by then seeking out the Europeans to get his reward but learned to his dismay that in European eyes an enterprising spirit did not excuse misappropriation of authority.[64]

Unlike the Fathers, the Germans involved themselves little with conflicts among Rwandans even after the establishment of the Residency. Concern for maintaining the authority of the Court and notables both limited the number of cases they agreed to hear and dictated that many of their decisions in conflicts between notables and subjects favor the notables. Kandt stated the official position in 1911: "The policy of the Imperial Government and therefore of its Residency is based upon upholding and strengthening the authority of the Princes and the Sultan under all circumstances, even when in the process the Wahutu must suffer injustice."[65] Except when pressed particularly hard by the missionaries to hear a case, the Germans generally insisted that all affairs be judged first by notables and be brought to them only on appeal.[66] The Hutu rarely sought German assistance, partly because of their known prejudice for the notables, partly because of language difficulties: all conversation had to pass through an interpreter, who could easily be bought by the notables with their greater resources.[67] In addition, all

Rwandans associated the Germans with arbitrary and unreasonable use of force: as one Father wrote, "They fear Kigali like the devil."[68] The small number of civilian administrators—there were only five at the most—also served to make their impact on local disputes relatively light and geographically limited.[69]

Kandt and his successors reserved the right to intervene in any case when they thought the principles of equity were being violated, but in general they tried to effect changes in the judicial process by acting through the mwami. In 1911 the Resident persuaded Musinga to ban the use of certain forms of torture. The mwami traditionally had had the power to prohibit the taking of vengeance by the kin of a man who had been killed; the Germans encouraged Musinga to exercise this power with increasing frequency, especially when the killing had been accidental. When the mwami was slow to act or when it seemed his order would not be obeyed, the Germans sometimes stepped in to protect an accused killer. In some cases they executed those who had disobeyed the mwami's decree forbidding vengeance.[70] The Germans also attempted to discourage use of execution as a political tool by the Court. They occasionally protected important notables who were in danger, and they tried unsuccessfully to require Musinga to obtain their approval before condemning a man to death. Since no administrator lived at Nyanza, the mwami remained free to execute whom he wished, although he apparently ordered the killings done less publicly than they had been before the establishment of the Residency.[71]

Relatively respectful of royal authority in matters concerning only Rwandans, the Germans were less so in affairs related to their own interests or those of other foreigners. In 1911 the interim Resident Gudovius became impatient with the complexities of the traditional system and the resistance to orders of some of the notables. He began experimenting with the appointment of "Government chiefs" (*Regierungsamtwale*) who would see to the efficient implementation of his commands and act as intermediaries between Rwandans and strangers traveling through the area. After suppressing a rebellion in northern Rwanda in 1912, Gudovious also decided to appoint a few "reliable" notables to traditional positions of command. For his first "government chief," Gudovius chose Rwamaga to rule in Mutara (in the northeast); for his first appointment of a mutware, he selected Biganda to command part of Mulera (in the north). Gudovius may have named several others to positions of power but certainly not many. He also obtained Musinga's approval prior to making the appointments. In 1913 German officers at

Gisenyi tried naming converts to be *chefs du bunetsi,* or "chiefs of forced labor," and briefly used government soldiers to command hills near their post. Meant to expedite requisitions, both attempts failed, and the Germans returned to a policy of leaving commands in the hands of traditional leaders.[72] None of these innovations affected enough people or lasted long enough to disrupt the traditional system, but they did indicate a growing European tendency to make changes which could sap the power of the Court.

In 1911 Kandt first informed Musinga that the Germans were considering imposing a head tax in Rwanda. The year before, they had begun collecting a tax by houses in the trading centers around their posts, but this tax had affected primarily foreigners since few Rwandans lived in the towns. Nonetheless, Musinga immediately recognized the danger of the proposal: to pay a tax was to acknowledge submission to a superior; and those who took the Germans as their superiors could use the protection of the foreigners to escape from obligations to traditional rulers, including the mwami himself. Musinga secretly summoned one of Kandt's most trusted employees and pleaded with him to have Kandt postpone imposing the tax. Whether the mwami's arguments carried great force with the Resident or whether Kandt was simply limited by his lack of personnel, he did nothing more about the proposal. Indeed, Musinga later claimed that Kandt had promised that he would not begin taxation until 1920.[73]

Kandt's replacement, Captain Wintgens, either respected royal authority less or needed the revenue more than his predecessor. Whatever his motive, in June 1914 he ordered the tax collected from those Rwandans who lived near the administrative centers of Kigali, Gisenyi, and Cyangugu. Approximately 150,000 Rwandans paid the one rupee charge for themselves and their immediate families. Musinga had tried to minimize the political effect of such a tax by persuading the Germans to allow his notables to collect it for them, thus reinforcing Court powers. With such an arrangement, the Hutu would have seen that the notables still stood between them and the Germans and so would have been less likely to seek German assistance in escaping traditional obligations. It would also have given the notables and Court an opportunity to profit from the tax themselves. Wintgens refused this plan and used his own subordinates for the collection. Musinga persisted, however, eager to draw some return from the unfortunate development, ordering his notables to collect tax in regions not covered by the German collectors. The Germans learned of this effort, which was successful in some areas,

only when Hutu near the Rwaza mission complained to the Fathers about this new imposition.[74]

Wintgens reported with satisfaction that "One can even speak of joy of payment" among those who came to give their rupees to the government. Like Musinga, he believed that the Hutu paid willingly because they expected the Germans would in the future "protect them against the despotism and injustice of the Tutsi." Despite Musinga's fears and Wintgens's cheerful analysis, hope for protection against the notables was not the sole motivation for payment. Because those who paid were those who lived nearest the German posts, they were the same people who had most often been forced to work for the Europeans, generally without remuneration. Many Hutu assumed, and some were explicitly promised by German officers, that payment of the tax would exempt them from any future obligatory labor. Since the amount of the tax apparently freed them from the burdens spent laboring for the Germans, they naturally paid the tax with enthusiasm.[75]

The Court's Delicate Alliance with German Power—And Its Limits

Musinga resented the expansion of German power, but he continued to employ it to his own advantage. When faced with rejection of his authority by powerful heads of Hutu lineages, he had the Germans execute them. Confronted with notables who openly disobeyed him, he used German troops to capture and pillage them. When dealing with more subtle challenges, like that from his cousin Rwidegembya, Musinga knew how to play on the backing of the Germans to keep the ambitious notables in place.[76] The mwami also called for German help, usually successfully, in restraining the expansion of the Fathers. Throughout 1907 and much of 1908 the Germans refused the Fathers permission to found any new stations. When the missionaries tried in 1909 to force Musinga to allow a Father to live permanently at Nyanza to supervise their school, the mwami relied on the Resident's help in blocking the plan.[77] In addition, the Germans kept on backing Musinga in confrontations with the missionaries over judicial cases. In 1909 and 1910, the Fathers at Zaza were in conflict with the Court almost continually over one case or another. Their intervention culminated when Father Léon-Paul Classe, Vicaire Délégué of Rwanda and thus the immediate superior of the order for that region, wrote to Musinga threatening sanctions if he did not decide several cases as the missionaries

wished. Confident of Kandt's support, Musinga disregarded the warning and decided against the Fathers' clients.[78]

Meanwhile, one of the Fathers at Kabgayi had allowed himself to be drawn into protecting a Hutu against his shebuja. The Hutu had had five of his cattle recalled by his patron in 1905 because his shebuja charged him with failing to meet customary obligations. Five years later, he again displeased his shebuja and was deprived of another three cattle. At about the same time he began frequenting the mission, seeking the support of the Fathers. In the end, he convinced them that he had lost the cattle because he had wanted to take religious instruction. One of the Fathers ordered the shebuja to return the cattle, including those reclaimed five years before, and threatened to take the case to Musinga and to have the shebuja removed from his command if he did not comply. The shebuja, who was within his rights, refused the order but tried to appease the missionary by giving him a bull. The Father, unwilling to relinquish what he saw to be a just cause, asked Musinga to judge the case. With the unanimous agreement of the notables who heard the case with him, Musinga decided in favor of the shebuja. When the Father protested, Musinga consented to send an envoy to investigate on the spot. Judging the Father's anger to be too great to contend with alone, Musinga asked for Kandt's backing. He requested the Resident to decide not on the substance of the case but on the right of a missionary to threaten one of his notables with removal for refusing the order of a European. Musinga asked Kandt: "Where is it to lead? There are missionaries throughout the entire country. Should it be possible for any notable to be removed if one of his men complains about him to the mission?"[79] Kandt assured the mwami that should a Father ask him to remove a notable, he had only to refuse.[80] Although indicating to Musinga that the conflict had arisen from a mere misunderstanding, Kandt was more candid and critical of the Fathers when writing to his own superior about the case: "In my opinion this is nothing other than an attempt at power made by an ambitious man who seeks to rule." On the basis of Kandt's report, the German East African Government censured the Father for his conduct.[81]

Musinga's attempts to use the Germans against the missionaries failed when the administrators judged that supporting the missionaries would bring the administration benefits that would outweigh any losses to royal authority. In late 1908 Musinga tried to prevent the foundation by the Fathers of two missions at Rulindo and Murunda and by the Protestants of a new station at Rubengera. Remarking to Kandt that he

had already given the Europeans so much, Musinga asked why he should have to give more. Kandt insisted that Musinga grant the sites because he believed the missions would contribute to law and order in these regions, all three of which still escaped close central control.[82] Unable to prevent the foundation of the new missions, Musinga delayed the establishment of one of the Fathers' stations by four months, the other by seven months. He refused even to receive the Vicaire Délégué Father Classe when he came to Nyanza to expedite the proceedings. The Protestants had still less success in obtaining Musinga's approval: he never deigned to answer their request. Only after Kandt had used the fortuitous presence in Rwanda of a large expedition of government soldiers to reinforce "language never before heard at the capital" did Musinga agree to complete the formalities for the Fathers' stations and to give up his opposition to the Protestants' mission.[83]

As Mpumbika's case had first showed, the notables could respond as quickly as the Court to the potential advantages of the European presence. Those faced with burdensome requisitions from the Germans excused their inability to comply by complaining that their subjects had become clients of the Fathers and refused to obey them. Those troubled by unreasonable demands from the missionaries made certain the Germans heard all the details of their difficulties.[84] Notables reprimanded at Court for returning less than the usual amount of tax covered their own misappropriation of the tribute by explaining that the Fathers had hindered their efforts, while those seeking to depart early from Nyanza declared they had to return home to assist the Germans.[85] Material demands by the Europeans gave them, like the mwami, an excuse to extract further service and goods for themselves from their subjects. When rivalries developed among the notables, the contenders often sought to win the support of the missionaries or the Germans to strengthen their positions. The Hutu, too, made full use of the European presence: they claimed to be bagaragu of the mission in order to refuse demands of their superiors or to intimidate their enemies; they sought protection of the Fathers against punitive attacks by the Germans or exploitation by their employees.

The Shifting Alliances of the Court

Rwandans realized that rapid shifts in relationships with the Europeans could be essential to making the most of their presence. Several weeks after Musinga had been involved in a bitter dispute with the Fathers, for

example, he reversed himself and was offering to settle all future differences privately with the missionaries, implying that neither party could trust the Germans. Within a month after Kandt, in a fit of temper, had gravely insulted Musinga by calling him "a dog stupider than any other dog," the mwami was enlisting his aid against the Fathers. To facilitate such changes in their positions, Rwandans tried to maintain at least superficially courteous relations with the Europeans. With their training in self-control and masterful use of language the Court Tutsi had the advantage over Hutu, who generally—without training in court etiquette—did not learn these skills so well. Especially at Court, open hostility between Rwandans and Europeans was rare. The mwami himself never deigned to scorn the Europeans to their faces, although he did permit his notables subtly to mock the missionaries from time to time for their vulgarity in eating or their inability to master the intricacies and subtleties of the Rwandan language, Kinyarwanda.[86] The notables in turn allowed their clients to indulge in respectively cruder demonstrations of their low opinion of Europeans and their clients; in one case, the bagaragu of an important Tutsi expressed their contempt by bombarding converts with cow dung and appropriate associated epithets.[87]

In general the Europeans tried to reciprocate the polite behavior of the mwami and his notables. The Germans stressed their respect for the Court by arranging a special ceremonial with dress uniforms and presentation of arms whenever they came to Nyanza. The Fathers were less ostentatious but still usually behaved properly to Musinga. Both missionaries and officials, however, were less able than the Tutsi to control their feelings. When faced with delay in carrying out their orders or with resistance to their plans, they often gave in to insulting, beating, or imposing humiliating punishments on the very notables whose authority they were supposed to be strengthening. When the Europeans indulged in such behavior as forcing the proud notables to do menial labor, they gave great pleasure to the Hutu who heard of the incidents.[88] Clients of the Europeans imitated their patrons whenever they dared, disobeying and ridiculing their traditional superiors.[89] The occasions when repressed hatred and scorn broke into the open reflected the deeper conflicts between Rwandans and Europeans and the expression of such tensions caused each side to become more bitter. Tutsi humiliated by Europeans could feel themselves superior to the foreigners whose self-discipline had failed them, but they could neither forgive nor forget the injury. Europeans disdained those who harassed European allies. Each party felt itself the injured party.

When Tutsi flattered or showed interest in the Europeans, some foreigners were misled into thinking the notables were coming to accept them or their ways. Visitors to Court were pleased by Musinga's close attention to their language, their ideas, or the various examples of European technology that they had brought to show him. They saw his interest as the simple and sincere admiration of a primitive man for a higher civilization. Undoubtedly Musinga was impressed by the pedal organs, record players, and model steam engines demonstrated at the Court, but rather than just marveling at European inventions, he was more interested in finding out all he could about European objectives, policies, and practices. In a discussion about the merits of coffee as a cash crop, for example, Musinga learned that the Germans hoped to stimulate coffee production to enable more Hutu to pay them tax. Knowing this, Musinga could urge his notables, who had the right to take their cattle where they wished, to drive their animals through fields where the Hutu were trying to cultivate coffee. Several years after the distribution of thousands of coffee plants to the Hutu, there was none left standing.[90]

Musinga and his notables especially sought information that would permit them to discern conflicts among foreigners. By 1914 all the important notables in the kingdom had converts among their bagaragu.[91] Musinga had of course been among the first to grant cattle to the hated Christians. He and the notables realized that the converts were invaluable sources of information about what took place at the missions as well as useful intermediaries in dealing with the missionaries. While eager to learn all about the interlopers, the Court and notables tried to keep the foreigners ignorant about Rwanda. Musinga and his followers invariably directed a barrage of questions at visitors, thus distracting them from inquiring about Rwanda. When foreigners did manage to ask about the history or the customs of the kingdom, they usually received no answer or answers so vague as to be of no help. One of the Protestants commented to Musinga on the richness of the tribute which he had seen passing his mission en route to Nyanza and asked the mwami where he stored such wealth. The missionary not only received no reply, but after returning home he remarked that the porters had changed their route so that he would no longer have the opportunity to monitor the passage of the mwami's wealth.[92]

In dealing with the Europeans, Musinga and his notables depended on delay and ambiguous language when they feared to refuse outright the requests of the foreigners. One German official wrote in frustration: "Open refusal to obey is not in the Tutsi character; he makes promises

in the usual way; [but] the result for us is the same . . . no practical results."[93] Because Kinyarwanda was so rich in nuance and because the Court communicated orally with Europeans, there was ample latitude for using difficulties of communication to evade issues. The Fathers realized this danger as early as 1903 and tried to require that communications from the Court be in writing. Musinga and the notables resisted this attempt to limit their flexibility for another five or six years. But after the founding of the German Residency, which also made use of writing as well as of the foreign tongue of Swahili, the notables found themselves increasingly subject to the intrigues and demands of interpreters and scribes. Although usually unwilling to study European skills themselves, a few of the notables began arranging with the Fathers for their clients or one of their sons to learn Swahili and reading and writing. Cyitatire, a notable who wanted to make the most of his investment in good relations with the Europeans, candidly asked the chief employee of the Kansi mission whether it would be more advantageous to study religion (that is, a tool for handling the Fathers in particular) or Swahili (a tool for dealing with Europeans in general). Disregarding the subsequent advice, Cyitatire sent his client to learn Swahili. Although increasingly able to draw on scribes from among their own men, the notables continued to prefer using oral Kinyarwanda with its richer possibilities for misunderstanding and did so whenever they could.[94]

The Germans frequently lamented the reluctance of the Tutsi to accept European education. They blamed the missionaries, the only real teachers in Rwanda, for discouraging the notables' desire to learn by including religious materials in their supposedly secular classes. Even when the notables decided to send clients to learn language skills, only a few dozen began to study. To train larger numbers of young men who could succeed their fathers as notables, the Germans established their own school, excluding from it all religious instruction. During its four years of operation (from 1910 to 1914), however, the school never attracted the important Tutsi whom the Germans wanted most to educate. At first the Residents attributed the failure to an uninspiring teacher who had been brought from East Africa, then to the decrepit building in which classes were held. Finally, in 1913, the Germans built a fine new school in Kigali and hired two Rwandan teachers. To ensure that the Tutsi would take advantage of these facilities, they pressured Musinga to order his notables to send their sons to school. Musinga complied with their desires but encouraged his notables to send only their bastard sons, sons of clients, or even ordinary Hutu to study. The

Germans apparently never suspected that their crop of scholars consisted of those who would never rule or at least never rule an important domain. While the outcast sons of the elite suffered inside with their ABC's, the real future rulers of Rwanda congregated outside the school to hoot and jeer at them.[95]

The Germans sometimes blamed their lack of "practical results" on the complexities of the traditional system. Looking at it from the standpoint of European bureaucrats whose functions were clearly defined, they saw the flexibility of commands, the intertwining of responsibilities, the "splintering of power" as major obstacles to efficient administration.[96] But at other times they laid the fault on Musinga himself. While convinced of his unswerving loyalty to the Germans and his desire to comply with their wishes, the Residents all believed that Musinga did not rule as effectively as he should. Kandt mentioned his "very playful character," implying that Musinga did not take his responsibilities seriously, while Wintgens later made the broader charge: "The majority of the people do indeed still obey him for traditional demands and decisions, but as soon as something new, something in any way unpleasant is asked, he is as good as helpless and only after long discussions and threats to the disobedient on our part will our request sometimes be carried out."[97]

Apparently none of the Germans questioned the sincerity of Musinga's professed agreement with their desires nor the reality of his helplessness in obtaining compliance. They did not recall the many instances when the mwami had successfully imposed new burdens on his people in the name of the Europeans: the massive levees of workers to transport materials and construct European buildings, the frequent provision of supplies for passing caravans, the "tax collection" of 1914 that Musinga effected nominally for the Germans but really for himself. Had they considered these cases, the Europeans might have concluded that the pose of impotence ranked at least part of the time with delay, evasion, and ambiguity as ways to deal with foreigners. Although generally jealous of any European exercise of authority, Musinga and his notables recognized the existence of situations in which conceding the power to act to the foreigners would not substantially reduce their own power and might even contribute to it. Thus when the Germans made troublesome demands from which Musinga could expect no profit, he preferred that the onus of the requisition fall on them, not on the Court; claiming weakness, he maneuvered them into the position of giving the unpleasant orders themselves. In the same way, notables who were faced with

difficult judicial cases in which they wished to offend neither party passed the affairs to the Fathers for judgment.[98]

Musinga and the notables were constantly aware of the challenge that the foreigners might pose to their authority, but they knew how to take advantage of confrontations with the Europeans or with other Rwandans so that the European presence did not inevitably diminish their power. By 1912 Kandt was reporting that the notables readily acknowledged two masters, the Resident and the mwami.[99] But for the notables and for ordinary Rwandans as well, Musinga remained the ultimate authority. Although the Europeans had made incursions into his prerogatives, he still controlled the rewards and sanctions that determined the fate of Rwandans.[100] Only when the Europeans actively and completely assumed the power over life and death, the prerogative to grant and recall domains, and the right to tax the wealth of the kingdom could they displace the mwami as ruler of Rwanda. Under the Germans, the threat had been suggested but never developed.

Muhumusa at the time of her capture by the British

5

Extending Court Power, 1905–1913

The Conquest of the Northern Regions

Let a Tutsi in your house, you will find him in your bed.

As a child Musinga had accompanied his father on some of his famous campaigns to assert royal authority over new areas. Later, as an adolescent and mwami himself, Musinga saw many of these same regions, conquered by his father, slip from the control of the Court. Torn by internal struggles and distracted by the problems of dealing with the newly arrived Europeans, the Court could just muster the resources to quell uprisings in northeastern and northwestern Rwanda in 1897 and 1898. But it could not reestablish its domination of the regions west of Lake Kivu or north of the volcanoes—regions that had expelled the Court's representatives following the death of Rwabugiri. It lacked the strength to organize an expedition against the Barundi who captured and for a short time held part of southwestern Rwanda, and it needed the help of the Europeans to suppress the revolt in Gisaka.[1]

The Evolution of Administrative Control

Although the Court could not conquer new regions, or even maintain its authority over all the areas won by Rwabugiri, it did deepen the texture of royal administration in the central regions by granting new domains in these areas to many notables. Anxious to weaken the opposition and to ensure the support of its followers in the wake of the coup of 1896, the Bega-dominated Court deprived many Banyiginya and their

clients of commands, which it then divided among an even greater number of its own clients.* In the same way, after defeating Ruhinankiko in 1904, Kabare subdivided the domains he had revoked from his brother's supporters and distributed them to a larger number of his own favorites. The dispersion of commands was clearest in outlying areas where Rwabugiri had given large blocks of territory to his clients. For example, in the northeastern residences of Gatsibo and Gasabo the Court apportioned the domains of *ubutaka* and *umukenke* among many of its followers. It also granted to many individuals those commands that Rwabugiri's son Muhigirwa had held cumulatively in the southern provinces.[2]

The increase in the number of representatives named by the Court led to more intensive administration in regions that previously had been only nominally under the rule of the Court. To be able to meet the Court's demands for taxes and to provide for their own needs, the notables imposed new or additional obligations on Hutu who before had escaped with little (or infrequent) payment imposed on them. In some cases notables devoted more effort to developing their own wealth and influence than to contributing to the wealth or power of the Court. The most ambitious among them even took the initiative in expanding their domains, independently asserting their own authority over people or areas that had not been granted to them.[3] In other cases weak notables were intimidated by the challenges of ruling rebellious regions and simply made no meaningful attempt to establish control over them.[4] The Court probably realized from the first the various dangers that attended its failure to exercise firm direction over the extension of central authority, but only after having removed Ruhinankiko from power was Kabare able to turn his attention to the problem of expansion. Displaying the same vigor that he had shown in his policies toward Europeans and their followers, Kabare persuaded the Court to assert its power more actively in

*Even in the central areas of the kingdom, Court rule was variable over both space and time. Before the twentieth century many localities had been outside Court administrative control entirely. Some were ritual domains, autonomous of the Court. Others were seen as not productive enough to contest. Still others had successfully defended themselves over the years against Court intrusion. With the rejection (or withdrawal) of Rwandan overlords from many occupied areas after the death of Rwabugiri, however, Court attention came to focus more on those central areas that had remained outside the permanent Court administrative matrix.

regions not yet fully obedient to it. In 1905 the Court ordered many of its notables to take up residence in the domains they had only visited from time to time to collect ikoro.[5]

As Musinga began displacing Kabare from the center of power, the mwami too advocated the extension of the Court's authority.[6] He certainly wished to increase the wealth and prestige of the Court as his father had done, but, again like Rwabugiri, he also saw expansion as a convenient means for controlling important and ambitious notables. The greater the rivalries among the notables, the more easily he could assert his power over them. Since rights and boundaries were not clearly defined in regions that were just coming under central rule, conflicts between notables flourished in these areas.[7] Musinga allowed such disputes to multiply and become bitter by refusing to decide cases brought to him for settlement or by neglecting to have his judgments enforced. When he did judge such conflicts, he naturally used the opportunity to strengthen his favorites and to weaken his opponents. The powerful batware Bushaku and Rwidegembya disputed their respective rights in northwestern Rwanda for years. During 1909 and 1910, when Musinga favored Rwidegembya, he supported his attempts to appropriate domains claimed by Bushaku; in 1911 and 1912 the mwami found Rwidegembya had become too powerful and so decided that Bushaku's claims were legitimate.[8] Where the notables of a region seemed to agree too well, Musinga might introduce a new element to stimulate disputes or to remind them of his ultimate power. In 1910 he granted a new command in the north to a Hutu notable who was to replace the batware of the area as collector of ikoro for that year and to have certain other rights which were left undefined. Under cover of this ambiguous mandate, the royal representative could push his and the Court's authority as far as his ingenuity and the resistance of the batware would allow.[9]

At the beginning of Musinga's reign, the authority of the Court and its representatives varied from region to region and sometimes from hill to hill. In the outlying regions even the formidable Rwabugiri had sometimes been able to rule only those hills immediately adjacent to his residences; the notables who governed under Musinga, being less powerful and often less courageous, controlled proportionately smaller areas around their headquarters in the hostile regions. In parts of Bugoyi notables dreaded traveling between the small islands of central control; they chose their routes carefully and armed themselves well before setting out.[10] The region near Rwaza was nominally under the control of

Nshozamihigo, a son of Rwabugiri and brother of Musinga, but the Hutu of this area refused to recognize the authority of the Court or its representatives. In 1904 the Hutu were still speaking mockingly of "Kasinga," or "Little Musinga," a diminutive that referred to his authority, not to his size or age. When the representative of the Court arrived to take command of his region for the first time, they greeted him with jeers and showered him with stones and clods of dirt.[11]

In carrying on the expansion begun by their forebears, Musinga and his notables relied on the same arrangements their predecessors had used, adopting specific tactics suited to the particular situation. In regions like Bugarura or Nyantango in the north or Buhanga in the south, where the Hutu had never regularly paid ikoro, the batware arrived more and more frequently to collect this tax.[12] In areas like Bumbogo, Buberuka, and Bukonya in the north, or Kinyaga and Bashumba in the south, where the Hutu had long acknowledged royal authority by the payment of ikoro or by the execution of ritual duties for the Court, notables gradually appropriated land, installed residences, and began to exert direct local control. Lineages that had formerly paid their ikoro directly to the Court (thus gaining recognition) were now forced to deliver their prestations to the local notables.[13] The notables also obliged the Hutu to do *uburetwa* labor or to give them a certain part of their harvests in return for using land that the indigenous lineages had previously held without reference to outside authority.[14] To draw the most profit from these outlying domains and to protect them from incursions by rivals, the notables began spending more and more time in areas they regarded as "the country of the Hutu." In Bugoyi in the northwest and in parts of Busanza, Ndara, Bwanamukari, and Nyaruguru in the south, where notables previously had exercised immediate local control over some hills, the number of notables resident in the area and the number of hills under their command increased dramatically.[15] The Court sought to establish its control over Tutsi as well as Hutu in regions like Bwishaza and Kanage along Lake Kivu, and parts of Bukonya and Kibari as well—all areas where certain Tutsi had asserted authority over the Hutu without close supervision by the Court. Similarly, in Gisaka many of the indigenous notables who commanded Hutu were displaced by notables from the central kingdom. These Tutsi, forced to bow to the superior power of the *Banyanduga* (the people of the central areas of the kingdom), apparently resented the extension of royal control as much as did the Hutu.[16]

The Move to the North

Although the Court extended its control in many parts of Rwanda, Kabare and later Musinga directed the main thrust of expansion to the rich northern regions: they were tempted by the wealth of the area and driven by the fear that the Bakiga there might revolt again, as they had during the first years of the reign. Recalling that rebel leaders had rallied support with the cry that Musinga was a usurper, the Court was disturbed by the growing power of a woman in Mpororo who claimed to be a former wife of Rwabugiri and mother of his legitimate heir. Rwabugiri had raided Mpororo several times, but neither he nor Musinga had been able to control it effectively. Among her own subjects, this woman was known as Muhumusa, but Rwandans from the central kingdom called her Nyiragahumusa and usually identified her with Muserekande, mother of Biregeya, who had disappeared after the Bateke rising in 1897 or 1898. Others said she was Nyakayoga, former wife of Rutarindwa (the immediate successor to Rwabugiri) and the mother of his son.[17]

Already a powerful presence in 1903, Muhumusa based her authority not only on her supposed association with the Court but also on her reputed spiritual powers as a medium linked to a social movement which had entered Rwanda from the north or the east in the mid-nineteenth century.[18] The central focus to this movement was the veneration of a female spirit, Nyabingi, reputedly a historical figure who had been a queen or servant to a royal family. Although certain places were renowned as training centers for those who wished to serve Nyabingi, the dogma of the cult was no more fixed than the history of its origins. Anyone who had been moved by the spirit could serve her; anyone who could convince others that he had been so moved could intercede with her on their behalf.[19] Some mediums, like Muhumusa, were able to develop their spiritual powers into secular authority. They levied tribute on all who feared retribution from the spirit, sometimes making use of groups of young men who resembled Rwandan regiments in their training and organization. Several mediums (including Muhumusa) also used insignia of power that imitated those of the Rwandan Court. However, given the prevalence of attempted identification with the Court by various parties, as well as the diverse explanations offered of Muhumusa's association with the Nyiginya kingship, it is likely that she was not Muserekande. But whether or not the Court believed her to be Rwabugiri's former wife, it feared that others might accept her claim.

Beginning in 1905 she started inciting her people to attack the central kingdom to install her son on the throne. The Court took this threat seriously enough to ask the Germans to attack her, but they refused to do so at that time.[20]

The Court was further distressed by a series of raids in north-central Rwanda led by Basebya, a Twa.[21] Many Twa in secluded forest or swamp areas lived as much from pillaging travelers as from traditional ways of hunting and gathering. Of these groups, Basebya's was most feared because of its size, organization, and ruthlessness. Unlike other Twa, who rarely troubled their immediate neighbors, they regularly attacked Bakiga who farmed land near their refuge in the Rugezi swamp. The victims sometimes attempted to resist their pillage: one group living on a peninsula in Lake Bulera even tried to dig a wide ditch through the neck of land that joined their holdings to the bank, hoping that the Twa would not cross the water to attack them. But most found it easier to migrate to a more peaceful region or to join forces with the Twa in raiding others. One man who saw Basebya attack recalled, "Any Hutu who wanted his fill of meat, who wanted his fill of beans joined his following and they came ten thousand strong to pillage the hills." So effective were they that sometimes Tutsi who wished to protect or increase their herds of cattle also joined Basebya's forces.[22]

The Court worried about Basebya not only because of the destruction he caused, but also because of their concern that he might ally himself with Muhumusa—whose headquarters were not far from Rugezi. Basebya had once been a client of Rutarindwa, then of Cyaka, who was killed by troops of the Court in April 1904.[23] Obviously no friend of the Bega, he would prove a formidable foe if he joined his followers to Muhumusa's supposedly legitimist movement. Therefore, in 1905 the Court sent several of its ngabo to attack Basebya. But despite their greater number, the Court troops were no match for the Twa, who could always retreat into the thick swamp that only they knew how to cross. Basebya was apparently a skillful tactician. Having learned one night that two forces of Tutsi were approaching his camp from opposite directions, he devised a plan of escape that devastated the enemy. When the two forces were in position, one awaiting word from the other that it was ready to attack, Basebya had his men set fire to their camp, yelling and screaming. Then the Twa escaped, quietly retreating into the darkness, leaving the two Tutsi groups to rush headlong at one another, each presuming that the other had already attacked and that those whom they saw preparing to fight were the Twa enemy. During the campaign,

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the Court reportedly sent Ruhararamanzi, the commander in chief, a heifer. This symbol conveyed the message, "You are to stay on the field of battle until you defeat the enemy, even if in the meantime this heifer matures enough to calve." Ruhararamanzi's dedication to the task was not that long-lived. After several months of pursuit that had netted only some cattle, he returned to Court with the booty. As soon as he had withdrawn, Basebya and his men resumed their raiding of the country.[24]

European Power and Court Presence in the North

In the north the power of the Court was challenged as well by the growing authority of Europeans. No part of Rwanda saw so many European

travelers or had so many European establishments as the north. Not only missionaries but agents of the German, Belgian, and British administrations had posts in what the Court viewed as the northern part of its kingdom. Several independent "traders" frequented the area as well. Musinga was perhaps unaware of the details of contestation among these various actors, but he did realize that the efforts of such European powers to establish sovereignty in the disputed territory could have serious consequences for his own authority.[25] His representatives must therefore establish their rule before external European authority was so firmly implanted as to exclude the Court's effective exercise of power in the region.

But in addition to their threat, the presence of Europeans also offered a more positive inducement to expansion: their authority could be used to buttress that of the notables. The Fathers were committed in principle to fostering royal control throughout the kingdom. In 1905 the Court persuaded the Fathers to implement the principle more vigorously, especially in the area around Rwaza. Musinga wrote the missionaries that his batware were coming to collect ikoro and asked them to use their influence to ensure that the Hutu paid promptly and well. When the mwami found his notables could not seize local leaders to bring them to Court, he addressed himself to the mission for help. If his representatives were unable to carry out a judicial decision he had pronounced, Musinga turned to the Fathers for its execution.[26] When Musinga suspected his batware were becoming too independent so far from Court, he called on the missionaries to keep watch on them.[27] In addition to meeting such specific requests, the Fathers regularly preached obedience to the mwami. In 1912 they began adding a prayer for Musinga and his batware to the end of the Lord's Prayer, and in 1913 they ordered photographs of Musinga, eighteen inches square, to hang in all their classrooms.[28]

The Germans were even more committed to the extension of royal control. While he was Resident, Kandt wrote that the Hutu were "wild and inclined to disobedience." In areas not governed by representatives of the Court, he saw only "anarchy" and concluded that he had no alternative to supporting the rule of Musinga and his notables.[29] Musinga found the Germans helpful for services like those he requested from the missionaries, but he drew most heavily on their strength when he needed major demonstrations of force. The small northwestern kingdom of Bushiru had been raided several times by Rwabugiri in his efforts to establish firm control there. But since the beginning of Musinga's reign, the people of Bushiru had resisted further expansion of royal control. At Musinga's request, the Germans launched four expeditions against

Bushiru between 1909 and 1914.[30] Following the unsuccessful expedition against Basebya in 1905, the mwami never again sent his ngabo to fight without the support of German troops. His failure to launch any further independent expeditions resulted partly from the availability of German troops, which he could call on at no cost to himself or his notables, and partly from the attitude of the Germans, who wished to discourage the use of force by the mwami.[31]

When the notables went into a hostile region to collect taxes, install their residences, or require uburetwa, they usually tried first to impose their rule through the men at their own command. No notable arrived from the central kingdom without his retinue of relatives and clients, all prepared to do battle to establish a control from which they hoped to profit. The band of outsiders, if well trained, could sometimes obtain the submission of an area by its efforts alone. But more frequently, the arriving notables exploited the divisions among the local people to win the help of one lineage or group of lineages in attacking its enemies. Some such associations lasted only for the duration of the battle. Others were the first step in the establishment of longer-term relationships, such as represented in ubuhake clientship: such a client would represent his shebuja after he had returned to the central kingdom and would continue to enjoy the protection of the powerful outsider. Those who had pillaged neighbors under cover of the notables often found such guarantees of continuing protection most useful after the notables had left the area.[32]

When people of a region successfully resisted the force or strategy of the notables, the representatives of the Court followed the lead of the mwami and turned to the Europeans for aid. In areas where the influence of the Fathers was great, they sought their support. Often the missionaries would send one of their men along with the suite of the notables as they collected their taxes: the presence of this representative of the Europeans, even though he was not armed, ordinarily sufficed to make the Bakiga respect the notables' demands. One notable was told: "If you had not had the men of 'Bwana' with you, you would have found nothing here but sticks to chase you away."[33] In other cases, the Fathers persuaded unwilling lineage heads to serve as local representatives of the notables or allowed their men to lend their authority to any judicial proceedings that the notables feared might cause difficulty.[34] Some Hutu saw the aid given by the Fathers as the decisive element in the establishment of local control by the Tutsi. One recalled: "It was [the Fathers] who made them come here in the sense that before the Fathers arrived, a Tutsi collected ikoro and then returned to his home in Nduga [central

Rwanda,] . . . because they feared this region, which they called a region of rebels; they said that no one could live here; they came to live here only after the Europeans multiplied in the area."[35]

When the notables estimated that the influence of the missionaries would not suffice to produce submission, they requested the help of the Germans, sometimes directly, but more often through the Court. The Germans ordinarily responded as fully as the notables wished, sending soldiers with them into the regions that had rejected their control. One Rwandan remembered that the notable would stand on a hilltop, pointing with his spear to the homes he wished attacked; then, with the soldiers providing protection with their guns, the notable and his men burned and pillaged. When the attackers had satisfied their desire for vengeance and their greed, they and the soldiers divided the spoils.[36]

The representatives of the Court were quick to take advantage of European plans and actions, which were conceived with no intention of expanding the authority of the notables. They used the demands for supplies from passing caravans or from permanent posts to extend their rule over lineages that until then had escaped their control. Both the notables and the Hutu knew that the Germans would back the notables even more promptly and harshly when they were requisitioning goods or services for the Europeans than when they were collecting them for the Court.[37] A Father who observed the success of the notables in turning European demands to their own use commented: "It is likely that the Bahutu [or Bakiga] have not yet seen the end of their miseries. . . . The new burdens will not erase the old ones but will be added to them and the Batusi [*sic*] will not fail to find a new source of profit in them."[38]

When the Germans launched expeditions to meet challenges to their own authority, they often relied on the notables and their following—local people as well as clients from the central kingdom—to supplement their forces. The notables and their men shared in the booty: women, cattle, other livestock, and produce. But the less tangible increase in the power of the Court representatives outweighed the immediate material returns of such campaigns: each time they participated in such a joint exercise of force, their subsequent threats of summoning European soldiers became more believable.[39]

Those who refused to submit to the rule of the notables had several alternatives. They could simply stand and fight. Some did so and delayed the payment of taxes or the sacrifice of rights over their land for months or years. But as the notables increased in number, as they made their demands more frequently and were often backed by the superior

power of the Europeans, most Bakiga found open resistance too costly. Tied to their land, they dreaded being driven from it; dependent on their crops, they feared seeing them burned. Others left their holdings voluntarily, clearing new lands far enough in the forest to escape control for yet another generation. The time and effort required to make such land arable, however, discouraged most people from adopting this alternative. In many cases the demands of the notables at the start were not great enough to justify the sacrifices necessitated by such a move. While most Bakiga found open opposition or emigration too difficult, many found profit and pleasure in harassing the notables who came to reside in their areas. No notable retired for the night without being certain his clients were present to keep the watch. Despite these precautions, the local inhabitants made the notables pay well for the privilege of residing in their vicinity: they frequently stole their cattle and occasionally managed to set fire to their homes.[40]

The Bakiga and the Court Representatives

Like the notables, the local populations sought to use divisions among their opponents to their own benefit. Where rivals disputed control of a lineage or a piece of territory, the Bakiga sometimes succeeded in playing them off in such a way as to preserve their autonomy or to limit the amount of tax they had to pay. In theory a client had the right to appeal against oppressive notables to the mwami, who was said to be a final, just arbiter. In fact, such appeals were possible only when a man's mutware was willing to speak for him at Court against his oppressor. Since many of the notables who were imposing their demands on Bakiga during this period were indeed their own batware, such recourse to Court was excluded.[41]

Only Hutu who had special relationships with the Court might hope by their own efforts to win royal support against the extension of control by the notables. Of the several dozen lineage heads in the northwest who were clients of the Court, most, like the leaders of the Batembe or Bahigo of Bugoyi, owed their position to their supposed spiritual powers; but others, like Rukara of the Barashi of Mulera, had obtained their influence at Court through their authority in their own areas. These heads of lineages, and also local leaders respected for their reputed control over rainfall, sometimes persuaded Musinga to protect them against his own representatives. In some cases he granted relief to the claimants simply because he wished to check the representative in question. In

other cases he gave his assistance against Germans as well as notables—because he believed the welfare of the entire kingdom might suffer from changes in the existing situation: for years Musinga protected the small kingdom of Bukunzi in southwestern Rwanda because its ruler was reputed to be a powerful rainmaker who would inhibit rainfall throughout the kingdom if Bukunzi were attacked.[42]

Some Hutu who failed to win the help of Musinga or who had no hope of receiving it sought protection from the Europeans. Not many dared to ask for aid directly from the Germans, because they were known to favor the notables and because all communication with them had to pass through interpreters who were usually bought by the notables.[43] Hutu who found the notables' demands oppressive usually turned instead to the Fathers, hoping that they would either act themselves or speak for the Hutu to the Germans. Playing on the missionaries' susceptibility to pleas for justice or mercy, or on their desire to win converts, the Hutu often persuaded them to deviate from their principle of supporting the notables to give them assistance.[44]

The installation of powerful persons from outside the region, both European and Rwandan, upset relationships between and within lineages by introducing a new authority who could offer protection. In areas where notables had become established during the preceding century, the increase in their numbers and the arrival of Europeans accelerated the process; in areas that had before been undisturbed, change was initiated.[45] In conflicts among lineages, contenders began seeking the support of powerful outsiders, including both the notables who encouraged these disputes for their own ends and the Fathers who often became involved in such disputes through well-intentioned ignorance. Lineages made strong by outside support attempted to win control over their still unaffiliated neighbors, appropriating their land or infringing on other traditionally recognized rights. The new protectors, especially the Europeans, tried to halt the execution of vengeance and offered their own form of justice to replace this customary guarantee of protection that had been so important to the unity of the lineage.[46]

Notables addressed their demands for goods and services to the lineage head, the spokesman for his family group. When the lineage failed to meet their demands, the notable took him captive and sometimes tortured him until his kin ransomed him. The position of lineage head held potential advantages as well as certain risk: many such leaders entered into ubuhake arrangements with notables, receiving cattle and exemption from certain obligations for themselves and their kin. In some

cases the notables regularly allotted them part of the tax collected. As the lineage heads became responsible for satisfying the demands of the outside authority, some began to seek control over their kin commensurate with their new duties. Either fearing possible consequences should the notables' demands not be met, or from personal ambition, they began to rely on their association with the outsiders to build their own authority within their family group. The presence of an outside authority also encouraged some individuals to seek support in disputes that would previously have been settled completely within the lineage. Instead of accepting the decision of their kin or, if dissatisfied, of choosing to leave the land of the lineage, the contenders appealed to the outside protector. As the lineage heads based their authority more on outside support, other members of the lineage also must have seen outside help as increasingly necessary. In some cases outsiders assumed so much influence within the lineage that the Bakiga turned to them for a decision when succession to the position of lineage head was disputed.[47]

At first the Bakiga scorned those who associated with the outsiders, even if such association was supposed to protect or bring advantage to the family group as a whole. Such arrangements were seen as entangling and degrading, to be resorted to only by the weak who could not fight for themselves. Those who accepted ubuhake with the notables were mocked as "dogs of the Europeans."[48] But as parties who succumbed to the temptation to seek outside help emerged more frequently victorious in their disputes, others began to find this alternative increasingly acceptable.

As notables began receiving grants of *ubutaka* from the Court,* they started defining their domains by hills instead of by lineages. As they installed residences in the area and began to requisition regular taxes in produce and in uburetwa labor, they needed more formal representatives with wider powers to ensure the efficient functioning of their residences while they were at Court. Sometimes they entrusted this position to a client from the central kingdom, whose authority in these matters was thus imposed on all the lineage heads of the area; at other times they assigned the responsibility to a local lineage head who then assumed

**Ubutaka* grants were assignments of land grants with partial authority over the people who lived on them—with the clients' responsibilities divided among several different authorities.

authority over people from other lineages who resided within that domain.[49] During the early part of Musinga's reign few notables were able to move to the final stage of control in northern Rwanda, that of complete authority to confiscate and distribute land, but they had begun to appropriate land for their own use and to require goods and labor from the local people in return for assigning them the very land they used to hold freely. As the outsiders began to assume control over the distribution of land and (in theory) to offer protection against enemies, they were taking on functions previously exercised exclusively by the lineages. Bakiga in turn increasingly came to value clientship ties with patrons and to place less importance on relationships within the lineage, thus gradually beginning a transformation similar to that which had taken place in many areas of central Rwanda over the preceding generations.

Combating Resistance in the North

However, peaceful process was not the only pattern in play. Rukara, head of the Barashi lineage, was the strongest indigenous leader in northern Rwanda during the early years of Musinga's reign. The Barashi and those affiliated with them numbered between six and eight thousand, making them the largest unified family group in the north, and they possessed extensive territory at the base of the volcano Muhavura in Mulera. During one of his expeditions, Rwabugiri had killed Rukara's grandfather as a rebel and a bandit but had established better relations with Rukara's father, Bishingwe, to whom he gave cattle and a Tutsi wife. Bishingwe's men then joined Rwabugiri's troops on their raids into Nkore—and became famous for their courage. Drawing on his high standing at Court, Bishingwe began to transform his relations with his kin, exercising his authority over them in an increasingly harsh manner. When Bishingwe was killed by a passing European, Rukara, still in his twenties, sought to assume all the power wielded by his father and to increase it further. He attracted more and more men from outside the lineage to his following, granting them the use of some of the lineage lands.[50] This group of clients, dependent on him personally, supported his attempts to enforce his will on his kin.

Despite his position as client of the Court and the support of his clients, Rukara failed to obtain the absolute obedience he desired from the men of his lineage. On one occasion, after having agreed to provide supplies for a passing European caravan, Rukara ordered one of his kinsmen to fetch water for the travelers. The man stubbornly refused,

asking, "Am I not also an Umurashi?" In the end Rukara had to send a client to do the task. Tall and handsome, Rukara apparently resembled his mother, who was Bishingwe's Tutsi wife. He prized this tie, describing himself as a Tutsi, although by the Court's definition he was really a Hutu, since membership in one's ethnic identity was prescriptively determined patrilineally. He admired and imitated the manners and speech of the Tutsi. The Barashi also called him a Tutsi, but they were referring to his manner—his attempts to exercise authority that was not customarily his—not to his parentage or manners.[51] For Rukara the nominal was a term of pride; for others, it was one of rebuke.

When notables from the central kingdom began competing with Rukara for control of the area he regarded as his, he sought the support of the nearby Fathers of Rwaza. When they declined to take sides in the dispute, Rukara then turned to the mwami. Musinga decided in favor of Rukara in several cases, but failed to implement his judgments. With his petitions to the Court having proved fruitless, Rukara resorted to attacking his Tutsi enemies directly. They in turn took cover behind the Germans, forcing Rukara to seek the assistance of the missionaries once more.[52] Summoned to the Court in 1907, Rukara ignored the summons until Musinga threatened to have him fetched by a German soldier. Once he had Rukara at Nyanza, Musinga retained him for eight months, perhaps hoping simply to keep him out of trouble, perhaps planning eventually to execute him for a supposed insult to Kanjogera. Rukara had reputedly refused to accept the judgment of the Court in a case decided against him, commenting that no man would abide by the decision of a woman, referring to Kanjogera, who had followed the proceedings as usual from behind her screen. He added that if he had wanted a woman's judgment, he would simply have presented the case to his own mother. Kanjogera was said to have taken great offense at this slur on her judicial competence. Rukara finally won release from the Court by appealing to a White Father and the German ethnographer Czekanowski, who happened to be passing through Nyanza. At first Musinga refused to let him go, but he gave in after Czekanowski had personally threatened him with a pistol.[53]

After returning north, Rukara encountered increasing difficulty in exercising control over the Barashi. One of his kinsmen, Sebuyange, had rejected his leadership altogether and attracted a significant part of the lineage to his position. As the struggle between Rukara and Sebuyange developed, each sought the support of the missionaries, particularly of the Father Superior of Rwaza, Father Loupias, a huge man

whose influence in the region was as impressive as his physical size. As one of the Fathers wrote, each leader realized that Loupias's cooperation could ensure his success. Neither spared attempts to win his approval: frequent visits, gifts of all kinds, efforts to bribe mission employees to speak well of them. As the Father recorded, "if Lukara brought us a bull, the next day we would be sure to see Sebuyangi . . . bringing us another." Sebuyange was even supposed to have offered to become a Christian if Loupias would help him. At first the Father wisely declined involvement, advising both parties to take the conflict to Musinga. Neutral as this response appeared, it actually favored Sebuyange, since Rukara was then out of favor at Court. When Rukara sent his gift to Musinga to ask consideration of his side of the case, Musinga refused it.[54]

Although Rukara found it useful to call on outside support when in difficulty, he did so without apparent harm to his own sense of dignity. Not afraid to insult Kanjogera at Court, on his own territory he went even further. He supposedly called his retreat in the forest his "Nyanza" and referred to his own son as Musinga. When he swore, he swore by his own name, not by that of the mwami. He was said to have proclaimed that Musinga ruled in his territory and Rukara in his. One Father remarked bitterly that "He lumps together and scorns equally Batutsi and Europeans."[55] Even during the months when he was seeking Loupias's support, he met a demand from the Father that he thought was unjustified with a gift of rotten eggs. When once visiting Rwaza, Rukara had to wait some time before seeing the Father Superior. He coolly entered his parlor and sat down in the chair reserved for Father Loupias himself. When another attendant, panic-stricken at such disrespect, urged him to move at once, Rukara responded, "And is my ass not as good as his?" and remained where he was.[56]

At the end of March 1910 a messenger from Court asked Loupias to accompany him to the territory of the Barashi, where he was to announce Musinga's decision in the conflict between Rukara and Sebuyange. Although Loupias had performed similar services for Musinga in the past, this time he agreed only reluctantly, fearing one or both parties might resort to violence. After the contenders had come together, the envoy announced that each man was to command those who wished to follow him. Rukara refused to accept this judgment, which would have removed many men from his authority. Immediately another notable, who had accompanied the envoy, announced that the messenger had misrepresented the judgment. Loupias declared that since there was doubt about the decision, the case would have to be sent back to Court. At that point another Tutsi asked the Father to hear his charges that several Barashi

had stolen some of his cattle, including one cow belonging to the mission, which he had been keeping for the Fathers. After hearing the arguments, Loupias demanded that Rukara order the Barashi involved to return the cattle immediately. When Rukara refused, the Father lost his temper and, with his rifle in one hand, grabbed Rukara with the other. From the crowd, a Murashi called out, "Will you allow your leader to be killed by this beast?" A volley of spears sped toward the Father. His followers, more accustomed to such warfare, dropped to the ground instantly and escaped injury. The Father was struck in the head and died later that day.[57]

With the killing, the Barashi closed ranks behind Rukara. Even Sebuyange helped him to escape. The Germans, extremely disturbed by the possible consequences of the murder of a European, responded with carrot and stick: they offered one hundred cattle for Rukara's capture, and they harshly and repeatedly attacked his kin in hopes of forcing them to inform on their leader. Musinga sent troops from Court to join in the attacks. As usual the notables shared the booty of these raids with the soldiers. One notable, Biganda, profited from the support of the Germans and the momentary submission of the Barashi to establish his authority as their mutware.[58] Neither the promised reward nor the punishments persuaded the Barashi—or any other people of the area—to turn in Rukara. Although he returned to his home region after having first fled into the Congo, the Europeans could not capture him. The longer he eluded capture the greater became his fame. Some believed that he would eventually drive all Europeans from northern Rwanda; many, including some Christians, did not accept such an event as likely but still provided against all eventualities by sending gifts to the fugitive.[59]

Although the Germans were ordinarily willing to meet Musinga's requests for armed support, they sometimes delayed or gave their aid in ways that disturbed the Court. About a year after Basebya defeated the ngabo of the Court in 1905, the Germans launched an attack against the Twa, but without great result. During the next several years Basebya ravaged the area that lay within a six hour radius of the Rugezi swamp, from Buberuka south into northern Bumbogo, and from Lake Bulera east to Ndorwa. Much of the land that had been cultivated returned to bush as local people fled rather than endure his exactions. More powerful than any of the Court-appointed notables in the area, he was feared by the Tutsi as much as by the Bakiga. By 1909 Basebya had attracted

enough clients to organize them into a regiment, the Basengo, while his Twa formed the regiment Ibijabura. Of course the most important notables did not personally participate in his regiment, but they did send him gifts and did acknowledge his authority in the area. Basebya had no intention of pushing his control into the heartland: he was content, as he put it, to rule north of the Nyabarongo River, leaving Musinga the territory to the south.[60]

Despite this reported concession by the Twa, Musinga continued to seek German aid in defeating him. Kandt decided to attack Basebya in February 1909. Although the prospect of such a campaign undoubtedly satisfied Musinga, its timing probably had depended more on the considerations of European diplomacy than on the will of the mwami. In November 1908 Belgian troops had moved considerably south of their previous posts and had tried to establish a station near Lake Bulera. Kandt had managed to get them to withdraw, but he and his superiors were concerned about Belgian territorial claims. By the next February the German Colonial Office had decided that it would be unlikely to obtain an acceptable agreement with Belgium over the disputed territory, and so it hoped first to reach a settlement with Great Britain. Since the Germans agreed with the British that boundaries should be drawn to coincide as much as possible with African political units, they were anxious to ensure that the northern region seemed clearly to belong to Musinga; the unrest caused by Basebya might call into question the extent of royal control over that area.[61]

German colonial troops from Bujumbura, reinforced by a contingent from Bukoba, spent six weeks trying to capture the elusive Basebya. They were assisted by several ngabo of the Court as well as by some Tutsi who served as spies. When the Germans returned as empty-handed as the Court troops had four years before, most Europeans blamed the Tutsi for misleading the soldiers. They claimed that important notables, especially Rwidegembya, found association with the Twa too profitable to be sacrificed. But one of the Fathers at the Rulindo mission attributed Basebya's success to his mobility and strategy. He reported that the Twa and his followers trailed the soldiers by a few hours as they moved from place to place and camped each night where the Europeans had stopped the night before. The campaign did have some effect, however. Basebya settled into a more quiet life. Repeating an effort made several years before, he sought good relations with the missionaries: in a truce with the Rulindo Fathers, he gave them a cow and promised not to attack their followers.[62]

Musinga must have found the Germans' delay in ferreting out Basebya annoying, but he found their approach to Muhumusa far more frightening. Despite his repeated requests for expeditions against her, the Germans did nothing until June 1909, a month after they had settled the northeastern border with Britain. Since the delimitation was to be based partly on Musinga's territorial rights, the Germans may have wished to ensure that Muhumusa and her subjects in Mpororo be willing to acknowledge Musinga's suzerainty. Musinga sent two of his batware—Nturo, who commanded in Ndorwa, and Rwatangabo, who ruled in Mutara—to Mpororo with a guard of Rwandan troops and German soldiers. Whether the purpose of the expedition was to negotiate with Muhumusa or to capture her is unclear; perhaps the Germans favored the first and the Rwandans the second. In any case the combined force took her and brought her to Kigali where Kandt wanted to keep her temporarily under his supervision—perhaps until he ascertained if she would acknowledge Musinga's authority. The Germans apparently gave her one hundred cattle for her support while she was at the capital.[63]

Musinga was concerned by the respectful treatment that the Germans accorded Muhumusa. Kandt's increasingly frequent use of his power to overrule the mwami, as in the recent founding of Kigali and the three missions, along with the passage of large numbers of troops through the kingdom in 1909, may have seemed to him to be setting the stage for an attack on the Court itself. After Muhumusa arrived at Kigali in July, a rash of rumors swept eastern Rwanda every few weeks, proclaiming the advent of Biregeya or some other leader whom the Germans were going to name as mwami. The people of that area, looking for a leader to restore their independence from the Tutsi of the central kingdom, talked of another revolt against the Court.[64]

Musinga distrusted his own notables as well as the Germans and the people of Gisaka. Of the two who had gone to meet Muhumusa in June, Nturo was a Munyiginya, Rwantangabo a Mushambo (the dominant clan identity in the northeast). Many Banyiginya hoped for the end of a reign still dominated by the Bega, while the Bashambo had suffered much at the hands of the Batsobe, the closest allies of the Bega. When Muhumusa was carefully retained at Kigali by the Germans, Musinga feared that these two notables had plotted with her against him. The accusations were never made public and neither emissary was openly punished, although the rumor spread that Musinga himself had whipped Rwatangabo. In September the anxiety at Court reached a peak when

another large expedition of German soldiers arrived en route to the border region where the British and the Belgians seemed about to do battle. Once more, Biregeya was reported to be in the kingdom, and once more, Musinga entertained accusations of intrigue among his notables. The Court was said to be planning an attack on Europeans, a rumor that Kandt took seriously enough to warn the missionaries to take precautions.[65]

Seeing the depth of anxiety at Court, Kandt ordered Muhumusa sent to Bukoba, where he supposed she would be out of trouble for the foreseeable future. But tensions dissipated only slowly in the kingdom. In October a group of Barundi were reported to be trying to enter Rwanda across the Kagera River to install Biregeya as mwami. The Rwandans ordered by the Court to guard the frontier attacked them. Ten or so men were killed on each side. In fact, the Barundi had just been porters bringing supplies to some Europeans. In December 1909 and again in January 1910 rumors spread about the coming of a new mwami, but they evaporated without further incident.[66]

Defining State Boundaries

By 1910 Musinga had realized that although the Germans wanted him to extend his authority, they were not always ready to support him when and where he wished. During 1910 and 1911 he was to learn that they might refuse to back his claims altogether when they conflicted with European diplomatic arrangements. In May 1910 representatives of Germany, Belgium, and Great Britain agreed on boundaries among their Central African possessions. In 1911 the International Delimitation Commission marked out the lines that were henceforth to determine the limits of Rwanda and its neighbors. In 1909 the German Colonial Office had feared that a major territorial cession might trigger a serious rebellion in Rwanda. The Court was convinced that all of Rwabugiri's conquests represented permanent Rwandan territory. However, Kandt regarded the boundary adjustments as relatively minor: occupied territory on Ijwi Island and at the northern tip of Lake Kivu went to Belgium, while a strip of territory to the northeast was ceded to Great Britain. Defining the boundaries of the state in this way, Kandt felt, would not push the Court to revolt, although it was likely to cause "silent embitterment" on the part of Musinga.[67]

The Germans measured the extent of the cession in terms of what they had previously claimed, but the Court saw it in terms of the far

larger territory that had once been conquered (or even just subjected to raids) by Rwabugiri. Although Rwandan control was no longer effective on Ijwi, Musinga and his Court still regarded parts of Bushi to the southwest and some of the small territories to the north as belonging to the kingdom. They did indeed react with the "silent embitterment" Kandt feared, but they had been experiencing this sentiment ever since they had first been made to submit to European power. After the establishment of the protectorate by the Germans, the Court also had to lament the intrusion into its territory of the Belgians and the British, who by 1904 had established posts in what they regarded as their possessions of the Congo and Uganda.[68] Indeed, the cessions of 1910 distressed Musinga not because they were the first losses to the Europeans but because they were further losses in a process begun a decade before.

Since Musinga would in the future be unable to reassert or expand his power in the ceded regions, the people who lived beyond the boundaries would eventually lose their allegiance to the Court. But Musinga knew that the boundaries established by Europeans did not necessarily have any immediate effect on the Africans marked off by them. In previous years some people who lived in territory claimed by the Belgians or the British had continued to acknowledge Musinga's rule, while others on the German side of the frontier had rejected it. In most cases European administration was not yet intensive enough to determine the relationships of these peoples to the Court: those who wished to obey continued to obey; those who dissented did so. The major exceptions had occurred in Belgian territory, where the local European authorities had expelled Rwandan notables, killing several in the process.[69] For their part, the British had allowed people on their side of the border to continue their gifts to Musinga, provided this acknowledgment of his suzerainty was voluntary, and they maintained this policy after the 1910 agreement.[70] Musinga was naturally far more disturbed by the actions of the Belgians than by those of the British: it was not the establishment of artificial lines that counted so much as the attitude of the European power with which the Court must share its authority.

Musinga probably resented the boundary adjustments mostly as a betrayal by his German protectors. In the test of strength with opposing powers, the Germans had failed to back their client, although he felt he had done nothing to deserve such repudiation. He spent many months trying to induce the Resident and through him the German Emperor to take a firmer stand for the rights of their Rwandan client. Perhaps hoping that such a change might take place, Musinga ignored the six-month

period of grace granted by the Europeans and refused to withdraw his men and cattle from those territories that had escaped his control.[71]

As the International Delimitation Commission was completing its work in September 1911 near Mpororo, its progress was interrupted by a new anti-European movement directed by Muhumusa. Having escaped from detention in Bukoba several months before, she had quickly reestablished her power in Mpororo with the help of Basebya and of another lieutenant named Ndungutse. Her men led attacks against those who had sided with the Europeans, driving many to seek refuge at the British post of Kumba. Kandt led a force north to capture her again but failed. At the end of September, however, a joint British–German group led by the officers of the Delimitation Commission seized her after killing some forty of her followers. The British assumed responsibility for her and deported her from the district.[72]

Nonetheless, news of this rising spread throughout northern Rwanda; the report of Muhumusa's capture traveled much more slowly. Before her capture and in collaboration with Basebya, Muhumusa had sent messengers as far as the forests of Bugoyi to alert the Twa there to prepare for an attack on the Europeans. Around the Rwaza mission, opponents of the Fathers talked of how Muhumusa would soon be driving all Europeans from the country. When a Christian was murdered in October, the Fathers and their followers became increasingly worried and clients of the mission dared not venture beyond their own hills. But by December some of the people of the north had given up their hopes (and others had relinquished their fears) that Muhumusa would defeat the Europeans.[73]

New Resistance to Court Expansion

By the end of January 1912, the Hutu of north-central Rwanda were acclaiming a new leader who promised them relief from the most serious cause of discontent in their area: direct local control by the notables. This man, Ndungutse, instructed the Bakiga to refuse all further uburetwa labor to the notables. He offered to lead them in expelling from the region all notables who had unjustly appropriated land for their own use or who demanded tax payments not sanctioned by custom.[74] Although he had probably been with Muhumusa when the Europeans attacked her, Ndungutse had nonetheless managed to escape with Basebya, and the two had established a headquarters near the Rugezi swamp in that part of Buberuka that was firmly committed to the Twa.

Ndungutse may have been born or lived for some time in northern Rwanda, perhaps in Busigi, or he may have originally come from Mpororo; in any case he had lived in Mpororo long enough for the people of north-central Rwanda to describe him as a "stranger." Some people remember him as Tutsi—or the equivalent in Mpororo, Hima—others as Hutu.* Perhaps he was of mixed parentage. He probably resembled the physical type of a Tutsi since he persuaded many of his followers that he was of royal blood.[75]

Seeking to make his authority legitimate, Ndungutse raised his own status from that of lieutenant of Muhumusa to that of her son. Since Muhumusa was sometimes identified with Muserekande, wife of Rwabugiri, and at other times with Nyakayoga, wife of Rutarindwa, Ndungutse was thought by some to be the son of Rwabugiri (and thus the same as Biregeya) and by others to be the heir to Rutarindwa. Many accepted his claim to royal parentage, backed as it was by all the trappings of royal power: Ndungutse had his drum, wore a beaded headdress and the royal hairstyle, and was carried about in a hammock.[76]

Playing on his supposed tie to the Court, Ndungutse gained his greatest strength in areas where royal authority had been fairly well established for generations: from Buberuka south to Bumbogo, Busigi, and Buriza. He led a rising against Musinga, whom he accused of acquiring power illegitimately. But this was not a revolt against the kingship, since he himself planned to replace the mwami; he advocated an end to uburetwa labor for the newly installed notables but not to ikoro prestations for the Court, which had long been accepted in the area.[77]

In areas further west, from Mulera south to Bukonya, Buhoma, and Bushiru, Ndungutse gathered support among many who rejected or chose to overlook his claims to royal blood. Rukara, still being harassed by the Europeans two years after the death of Loupias, met with Ndungutse while considering whether to join forces with him. He carefully looked over the supposed heir to the throne, then told him

*The Hima were cattle people both in the regions north of Rwanda (in Mpororo and Nkore) and in Rwanda. But the political salience of the denomination differed in the two societies: in Rwanda they were considered outside the structures of power, and virtually autonomous of Court rule—just as in agrarian areas of the north the Bakiga were also considered an identity outside the normative Hutu–Tutsi dyad of dependence associated with Court power. In Nkore (and though with less stratified social layers, in Mpororo) Hima were considered the politically superior class.

outright: "You claim to be the son of Rwabugiri? You do not deserve to be called his son, you are not even fit to be his Umutwa. As for me [I know because] I have lived there at Court. If you wish, let us unite, but do not talk to me any more about being the son of Rwabugiri."[78] Others who had only recently experienced the extension of royal control and the imposition of ikoro were not attracted by Ndungutse's legitimist claims, but they did see the powerful stranger as a useful leader around whom they could rally to drive out the notables who were taxing them. Traditional hostilities among lineages had apparently prevented any locally powerful lineage head, like Rukara, from being able to muster the widespread backing necessary for such a rising. Among those who doubted or wished to disregard his legitimist claims, as well as among those willing to accept them, Ndungutse reinforced his authority by claiming great spiritual powers. He sometimes used the rhetoric and ritual of the Nyabingi movement, probably as a result of his association with Muhumusa, but he also claimed other abilities generally attributed to famous military figures, such as being able to turn back arrows shot at him or to bewitch or to spread disease among his enemies.[79]

Muhumusa's rising had been directed specifically against Europeans, but once Ndungutse began to operate independently, he strove to divorce himself from this anti-European image. On three occasions he offered cattle to the Fathers at Rwaza, proclaiming them to be his "maternal uncles." One of his representatives called frequently at Rwaza to maintain contact with the missionaries. But unsure of his claim to legitimacy and of his ambitions, the Fathers refused his gifts and advised those under his influence to ignore his appeal. They told Ndungutse that they would not deal with him—"recognize him," as they put it—because he was sheltering Rukara. Still the rebel leader persisted, instructing his men to do no harm to the Fathers, their men, or their property.[80] At Rulindo he persuaded the Fathers of that mission to accept his gifts of cattle, and he ordered that their followers should also be left undisturbed. In late February two soldiers and several Christians who had been with them were killed by a man named Banzi and his kinsmen, after he and his people had suffered the exactions of soldiers for at least a year without having been able to obtain redress from the Germans. The timing of their attack may have been coincidental, but it was probably related to the unrest growing in the region as Ndungutse's power increased. The rebel claimant immediately sent a messenger to Rwaza offering to attack Banzi and his men from one side if the Fathers would arrange for an attack from the other. Only after the Fathers refused his

offer did he agree to Banzi's request for refuge. Ndungutse also did his best to cultivate relations directly with the Germans, sending them cattle and offering to cooperate with them.[81]

Those of Ndungutse's followers who were disappointed at his apparent friendliness toward the Europeans may have seen it as a temporary necessity like his cooperation with the Twa. One of the Fathers asked some Bakiga of Kibari why they continued to acclaim Ndungutse when the Twa associated with him had just ransacked their homes and granaries. They replied that for the moment Ndungutse needed the Twa and so could not restrain them; when his power was firmly established, he would certainly end their depredations. Perhaps they reasoned similarly that Ndungutse would use the Europeans to displace Musinga and assert his control over the kingdom and then would shuck them off as he would the Twa.[82]

Rwandans further removed from Ndungutse's actual center of operations heard of and applauded his ties with Muhumusa, Rukara, and Banzi. They delighted in anecdotes like the one that had Ndungutse telling Rukara he had nothing to fear from the Europeans; Ndungutse reportedly continued, "I am the master of the Europeans. . . . I put goat milk on a stool and they lick it like dogs."[83] Either they did not know about or they chose to ignore his attempts to establish relations with the intruders. Especially those who had suffered most from the proximity of European centers of activity seem to have transformed him in their own minds from a leader of opposition to the notables into a symbol of resistance to the Europeans. The Twa of the Bugoyi area looked to him to continue Muhumusa's movement. The people of Bushiru, who had borne many demands from the Germans at Gisenyi for supplies and forced labor, refused all further requisitions and reportedly sought alliance with Ndungutse. As his fame as an opponent of Europeans grew, his reputed magical powers expanded to include the ability to turn bullets directed at him into water.[84]

In the ten weeks from the end of January to the beginning of April 1912, Ndungutse gathered support in one northern area after another. All of the territory between Lakes Ruhondo and Bulera and the Rugezi swamp and as far south as the road that connected Ruhengeri and Kigali stood solidly behind him. Hutu of many parts of Busigi, Buriza, Bumbogo, Kibari, Bukonya, Buhoma, and Bushiru had accepted his leadership, while others in these same provinces looked upon him with increasing favor. He had made sorties to within three hours of Kigali itself. Wherever he passed, he was welcomed with gifts and acclaimed

with rejoicing. Rarely did his followers have to use force against the people of an area. They directed their violence almost exclusively against the notables, especially those of the Bega and Batsobe lineages. The Europeans interpreted their special hatred of these lineages as proof of Ndungutse's legitimist claims, since it was they who had engineered the coup at Rucunshu. But more important to Ndungutse and his men, these two lineages had been the main agents of expansion in north-central Rwanda.[85]

As the notables fled south across the Nyabarongo River, bringing their reports of killing and destruction to Court, Musinga became desperately afraid. Some of his important notables were looking to Ndungutse as a symbol of legitimist opposition to a reign still dominated by the Bega. Two influential Banyiginya, Kanuma and Bandora, even sent representatives to pay court to the rebel.[86] These notables were ready to accept Ndungutse's claim to rule to cover their own ambitions, while overlooking his policy of opposition to expansion by representatives of the Court. Fearing betrayal by the men of his father's lineage and their allies, Musinga turned once more to the Bega. Haunted by guilt over his usurpation of the throne and with his dread that Biregeya was coming to take vengeance for the Banyiginya, Musinga summoned the Bakongori, a lineage that specialized in ritual duties at Court, placed them under the direction of Rwidegembya, and ordered them to conduct ceremonies throughout Rwanda to discover which of his ancestors were causing the disturbances in the kingdom. The diviners concluded that Karara and Burabyo, two of Musinga's brothers who had been killed shortly after the coup, were responsible for the unrest. Musinga immediately took steps to try to placate them.[87]

The mwami did not rely solely on a spiritual defense, however. He summoned his best-trained ngabo, including his personal guard, the Indengabaganizi to attack the challenger. He also requested troops from the Germans to reinforce his own warriors. Since Kandt was then on leave in Germany, the responsibility for handling this crisis fell on Gudovius, the interim Resident. Gudovius knew less about Rwanda and cared less about the Court than did Kandt. Although he was inclined to support Musinga because of his past services to the Germans, he seems to have been tempted by the promises of the rebel leader. Musinga had indeed obliged the Resident many times, but as Gudovius knew, his willingness to cooperate was always limited by his desire to maintain what he could of his traditional powers. A new mwami, completely dependent upon the Europeans because he had been installed by them, might

prove easier to manage. Uncertain at first about Ndungutse's claims to legitimacy, he finally decided that his popularity with the Hutu and the panic he caused at Court proved his genuine descent from Rutarindwa. Gudovius was also confused by the apparent contradictions in Ndungutse's attitude toward the Europeans: he was said to oppose them, but he persisted in trying to win their support, and so he decided to refer the whole matter to the governor of German East Africa. In the meantime, he accepted Ndungutse's gifts and sent him some in return.[88]

Having rejected Musinga's pleas for an immediate attack, Gudovius installed four military camps on the outer periphery of Ndungutse's territory to keep the rebel from expanding the area he controlled. The German officer may well have held out hope of eventual recognition to the leader while asking him to halt his attacks. In addition to refusing to commit his own forces, Gudovius several times restrained the Court troops from campaigning against Ndungutse. Although he allowed some of Musinga's warriors to join the cordon around the rebellious area, he ordered other regiments dispersed.[89] As Gudovius continued to delay, Musinga watched those troops permitted to remain in the north vegetate in their camps: the warriors grew more discouraged every day because of rivalries among the batware, an epidemic of dysentery, and the severe cold and wetness of the northern climate.[90] Whether Gudovius favored supporting Ndungutse against Musinga or whether he was simply trying to keep the situation in hand while awaiting further orders, Musinga must have feared that Gudovius was planning to remove him from power. Never before had he been forced to realize just how completely he depended on the support of the hated Europeans.

Breaking Local Resistance

In early April Gudovius either received orders to suppress the rebellion or decided for himself that Ndungutse's strength was growing too rapidly for him to delay an attack any longer. Ndungutse was also in action. Perhaps aware that a campaign was being planned or perhaps just tired of having to deal with the independent, contentious Rukara, Ndungutse took the Hutu prisoner and sent him to a German post on 6 or 7 April.[91] But this gesture failed to persuade Gudovius to change his plans. On 8 April the Resident left Kigali for a forced march to the heart of Ndungutse's territory. With a small contingent of colonial soldiers and some three thousand Rwandan troops, he attacked Ndungutse's residence at dawn. Forewarned of the attack or recovering quickly from their

surprise, Ndungutse's men sent a shower of spears down on the officer and his troops. The soldiers opened fire and killed about fifty of Ndungutse's warriors. Gudovius personally shot and killed a man who was trying to escape over the enclosure that surrounded the residence. Court spies who had infiltrated Ndungutse's following identified the victim as the rebel leader, but others claimed that he had escaped before the attack and had fled to British territory. Whether killed or simply decisively defeated, Ndungutse did not reappear to challenge Musinga.[92]

Impatient with the lack of firm administration that had allowed Ndungutse's movement to develop, Gudovius resolved that if Musinga were to command in the north, he and his representatives must command completely. To this end, the German officer executed a "demonstration campaign" through the regions that had really or reportedly supported Ndungutse. As he wrote, his aim was: "punishment of the insubordinate districts and their peoples and chiefs by causing the greatest possible damage until complete submission; otherwise, destruction of crops and settlements, and occupation of the theatre of operations by chiefs appointed by the Resident who are faithful to Musinga."[93] Reassured by the decisive German action, the mwami encouraged Gudovius to teach obedience to all who had rebelled. His notables were equally willing to take advantage of the situation. They accompanied the German troops, pointing out which areas should be attacked. Some regions were devastated because of past opposition or anticipated future opposition to the notables, even if they had not taken a stand for Ndungutse. The soldiers and the Rwandan warriors accompanying them swept westward from Buberuka to Bushiru, then returned eastward, following a path through Bukonya and Kibari.[94] The Fathers at Rwaza, who had been notified early of the attack so that they might warn their followers, traced the progress of the troops by the train of refugees across the hills in one direction and the procession of captured hostages, cattle, sheep and goats in the other. On 3 May one of the Fathers recorded: "The war continues; the batutsi massacre, are without mercy, half of the population of Bumongo [a neighboring region] will be destroyed. Groups of women are led away and will become the booty of the great chiefs." But by this time the campaign had achieved its purpose, and by 5 May the Resident was able to write the Fathers that "the country is pacified up to Buberuka."[95]

In the wake of the German attack, the notables of the central kingdom who had previously held commands from the Court returned to their northern domains, bringing with them numerous clients to attend

to the more intensive administration desired by both the mwami and the Germans.[96] In addition, Musinga sent notables to live in regions such as parts of Bukonya and Bumbogo where resident representatives of the Court had never ruled before. In all these areas, the rebellion that had aimed to limit immediate rule by the notables resulted instead in its expansion. The regions of Bushiru, Mulera, or Ndorwa that were most difficult of access or offered less obvious booty, however, remained free of the direct control of the Banyanduga. There, the inhabitants continued to work their land independently, sometimes paying only ikoro to nonresident batware and sometimes paying no tax at all.[97]

While the troops were still in the north a Tutsi client of Basebya revealed the hiding place of the Twa to the Germans. Basebya had been at Ndungutse's residence when the Germans had attacked, but he had managed to escape. Rwubusisi, brother of Rwidegembya, arranged a meeting with Basebya, supposedly by telling him that he brought gifts from the Court and that he wished to become his client. Rwubusisi was accompanied by four African soldiers dressed as Rwandans, carrying their rifles hidden in rolled grass mats. Rwubusisi met Basebya at a clearing in the forest. They drank and chatted until the notable was able to approach close enough to seize the Twa. The soldiers drove off Basebya's followers and escorted the captive to the German camp. Afraid that Basebya might escape, Gudovius executed him on the spot.[98]

The last of the three rebels, Rukara, was tried 18 April at the German post of Ruhengeri. After Gudovius had found him guilty and condemned him to die, he asked Rukara if he had anything to say. The undaunted Rukara responded, "When a man has a great name, he must expect to die for it."[99] As the procession set off for the gallows, a member of the crowd—perhaps Sebuyange, the very man who had challenged Rukara's leadership of the Barashi—called out a message suggesting a possibility for escape. Although his hands were shackled, Rukara was quick to implement the suggestion. He grabbed the bayonet of the soldier ahead of him, who was leading him by a chain, and killed him with it. As he turned to flee, he was struck down by a volley of bullets. Although Rukara was all but dead, Gudovius ordered him hung anyway and left his body on the gallows for the next day. The officer hoped thus to impress the Bakiga with the inexorability of European justice, but most found a different lesson in Rukara's death: even the followers of the missionaries had to agree that a man who took his own vengeance before death was indeed a man of worth.[100]

After having eliminated the three rebel leaders, Gudovius returned to Nyanza to participate in the celebrations marking the suppression of the rising. He certainly must have been expecting a warm and humble welcome from the ruler whose throne he had just guaranteed. Although Musinga emerged the victor, his recognition of assistance rendered made him no more an admirer of the Europeans than his three opponents had been. He did go through the motions of thanking Gudovius, presenting him with "a great elephant tusk," but he then in a more subtle way showed his hatred for the man whom he had expected to betray him.[101] At Court celebrations after battles, warriors always declaimed poetry of their own composition, glorifying their feats in battle. As commander, Gudovius was entitled to similar praise. Since the European naturally could not compose his own poem, Musinga had a Court poet prepare and declaim Gudovius's account. It began: "I am wearer of the hat, chief of the Sergeant, an elegant young man and an officer worthy of his soldiers."* Probably in reference to Gudovius's delay in confronting Ndungutse, it continued, "I traveled past on my donkey with all the rashness of a warrior." After recounting the attack, the poem remarked on the gifts brought to the German by the defeated: "about one hundred stalks of ripe and green bananas . . . goats, both yellow and black and white . . . pigs without number and about one hundred crested cranes." He was said to have received not cattle, the only animals of any true value, but goats, eaten only by Hutu, and pigs, not then eaten by any Rwandans. No honey for fine liquor, but bananas for the most common beer were given him, along with crested cranes, a game bird that Rwandans did not hunt because it was the symbol of the Banyiginya clan. The poem concluded, "After I arrived at . . . Nyanza, the king of all humanity came before me graciously, offered me different provisions, and said to me, 'Here is your share, O Being with Strange Beard and Hair, Runner of the Forests! No enemy would dare attack us as long as I have you with me. You alone truly inspire fear.'"[102]

Some Rwandans could not neglect the opportunity to curry favor with Gudovius and reported the insult to him. Seeking an appropriate form of retaliation, Gudovius learned that Musinga could best be humiliated by being forced to exhibit his most prized cattle, the

*And presumably only of his soldiers. Furthermore, these were colonial soldiers, hired from other territories, and scorned by Rwandan ntore.

long-horned *inyambo*, before the European. Exhibiting cattle before one's shebuja was the traditional means of acknowledging his authority over all the cattle so shown. Since inyambo were the exclusive property of the mwami, this exhibition would be a public acknowledgment of Musinga's clientship to Gudovius.

Musinga complied with Gudovius's order. This symbolic act probably troubled the mwami less than his realization of how much he had needed German aid to retain control of his kingdom in the preceding months. During the five years since he had assumed a larger role in governing Rwanda, he, like Kabare before him, had drawn most successfully on European resources to expand the authority of the Court and its representatives in areas where their control had been weak or nonexistent. When the people of the north united behind Ndungutse in opposing this expansion, Musinga was forced to acknowledge that having extended royal control on borrowed resources, it could maintain the ground won only with more of the same. German attitudes toward Muhumusa and Ndungutse had also raised a more serious prospect to trouble the Court: could some other claimant to the throne convince the Germans of his legitimacy and persuade them to remove Musinga in his favor? In the future Musinga would have to redouble his efforts at steering a course between the outward compliance needed to retain European support and his inward determination to maintain all possible attributes of that power which his ancestors had so carefully created in preceding generations.

6

New Europeans, New Court Tactics, 1913–1919

The Arrival of the Belgians

> Inkoni ivuna igufwa ntiivuna ingeso.
> [The stick breaks the bones, it does not break habits]

With the outbreak of World War I, Musinga was freed from the fear that the Germans might try to replace him with another ruler. They faced a likely attack by far stronger British and Belgian forces massed in Uganda and the Congo; the Germans had to rely on Musinga to keep order within Rwanda and to guarantee their provisions. They sought to ensure his loyalty by promising to conquer and return to his control all the territory lost to Rwanda after Rwabugiri's death and in the boundary delimitations of 1911. As a first step in this direction, they rapidly and effortlessly drove the Belgians from Ijwi Island in the early months of the war.[1]

World War I and Rwandan Colonial Control

As the news of the war spread quickly through the kingdom, many Rwandans hoped this conflict might bring an end to colonial rule.[2] Musinga too may have privately cherished such hope, but in the meantime he publicly supported the Germans and ordered his subjects to do the same. If the war were to mean not the elimination of the colonial powers but merely reapportionment of their holdings, Musinga wanted to be sure that the Germans would win. Above all, he feared a Belgian victory. Ever since the first battle with the Belgians at Shangi—a disaster for the Rwandans—the Court had experienced only trouble with the officials

from the Congo. Court representatives who had entered Belgian territory to collect taxes had been killed or expelled. Like other Rwandans, Musinga and Kanjogera had heard of the abuses by Belgian soldiers or officials from refugees who had fled the Congo.* Once hostilities associated with World War I had begun, the Belgians together with the British raided Rwandan territory, pillaging cattle, other livestock, and produce to feed their troops. The raids, which cost several important notables large numbers of cattle, only increased the Court's hatred and fear of the Belgians and their allies.[3]

Aside from the anticipated return of territory, Musinga stood to gain more immediately from cooperation with the Germans. Since most Rwandans refused to accept the Germans' metal or paper currency, the administration had to requisition supplies and porters through the Court. As the number of German troops grew from a few dozen at the start of the war to more than one thousand by January 1916, the Court profited handsomely from this arrangement. The Germans, for example, recognized Musinga as the owner of all the cattle in the kingdom and paid him, rather than the notables, for the loan of three thousand milking cows and for the delivery of another three hundred cattle a year for slaughter. However, the notables who had produced the cattle lost nothing, since they had collected them without payment from their inferiors. As before the war, both Court and notables used German support to make additional demands for their own gain, including requiring three days' uburetwa labor from their clients instead of the previous two.[4]

Musinga used the increased German backing to intimidate further his Bega kin, whose position had been eroding since Kabare's death in 1911. He allowed one of his favorites to deprive his influential cousin Rwidegembya of a large domain in the north and soon after sent Rwidegembya on a campaign against the Hutu of a distant region (Itabire), in a thinly disguised temporary exile from the Court. Musinga was also looking with increasing disfavor on his cousin Kayondo, another member of the Bega, who would play a major role throughout the rest of his reign. Kayondo had been orphaned when a child and had grown up under the care of Kanjogera, his father's sister. From the start, Musinga

*From time to time mutineer soldiers from the Force Publique (the military force in Congo) had entered territory claimed by the Rwandan Court and created havoc among the population. (See C. Newbury *The Cohesion of Oppression,* 54–57, for an example of this.) Consequently, the Court was wary of invasion from the west.

had resented this rival for his mother's attention. Later, Musinga took offense because even after Musinga acceded to power Kayondo continued the casual relationship they had known as children and showed him no special respect, even though he was mwami. Because of Kanjogera's continued affection for Kayondo, Musinga did not openly attack his cousin. Instead, he began delegating greater power to Kayondo's subordinates, thus subtly weakening him. Musinga also indirectly attacked his powerful brother Nshozamihigo, who had saved his life and his extensive holdings in northern Rwanda by siding with the Bega at the very start of Musinga's reign. Given this earlier history, Musinga had always feared that Nshozamihigo might someday betray him for a new candidate for the throne, but he had not dared move against him. Now he permitted Nshozamihigo's rivals to encroach upon his northern domains.[5]

Musinga also felt confident enough of German support to ignore the order that required him to seek their approval for all executions. Eager to demonstrate his continuing power over the lives of his subjects, and still sensitive to the rumors of intrigues that had plagued his earlier years, the mwami ruthlessly attacked those notables accused of having tried to poison him. In February and again in August 1915, he ordered alleged poisoners killed along with their immediate kin. Musinga also hoped to use European techniques to increase his power. He had readily complied with a German request for young notables to serve as soldiers and guides with their troops, hoping that the notables would bring their European training into his service at the end of the war.[6]

Under the cover of meeting German requisitions, the notables expanded their rule in the north and the west of the kingdom. The Germans had no time to investigate their many claims for aid and usually just provided them with the requested soldiers whenever they reported insubordination among the Bakiga. With the help of the soldiers, the notables forced the Bakiga of the north-central region of Buriza to do uburetwa labor for the first time. In the northeastern area of Ndorwa, they raided and pillaged people whom they had not previously dared to attack.[7]

As the pressures of the war grew, the German administration warned the missionaries to avoid any possible grounds for conflict with the Court or notables. As a result, those missionaries who in the past had protected some of the Hutu against Court incursions were now forced to refuse them further help. They had to close their school at Nyanza when Musinga hinted that this might be desirable, and to suffer quietly the insults the notables began heaping upon the converts. At some

stations, the missionaries were even required to help the notables collect supplies for the troops, which they then sent to Nyanza for Musinga's inspection before dispatching them to their final destination.[8]

The war brought structural as well as directly political changes. The Fathers had to close several of their stations temporarily because of a reduction in the number of their missionaries and restrictions on the location of certain among them. By the end of the war, the Protestant stations were all closed permanently. In such areas, the number of practicing Christians dwindled rapidly, as some converts or postulants dropped the foreign religion to return to their former spiritual practices, and others drifted off to seek their fortune in military camps or towns like Kigali or Bujumbura. In several places even the physical evidence of the missionaries' presence was removed as the local people pillaged and destroyed their buildings. Not surprisingly, at even the most stable missions Hutu sometimes lost enthusiasm for Christianity as news of closings elsewhere lent substance to rumors of the departure of all Europeans.[9]

The Bakiga of northern Rwanda were angered by the increased demands of notables and Europeans and encouraged by the uncertainties of the war. Some looked (again) to the Nyabingi movement for leadership in the crisis. Mafene, a descendant of the woman who had brought the movement to Rwanda in the nineteenth century, assumed increasing power in Buberuka and Ndorwa as he preached refusal of all the foreigners' demands. Once the Germans learned of his teaching, they quickly sought him out and killed him in 1915.[10]

Later in 1915 there appeared a "mysterious Mututsi" who for a few brief months united the Bakiga of the north with representatives of the Court in opposing the foreigners. His name, Bichubirenga, "the clouds pass by," referred to the troubles caused by the presence of the Europeans. The notables allied with him included Nyindo, a brother of Musinga, and Katuregye, both of whom had ruled in the part of northern Rwanda that had come under British administration in 1911. They had remained loyal to Musinga, and with the outbreak of war they responded to his call for aid by fleeing British territory and establishing themselves on the German side of the border. On orders from Musinga they aided the Germans in resisting Belgian and British raids and launched small attacks of their own into the Congo or Uganda.[11] Bichubirenga joined in such missions. Indeed, the Germans valued his aid so highly that they gave him a herd of cattle to keep his allegiance. But he, like the Court representatives, regarded alliance with the Germans as a temporary tactic to be used against the Belgians and British before

turning against the Germans themselves. He explained to the Bakiga that he had cast a spell on the Europeans to make them fight each other; when they were done fighting, he and his men would destroy any who were left. He warned all associated with the missions to renounce their link with the Fathers before his ultimate victory: only those converts who had rejected Christianity, "vomited the poison of the Europeans," and had been accepted back into their lineages could be saved.[12]

Like the earlier rebel leader Ndungutse, Bichubirenga used links with the Nyabingi movement to mobilize his followers. And like Ndungutse, he was welcomed with gifts and feasting wherever he traveled. The number of his adherents in Mulera, Buberuka, Ndorwa, and Bukamba grew steadily from November 1915 through January 1916. His followers were attracted by the expectation of booty from his raids as well as by his larger promise of eventual salvation from the foreigners. In January he mustered a force of several thousand to attack a Belgian post at Chahafy, promising his men would be protected from European bullets by his presence and that of his extraordinary white lamb. After a five-hour battle in which the Force Publique troops had the advantage of superior location and machine guns, his warriors retired with only a few injuries and a captured stock of weapons and ammunition. Rather than keep the arms for local use, Bichubirenga sent them through Nyindo to the Court, perhaps as an incentive to Musinga to take up a broader struggle in the center of the kingdom. But this movement, which hinted at the possibility of cooperation between the Court and the Bakiga resisters of the north, was cut short by the Belgian and British invasion of Rwanda in April 1916. As the new colonial armies pushed forward, Nyindo and the other notables surrendered to them while Bichubirenga vanished, leaving behind him the unfulfilled hope of expelling the foreigners from Rwanda.[13]

The Initial Effects of Belgian Arrival

In the face of the Belgian and British invasion the Germans quickly retreated southward. They were accompanied both by their Rwandan troops and by most of the notables who feared facing the combined forces of the invaders and the Bakiga without German support. When the commanding German officer, Captain Wintgens, arrived at Nyanza, he cheerily shook Musinga's hand and assured him that the Germans would soon return. Witnessing the hastiness of the German withdrawal

and the impressive size of the Belgian invading force, Musinga could not have placed much faith in the immediate fulfillment of such a promise.[14]

The Court barely had time to weigh alternatives in dealing with the victors before the Belgian advance guard arrived on 19 May 1916. Their officers marched brusquely into the royal enclosure and ordered two notables to take them immediately to Musinga. Unable to understand the command, which was given in Swahili, the two tried to explain in Kinyarwanda. Taking this as a sign of resistance, the Belgians shot both men. One died immediately, the other shortly after from his wounds. Frightened and humiliated by the killings of his men in his own enclosure, Musinga hurried to pay court to the Belgians, accepting their flag and promising to have no further contacts with the Germans. Musinga knew that his hopes for expanding his kingdom had been dashed and he suspected that the new colonial administration would be much harder to tolerate than the old.[15]

The local Belgian commander, General Tombeur, had been instructed by the Colonial Ministry that any conquered German territory would be held as a pawn for negotiations after the war. Thus Tombeur was to concentrate on winning the cooperation of the "native chiefs" so as to guarantee the security of the troops and order within the territory. Hard pressed to feed his troops and transport their materiel, Tombeur ignored these instructions. Suspicious of Musinga, and believing that he would not (or could not) deliver the needed supplies, he allowed his subordinates to institute more direct administrative structures, dividing the kingdom into an eastern sector with headquarters at Kigali, and a western sector with headquarters at Gisenyi. The Belgian officers made their demands directly on the notables, thus eliminating the Court from its profitable position as intermediary between the Europeans and its subjects.[16] More important to Musinga and Kanjogera than the loss of wealth, however, was the loss of power as the Belgians assumed responsibility for rewarding those notables who accommodated the new directives and punishing those who proved recalcitrant. Skeptical and impatient, the Belgians more frequently found occasion for punishment than for reward. The Belgians and their Congolese soldiers abused the offending notables by imprisoning them, stripping them of their fine cloths, beating them, and making them cultivate fields, or requiring them to empty the waste of other prisoners. At first the subjects or clients of imprisoned notables hurried to try to ransom their superiors with gifts or to try to bribe the soldiers to treat them less harshly; but

eventually they tired of this and left the notables to the sole aid of their kin and the Court.[17]

Some of the weak looked with satisfaction on the punishment of the strong, but others feared what the Europeans might do to them if they so abused the powerful. Some of the Hutu took heart as the Belgians sought to win their support in case of possible difficulties with the notables. To reconcile them to the requisitions demanded by the administration, the Belgians excused them from some of their traditional obligations to the notables. Some officers pledged that the Hutu would be given absolute control over their land and the fruits of their labor. Occasionally an officer would hear complaints of the Hutu against their notables and would implement these promises in his decisions. In the central kingdom, the sum of concrete actions was small but sufficed to raise the expectations of the Hutu and the ire of the notables.[18]

The shift in European support from the Tutsi to Hutu had its greatest effect in the north. The Belgians wanted reprisals against the notables who had led raids across the border. The Bakiga were happy to point out the residence of any Tutsi who had oppressed them, whether or not he had fought for the Germans; here were new Europeans to pillage and burn for them as the Germans had formerly done for the representatives of the Court.[19] The Tutsi had driven most of their cattle south ahead of the encroaching forces, but they had left behind a few rich herds. The Belgians confiscated these cattle and, since they could not care for them themselves, distributed them among Hutu, in some cases coincidentally restoring to them the same animals the Tutsi had appropriated sometime previously.[20]

One group of Hutu who profited more than others from Belgian protection were the *basemyi*, "those who speak," or the interpreters. Naturally, none of the Belgians spoke Kinyarwanda and few knew more than a smattering of Swahili, so the basemyi became the effective agents of local administration, assigning requisitions and arbitrating disputes. The Belgians preferred to recruit basemyi from the missions, perhaps believing their Christian training would make them more trustworthy and more virtuous. But if no converts were available, they would hire anyone who could communicate with them. One Rwandan recalled: "In fact anyone . . . who knew how to get along went to the Europeans; it was enough if he could talk to him; the European would hire him and would tell him to go requisition certain things and [the Rwandan] would go."[21]

The basemyi rapidly enlarged their areas of responsibility far beyond what the Belgians had assigned to them. Knowing their European patrons could not do without them, they felt free to exact gifts and services from notables and people alike. One who was named Mbonyubgabo—Wilhelmi or Guillaume, depending on the colonial overlord at the time—even began confiscating part of the traditional taxes and tribute en route to the Court.[22] Perhaps the most notorious of all the basemyi was Serufigi. Once a servant to the German officer Wintgens, from which experience he had acquired fluency in Swahili and familiarity with the ways of Europeans, Serufigi had shed his loyalty with his uniform as Wintgens began retreating. He went straight to the new Belgian post at Kigali and was promptly hired. As the Belgians' most trusted interpreter, Serufigi controlled the flow of information to the officers. He soon made the local notables realize that his good will was essential to avoiding the dreaded punishments of beating or imprisonment. The notables paid him court, giving him cattle and women on demand. Musinga himself sought to enlist Serufigi's support, but the bold interpreter rejected the cattle that Musinga had sent to seal their clientship.[23]

Musinga was tormented by the loss of authority to these upstart clients of the Belgians. Their pretentious assumption of the habits of the Tutsi—being transported in hammocks, holding evening séances—only emphasized their more serious appropriation of the powers of the notables. During 1916 and early 1917 their power was so great that Musinga dared not act against them. It was even rumored that the Belgians might divide Rwanda, giving the northern half to Serufigi, the southern half to Mbonyubgabo.[24]

While the Court and notables were naturally appalled by the dislocations caused by the Belgian administration, even many of the Hutu came to regret their arrival. Belgian promises of less tax and service to the notables were too rarely kept, while their demands for produce and labor for themselves multiplied. In addition, among the hundreds of troops that accompanied them, some escaped the control of their officers and robbed and raped at will. The troops behaved so badly in northern Rwanda that the Belgians had to prohibit them from leaving the post without a European officer.[25]

In the wake of the Belgian arrival, famine and epidemics enormously aggravated the misery of the Rwandans while adding to the feeling that the change in colonial administration portended worse to come.[26] The "Rumanura" famine began in the northwestern region of

Bugoyi, where the combatants had consumed most of the available food and where the requisition of porters had sharply reduced the number of men who could cultivate the fields. From there it spread to other areas as famine victims flowed to other regions, increasing the demand on food supplies throughout the northwest. In addition to military requisitions, the harvest of early 1916 was poor. Those who remained in Bugoyi survived on roots and wild plants, hoping for an improvement once the troops had moved on. But in November 1916 came torrential rains that destroyed the harvest for the next season. Poor weather continued for another eighteen months. So desperate were some people that they pawned their children in hopes that they would at least be fed by their owners and that the pittance from their pawnship relationship would sustain the rest of the household for a short time.* In this context, the ruthless sometimes kidnapped the most vulnerable to benefit from pawning them, claiming them as their own children, with no intention of redeeming them and keeping the loan received—in effect selling them. Though they saw this as slave trading, the Belgians did little to prevent such transfers within Rwanda. They worried, however, about British disapproval of such transfers occurring across the border and being defined as slave trading, so they concentrated their feeble efforts against the traffic at the frontiers.[27]

With the famine came devastating epidemics: smallpox, dysentery, grippe, and spinal meningitis. More than half the people of Bugoyi were driven from their homes in search of food, and as they dispersed they carried the epidemics throughout the kingdom. The flood of refugees and the poor growing conditions spread the famine to neighboring

*A pawnship relationship consisted of the temporary transfer of a person to another family in return for food transferred to the originating family. The family receiving the child was responsible for the good treatment of that person (including their food and protection); in turn they could benefit from that person's labor during his or her stay. The person so transferred was returned when the original loan was repaid. In times of need this reduced the demands for food on the originating household and ensured the survival of the transferred person. Among Rwandans it was understood as a temporary condition, but it was seen by Europeans as a "sale" of a person and hence as a form of slavery. Such misunderstandings were not only the product of European interpretation of any material exchange as a "sale," but intensified because combating slavery served as one of the most powerful ideological pretexts justifying colonial occupation in the first place—to European powers the suppression of the slave trade (and later, slavery) was a foundation to their claim to a "civilizing mission" in Africa.

regions and created serious scarcities elsewhere. Even eastern Rwanda, which escaped the worst of the famine and human epidemics, bore the brunt of an epidemic of trypanosomiasis among cattle. Thousands of cattle died, leaving many Tutsi impoverished and the Court itself a great deal the poorer. The administration and the missions did their best to cope with these multiple catastrophes by distributing medicine, food, and seeds. Severely hampered by lack of resources, they could relieve the suffering of only a relatively small number of those affected.[28]

Faced with these crises, Musinga and Kanjogera turned to traditional sources of help. Believing that the Banyiginya killed at Rucunshu were largely responsible for the misfortunes, they engaged in all the ceremonies and sacrifices presumed useful in moderating their wrath. In the past bami had sometimes had one of their sons join in the worship of the Imandwa to ensure the spiritual protection of the Court by these spirits; it was probably at this time of serious suffering that Musinga directed his son Rudacyahwa to be initiated into the movement. But some notables urged more direct action. They wanted to drive out the Belgians, who were seen as the cause of all the disruptions of a formerly agreeable life. The leading Bega, Rwidegembya and Kayondo—and apparently Kanjogera herself—were convinced of the need for such an uprising and began arguing for a prompt attack on the Belgians. Musinga must have been tempted: both his own authority and the existence of the kingdom itself appeared to be facing destruction. Yet the overwhelming odds in favor of the Europeans made him hesitate. At a time when the monarchy was marginalized by the occupying officers, he knew that to try and fail would only push the Belgians even further in the direction of eliminating the monarchy.[29]

But from September 1916 the notables grew bolder in their talk. Many of the Belgian troops had followed the line of battle to the south and were safely distant. Rumors were frequent that the British or the Germans might come to aid the Rwandans if they revolted. After several months of such talk, the Belgians became seriously concerned for their own safety, reprimanding Musinga harshly and commanding him to halt the rumors. Although the mwami may have given the desired order, dissatisfaction was too deeply rooted for such an edict to have any effect.[30]

The Belgians turned to the White Fathers for advice, as they would do repeatedly throughout the rest of Musinga's reign. The Fathers, who had always seen Musinga's maternal relatives as the primary obstacle to his conversion, identified the Bega as the chief opponents to Belgian rule. The decisive Superior of the Save Mission, Father Huntzinger,

agreed with the Belgian Commander Van Aerde that it was necessary to teach the Court "a lesson in savoir faire."* They settled on the powerful Rwidegembya to serve as an example to the Court and notables. He was arrested at Nyanza in December 1916 and after being subjected to many humiliations was dispatched to prison in the far northwest. Appalled by the treatment of Rwidegembya, the notables rapidly spread the news of his arrest. Some even anticipated that he would soon be executed. The shame and fear aroused by the incident were so great that one of Rwidegembya's clients committed suicide.[31]

Musinga could well have used this occasion to blame Rwidegembya for all the agitation in the kingdom. He could have ingratiated himself with the menacing foreigners while eliminating any future challenges from the powerful Mwega notable (and his own cousin) whom he distrusted. Although the mwami had used Europeans in the past and would use them in the future against the Bega, in this case he stood united with his maternal relatives against the foreigners. He first importuned the Belgians for Rwidegembya's release, accompanying his requests with gifts of cattle. When this produced no result, Musinga threatened an uprising against the Belgians. They took the threat seriously and in turn threatened Musinga himself with arrest and perhaps deposition. The commander summoned an additional battalion of troops to reinforce his own men. A few hundred yards from the royal enclosure, the Belgians installed their artillery and machine guns. The Rwandans did not attack.[32]

By February 1917 this momentary unity of the Court and notables had crumbled, never to be rebuilt under the rule of Musinga. Only two months after Musinga had stood by Rwidegembya, Rwagataraka, Rwidegembya's son, betrayed the mwami to save his father and to guarantee his own safety. Before the war, Rwidegembya had recognized the energy and ability of his son, who was just entering manhood, and had granted him command of the vast southwestern region of Kinyaga, a domain that Rwidegembya himself had received during the early years of Musinga's reign. During the war, Musinga had ordered Rwagataraka to aid the Germans, which he did brilliantly in battles against the Belgians at

*It is interesting that Huntzinger was advising the Belgians, since he was Alsatian—and therefore possibly opposed to German rule. He was also a forceful personality and one of the least deferential priests toward the royal family. For more on Père Huntzinger see Linden and Linden, *Church and Revolution in Rwanda,* 130 ff.

Cyangugu. Once the Germans started to retreat, Rwagataraka and his men went over to the Belgians. The new administration distrusted his switch in loyalties and imprisoned him briefly before allowing him to resume his command of Kinyaga. After his own brush with Belgian power, Rwagataraka feared for his father's life. Convinced that Musinga was powerless to save him, Rwagataraka hoped to win grace for Rwidegembya by accusing Musinga. He reported to the Belgians that Musinga had been in touch with Captain Wintgens, whose messenger he was hiding at Court.[33]

The Belgians accepted the accusations blindly, confronted Musinga with the charges, and ordered him to produce the supposed messenger. The frightened Musinga at first handed over one of his own servants, but Father Huntzinger, the Belgians' ever-present adviser, informed them that this was not the man they were seeking. Musinga then claimed that the accused man had gone to Kigali. Convinced by now that they were dealing with a plot, the Belgians took Musinga from his residence at gunpoint and locked him in jail while they sent for the man in Kigali. Kanjogera, panicked and outraged, began summoning the notables for battle. But when her representatives conferred secretly with Musinga at the jail, he forbade such an attack. He could not ignore the virtual impossibility of success nor the drastic consequences of failure. After Musinga had forbidden an attack, the notables took the only alternative course: they fanned out from Nyanza to collect cattle in hopes of ransoming their ruler. Their efforts were not needed. By nightfall the Belgians in Kigali had located and interrogated the supposed messenger. They could find no evidence to support the accusations, so they immediately released him and Musinga. They took no action against Rwagataraka, either because they believed he had been honestly mistaken or because they did not want to discourage other potential informants.[34]

Perhaps by coincidence, or perhaps because he had heard of the accusations against Musinga, Serufigi, the notorious interpreter, accused the mwami and several of his important notables of poisoning the milk supply of the Belgian officers at Kigali. He named Basomingera, who commanded a large domain which he coveted, as the immediate agent of Musinga's plot. The Belgians believed Serufigi as easily as they had Rwagataraka. They arrested Basomingera and telegraphed their superior for permission to arrest and begin prosecuting Musinga. As Rwandans remember the events, the Belgians were so convinced of the guilt of the accused that they had erected a gallows on the market place at Kigali before the trial had even begun. Before the Belgians could stumble

further into error, someone examined the "poison" that had been presented as evidence; it was nothing more than specks of dirt and hair accumulated during the milking process. One of the Fathers, aware of the frequency of accusations of poisoning among Rwandans, also intervened to point out that the Belgians had been duped by their interpreter.[35]

By jailing Musinga, the Belgians showed clearly that they had assumed ultimate power in Rwanda, something that foreigners had never done before. Implied in their treatment of him was their right even to remove him from the throne if they so chose. The notables believed that the Belgians had acted "to uncover Musinga front and back," "to destroy his pride," so as to prove that they had become the real rulers in Rwanda.[36] Through a determined effort, the Court kept word of the brief imprisonment from spreading far. But for the notables and their clients who did learn of the arrest, Musinga became "a lost man," liable like themselves to Belgian orders and punishments. The Bega, led by Rwidegembya (just freed by the Belgians and greatly impressed by their power), his brother Rwubusisi, and their cousin Kayondo, were among the first to adjust to the new situation. They began paying court to the Europeans in hopes of building regional bases of power; with an impotent Court, or no Court at all, they would rule for the Belgians.[37] As the Bega sought the protection of the Belgians and began to desert the Court, Musinga grew increasingly bitter against them, while Kanjogera, torn by divided loyalties to her kin and to her kingdom, watched in great distress.

Belgian Reassessment: Working with the Court

The report of the poison plot triggered a sudden reversal in Belgian policy. In late March 1917 Commander Malfeyt, who was governing the occupied territories for the Belgians, realized that his subordinates were losing control of themselves and of the situation. Victims of their own impatience and ignorance as well as of ambitious intriguers, the local authorities were destroying the very structure through which they were to rule. Coming just after the rumors of a general revolt and of contacts with the Germans, the poison plot convinced Malfeyt that a drastic change was necessary to "reestablish calm" in Rwanda. By ordinance number 5 of 6 April 1917, Malfeyt "restored the kingdom of Musinga" by reinstituting the residency system used by the Germans and so eliminating direct command by Belgian officers over the two halves of the

kingdom. To implement the new policy of cooperation with the Court, Malfeyt dispatched Major De Clerck, a veteran of twenty years experience in the Congo, to be the first Belgian Resident at Kigali. De Clerck quickly disposed of the poison charges by finding Musinga completely innocent. He then devoted seven days to hearing Musinga's complaints against the other Belgians who had made the mwami "like the least of his Watuzis," as Musinga told De Clerck.[38]

Musinga rejoiced at the new Belgian policy. When De Clerck began to press him for changes in Court life in return for the renewed support for his authority, Musinga obliged all the more willingly since most of the changes were so superficial. He presented first his mother, then his children—including his presumed heir—to De Clerck and other Europeans. He ordered the ladies of the royal family to sit for photographs to please the souvenir-hungry military men. He offered cigarettes and champagne to European visitors and even condescended to drink in their company. During the smallpox epidemic he agreed to be vaccinated, a measure he had refused before the war. He outfitted his sons in shirts, trousers, and fezes, and for state occasions he donned a sky-blue uniform with gold braid that the Belgians had given him, though he hesitated to wear the yellow shoes that completed the outfit. When the administration later gave him a Buick automobile, he consented to riding in it several times before the vehicle finally succumbed to the damage inflicted by the poor roads. The Fathers, advocates of the European industrial way of life as much as of Christianity, concluded, "The greatest obstacles to civilization are falling."[39] Given the readiness with which the Fathers accepted the form for the substance of change, it is not surprising that the less experienced Belgians were similarly pleased with the "civilization" of the Court. De Clerck and his superior Malfeyt repeatedly assured the Colonial Ministry that Musinga was doing everything possible to give satisfaction to the administration.[40]

De Clerck hoped to couple the restoration of Musinga's authority with a continuing commitment to improving the lives of the Hutu. Like other Europeans, De Clerck thought the Court could never recognize the need to moderate the burden on its subjects according to circumstances; therefore, force from above would be required for reform. He did not understand that the Court viewed temporary exemption from tax or service as a way to demonstrate its generosity, like the distribution of wealth it had collected, and thus as a means to ensure the allegiance of its subjects. But the Resident sought permanent relief through general, universally applicable edicts—not temporary, targeted tactics. In

July and August 1917, he pressed Musinga to decree that Hutu should receive double the amount of land that they were currently cultivating, that they should do uburetwa for only the customary two days instead of the three more recently demanded by notables, and that they should be able to keep all the produce of their fields and earnings from porterage without risk of confiscation by notables. To make the judicial system correspond to European ideas of justice, De Clerck himself prohibited the taking of vengeance and the testing of witnesses by poison or ordeal. The Resident also hoped to eliminate the many complex disputes over control of men and cattle by prohibiting dissatisfied subjects or clients from seeking the protection of new superiors. He also declared that a shebuja's right to recall his cattle from his bagaragu would be limited. To guard against future famines, De Clerck ordered all Rwandans to plant manioc, a tuber crop that resisted drought and could be conserved in the earth for several years before harvesting, and trees that supposedly would contribute to more regular rainfall.[41]

Just as Musinga had consented to the superficial changes in the ways of the Court, so he dared not refuse agreement to these more fundamental changes in the organization of the kingdom. But with the help of his notables he could and did prevent the changes from having any meaningful effect in virtually all parts of Rwanda. De Clerck had anticipated resistance from the notables and had instructed his subordinates to inform all the Rwandans directly of their new rights and obligations. The notables countered this measure by bribing the basemyi—who would announce the reforms. By the time the Belgians' proclamations had passed from French to Swahili to Kinyarwanda, they bore little resemblance to the original. Even when the Hutu managed to hear of their new rights, they ordinarily had no means of exercising them. They could not approach the Europeans without the help of the basemyi, whose fees for such services were excessive. In addition, the Hutu could not risk the possibility that an accused notable would learn the identity of the complainant and take reprisals against him. The only Hutu who learned the full extent of the decrees and who were able to use them against the notables were those who frequented the missions, the very people who already stood the greatest chance of receiving protection from exactions. Even the Fathers did not always welcome the opportunity to help the Hutu implement their new rights. They hoped that the new flexibility at Court about European ways might be stretched to include conversion to Christianity, and they wished to do nothing to diminish the likelihood of such a happening. Confronting the very foundation of

the notables' identity—command over subordinates—was not a way to gain their allegiance. In instructing the Fathers to help where they could in publicizing the decrees, Bishop Hirth added the warning that the missionaries were not "to make themselves odious" to the notables by reporting abuses to the administration.[42]

One ordinance, however, was more warmly received by the Fathers: in July 1917 Musinga proclaimed freedom of religion for all Rwandans. Although the Fathers hailed this as a great victory, Musinga had been allowed to decree that no one could be obliged to change his faith as well as that no one could be prevented from doing so. While guaranteeing that anyone who wished to could convert, the mwami was also protecting his people against the gutora system of forced instruction that the Fathers had been employing increasingly since the installation of the Belgian administration. The Fathers' circumspect behavior during the war had given way to far more vigorous solicitation of catechumens as they realized how fully the Belgians supported their civilizing mission. Through the notables, the Court spread the word that the prohibition against forced conversions was meant to carry more weight than that allowing for changes in religion.[43]

Participation in these proclamations of reforms, sham though they were, cost Musinga and Kanjogera some of their pride. They were determined to draw full benefit from this sacrifice and to prove that it was they who again ruled Rwanda. The missionaries and their followers offered a prime target for such a demonstration. As the Belgian support for religious change had led the Fathers to revive the gutora system, so the administration's reliance on the missionaries for political advice and practical help enabled them to acquire again some of the secular authority they had relinquished during the war. Musinga hesitated to attack the Fathers themselves, since they were so closely linked to De Clerck, so he struck first at the Christian basemyi who had gotten their appointments on the Fathers' recommendation and who had extended their areas of responsibility under the Fathers' protection. In April 1917 he reprimanded the Christians severely for their abuses and made them directly answerable to the Court instead of to the neighboring missions for their exercise of authority. In August he imprisoned and whipped the most notorious of them, including Guillaume Mbonyubgabo, who was a favored client of Father Huntzinger of Save. To oblige De Clerck, Musinga then let the charges against them drop and released them from jail.[44]

At the same time he won permission to issue a new decree stating that the Fathers had come to teach, not to command; that they had no

power to requisition laborers or produce; and that they had no authority to interfere in political or judicial matters. This was the only one of the reform decrees of 1917 that was widely propagated by the notables. It signaled a clear victory by the Court over the Fathers. By April 1918 the Court was strong enough to press the case against the Christian basemyi. Musinga's notables sent to arrest them also heaped much abuse and humiliation on them. When the Christians and their kin resisted arrest, De Clerck supported Musinga's men by sending soldiers under a European officer to the area. After a brief trial, the Court stripped the basemyi of all the wealth and power they had appropriated.[45]

Having destroyed the clients, the Court moved against the patron. Of all the Fathers, Musinga and Kanjogera particularly hated Father Huntzinger. He had been the most influential adviser to the Belgians who had undermined their power from April 1916 to April 1917. In addition, he concentrated his proselytizing efforts on the young Tutsi of the Court, even trying to win the affections of Musinga's own sons. In March 1918 the Father intervened in a territorial dispute between two important notables in his region, one of whom had been friendly to the missionaries, the other of whom detested them. Invoking the August decree against such interference, Musinga persuaded De Clerck to reprimand the Father harshly. In April the Father tried to protect the Christians who had been arrested by the Court. Armed with such evidence of the Fathers' continuing involvement in secular matters, Musinga demanded some kind of exemplary discipline from the administration. De Clerck tried to arrange the affair by calling Huntzinger to Nyanza for an interview with Musinga, but the meeting exploded into angry recriminations. De Clerck reluctantly agreed with Musinga that Huntzinger should leave Rwanda. Faced with the joint decision of the Rwandan and Belgian authorities, Huntzinger's superiors agreed to transfer him elsewhere. Within a few days of his trip to Nyanza, the Father was gone. The Court celebrated his departure as a great victory. Several versions of his final interview with the mwami circulated throughout the kingdom to explain his hasty departure. Although the details differed, most accounts agreed that Musinga had thoroughly humiliated the Father and had finally grabbed him by his beard and slapped him across the face.[46] Whether or not the violence had actually taken place, Rwandans particularly relished this part of the tale.

Destroying the power of the Christian upstarts and expelling a missionary from Rwanda pleased Musinga enormously, but even more important to him was bringing the notables back to complete obedience to

the Court. Musinga now used the Belgians to punish the men who had tried to build up their own centers of power under Belgian protection in the months just before De Clerck's arrival. Only four months after Musinga had tried so desperately but vainly to free Rwidegembya from Belgian imprisonment, he was eager and able to arrest him on his own authority. This time he imprisoned not just Rwidegembya, but also his brother Rwubusisi and their cousin Kayondo. Musinga wanted to discipline these Bega decisively but not ruthlessly. Unlike the clients of the Europeans, these were men of great power and prestige: to destroy them completely would be to deprive the Court of potential allies and to ignore their past close ties with Kanjogera and Musinga himself.* After keeping them in prison for several months, Musinga finally consented to receive them once more, granting them pardon and accepting their humble pledges of renewed obedience. Musinga also administered less severe disciplinary action to fifty-five other notables who had followed the Bega leaders in paying court to the Belgians.[47]

Tensions over Defining Administrative Structures

Musinga understood that having reestablished his control, he needed to exercise it constantly to retain the obedience of his more powerful subjects. After April 1917 he could once again determine which of his notables would have to fulfill the still enormous Belgian demands for men and supplies. He naturally assigned the heaviest burdens to the notables he wished to test or to intimidate, such as Kayondo. As it became clear that Kayondo was out of favor, some of his men began deserting him for other protectors. Thus weakened, Kayondo often lacked the resources to meet the requisitions imposed by the Court. The mwami interpreted his failures as further proof of disobedience from this cousin who seemed never to respect him enough.

Musinga's initial moderation in dealing with the Bega gave way to abuse of Kayondo. He humiliated him and had him whipped, inflicting scars on Kayondo that would never vanish. In 1917 and 1918 the mwami

*All three of those arrested were fraternal nephews to Kanjogera. In addition, Kayondo had been raised by Kanjogera and was the elder brother to Kankasi, one of Musinga's wives.

also deprived five leading notables of all or part of their domains, which he then granted to men of unquestioned loyalty to the Court. He forced other notables whose submission he doubted to stay at Nyanza, sometimes for years without returning to check on their domains. Their authority in their holdings was undermined, giving greater advantage to their rivals. This tactic had the added advantage of making the notables in question appear irresponsible and ineffective to the Europeans, who judged their performance by the quality of administration in their holdings. It thus made future European support for them less likely.[48]

Guarding against alliances of Europeans and notables in outlying areas occupied a fair amount of Musinga's attention. Although De Clerck had demonstrated his strong support for the mwami, his administrative subordinates in the several camps distant from Nyanza sometimes—by the slowness of communication or the complexity of the issues at hand—felt obliged to resolve questions themselves instead of referring them to Nyanza for a decision. Operating within a bureaucratic mindset and hampered by the diffusion of responsibility in the traditional system, some of these officials favored allotting authority to command all other Rwandan appointees to a single predominant notable of a region. Musinga immediately recognized the danger to his power inherent in such an arrangement, as it undermined the nature of the competing administrative domains. When the Belgian administrator in southwestern Rwanda named Rwidegembya's son Rwagataraka to be responsible for enforcing all government orders on the other Court delegates, Musinga struck down the arrangement within a few days. To ensure that Rwagataraka would not further consort with the Europeans, the mwami relied on a well-rehearsed tactic, surrounding him with informants and rivals. He granted several domains within Rwagataraka's territory to unimportant Tutsi who would owe their sole allegiance to the Court, and he named one of Rwagataraka's enemies to command a neighboring province. Rwagataraka understood the implied threat and withdrew into a more retiring role.[49]

In the north-central region of Mulera, a similar situation developed into a more serious struggle that pitted Musinga against the local notable and the Belgian administrator. Musinga's brother Nshozamihigo, who commanded vast domains in the north, had been losing favor at Court when he died in 1916. His son Nyirimbirima, a grandson of Rwabugiri, also failed to please Musinga, perhaps because Musinga felt he could always hope to succeed to the throne. From August to November 1917, Musinga kept Nyirimbirima at Nyanza, from time to time abusing

and whipping him. By the time the notable returned to the north, the people of the area were refusing to recognize his rule. To remedy this, the local administrator wanted to accord extraordinary powers to Nyirimbirima, to make him into the "Umwami of Mulera." Realizing that Nyirimbirima had been badly frightened by Musinga, who had warned the young man of the consequences of associating with the Europeans, the administrator sought to reassure him with "father-to-son chats," as he put it. But such paternal gestures were countered by a steady barrage of threats from Nyanza. When the administrator was posted to a new station in February 1918 and replaced by a man unknown to Nyirimbirima, Musinga seized the occasion to warn his nephew that he had won European consent to arrest and perhaps to execute him. The young man hastily summoned his kin and clients, gathered a few hundred of his thousands of cattle, and fled across the border. Musinga then gave his extensive domains to Gakwavu, a loyal client who had held no important commands previously.[50]

In their eyes, the colonial administration was committed to strengthening the power of the Court. They saw the "rationalization" of administrative structures as part of this process; the Belgians had become committed to upholding the notables' power as part of the effort to rebuild the authority of the Court. However, independently of the Court, the notables profited from European support in reasserting or extending their control over their inferiors. In the central kingdom, the Belgians needed only to withdraw the minimal protection they had been offering Hutu clients to see the notables augment their control. The Hutu soon learned that the reform decrees were meaningless as a way of protection; as one sadly put it after trying unsuccessfully to win Belgian protection against a notable, "They harden their hearts." As the Belgians sacrificed the rights of the Hutu to augment the authority of the notables, only the Hutu clients of the missions continued to enjoy European support.[51]

In outlying areas, the notables called on the Europeans for more active support in taking control of the Hutu. For much of the vast northeastern part of the kingdom, where such support was not originally given, the notables generally left the Hutu in peace. The notables asked for help most often in reestablishing their control in the northwest, whence they had fled so hastily in 1916. Even when they received the requested assistance their success in implanting their rule varied greatly from one region to another. In the northwestern region of Bugoyi, the notable Rwakadigi skillfully used the Belgians, as he had earlier used the Germans, to establish a firm local base of power. During the decade

Rwakadigi had ruled Bugoyi, he had grown from a poor Tutsi representative of a distinguished notable to a wealthy and powerful notable himself. Like Musinga, he masterfully used divisions among Europeans to protect himself while he used the hostilities among his subordinates to tighten his hold over them. Before the war the Hutu of Bugoyi had been strong enough to prevent Rwakadigi and his men from taking control of the land their lineages had cleared generations before. But the massive exodus of people seeking relief from the famine of 1916 through 1918 opened new opportunities for the notables. They claimed possession of all vacant lands and later refused to allow the returned refugees to reoccupy it without first paying for its use and acknowledging their authority over it. Rwakadigi also was able to force the men who had refused to do uburetwa for him to cultivate his fields by asserting that the Europeans had granted him new powers. When the Fathers of the Nyundo mission were drawn into the defense of the victims, Rwakadigi forestalled their interference by turning the administrators against them. Once the Hutu began gaining again in strength and numbers, they were able to slow the growth of Rwakadigi's power, but they could not win back the territory lost to him.[52]

Rwakadigi was able to turn European support to his advantage so successfully in part because he had exclusive control over much of the region, and in part because the Hutu were so weakened and disorganized. In the north-central region of Mulera the notables also profited from European backing, but the rivalries among them and the relative strength of the Bakiga there (who had not suffered nearly so seriously from the famine as the people of Bugoyi) hindered the expansion of Tutsi control. The fall from favor and subsequent flight of Nyirimbirima, the most important notable of the region, had opened the way for ambitious competitors to poach on his territory before his successor, Gakwavu, arrived to take command. Men who had ruled for Nyirimbirima faced a bitter struggle in trying to preserve their holdings against both the poachers and the more legitimate clients who later arrived to rule for Gakwavu. During the year or so of intense competition among the old and the new notables, the rivals needed the support of local lineages both to defend their territory and to convince the administrator that they actually could rule effectively. Although the Belgians were committed to upholding control by the notables, they could not maintain a notable in power if all his supposed subjects refused to obey him. Always seeking to maximize their autonomy from outside control, the local leaders were quick to realize their importance to the notables, and they

gave their support only in return for arrangements that benefited themselves and their kin. In some cases they were able to oblige the notables to protect them from requisitions for the Europeans. Those who could not or would not make such arrangements were then assigned the whole burden of European demands in food and service for that region. If they failed to produce the quota, the notable could call in the Belgian soldiers to attack and pillage their homes and fields. Such a use of outside force embittered the resisters and only increased their recalcitrance.[53]

Between the resisters and the lineages protected by the notables, there were few left to meet the enormous demands of the post. As a result, by the end of 1917 the Belgians were actually receiving less from the north than they had before the reimposition of rule by the notables. Referring to these people as "Hutu" and thus defining them in their presumed "customary" relation to the Court, the Belgians could not decide if all the Bakiga were in rebellion against these "customary norms" or if the notables were merely deceiving them, keeping the taxes for their own ends. The vacillations in policy reflected this uncertainty. One administrator wholeheartedly backed new claims by the notables for such services as uburetwa from their people; another promptly withdrew the support, arguing that such claims would push the people to open rebellion against the Europeans as well as the notables.[54] The Belgians hoped to back the notables enough to allow them to impose their control effectively but not so much as to permit them to rule oppressively. Such a carefully balanced policy would have been difficult to execute under any circumstances, but given the administrators' ignorance of the area and the language, it was clearly impossible. The Bakiga saw only the existence of European support for the Tutsi, not their attempt to moderate this support. The notables encouraged such a vision. Consequently the resisters broadened their opposition to include the Europeans themselves.

The Bakiga employed the whole range of traditional tactics against the Europeans and the notables. They lured them into ambush and they attacked them openly. They stole their possessions and burned their residences. They sometimes fled an area, leaving it empty of population when the outsiders approached; at other times they stood their ground and refused to allow them to pass. Sometimes they acquiesced in the orders of the outsiders and then just neglected to honor such demands.[55]

By November 1917, at the height of the famine when conditions were most harsh, the local Bakiga lineages controlled Mulera. The notables no longer dared live there. The most important of them found pressing business at Court, while their representatives sought safety at

the European post or on the land of the few lineages that had proved loyal to the Court. Even with more than one hundred soldiers at his command, the administrator was virtually confined to his post. Although in his reports he tried to excuse his inactivity by citing the difficulties of traveling at night or the risks of fording streams, he clearly was immobilized by fear of the people. Since his messengers were attacked within a mile of the post, he could not even requisition food for himself or his troops. In his correspondence he remarked that "the prestige of the European has disappeared because he must beg food from those who are willing to bring it to him." Not surprisingly, the Hutu gathered on the hills surrounding the post to call down tauntingly that the Belgians were nothing but women.[56]

Breaking Resistance in the North

While a great number of the people of Mulera were resisting the notables and Europeans during late 1917 and early 1918, their actions were brief, local, and generally coordinated only within each lineage. The hostilities among the lineages—a product of local autonomy—had always hindered unified opposition to the outsiders; the events of the war and the period immediately following had only exacerbated these antagonisms among the Bakiga. The influence of the Fathers, the most powerful European patrons in the region, had wavered during the war, while that of the Tutsi had dissipated when the notables had fled south in 1916. The weakening of powerful outsiders had opened lines of cleavage in the local community, exposing their followers to retaliation from those who had suffered from the increasingly intrusive presence of Europeans or Tutsi. Then the revival of the power of the missionaries and the return of the notables had again strengthened their clients and allowed them, in their turn, to take reprisals on those who had been persecuting them shortly before. The nearest approach to unity among the Bakiga of Mulera was a kind of informal sanctuary that most of the resisters were willing to extend to those pursued by their common enemies.[57]

But while unity escaped the local resistance, the lack of central organization that diffused the effect of the resistance also ensured its persistence. The Belgians at first supposed that if only they could arrest the heads of the lineages leading the opposition, then the others would submit. After a year of vainly following this strategy, the local administrator had to admit it had no noticeable effect. He wrote the Resident despairingly, "If you arrest the 'mugabo' [head] of a lineage, they just replace

him with another and continue worse than ever."[58] Resistance was founded on the determined widespread opposition of many to the rule of the outsiders, not on centralized policy making or the persuasive powers of a few leaders.

The notables and the Europeans began to regain control of Mulera only in late 1918 when Gakwavu arrived from Court to take up Nyirimbirima's command. As he settled the rivalries among the other notables, they began to turn their attention to establishing control over their domains instead of competing among themselves for increased holdings. The Belgians welcomed the establishment of a new hierarchical order among the notables and began to act more decisively to support it. With European support assured, and less dependent on negotiating for the support of the local leaders, the notables could assert their command over them more ruthlessly. The increased punitive activity of the notables and the Europeans made it more costly for Bakiga to resist than to comply with requisitions. The small islands of territory controlled by the notables—sometimes no more than Court fictions—expanded in size and grew in number. In a few places Court delegates actually dared build residences in their domains, and to begin requiring uburetwa labor from their subjects. In most they were content to be able to collect the general tax (ikoro) and the occasional payment of part of the harvest (*ibihunikwa*) as well as, of course, the requisitions for the Belgians. In most of these areas, judicial affairs were still handled first by the heads of the lineages, although the more persistent litigants were beginning to appeal decisions that displeased them to the notables—beginning to change their status from autonomous Bakiga to subject Bahutu.[59] Still, the islands of Court control were interspersed with areas that continued to resist both Tutsi and Europeans, in a patchwork that generally corresponded to the division of the region by lineage.

The people of the north recognized that the absence of one universally acclaimed leader made a decisive attack on the outsiders impossible. Some spoke longingly of Bichubirenga or even of Ndungutse, but no new leader of that stature appeared.[60] In the southwest, the autonomous states of Busozo and Bukunzi were also being pressured by the Europeans and notables. A man who had fled the famine in Bugoyi brought the teachings of the Nyabingi movement to the people of these mountains in the south. He attracted a number of adherents before the administrator learned of his presence and arrested him, thus cutting short the development of the movement.[61] In the north-central region of Bushiru—another domain with its own mwami, autonomous of the

Court—the people rallied to a different kind of religious figure, a White Father. Father Prior had lived in the region for several years and had earned the respect of the people by the fairness with which he settled their disputes. When the notables made use of Belgian backing to begin raiding and pillaging Bushiru in an effort to establish their control, the priest intervened to plead the case for the Bashiru. When the administration failed to acknowledge his concerns, the Father himself ordered the Tutsi to leave the people of Bushiru in peace. The Tutsi threw back at him Musinga's order that missionaries should exercise no political authority. Father Prior then decided on immediate action.[62] As one of his followers recalled: "Hearing that, he [the Father] got up and told us to follow him. . . . [W]e began saying, 'Ah, this little European is great.' Father Prior took his gun and his clients; he ordered the drum of alarm beaten, saying 'Come to help me, oh men of Bushiru, because the Tutsi are going to exterminate Rwanda.' That same day, the Tutsi left to go home and so peace was reestablished."[63] As the Tutsi beat a retreat, the people of Bushiru divided the spoils, which included a number of cattle of the Tutsi, as well as their own previously confiscated property. Under the leadership of the European patron, their resistance served to guarantee their peace and independence for some time to come.

With the support of the Germans during the early years of the war, the Court had wielded increasing power over its subjects while its notables had extended their control over the Hutu. The mwami and his representatives had then lost strength precipitately through the humiliations and harsh measures of the first year of Belgian administration. Musinga and Kanjogera had had cause to worry about their personal safety, their positions as rulers, and the continued existence of the kingdom as they had known it. The notables had been forced to take orders from the Europeans and had seen their subjects encouraged to make claims against them. Even those who hoped to benefit from the initial attempts to improve their condition could hardly have found the Belgian promises any compensation for their increased demands.

When the administration realized that the crumbling of royal power might result in either revolt or anarchy, they dramatically changed policy. The Court and notables adapted quickly to the necessities and possibilities of this new direction. While making superficial concessions and promising serious reforms, they successfully blocked any changes that

might threaten their power. Musinga used De Clerck's solid support to destroy the influence of the Christian upstarts, to expel a European missionary, and to bring his own notables back to obedience to the Court. The notables reasserted or extended their authority with active Belgian support in some areas, with their approval everywhere. The Hutu and Bakiga obviously suffered most from the reversal in policy, but many of them, especially in the north, continued to resist the rule of Europeans and Tutsi alike.

Despite his original fears of the Belgians, Musinga ended the first three years of their administration apparently stronger than at the start. Before the war, the experience of the Ndungutse revolt had showed the Court that once it had extended its rule in the north with German support, it would have to rely on that support to maintain it. Now Musinga and Kanjogera must have realized that the authority they had once exercised on their own had been restored only with Belgian assistance. To keep that authority they would have to retain Belgian support.

Nyirakabuga, Kanjogera, Kagesha, Musinga, Murebwayire, and Kankazi, circa 1917

7

Alliances That Bind—and Divide, 1919–1922

Belgian Rule and the Court

Inkomezi yacyaane ica imigozí
[To pull too hard breaks the bonds]

In the atmosphere of superficial cordiality that followed the Belgian decision to restore power to the Court and notables, Musinga and his representatives agreed to participate in a referendum meant to ascertain their preference of colonial administration. The Belgian Colonial Ministry organized the referendum in November 1918. As Woodrow Wilson's ideas about the self-determination of peoples gained currency among the diplomats who were dividing up the spoils of war in Europe, the ministry was anxious to be able to present evidence of the Rwandan desire for continued Belgian rule. First Musinga pledged his loyalty to Bula Matari, as the Belgian administration was known.* Then the notables in

*The term "Bula Matari" means literally "The Breaker of Rocks." It originally applied to Henry Morton Stanley's brutal conduct toward Africans as he forced workers to build the railway from the Atlantic coast to Léopoldville. But it became the general term applied to Belgian administration by Africans in the Congo. The fact that Rwandans also used the term "Bula Matari" to apply to colonial power only underscores the extent to which many colonial policies introduced in Rwanda originated (directly or indirectly) in Léopoldville, the administrative capital of the Belgian Congo. There were distinctions between the two colonial jurisdictions: as former German territories, Burundi and Rwanda were legally "Mandated Territories" under the League of Nations (and, after World War II, "Trusteeship Territories" under the United Nations); this gave them a

the various regions solemnly declared their devotion to the Belgians, in their most elegant language. As one of the missionaries who observed the proceedings remarked, the Rwandans had no choice. Only one particularly bold notable declared that he was indifferent about which Europeans advised the Court, so long as none were Christian.[1] Presumably his vote was not recorded in Europe.

The Ambiguities of Indirect Rule

As the Rwandans were proclaiming their loyalty to the Belgians, the Belgians were undertaking an even more significant commitment to the Court and notables. The Belgians were allocated control over Rwanda by the Orts-Milner Convention of 30 May 1919, although the formalities related to its status as a mandate territory under the League of Nations were not completed until 1924.[2] Once the convention had guaranteed Belgian rule in Rwanda, the Colonial Ministry had to decide on a policy for administering the kingdom. Dissatisfied with the results of earlier direct administration in the Congo, and impressed by the economy and efficiency of the British administration in Uganda, the Ministry chose an approach of "indirect rule."* Ministry officials optimistically

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distinct status from direct colonial rule. Jointly, Burundi and Rwanda also had their own "Vice Gouverneur." While officially he served under the governor-general in Léopoldville, in practice he exercised considerable autonomy, reporting directly to the Belgian Minister of Colonies. In addition, many administrators and policymakers who served in Burundi and Rwanda had long experience in those territories; they developed a strong esprit de corps and were often acutely sensitive to the structural and historical differences between Burundi and Rwanda, on the one hand, and Congolese societies, on the other. Nonetheless, Congo remained the dominant concern of Belgian administrators, and many of the colonial policies drawn up for Congo also influenced the concepts and implementation of policy in Burundi and Rwanda. The use of the term "Bula Matari" in Rwanda alludes to this factor.

*Many of these policies were instituted by Louis Frank, an influential Minister of Colonies of the Christian Liberal political party, and implemented by Governor-General Maurice Lippens (until early 1923). As noted above, there was a complex relationship between Belgian colonial policy in the Congo and the policies implemented in Rwanda and Burundi; as Mandated Territories under the League of Nations (and later as Trusteeship Territories under the United Nations) these two territories were neither directly under the colonial governor-general, nor entirely autonomous administrative spheres. However, whatever the formal legal status might be, within Belgian politics Congo carried much greater administrative weight than did Rwanda-Urundi, and policy in Congo often influenced policy in the Mandated Territories.

predicted that Rwanda could be administered easily through its "natural" rulers, with the subtle guidance of the colonial power, since it was one of the rare "nations" inherited from precolonial Africa and it constituted a "type of perfectly organized society."[3] Although first implemented as a wartime expedient, governing through the Court and notables became enshrined as the central tenet of Belgian administration. As one of the officials wrote: "only this framework [of the traditional system] can assure us of having the indispensable instrument for all progress, an authority extending its control to all the elements of the society. As such, it is irreplaceable and we cannot destroy it or compromise it without creating chaos."[4]

The officials did not acknowledge the contradiction between their desire to respect the authority of the Court and their hopes of using it to "civilize" Rwanda. The mwami's power was built upon his right "to kill and to enrich." Yet the Belgians defined "civilization" partly by the security of persons and the assurance of individual control over property. The colonizers could "civilize" the kingdom only to the extent that they limited the Court's power over life and property; yet by limiting this power, they would undermine the very authority on which they hoped to draw when implementing further changes.

The Court realized better than the Belgians the implications of yielding any part of its power "to kill and to enrich." De Clerck informed the Court in 1917 that it could no longer impose a death sentence on any of its subjects without the approval of the Resident. But the Court ignored this restriction, as it had ignored a similar one decreed by the Germans. It no longer executed victims publicly as a display of its power; it killed only minor servants of the royal household instead of notables; and it may have executed fewer people than it would have without the Belgian presence. But it maintained the principle that the mwami could kill.[5]

The administrators may have stood so far outside Rwandan society that they never learned of the executions, but they could not have failed to remark the frequency with which the Court and notables ignored their often repeated orders guaranteeing security of property. When faced with such cases, the administrators, who had been instructed both to protect the weak and to maintain the power of the strong, ordinarily took the easier course of supporting the powerful. Over time they increasingly had come to regard the Tutsi, who seemed physically and culturally more like Europeans, as their natural allies in ruling the Hutu. In addition, they were reluctant to be drawn into matters that often took so much time and effort—and patience—and which exposed so

thoroughly their ignorance of Rwandan customs. On the rare occasions when the administrators were moved to intervene on behalf of the weak, the Court and notables circumvented their decisions by delaying their execution, distorting their intent, or reversing them as soon as the administrator had forgotten about them.[6]

The Belgians were more concerned with a related problem: that of ensuring notables a stable tenure in command. While the Court regarded the allocation of commands as an element of the wealth and power it distributed among its loyal followers—and their capricious character as a symbol of the power of the king—the Belgians saw these appointments as elements in an incipient "native administration" modeled on European ideals. To implement the transformation of the complex Rwandan administrative systems of overlapping relationships into a simple, hierarchical bureaucracy, the Belgians first needed to know who was governing where. The intricacy of the traditional pattern of commands and the variety of proper names and generic terms of the many subdivisions of the kingdom created confusion enough, but the Court and notables fostered even more obfuscation as they sought to evade burdensome duties imposed by the administration. Both the complexity of the system and the subtlety of the language lent themselves to such an objective. Since the leading notables were usually at Court, they would delegate responsibility for governing their domains to subordinates. When it came to dealing with the administrator, each subordinate, no matter how unimportant, seemed always to find another man further down the chain of command to represent him. The administrators often ended up giving orders to some obscure client who had no power in the area whatsoever. Not only was there a bewildering multiplicity of representatives, but they were always changing according to the whim of a superior—for any purpose and at varying time intervals. Especially if the administrator found a man with whom he could work well, that man would be sure to disappear, removed from his functions by a superior who feared such compatibility with the foreigner.[7]

In 1919 and 1920 the Belgians ordered the Court and notables to inform the administration before changing any of their subordinates. When this directive had no effect whatsoever, they tried to control the system by forcing the notables to submit all changes in command to the Court. In theory, the Court would then submit such proposals as well as any others it wished to initiate to the Resident for approval. In practice, however, the Court and notables complied with these arrangements only when it suited them. The Belgians cared more about maintaining

its apparent agreement with the Court and notables and about upholding their prestige than it did about tidying up the indigenous system, so they took no action to enforce obedience to their orders. The Resident could not even get the Court to fill his request for a complete list of all the notables in Rwanda until four years after he had made it.[8]

The authority of the Court depended on intangibles as well as on its direct power over the lives and property of its subjects. Musinga and Kanjogera were determined to preserve the ideas, ceremonies and customs that contributed to the legitimacy of their rule. They themselves believed in the efficacy of some of the rituals, as much as did their people. Having taken the drum by force, they were all the more concerned to perform faithfully the ceremonies necessary to appease the spirits of those killed by the coup and thus to ensure a return to power and prosperity for Rwanda.[9]

While some of the ideas and ceremonies that justified rule by the mwami clearly had religious implications, other customs had no spiritual basis but were simply regarded as contributing to the aura of majesty surrounding the Court. The Europeans did not distinguish between the religious and the customary, but rather lumped all together as "superstitions." When the Resident De Clerck began encouraging the establishment of schools throughout Rwanda in 1917, the goal was in part that, at least for these promising young men, education would break the grip of "superstition" as well as convey the skills deemed useful to the administration. The schools were to teach morality rather than Christianity as such, but their lessons were meant to show young Rwandans that their own values were inferior to European ones. Since the schools were located at missions of the White Fathers and directed by them, the prohibition against religious instruction was rarely observed. At one such supposedly secular school, the principal reading text was *L'Histoire Sainte*.[10]

The Court predictably resisted De Clerck's pressure to send the sons of chiefs to these schools. Musinga had long realized the value of literacy and linguistic skills in dealing with the Europeans. He had learned Swahili and could read and write. But while he needed such knowledge to ensure the accuracy of his communications with the Europeans, his notables would have no need for these techniques and might possibly use them against the Court. As under the Germans, Musinga and Kanjogera sought to restrict European education to young men who were so poor, weak, or unpromising that they could pose no threat to the Court and important notables. The Rwandans called European learning

amarozi, "poison." Some believed that European ideas would actually cast a spell over the young, while others used the term merely to indicate that such learning would spoil well-born young men for the lives they were destined to lead. To evade the Belgian order that "sons of chiefs" attend school, the Court and notables used the tactics that had succeeded in misleading the Germans. They enrolled instead the sons of clients, bastard sons, or sons who were obviously not intellectually gifted. One even registered a son who had died some time before.[11]

Once De Clerck became aware of this practice, he and some of the White Fathers carefully explained to Musinga that the administration was going to be relying increasingly on young men trained in European skills. If the Court refused to allow capable young notables to acquire these talents, they would have no chance to rule; the Hutu and poor Tutsi would replace them. This argument swayed Musinga, although Kanjogera and many of the notables still opposed any compromise. In June 1918 Musinga wrote to the Royal High Commissioner, who governed Rwanda and Burundi, declaring that his main objection to the schools was their association with the missions. He would consent to place his sons in a school run by the administration and staffed by lay instructors, but he could never permit them to be taught by the missionaries who "teach . . . scorn for the law of our fathers" and who would persuade the young notables "no longer to like living in our ways."[12]

Recognizing how adamant the Court was on the issue of religion, the Belgians agreed to open their own secular school at Nyanza in 1919. Musinga enrolled his three oldest sons, Mumonozi, Rudacyahwa, and Rudahigwa, and ordered the young men training as ntore at the Court to study as well. The ntore members, however, had grown up in an environment where European learning was regarded as unfit for men of their caliber. Having guessed that the ntore might balk at orders to come to school, the administrator at Nyanza one day simply marched them all into a military barracks, shut the door, and told them that they were now students and the building was a school. While their names were recorded one by one, the young men looked from one to the other fearfully, wondering what form the "poison" might take. They were then ordered to give the names of comrades who were absent. Some hesitated, but others complied readily. According to one involuntary student, "You said to yourself, it is not right that I should go to die alone."[13] Knowing that it might be some time before the ntore discovered the charm of European learning, the administrator informed them that anyone who

missed one day of class would receive twenty-five blows of the whip. Many of the notables disapproved of Musinga's decision to allow his sons and ntore to study, but most followed his example. Only a very few chose to send their sons to distant hills in the outlying regions where they might be safe from European education.[14]

Conversion and the Court

The Court was especially sensitive to the possibility of religious "poisoning" in the schools because several important young Tutsi had recently converted to Christianity. At the beginning of the war, only a few hundred poor and weak Tutsi—those outside the Court elite—had openly accepted Christianity (although several important young notables had secretly sought instruction from the Fathers). These secret catechumens dared to confess their convictions openly only after the Belgians had arrived and declared their intention to support the Fathers and protect converts. Among these important Tutsi were the Munyiginya Semutwa, a grandson of Rwabugiri (and son of Cyitatire) and nephew of Musinga; two others were Bega—Naho and Gasana—both nephews of Kabare. Musinga disposed of Gasana by naming him to supervise a caravan of Rwandan porters carrying Belgian supplies to Tabora; like many of his fellow countrymen, he died en route from one of the lowland diseases to which he had no immunity. Semutwa and Naho persisted in their beliefs and were baptized at Christmas in 1917.[15]

Because Semutwa was "a child of the drum," a direct descendant of a mwami, his conversion caused particularly great distress at Court. Kanjogera had long hated Semutwa's father, Cyitatire; only Musinga's defense of his brother had saved him from her wrath in the past. Now Musinga joined his mother in condemning Cyitatire for permitting Semutwa's conversion; they refrained from stripping Cyitatire of all his holdings only because they knew the Europeans were committed to defending Semutwa and his father. As it was, Semutwa, a slender, soft-spoken young man of seventeen or eighteen, was abused physically and verbally by his fellows. At social evenings at Court, he was mocked as one who preferred learning to ruling (*kwiga* to *kwima*) and as one who had chosen "the white of the religious medal" over "the white of [his lineage's] cattle." Semutwa and Naho were banished from ordinary contact with their former associates, who unhesitatingly labeled them inyangarwanda, "haters of Rwanda," and ibisome, "rebels against the

mwami." Perhaps to strengthen Semutwa's resolve, perhaps to emphasize his distinctiveness, the Fathers gave the new convert one of their cast-off habits, which he wore even at Nyanza. Despite constant encouragement from the Fathers, Semutwa could not bear the torment to which he was exposed. After several years as a practicing Christian, he returned to the traditional faith and even joined in the religious ceremonies at Court. He did not feel strong enough to reassert his Christian beliefs until several years later, when the power of the Court had been considerably weakened.[16]

The first conversions of leading Tutsi, and the Europeans' obvious scorn for Rwandan ideas, spurred the Court to defend the traditions of Rwanda more vigorously. One impertinent young administrator, Oscar Defawe, ridiculed the traditional prohibition against rulers with the reign name of Yuhi from crossing the Nyabarongo River. Since Musinga had the name of Yuhi, he could travel only in the part of Rwanda south of the river. Defawe reasoned that if he could be made to cross the river and to see that the action would bring him no harm, then he would be able to travel more widely and supervise more closely the way his notables ruled. The administrator invited Musinga to accompany him for a drive in the new Buick the Belgians had presented to the Court. He drove straight for the river and obviously meant to force Musinga to cross it. As the mwami realized his intention, he insisted that the car be stopped. The vehemence of his vow that he would die rather than make the crossing impressed Defawe; the disappointed administrator gave up his plan and turned back to Nyanza.[17]

By 1920 Musinga and Kanjogera were concerned enough about the threat of Christianity to go to extraordinary lengths to prevent its further spread. They chose a relatively minor notable who was a catechumen to serve as an example and ordered him severely beaten. He escaped alive but died soon after of his injuries. When the Belgian Minister of Colonies, Louis Franck, visited Rwanda they chose the opposite approach of complete submission to win a guarantee of religious freedom from him. They explained that Rwandan religious ideas were their heritage just as Christianity was the heritage of the Belgians. Regardless of what the missionaries preached, Christianity could never replace Rwandan beliefs as a foundation for the rule of the mwami. First Kanjogera, then Musinga knelt before Franck to plead that they never be forced to convert. Embarrassed by what he felt to be a reasonable request, Franck readily assured them that religion was a matter of free choice in

all civilized countries.* Under the Belgian administration, he promised, neither the mwami nor his mother would be made to give up beliefs they cherished.[18]

Rivalries at the Court: The Inshongore

Musinga and Kanjogera welcomed Franck's declaration, but probably put little faith in it. They were beginning to believe Belgian promises less and less. Despite their guarantee of protection for the mwami and Rwanda, the Belgians had ceded the eastern part of Rwanda to the British under the terms of the Orts-Milner Convention. The Resident, then E. Van den Eede, had tried to dissuade the diplomats from the cession because he feared its effect on the Court. When these efforts failed, the Resident delayed informing Musinga. Van den Eede, a man of apparent good will but little experience or determination, stood in awe of the Court and dreaded the explosion of anger sure to follow the announcement. In late December 1919 Van den Eede could postpone the unpleasant duty no longer, since the news was already being discussed by traders in Kigali. He reluctantly traveled to Nyanza to tell the Court.[19]

Musinga and Kanjogera understandably were shocked by the news: the ceded territory comprised about one quarter of the total area of Rwanda and included the former kingdom of Gisaka, conquered by Musinga's grandfather and father; part of the region of Mubari, revered by the Court as the center of the original Rwandan kingdom; and part of Buganza, prized by the Court and its leading notables for its broad pasturelands. Their sense of betrayal was all the greater since the Resident himself could offer no convincing justification for the cession. His explanations about the British need for a convenient route for their projected Cape-to-Cairo railway rang hollow in face of the enormous dislocations the decision was sure to bring for the Court and thousands of its subjects.[20]

*Freedom of religion was both an essential principle to the mandate from the League of Nations and a factor of considerable importance among the Belgian political parties (dividing Liberals and Socialists from Catholics); Franck was a Liberal.

The Resident assured the Court that Belgian diplomats had recognized the injustice and were already working to arrange a return of the territory. Musinga and Kanjogera, however, were not convinced by such assurances; they planned to implement their own measures to ensure their continuing sovereignty in eastern Rwanda, adopting a strategy they had used with some success to maintain control over areas ceded by the Germans to British and Belgians in 1911. The Court ordered its notables to disregard changes in the colonial administration and to continue ruling their domains as agents of the Court.[21]

The cession strengthened Musinga's and Kanjogera's resentment of the foreigners—and reinforced their determination to resist measures they introduced. At the same time, it created a situation in which such resistance would be extremely effective. In working for the retrocession of the territory, officials of the Colonial Ministry made their request in the name of Musinga and framed their case in terms of restoring the integrity of a well-established kingdom. As their efforts intensified in 1920 and 1921, public attention in Europe was drawn to Rwanda and to the relationship between the Court and the colonial administration. Any open disagreement between Musinga and the Belgians would have been embarrassing and might have doomed the diplomatic efforts to failure. Musinga sensed that the Resident particularly needed his cooperation and that he felt uneasy about the cession's having been made. Musinga took every occasion to remind Van den Eede how badly the Belgians had treated him, and raised the issue especially when he wanted to obtain something from the Resident.[22]

Although Van den Eede himself anxiously cultivated good relations with the Court, he was not so effective in keeping his subordinate administrator at Nyanza, Oscar Defawe, from offending Musinga and Kanjogera. The Rwandans called Defawe "Sebiziga," a name based on the Kinyarwanda verb meaning "to force." One Rwandan who worked under his direction explained that "He understood that without using force one could get nowhere with the Tutsi, who surpass all others in political skills."[23] In addition to representing the Resident at Nyanza, Defawe supervised the school there, teaching the sons of notables that their "minds were empty" before being filled with European education.[24] To see the students being taught such ideas naturally distressed the Court. Defawe was convinced that European ways of training the body, like those of improving the mind, surpassed Rwandan methods. He insisted that the students learn to swim and took them regularly to practice in a nearby stream. The Court at first regarded such an exercise as

merely ridiculous, but after one of Musinga's sons was nearly drowned, the Court opposed the lessons as a useless risk. Defawe continued with the lessons while the issue was being appealed to the Resident. When an epidemic of spinal meningitis struck the school in September 1919, many Rwandans believed that the illness resulted from the swimming lessons. In November, Musinga's oldest son and presumed heir, Munonozi, died of the disease; the following March, the next eldest, Rudacyahwa, also died of meningitis. Musinga suffered greatly from the loss of these two sons, perhaps all the more so because he, like many others, saw their deaths as related to the European "poison" to which he himself had ordered them to submit.[25]

The growing rift between Musinga and Defawe provided tempting opportunities for those who were out of favor at Court. In particular, with a few followers Kayondo (a Mwega), and Nturo (a Munyiginya) began building ties with the administrator. Although this new association had nowhere near the impact of a similar move by Kayondo, Rwubusisi, and Rwidegembya in 1917, because official Belgian policy was now committed to upholding the authority of the Court, it nonetheless did foreshadow future developments that would have enormous consequences for the Court.

Kayondo and others skillfully found ways to please and flatter Defawe. When evening was falling, they would make their way to his new brick home, which sat primly at one end of the spanking, straight-as-a-ruler avenue, opposite the sprawling royal enclosure. When the European had finished his solitary dinner, they would share his port and cigars. With the aid of a young relative or client who knew Swahili, they would regale him with amusing anecdotes and answer his questions about Rwandan history and custom. In between they would sandwich in bits of information that would enhance their own reputations or detract from those of their enemies, the current favorites at Court.[26]

These notables wanted to use Defawe to influence the Court, not to destroy it. Kayondo's case best illustrates their fears and hopes. In the years after the war he had begun taking a leadership role among the Bega, replacing Rwidegembya, who was aging and who had been losing power under the steady if indirect attack of the mwami. The more influential Kayondo became, the more Musinga disliked him and tried to curb him with heavy assignments of requisitions for the Europeans. More serious for Kayondo, even Kanjogera seemed to be losing interest in helping him, perhaps because she, like Musinga, was becoming more attached to Bandora, one of Kayondo's worst enemies. Bandora, then a

minor notable of the Banyiginya clan, had helped the Bega establish their power at the time of the coup. To reward him for his devotion, Kanjogera had entrusted to him stewardship over part of Kayondo's inheritance while the orphaned Kayondo was still a child.

When Kayondo became an adult and requested the return of his property in 1905, Bandora felt strong enough at Court to ignore his requests. Kayondo finally asked the Court to order the return of the numerous hills, the many clients, and the rich herds of cattle that were his inheritance. Faced with a difficult choice between two favorites, Kanjogera dictated a decision in favor of Kayondo but refused to force Bandora to comply with it. Although Kayondo submitted his case several times more before and during the war, he never received satisfaction. After the war, Bandora's power grew as the Court turned to him more frequently for political advice. In 1918, for example, he scored a significant victory in persuading Musinga that Nyirimbirima was dangerous to him and should be driven from Rwanda; he then influenced the mwami to distribute Nyirimbirima's commands to Bandora's own kin and friends. Kayondo was forced to acknowledge that he might never displace Bandora at Court. He would probably never win back his inheritance, and he might even be deprived of the wealth he did control. One evening Kayondo called on Kanjogera to confront her with the situation. If she refused to help him, he would "take the issue all the way to Europe [or to the European administrators]" if he had to.[27]

Musinga and Kanjogera believed that to try to win back Kayondo and others like him by generosity would demonstrate only weakness. As quietly as possible they began to move against all those they supposed were paying court to the Belgians. They consistently decided cases against them, deprived them or their clients of commands (of course without European knowledge or approval) and, with ironic satisfaction, continued to assign them the heaviest requisitions for the Europeans.[28] These harsh measures only drove the favorites of Defawe closer to their foreign patron. Even more serious for the Court, accusations of disloyalty multiplied as notables sought to damage their old enemies by linking them with the Europeans. As the intriguers played upon Musinga's and Kanjogera's sensitivities to any slight, the rulers reacted by taking vengeance on both the innocent and the guilty and thus drove even more of the notables to seek the protection of the Europeans.[29] The Court sometimes called these notables Abahababyi, "The Accusers," because they carried tales to the administrator, or Abangayuhi, "The Haters of Yuhi," a reference to Musinga's reign name. But most often

they were known as Inshongore, "The Proud, Vain Ones." A poet of the Court gave them this name, taking it from a pack of Nturo's hunting dogs. The Court and its followers found the image of yapping dogs chasing after their master most appropriate for those who sought the favor of the Europeans.[30]

The Inshongore were a diverse group united only by their fear of Court power and their hope of using the administrator to protect them from it. A few sincerely admired the European culture that Defawe supposedly represented; of these few, several were interested in Christianity and would soon convert to it. But the leaders Kayondo and Nturo, and most of the others, wanted only to use European power while continuing to ignore European culture. Although the Inshongore included more Bega than Banyiginya, the royal lineage was represented by Nturo and others as well. The followers of the Court and the Inshongore were never divided simply according to lineage; indeed, brothers who were competing for their father's wealth or sons quarreling with their fathers often took opposite sides. Although Kayondo directed his efforts to winning supporters among the young, there were young and old in both camps. Willingness to accept European ideas, kinship, clientship, age, and the ever-important and ever-shifting alliances and rivalries among the notables all worked together to determine which side a notable would choose.

The complexity and the flexibility of positions emerges from an examination of the choices made by Rwidegembya and his son Rwagataraka. In 1917 Rwagataraka had sought to free his father from jail by ingratiating himself with the Belgians; to this end, he had accused Musinga of maintaining contact with the Germans—a very sensitive point for the Belgian administrators. Over the course of the next three years, Rwidegembya had continued to lose favor at Court. Rwagataraka, meanwhile, anxious to escape burdensome paternal supervision and eager to reestablish good relations with the Court, had worked to please Musinga. A rival of Rwagataraka had embittered the dispute between father and son by suggesting to Rwidegembya that he was falling from royal favor because of his own son's intrigues. Since the Court chose to support Rwagataraka in the dispute, Rwidegembya was driven closer to the Europeans, whom he detested.[31]

Although the number of Inshongore remained small through 1921 and 1922, they had enormous influence on life at Court. By raising the issue of allegiance to the Court, they sharpened old hostilities while creating a whole raft of new enmities. The Inshongore paid court to the

administrator reluctantly. Their rivals knew this and frequently attacked them for disloyalty. The Inshongore covered their misgivings by recalling how the mwami himself had often used European power for his own ends. But such excuses did not eliminate their feelings of guilt. To restore their self-respect, they tried harder to denigrate their enemies who remained loyal to the Court. Not since the coup that had brought Musinga to power had there been such a "time of hatreds."[32]

As both the Court and the Inshongore actively sought supporters, the majority of the notables tried to evade pressure from these competing factions for their open commitment. Only one leading notable, Rwubusisi, was able to remain neutral throughout the rest of the reign. Rwubusisi was a moderately wealthy Mwega who had benefited from the protection of his uncle Kabare, his aunt Kanjogera, and his cousin Rwidegembya. In 1917 he had followed others who had paid court to the Belgians in hopes of establishing their own centers of power. But by 1920 he realized the potential danger of such divisions within the ranks of the Court and notables. As the bitterness grew on both sides, he emerged as a man of rare integrity and foresight who earned the respect of both groups by refusing to tolerate rumors and secret accusations. Impatient as he was with intrigue within his own circle, he understood the susceptibility of the Court and Inshongore to such tactics. Patient and diplomatic, he worked constantly to reunite the sadly divided notables and to forge new ties between them and the Court. But the guilt and fears of the Inshongore and the insecurity and sense of betrayal of the Court produced a spiral of hatred that not even Rwubusisi could break.[33]

The defection of the Inshongore caused a subtle shift in the relationship between Musinga and Kanjogera. The tension that had been growing between the two as Musinga struggled to assert his own authority, a tension not unlike that which had existed between previous bami and their mothers, eased considerably. As Kanjogera's favorite kinsmen moved into opposition, she was forced to identify her interests increasingly with those of her son. At the same time, although she still participated in all major decisions at Court, she exercised her power more privately than before the arrival of the Belgians. After having finally agreed to receive Europeans, she invariably charmed all those who met her with her with her dignity, gracious manners, and elegant way of expressing herself.[34] But she adamantly refused to engage in serious political discussions with them. She left the responsibility of working out the daily details of living with the Europeans to Musinga. The loss of some

of her own coterie of Bega combined with her refusal to deal directly with Europeans gradually diminished Kanjogera's role in the royal partnership.[35]

Cracks in the Alliance

As Musinga was beginning to attack the Inshongore he also moved against Defawe. In 1920 several Rwandans had tried to kill the administrator. The arrows meant for him wounded some soldiers instead, and he escaped unhurt. Whether or not Musinga had been involved in the attempt, he seized the occasion to complain to Van den Eede about Defawe. The Resident had only shortly before moved his own headquarters from Kigali to Nyanza, as part of the effort to establish better relations with the Court. When Musinga asked Van den Eede to transfer Defawe elsewhere, the Resident complied, much to the disgust of Defawe and some of the White Fathers. Defawe returned to Nyanza briefly in 1921, but when he behaved no more respectfully to the mwami than before, Musinga demanded that he leave Rwanda permanently. Van den Eede consented. In November 1921 Defawe left to take a post in neighboring Burundi. The "expulsion" of Defawe, so similar to the incident involving Father Huntzinger in 1918, was celebrated by the Court and its loyal followers as another great victory over the Europeans.[36]

After a year in Nyanza, Van den Eede moved his headquarters back to Kigali because he found that he was being influenced too much by the Court and was thus "compromising the prestige of the Resident." He even proposed to his superiors that all Belgians be withdrawn from Nyanza and that the administration return to communicating with the Court by letter as the Germans had done.[37] Such a measure, which would have pleased the Court enormously, was never adopted. Nonetheless, the Court drew strength from its ability to intervene decisively in matters ordinarily considered the exclusive province of Europeans.

In 1921 the Court forced the Belgians to back down over the unlikely issue of the proper treatment for cattle infected with rinderpest. By 1920 the highly infectious virus, which had spread from Uganda, was killing about 60 percent of the Rwandan cattle that contracted it. Preserving the cattle of the kingdom was one of Musinga's highest obligations. As soon as the epidemic struck, he undertook the traditional ritual to cleanse the kingdom of the disease. The Belgians too were anxious to safeguard the cattle because they hoped to make the export of cattle skins one of the main items of foreign trade. The administration sent a

veterinarian to Court to explain the latest methods of controlling the disease through quarantine, vaccination, and immunization. Showing a remarkable willingness to experiment, perhaps because of the seriousness of the epidemic, Musinga agreed to cooperate in implementing such measures. He delegated some of the ntore from Court to learn the necessary techniques to aid the veterinarians, and he ordered his notables to comply with a Belgian regulation that made vaccination compulsory.[38]

The campaign foundered on the resistance of the notables who hesitated to expose their cattle deliberately to the disease and on the imperfections of the vaccine itself. The most stubborn notables hid their cattle and refused to report cases of illness, thus hindering both the vaccination and the quarantine. Some had concluded from earlier Belgian attempts to increase the land for cultivation, at the expense of pasture land, that the Europeans did not realize the value of the animals and wanted to rid the kingdom of them. Their worst fears seemed justified as the failures in the vaccination program multiplied. The methods for producing the vaccine were still rudimentary, and some early doses were so potent that the vaccinated animals died from the artificially induced disease. Veterinarians tried to avert this danger by giving an immunizing serum along with the vaccine. This did sufficiently counteract the vaccine to keep the cattle from dying, but it also attenuated the immunity so much that the vaccinated animals might soon after contract the disease elsewhere.[39]

In early 1921 the failures of the program and the arguments of the notables opposed to it pushed Musinga into resisting it. By March the Court's prize herds of cattle were being driven to secret locations to avoid the veterinarians. Several months later, perhaps encouraged by the Court, the notables turned to violence to halt the compulsory vaccination program and a soldier was killed in an attack on a veterinary station in Bugesera, in southeastern Rwanda. By the time the crisis had come to a head, Van den Eede had been replaced as Resident by Georges Mortehan, an extremely strong-willed administrator. But in this case the Court refused so adamantly to sanction any more compulsory vaccination that Mortehan felt it necessary to rescind the regulation that provided for it. The Court had won another victory on an issue it regarded as vital to the well-being of the kingdom.[40]

The Church and the Court

The placement of administrators and the use of European methods of preventing disease were matters of importance but not of principle to

the Belgians. By contrast, the guarantee of freedom of religion stood at the heart of their civilizing mission—at both the legal and ideological levels. Yet even on this issue they were unwilling to risk an open break with the Court in the early 1920s. For example, they did nothing while the Court recalled cattle from the converts or pressured catechists not to teach. In addition, Musinga eased their efforts to ignore the issue by making a show of interest in the foreign religion. He visited the church at Save in 1919 and attended his first Christian ceremony at Kagbayi in 1922. When several Seventh Day Adventists founded a mission near Nyanza, Musinga became friendly with one of them, a Belgian named Monnier.* Intrigued by the bitter hostility between the Catholics and the advocates of this fundamentalist, millenarian sect, he even invited Monnier to preach at Court. When the Société Belge des Missions Protestants sponsored the return to Rwanda of a German missionary who had served there before the war, Musinga extended a warm welcome to him too. In addition, there were always a number of Muslim traders present at Nyanza, hoping to do business with Musinga or the notables. With such a variety of foreign beliefs represented, Musinga (or one of the notables) could often provoke lively debates among the different advocates. The Court greatly relished the usual end to such sessions, an explosion into acrimonious name-calling and accusation.[41]

Everyone at Court understood that the preaching and disputations were meant to amuse, not to convince. Since 1917, when the conversions by Semutwa and Naho had drawn upon them such universal opprobrium, no more important Tutsi had converted. Then in late 1920 or early 1921, Rwabutogo, a son of Kabare who had been studying at the Nyanza school, declared his intention to convert. His adoption of Christianity had far greater impact than the earlier conversions because he had become deeply devout and felt morally obligated to try to convert his fellow students. Musinga and Kanjogera refused to tolerate his presence and would gladly have banished him from Nyanza, but Rwabutogo

*In *Church and Revolution in Rwanda* (153), Ian Linden and Jane Linden note that the Seventh Day Adventists first occupied the abandoned Lutheran stations before opening their own mission at Gitwe. Monnier was originally accompanied by an American "who slipped in from Uganda" before he was expelled from the territory, presumably by failing to follow immigration norms (176n.24). It is ironic that ten years later, when Catholicism had become the "religion of the powerful" according to Linden and Linden (202–3), Adventism had become the *culte de contestation* ("inheriting the mantle of Nyabingi") for the increasingly burdened Hutu.

had been taken under the protection of Louis Lenaerts, who had replaced Defawe as administrator and schoolmaster. Rwabutogo was extremely intelligent and had stood at the head of his class, so Lenaerts was happy to make him his secretary. Rwabutogo's proselytizing efforts first bore fruit among the relatively poor young Tutsi who were or who hoped to become his clients. Lacking the kind of prestige that gave Rwabutogo the assurance to declare his faith openly, these young men—most of them fifteen or sixteen years old—pursued their religious training secretly. When school was dismissed, four or five of them would sneak off into the bush to study the catechism together. At night they would go to Rwabutogo in small groups for more formal instruction.[42]

When Musinga and Kanjogera learned of the secret classes, they were outraged. Their anger was all the greater when their investigation revealed that even Musinga's son Rwigemera, then six or seven years old, had been participating in some of these sessions. Musinga beat his son severely and sharply reproved the boy's mother, Nyirakabuga, who professed ignorance of the whole matter. Musinga also made her vow never to permit any of her children to take religious instruction without his consent. The administrator Lenaerts and the Resident Mortehan refused to make the Court implement the guarantee of freedom of religion, although the Fathers importuned them for help. The missionaries had no choice but to counsel the young catechumens to be patient and to continue their learning as unobtrusively as possible.[43]

In 1921 Musinga and Kanjogera ordered that Rugulira, a servant accused of having poisoned their milk, be beaten to death. When the Resident learned of this killing, he strictly reiterated the earlier prohibition against further executions by the Court.[44] Soon after, the Belgians also repeated their injunctions about respect for the property of subordinates and about the need to obtain their approval before making changes in command. In 1922 they decreed that anyone who accepted a command without their approval would be subject to two years imprisonment. They also sought greater equity in the judicial process by requiring cases at Court to be heard in the presence of the administrator. The regulations concerning security of property and commands were largely ignored by Court and notables. The judicial arrangement was a farce, partly because the administrator was too ignorant of the language and law to be able to follow the proceedings intelligently, partly because the Court evaded any decisions imposed by him by simply rehearing the case at night after he had retired.[45] Only the prohibition against further executions was observed, perhaps because Musinga was unwilling to

give the Inshongore such an important reason for accusing him to the Europeans. Realization that the Court had relinquished the power to kill spread very gradually, but its ultimate effect would be great. One Rwandan commented of the mwami: "Of course he could [kill as he wished,] and besides, he did because it was his country. . . . [He killed] until the Europeans arrived and became more powerful than he."[46]

One reason the Belgians had hoped to restrict the demands of the notables on their subordinates was to enable the Hutu to meet Belgian requisitions and to free them for eventual employment in a developing, European-dominated economy. Like the Germans, the Belgians collected taxes and imposed forced labor. The colonial form of forced labor was known to the Rwandans as *akazi* to distinguish it from Court-derived forced labor (uburetwa); in fact both were implemented by the same Court-appointed chief. However, because the German needs were smaller and their resources more limited, they had imposed their demands on relatively few people, mostly on those who lived in the vicinity of their posts. Now the demands were universalized. Those who had suffered under the Germans found little to differentiate them from the Belgians. As one Hutu remarked: "The Germans beat you on your ass, the Belgians on your back."[47] But the many others who had known of German demands only through hearsay found life under the Belgians much more difficult than under the earlier administration. The Belgians originally demanded only one or two francs from each lineage of perhaps ten men; by 1921 they were beginning to ask this amount from each individual adult man. The requisitions for porters dropped off after the end of the war, but soon the Belgians were forcibly recruiting men to build the system of roads they believed necessary to enable future development of the economy. They also needed men to transport material for their new towns.[48]

When instructed to protect the Hutu, the administrators did little and excused their inaction by referring to the need to uphold the authority and prestige of the notables. However, when ordered to collect taxes or build roads, the administrators reacted with vigor, knowing that their own performance would be assessed according to such measurable achievements as the miles of road built or the amount of tax collected rather than by any vaguely defined improvement in the conditions of the Hutu. They felt more confident in dealing with such relatively familiar and simple—quantitative—matters than they did in trying to unravel the complexities of Rwandan custom. They assigned quotas to the notables; the only question was whether or not the notables had filled

them. If they had not, the administrators scolded, beat, and jailed them; they confiscated their cattle; or they indiscriminately destroyed their homes and crops.[49] Faced with such sanctions, the notables in turn placed heavy demands on their subordinates. They sometimes forced their people to pay the tax two or three times over or to sacrifice their labor more frequently than they were supposed to if such measures were necessary to meet the quotas. The Hutu were soon complaining *amafaranga aratwica*—"Taxation is killing us" (literally: "The money [required for taxes] is killing us").[50] Ironically, the notables often were able to meet their quotas only by threatening to deprive their subjects of the very property the Belgians were supposedly guaranteeing.

Notables who regularly met Belgian demands were ordinarily left in peace to add their own burdens to the backs of the Hutu as they willed, under the cover of acting for the Europeans. The "bananas needed to make the Europeans' bread" became a standard excuse for those notables who wished to draw on their subjects' banana plantations to make their own beer. Since the administrators required the notables to lend them milk cows to provide dairy products for their tables, the notables also used this as a good excuse to borrow cattle from subordinates. Men supposedly recruited to do akazi might end up tilling the notables' fields. An administrator might occasionally intervene to obtain porters or laborers for a neighboring mission or commercial firm; but the pay for such labor ordinarily went to the notable, not to his men. The notables soon were making such arrangements for themselves, especially with merchants who offered desirable European products. Credit was easily arranged, with payment met by the subsequent labor of the notables' men.[51]

Hutu who suffered under these increasing burdens had several ways of dealing with the problem. Within the central kingdom, the simplest answer was to pay court to the notable who imposed the burdens. Since a shebuja always favored his bagaragu—sometimes relieving them completely of meeting European demands—some Hutu entered into an ubuhake (cattle clientship) relationship with the notables. Other Hutu chose the less binding and less enduring—but also less certain—expedient of simply giving gifts to the notables, thus winning a temporary respite from the demands.

Hutu who lived near missions could choose to pay court to the missionaries, and increasing numbers of them did so. In the five years from 1919 to 1924, the number of Roman Catholics in Rwanda doubled from 13,000 to 26,000. Despite the dramatic conversions of a few leading Tutsi, virtually all of these converts were Hutu or poor (non-Court)

Tutsi. As the oldest and most extensive missionary group established in Rwanda, the White Fathers had an obvious advantage in attracting followers. But the new missions as well, the Adventists and the Belgian Protestants, were able to build up followings as their missionaries too demonstrated a willingness to act as patrons.[52]

The ways in which the Fathers offered protection and wealth were changing during the early 1920s, probably from the combined pressure from the administration and the superiors of the order. In 1920 the influential Father Classe, who as pro-vicar directed the affairs of the order in Rwanda, was recalled by the Superior General of the White Fathers, apparently because of conflicts among members within the order, and between the order and the administration, over the Fathers' intervention in political and judicial matters.* Several months after the recall, the Superior General wrote to all the Fathers sternly admonishing them for their "failure in discretion in mixing unduly in the affairs of the natives and those of the European administration" and ordering them not to meddle again in such affairs.[53] Some Fathers ignored the directive, but others took heed. Instead of intervening directly in problems that were brought to them, they would send a word to the local administrator. Such a friendly explanation usually led to the desired result.[54] Previously the Fathers had offered wealth through grants of cattle or land. Most missions discontinued such practices after the war. Instead, they greatly expanded their facilities for training young men in the skills necessary for success in the European-dominated sectors of Rwandan life. Those who learned literacy or trades from the Fathers never had trouble finding employment.[55]

*As noted above, on several occasions local missionaries became involved in judicial proceedings relating to the requisitions of Court-appointed notables over local leaders or members of the peasantry. But from the dismissal of Father Huntzinger, and especially with the rise to influence of Father Classe ("that most ardent of Tutsiphiles"—Linden and Linden, *Church and Revolution*, 109), the missionaries at Kabgayi strongly supported the Court and sought to discipline individual missionaries who questioned that premise. The rift among the White Fathers, and the disastrously low morale among the members of the order, became such that in May 1920 Father Classe was recalled to Europe for two years. While there he made himself indispensable to the Belgian Colonial Ministry by lobbying the League of Nations for the return of Gisaka (which since World War I had been placed under British rule) to the domain of Belgian administration—and to rule by the Rwandan royal court. Classe returned to Rwanda as Vicar Apostolique of the Rwanda mission in 1922.

While the Fathers may have yielded place to the administrators as the final arbiters of disputes, they nonetheless remained absolutely essential as patrons. Few Hutu dared to approach the administrators directly, and those who did often wished they had not. As one Rwandan put it, the administrators "just never saw the Hutu."[56] Because of the administrative load (and the increasing distance of Europeans from Africans) the Belgians spent a great deal of their time in their offices. When they traveled, few troubled to attempt conversations with the Hutu. Some made their journeys ensconced in hammocks borne by servants—just like the Tutsi—and absorbed in the latest newspapers or books from Belgium. One administrator, who became known under the name of "Cumi n'abiri" ("Twelve"), was always annoyed when the Hutu tried to intrude on his thoughts; if any greeted him along the road, he supposedly would respond with a wave of the hand and "Cumi n'abiri," an order to give the man twelve blows for having addressed him. Such behavior was hardly typical of most administrators, but news of incidents like this circulated widely and discouraged the Hutu from approaching the administrators.[57]

Consolidating Colonial Rule

Nonetheless, as the British quickly learned during their brief sojourn in eastern Rwanda, Hutu would readily seek protection from the administrators if they believed help might actually be granted them. The British took control of eastern Rwanda in March 1922. The transfer of territory had been postponed for a year and a half as the Belgians tried to arrange guarantees for Musinga's continued sovereignty in the area. The British finally agreed that the representatives of the Court could continue to hold their domains, to visit Nyanza occasionally, and to take tribute to the mwami, provided none of the gifts were collected through forced contributions. Through several important appointments, the British made clear their intention to replace all the Rwandan notables eventually with descendants of the original aristocracy of Gisaka. They even considered restoring the old kingdom itself. The Rwandan notables feared and resented the British plans, so they cooperated with the British even less than they did with the Belgians. Indeed, they often carried complaints about them to Nyanza or even to the Belgians.

With mistrust and hostility growing on both sides, the British and Rwandan notables were soon enemies. The British listened favorably to the complaints of the Hutu partly because of this enmity, partly to

establish their own rule independent of the Nyingina Court, and partly because they were intent on freeing Hutu from service to the notables so that they could contribute to the economic development of the region through a pattern of peasant production, along the lines of Uganda and Tanganyika. After the first few startling British decisions in favor of the Hutu, the ordinary people began flocking to them with numerous complaints against their notables and shebuja. But the Hutu hardly had time to take account of their good fortune before eastern Rwanda was returned to Belgian control and their potential protectors vanished. Like the Hutu in the rest of Rwanda, the people of the eastern regions now could be certain of a sympathetic hearing from the administrator only if they approached him with the aid of a missionary.[58]

As the colonial administration grew, the administrators also replaced the Fathers as the most desirable employers. But the missionaries continued to be essential in preparing for employment with the administration. The Belgians' increasing emphasis on ruling through the notables was leading them into a policy of increasingly explicit ethnic discrimination. From the early 1920s on, they began to reserve the places in their schools for "Tutsi." While some Hutu could still enter the schools under the guise of being Tutsi or through some extraordinary demonstration of ability, the great majority who wanted a European education could obtain it only in the schools of the Fathers.[59]

While the administration reached via the Fathers was the most powerful source of protection, Christians had available to them more immediate sources of assistance too. Before the war, the Fathers had organized councils of leading Christians, called *inama*, at one or two of the missions. The inama had then played no significant role and ceased to exist altogether during the war. With the postwar spurt of growth in the Christian community, the Fathers reorganized the councils and multiplied them among missions. This time the inama responded to a real need among Christians and rapidly grew in strength at all the Catholic missions. At first the councils were meant to aid the Fathers in ensuring the regular performance of Christian duties by converts and catechumens, but they soon took on wider-ranging duties. They settled disputes among Christians, supported them in conflicts with notables, and organized treasuries to provide financial aid in times of distress. By 1922 the inama at the central mission of Kabgayi was sufficiently influential to be consulted by Musinga on affairs concerning local Christians. When the Fathers realized that the political and judicial role of the inama was far exceeding its religious role, they tried to redirect the energies of the

councils back to more religious matters. With that shift the inama rapidly began losing popularity, so the Fathers once more relaxed their position and allowed them to resume their role in the temporal affairs of the community.[60]

Like the people of the central kingdom, some of the Hutu of the outlying regions decided that cooperation with the notables or allegiance to the Fathers offered the least painful way to ease the increased burdens from the administration and notables. Other Hutu lineage heads took advantage of the relatively weak position of the notables in their areas and tried to establish a working relationship directly with the administrator. They hoped to overcome the Belgians' predilection for ruling through the notables by showing that they could govern even more effectively. In some areas, leaders of still independent lineages managed to fill more of the European demands than did notables who commanded neighboring Hutu groups. Nonetheless, they won at best only a temporary respite for themselves and their kin; the Belgians persisted in believing that the backward Hutu could not possibly govern themselves and eventually placed notables in command over them.[61]

Throughout the early 1920s, many Hutu continued to refuse the orders of both notables and Belgians. The most vigorous opposition took place in Mulera, where groups like the Bagesera, the Bachuzi, and the Basigi resisted with force: they vowed that they would fight until there was not a man among them left alive. Notables, catechists, and even the administrator himself dreaded having to deal with them. In other regions where the notables did not have to fear continually for their lives or property, they still could not deliver the taxes or laborers the administrator demanded; when the notables arrived to make requisitions, the Hutu deserted the region or just refused to comply with their orders. Notables who faced a considerable number of resisting lineages within their commands risked violence from the Hutu if they tried to make them obey and punishment from the administrator if they did not. Indeed, several found the risks of ruling outweighed the benefits, and abandoned their commands to return to the central kingdom.[62]

While most Hutu cooperated with the powerful or resisted them through sporadic, local demonstrations, a significant number of others continued to hope for the arrival of a dynamic leader who would rally all the people to defeat both the Europeans and the notables. The Hutu of the central kingdom expressed this hope in the royal idiom: a new mwami would enter Rwanda to expel the foreigners and to restrain the

demands of the greedy notables.* In 1921 Hutu in southern Rwanda talked of such a new ruler being about to arrive. In outlying areas, however, the mwami was not so generally taken to be the protector of the weak; the "new mwami" motif was less compelling. Instead, in some areas the Hutu placed their hopes in the Nyabingi movement. In southwestern Rwanda, for example, several thousand Hutu followed a prophet of Nyabingi in attacking classrooms built by the missionaries and eagerly complied with his requests for gifts. Advocates of Nyabingi in the northwestern region of Gisenyi also directed their resentment chiefly toward Christians and Fathers, showering them with insults and abuse. But such protests remained more symbolic than real: the Belgians easily suppressed these demonstrations simply by arresting the prophets.[63]

In 1919 followers of Nyabingi united with actively resisting Hutu lineages in the north to pose a serious challenge to the administration and notables. The Hutu of Buberuka had begun accepting the rule of the Tutsi in 1918. The Fathers of the Rwaza mission felt the area was safe enough for them to install two catechists there. But by early 1919 the catechists had been drawn into local squabbles and had become the focus for resentment against the Europeans and the Tutsi, with whom they were friendly. In May, probably spurred by a local revival of the teachings of Nyabingi, the Hutu drove the catechists from Buberuka. The network of Nyabingi associations stretched across the border from the northern Rwandan regions of Buberuka and Ndorwa into the district of Kigezi in Uganda. In April a Rwandan prophet had crossed into Uganda and led an attack on men building a road for the British. News of the continued resistance against the British led by the prophet

*Throughout the region the mwami was expected to ensure the well-being of the people; indeed, his legitimacy was proven by productive fields, soft rains at the appropriate times, and peaceful conditions. (For an exploration of these values, see Packard, *Chiefship and Cosmology*.) Ecological or political stress sometimes brought forth demands for a "new mwami" who could ensure those conditions. Because these concerned basic values and focused on questions of legitimacy, such movements often took the form of religious expression, analogous to millenarian movements in many other cultures. The religious dimension ensured not only social justice but also the power of the supernatural in bringing about that goal. Of several such movements in this culture, the Ryangombe cult most prominently held forth the potential of an alternative order (de Heusch, "Mythe et société féodale," 133–46; Vidal, "Anthropologie et histoire," 143–57). For a broader regional consideration, see Berger, *Religion and Resistance.*

Ndochibiri spurred the hopes of Rwandan adherents of the movement. After the British ambushed and killed Ndochibiri in June, a Rwandan prophet claimed to have succeeded to his great powers.[64]

By September that prophet, Mburanumwe, had gathered a significant number of adherents whom he ordered to do no forced labor for outside authorities—no akazi for the Europeans and no uburetwa for the Tutsi. The notables feared him partly because of his loyal followers, and partly because of the number of men who indirectly supported him. They did not dare arrest him. The administrator at the relatively distant post of Ruhengeri was too suspicious of maneuvers by the notables or too occupied with other affairs to take their warnings about Mburanumwe's growing strength seriously. In October, Mburanumwe's forces were greatly strengthened by his alliance with Kadiho, an important lineage leader who controlled many of the men of the region of Bukamba. Kadiho had long acknowledged the authority of the Court and had collected ikoro for the batware; in return he and his kin had been left free from more intensive rule by the Tutsi. At the beginning of the Belgian administration, Kadiho had been one of the lineage heads to seek a direct accommodation with the Belgians. But by 1919 he had found the demands of the Europeans too great and was beginning to ignore them, probably under pressure from his kin. The local administrator hoped to restore control over Kadiho and his men by installing a Tutsi notable over them. Fearful that the Court would approve such an intensification of central rule, Kadiho began searching for effective ways to resist it. At about this time one of his kinswomen became attracted to Nyabingi and began to speak as a prophet. Kadiho used her as a bridge to Mburanumwe.[65]

To strengthen their forces, Kadiho and Mburanumwe reached out to seek the aid of resisters in British territory—illustrating, again, the artificial nature of the boundary as well as the solidarity of resistance. Kadiho promised to provide the cattle to reward these new allies for their support, and Mburanumwe used the network of Nyabingi associations to communicate the promise to potential followers. By January 1920 Kadiho and Mburanumwe had taken control of most of northern Buberuka and Bukamba. Several times they repulsed the Tutsi and Belgian-trained soldiers sent against them, and they threatened to attack the local administrative post and the Rwaza mission. Meanwhile, the Hutu of the neighboring provinces of Bukonya, Buhoma, Kibali, and Bugarura were heartened by the Nyabingi revolt and redoubled their resistance against the notables. Just as the movement was reaching

impressive size, it was cut short by Kadiho's death in 1920, apparently from natural causes. His son Rwamakuba feared that he could not rally his kinsmen as successfully as had his father, and he sought an accommodation with the Belgians. Mburanumwe disappeared, probably fleeing to British territory. Within a few months, the Tutsi had taken control of Kadiho's command and reasserted their rule elsewhere. Although Nyabingi would not serve as focus for revolt again in the northwest, the movement continued to provide hope of eventual salvation from central rule.[66]

As the Belgians formally took control of Rwanda, they became increasingly committed to ruling through the Court and notables. Having rebuilt his power in 1917 and 1918 with Belgian support, the mwami, too, became increasingly aware that the administration now depended on him as much as he depended on it. Armed with this knowledge, he was able to forestall the changes in the traditional system that the Belgians had decreed and to assert his continuing control over such vital issues as religious freedom, the treatment of cattle, and even the assignment of a European administrator. In his efforts to guarantee the continued allegiance of the notables, he drove a small but significant number of them into the very alliance with the Europeans that he wanted most to prevent. Distressed as he was by these Inshongore at the time of their defection, he would suffer much more from their opposition in the future.

Along with their support of the Court, the Belgians also needed to uphold the authority of the notables, as they were asked to increase their demands on the Hutu. With no relief from the burdens imposed by the notables and with ever growing requisitions by the administration, some Hutu turned to the missionaries for protection. Others sought accommodation with the notables. Still others continued to resist under the leadership of their lineage heads or as followers of the prophets of Nyabingi. But for all their different pathways seeking redress, many Rwandans saw Belgian rule as the beginning of the "time of the whip."[67] Hutu bore its sting most often, but Tutsi suffered from it occasionally as well. Musinga was still sheltered by the Belgians' commitment to rule through him; should this commitment fade, however, he would be left most exposed of all.

8

Divide and Rule, 1922–1925

Emerging Factions at the Court

> Ubuhake bubi bujya kukwica bukaguca iwaariyu.
> [When a bad master wants to destroy you, he isolates you from your kin.]

Through 1922 Musinga and Kanjogera continued to rule effectively and to hold the loyalty of most of the Court notables. But the concessions they had made to the Europeans and the defection of the Inshongore had unmistakably altered life at Court.

The Belgians, the Court, and the Inshongore

In 1922 the German missionary E. von der Heyden returned to Nyanza for the first time since the war. He found the royal residence virtually unchanged, dozens of neat grass buildings surrounded by a maze of interconnecting enclosures and passages. Still clustered around the royal residence were the homes of the ten thousand or so notables and servants who were in attendance on the Court. He remembered the royal enclosure as being full of notables who had vied for the privilege of entering there, where they might observe the mwami and perhaps be noticed by him. Now von der Heyden found it strangely empty. Since the administrator Louis Lenaerts was at the residence so frequently during the day, the notables had begun saving their visits for the evenings when they would not have to see him.

Lenaerts, who had succeeded Defawe as the administrator at Nyanza, was named Bwanakweri, "Mr. Truth," by the Rwandans because that

was what he was always demanding in his dealings with the notables. Trained as a teacher, Lenaerts had been recruited to direct the school at Nyanza and then was later brought into service as an administrator. Good-natured and well-intentioned but blind to the complexities of the matters he handled, Lenaerts from the start had made himself at home in the royal enclosure. On the occasion of von der Heyden's visit, the missionary sat down properly to chat with the mwami outside his residence, but Lenaerts casually darted in and out of the house, neglectful of the strict sense of privacy that even ordinary Rwandans felt about their homes. Eager to show the German missionary the progress that the Court had made under Belgian rule, Lenaerts was soon calling von der Heyden away, interrupting his courtesy visit to the mwami and leading him through narrow passages to another enclosure. There, Musinga's oldest children were waiting all in a row, attired in ill-fitting European clothes; Lenaerts doubtless appreciated the visitor's gasp of surprise and delight. After taking von der Heyden to talk with Kanjogera—an experience that would not have been open to him in 1914—Lenaerts concluded his tour of the royal quarters and allowed the missionary to take his leave. Von der Heyden was properly impressed but carried away the feeling that although "civilization is certainly something very good, yet it seemed to me that something valuable had also been taken away."[1] Musinga seemed to him much older and greatly disturbed by the loss of that "something valuable," which the missionary could not identify more precisely; yet the mwami also seemed "valiant" in his determination to continue trying to rule as he had before.[2]

Musinga's distress resulted not just from such trivial but humiliating daily compromises he had to make with the ever-present Belgians, but also from the growing influence of the Inshongore. The mwami treated the administrator with cordial courtesy, but Lenaerts, like Defawe, responded more readily to the attentions of the Inshongore. Worried by the success of his enemies with Lenaerts, Musinga was susceptible to suggestions that the Inshongore had won supporters even among his own wives. At any one time Musinga had seven or eight wives in addition to several concubines. The majority of the wives, including the two who competed for the place of favorite, Nyirakabuga and Kanyange, were Bega. Nyirakabuga, the mother of two sons and two daughters by Musinga, was a niece of Kanjogera. Handsome, witty, bold, and ambitious, she was an excellent example of what people thought of Bega women—at least in the eyes of those who equated political power with personal presentation. Kanyange, of less distinguished antecedents, was

apparently more gentle and retiring. She had given Musinga two sons and a daughter. The rivalry between the wives naturally focused on the question of whose son would succeed Musinga. At the end of the war, Kanyange had been displacing Nyirakabuga as favorite, and so her son Mununozi was generally presumed to be the heir. In 1917 and 1918 Nyirakabuga hoped to improve her son Rudacyahwa's chances of succeeding by winning European support for him. Rudacyahwa, then a child of eight or nine years old, secretly expressed an interest in Christianity to Father Huntzinger, who was then often visiting Nyanza.[3]

Nyirakabuga had had long experience with Europeans. When the Germans had first asked to meet some of the ladies of the royal household, Musinga had presented Nyirakabuga and another of his wives to them. The Germans and later the Belgians came to prefer Nyirakabuga to all of Musinga's other wives, perhaps because she emerged from the polite reserve ordinarily observed by aristocratic women. She readily took the foreigners as equals and enjoyed their company. The White Fathers who came to Nyanza always asked to see her, and she in turn sometimes accompanied them a short distance on their way home, a courtesy usually extended by Rwandans to their visitors but rare for women of the Court, who did not often go out in public.[4]

When Kanyange's son Mununozi died of spinal meningitis in 1919, Nyirakabuga's associations with the Europeans had already stirred the suspicion and anger of many at Court. Enemies of the Bega accused her of having poisoned Mununozi, but dropped the charge when her own son Rudacyahwa died of the same disease soon after. Nyirakabuga transferred her hopes to her son Rwigemera, then one of the two oldest sons left to Musinga, but for a while she pursued her plans less actively.

Once Lenaerts had arrived in 1921, Nyirakabuga set about winning his friendship and support. The ebullient young man was charmed by Nyirakabuga, whom he called Nzoga Komeye, or "Strong Beer." The two were soon so much at ease with each other that they were engaging in wrestling matches before Musinga himself. On one such occasion, the six foot tall Nyirakabuga knocked the much shorter Lenaerts to the floor of the royal residence and ordered three of her servants to sit on him. When the laughing Lenaerts called on Musinga to help him, the mwami expressed his disgust at such behavior and told him that any man who so lost his sense of dignity deserved what he got.

At the same time Nyirakabuga was apparently hoping to involve the Fathers in helping her son. Then six or seven years old, Rwigemera was the child caught and harshly punished by Musinga for having a

catechism book, and Musinga sternly warned Nyirakabuga that further close association with Europeans was out of the question. Despite her independent spirit, Nyirakabuga still feared the mwami and sensed on this occasion that she had gone too far. After this, she dutifully took to her bed whenever Europeans came to call and claimed to be too sick to see them.[5]

But she had reformed too late. The enemies of the Bega, led by Bandora—still in conflict with Kayondo—and Gashamura, the leading *mwiru* (or ritual specialist) at Court, had persuaded Musinga to send away Nyirakabuga and his other Bega wives. None of the others maintained such direct contacts with the Europeans but, said Bandora's allies, they were all related to Kayondo and might aid the Inshongore in betraying the Court. In February 1923 Musinga sent Bandora and Gashamura around to the residences of the Bega wives, informing them that they were to return immediately to the homes of their fathers or brothers. Their children would remain at Court. Bandora and Gashamura's accusations soon seemed justified: one wife who was a half-sister of Kayondo became dependent on him for support, and her son received a substantial grant of cattle from him; another wife married Nturo, who shared the leadership of the Inshongore with Kayondo; and Nyirakabuga was chosen by the Europeans to command a region in eastern Rwanda. Although Musinga was able to block her appointment for a time, she finally took control of her new domains with the support of the Europeans. From there she continued working to win the drum for Rwigemera.[6]

As the Court and the Inshongore competed for the support of the administrator, both parties also sought the help of the White Fathers, especially of Léon-Paul Classe, who had returned to Rwanda in 1922 with the new title of Bishop of Rwanda. After Classe's recall to Europe in 1920—a result of internal disagreements among the missionaries over the issue of the Fathers' involvement in political affairs—he had again won the complete confidence of his superiors. With twenty years' experience in Rwanda, he was the natural choice to be bishop of the new diocese created shortly after his return in 1922; its domain coincided with the kingdom of Rwanda. While in Europe, Classe had spent some of his time helping officials of the Colonial Ministry prepare their case for the retrocession of eastern Rwanda, a question that interested him in part because two Catholic missions were located there. Having gained the support of the ministry in Brussels, Classe was well placed to make his opinions count with the local administration.[7]

Classe and the Court

The only issue on which Classe failed to obtain the agreement of the administration was that of the education of young notables. The bishop wanted his missionaries to run the schools for the notables because only in that way could he be sure that the young notables would learn to equate Christianity with Catholicism. Otherwise, they might someday be tempted to choose one of the "heretical" sects, such as the Belgian Protestants or the Seventh Day Adventists, both of which were beginning to attract adherents. Mindful of the Court's opposition to mission schools, the administration continued to insist that secular schools were necessary for the young notables.[8]

Unable to use the schools to block the Protestants, Classe was quick to see the possibility of using the Court and notables against them. He welcomed overtures from both the Court and Inshongore, but leaned more strongly toward the Court, still by far the more powerful of the two. Classe had always acknowledged Musinga's power in hopes of using it to the benefit of the Church, while Musinga had long respected the Bishop's astute political sense. Through subtle, day-to-day contacts, Classe and the Court worked out a vague accord from which both hoped to profit. Classe had no immediate expectations that the Court would adopt Christianity, but he hoped for superficially good relations that would lead the administration to conclude that Catholic-run schools for notables had become acceptable to the Court. A close association between the Fathers and the Court would also keep the notables from showing any interest in the Protestant sects. As Classe commented later regarding a similar arrangement, "It is only politics, but in a country like this, politics have their influence." Musinga knew that Classe's opinions carried more weight with the Resident and the governor than those of Lenaerts, so he hoped to counter the Inshongore's alliance with the administrator by his own accord with the bishop. He willingly flattered Classe and the Fathers with all the small marks of favor that they felt were so important. He also encouraged his notables to oppose the founding of Protestant missions or classrooms within their domains, partly to oblige the Fathers and partly because Protestant converts were even less inclined to be obedient subjects than the Catholics.[9]

In April 1923 the Fathers consecrated the cathedral they had just constructed at the mission of Kabgayi. To bestow due solemnity on the occasion, they arranged for many of the administrators to attend, with an honor guard in full uniform. They also pressed Musinga to attend

with his sons and principal notables. To the dismay of many of his followers, Musinga consented to witness the Christian ceremony. Since he never spent a night away from Nyanza, he slept at the Court and rose before dawn to travel the twenty or so miles to Kabgayi. A crowd of thousands had gathered outside the cathedral. Their tumultuous welcome made clear that they had come to see the mwami on one of his rare journeys away from Court rather than to join a Christian celebration. Although Musinga was clothed in a much beribboned, gold-braided uniform, he was clearly recognizable to them as their ruler, a man of power who held his own, even against the foreigners. As Musinga made his way through the throng, his people chanted *Mwami wachu aruta abandi*, "Our king is greater than all others." They hurried to present him with the gifts that showed their acknowledgement of his authority. When Musinga entered the cathedral, the hundreds of converts who had fought for the privilege of attending the Christian ceremony departed from the planned program to burst into applause, the customary greeting of Rwandans to their king. The applause followed the mwami as he walked slowly down the aisle and took his seat at the front.[10]

After the ceremony and celebrations of traditional song and dance, the mwami departed for his capital in the evening. The night was cold and the walk to Nyanza long and uninviting. The Inshongore saw no reason to comply with the custom that dictated that they accompany the mwami on the tedious journey. Many other ordinarily loyal notables also decided to stay behind, perhaps to show their disapproval of his original decision to attend the ceremony. As the night grew darker, the crowds following the royal hammock faded away, leaving the mwami with only his sons and a few of his most faithful followers to escort him. When one of the sons began to falter from fatigue, Musinga descended from the hammock to allow the boy to ride and continued the rest of the way on foot. The next day the weary ruler exacted heavy fines in cattle from many of the notables who had not followed him and had some of the others whipped.[11] The harshness of the punishment may have reflected Musinga's bitterness at realizing that so few of his notables sympathized with his readiness to sacrifice the externals to preserve the core of his power. Unlike the common people who were willing to applaud him even as he entered a church, the notables were ready to use his concession on some issues to refuse obedience to him on others.

By June 1923 Classe felt strong enough to push Musinga into a further concession on the issue of religion. He instructed students from Nyanza who had been studying the catechism secretly to make an open

declaration of their faith. They informed their patron and teacher, Rwabutogo, of their intention and sought the protection of Lenaerts before taking action. One of the students then appeared at school wearing one of the Fathers' habits and a religious medal. When Musinga learned that the student was flaunting the signs of a new faith, he strode to the school. As he entered the classroom, the students fell quiet. He took a chair at the front of the room and sat with his back to the students. He carefully declared once again the right of each to choose his own religion. Then he asked all who were studying the catechism to rise. As the six bravest catechumens stood, Musinga turned and examined them one by one, pronouncing the name and lineage of each. Then he left the school. The catechumens were greatly intimidated by the incident. When the young man who had appeared in the habit was called to Kanjogera's residence soon after, he dared go only because he was confident of the support of Rwabutogo and Lenaerts. To his surprise Kanjogera promised him the grant of a cow instead of some punishment. Musinga presented the cow soon after, remarking that this would give the Inshongore one less reason for accusing him to the Europeans.[12] Musinga and Kanjogera acted not just from fear of accusation by the Inshongore but also from a recognition of Classe's power. The need for his continuing support had driven the Court one step further from its original stalwart opposition to European ideas.

Once the Court had taken the stand of permitting conversion to Christianity, the Inshongore resolved to encourage it. Although Kayondo, Nturo, and most of the other Inshongore had no intention of converting themselves, they actively sought links with those who had decided to accept Christianity and recommended that their own young followers adopt it. They intended in this way to demonstrate that they were willing to cooperate with Classe. They also hoped to attract supporters among the ntore at Court, most of whom had given up their earlier fear and distrust of European education and had come to admire the *ikizungu*, the ideas and things of the European. The Inshongore believed that the more closely the young were associated with European power and culture, the more likely they would be to accept their leadership and to reject that of the Court. Under their direction, those who opposed the Court for political reasons came together with those who opposed it for religious reasons, and the division between supporters and enemies of the Court was extended down into the ranks of the young.[13]

The Inshongore attracted far fewer of the ntore than they had hoped. The great majority of the young men managed to combine an admiration for European culture with a continuing respect for the Court, in the same way that they carried on the two apparently incompatible roles of student and ntore. As students, they passed their mornings in a classroom learning Swahili and French, studying history and literature, and practicing the skills necessary for keeping the registers that Europeans prized so highly. As ntore, they spent their afternoons executing military exercises and elaborate dances and their evenings drinking, conversing, and listening to music and poetry in attendance on the mwami or one of his notables. Proud of their own mastery of European skills and yet anxious to defend the mwami to whom they owed allegiance, these young men developed a lively hostility toward the Inshongore, who only pretended to admire European civilization in order to use European power to influence the Court. Since the leading Inshongore were batware, these young men of the Court became known as the *Ibyanga-batware*, "The haters of the Batware." Honing their court skills, they practiced their abilities at repartee and verbal attack on the Inshongore; they even enjoyed roughing up one or two of them if they caught them out alone at night. They especially hated Condo, the mutware who commanded their company, because he was seeking the help of the Belgians in a conflict between his lineage and that of Gashamura, a mwiru—a royal ritualist—and a favorite of the Court. Consequently, they refused Condo's orders, and when he tried to discipline them, they returned his punishment blow for blow. They finally persuaded Musinga to replace him with another notable as head of the ntore.

The Ibyanga-batware showed even less mercy to their own classmates who supported the Inshongore. As the conflicts multiplied between ntore who supported the Court and those who opposed it, the high morale and strict standards of conduct that had characterized earlier military formations began to crumble. The ntore drank too much, brawled constantly among themselves and with others, and even raped the young women of the vicinity. Seriously troubled by this disintegration of standards, Musinga called his own supporters as well as the other ntore to account for their misconduct. The young men accepted the beatings he meted out to them, but this exercise of royal authority could not reinstate the unity and discipline that had disappeared.[14] Torn by the same divisions that plagued their elders, the company would finally be disbanded under pressure from the Belgians.

Administrative Changes and the Court

By 1923 the Belgians were becoming disillusioned with their hopes of transforming Rwanda through a powerful but compliant Court—but also one whose power was real while its compliance was only apparent. Now better informed about the activities at Court through the Inshongore, the Belgians were beginning to resent the extent to which their orders were disregarded. Their dissatisfaction was relayed to the officials in the Colonial Ministry. In their report on the administration of Rwanda during 1923, these officials no longer talked of a "perfectly organized society," but instead of a "little advanced society" where the colonial administration must expect sometimes to take measures that are opposed by the Court.[15]

Distressed by the lack of progress in the past, the Belgians were all the more eager for change in the near future. A flurry of economic activity in the Congo spurred their hopes for similar development in Rwanda, and perhaps more closely coordinated with that of the Congo. M. Marzorati, the governor of Rwanda and Burundi, intended to stimulate economic development by introducing new consumer goods. He assumed that once Rwandans had been exposed to bicycles, typewriters, furniture, and sewing machines, they would easily take to cultivating cash crops like coffee or cotton, to mass producing their finely woven baskets, and even to selling their cattle. Apparently under pressure from officials in the Congo, Marzorati wanted to supply markets there with a steady flow of cattle. He suggested importing horses, each one to be exchanged for twenty-five cattle. Asked to comment on this idea, one local administrator reported tersely and correctly that no Rwandan would exchange even one head of cattle for a horse, far less twenty-five.[16] One official, foreseeing the day when he might be called upon to execute these "grandiose" plans, even asked the White Fathers for help in bringing Marzorati back to reality.[17]

Although the Resident, Mortehan, and his agents shuddered at some of Marzorati's ideas, they agreed that economic development was essential and that it could take place only as the administration gained firmer control over the kingdom. When the British agreed to return eastern Rwanda to Belgian administration in August 1923, Mortehan saw this as the perfect opportunity for demanding greater cooperation from the Court. The Belgians would now be free of the perception by the Court of having done the Court an undeserved injury, while Musinga, he expected, would feel gratitude for the Belgian efforts on his behalf.[18]

In September, Mortehan repeated Belgian dictates about the stability of commands and the secure tenure of property. As before, the Court and notables listened politely and then sought to evade the directives. A few administrators tried briefly to enforce the orders before being distracted by other matters or succumbing to fears of harming the prestige of the notables.[19] More significant was the Resident's decision to deprive Musinga of the right to assign the responsibility for making requisitions of the population for the Europeans. The Belgians were impatient with the inefficiency that resulted from the Court's allocation of quotas according to political criteria rather than according to ability to fill them. Administrators in the outlying regions for some time had been ignoring the requirement that assignments be made by the Court and instead had been distributing quotas—directly to the notables in their regions. The Court had kept control, however, of the distribution within the central kingdom.

By 1923 the Belgians' hopes for economic development made them more anxious to build their roads and towns rapidly and efficiently. At the same time, the Inshongore, who were beginning to win Mortehan's sympathy, multiplied their complaints to him and Lenaerts about Musinga's use of the requisitions to punish them. Mortehan ordered that Musinga could continue assigning the requisitions in one small region, where most of the commands were held by his favorites.[20] In all other areas, however, the administrators would be responsible for giving orders directly to the notables. To avoid having to deal with the multiplicity of notables in each region, the administrator generally charged the most important notable in each area with executing the orders. Where no single notable was clearly preeminent, the administrators named one cooperative man to be "akazi chief." Never popular with the notables because its risks outweighed its rewards—and because of the hatred it unleashed—this position would later be eliminated as other changes in the political system made it unnecessary.[21]

By establishing such "akazi chiefs," the Belgians took the first step toward a bureaucracy by which they hoped to establish a simplified, hierarchical system of clearly defined and unified territorial commands of roughly similar size. The Belgians wanted to put such a system in place not just to conform to their ideal of bureaucratic organization but also to be able to implement their orders promptly. They expected that they would be able to control the mwami and notables more easily once they became dependent on payment by the administration. In 1923 they began paying the mwami 5 percent of the total Belgian tax collected in

Rwanda and the notables 5 percent of the amount collected within their domains.* The Belgians hoped too that once the Court and notables had this extra income from sources outside simple expropriation, they would be less likely to place their own personal exactions on their people.[22]

The Belgians planned to change the people who governed Rwanda as well as the system by which it was governed. They expected to obtain firm command over the kingdom by placing in positions of power those whom they had trained. They had especially great hopes for cooperation from the young men who had studied at the Nyanza school. The first class of thirty completed their studies in November 1923. The graduates were supposed to spend six months or more as apprentices to local administrators before being named to positions of command, but when Lenaerts explained the plan to Musinga, he balked at sending off to distant posts those very men who were the best of his ntore. They had been trained to attend him, to entertain him, to defend him. Nonetheless, the administration decided to ignore his opposition, if only to prove to the Court and the ntore that they had become its young men now. On the day when the posts were assigned, the formation of ntore marched together for the last time to the royal enclosure to dance and declaim their praises for the mwami. As they sang him a song of adieu, Musinga wept openly. Perhaps he was recalling the moment eighteen years before when the Bega had ordered Musinga's fellow ntore dispersed from Nyanza so that they would not rally behind the young mwami in his struggle against his maternal kinsmen. Although several hundred ntore were left at Court, they were greatly disorganized by this dispersal of their leaders as well as by the struggles between supporters and opponents of the Court. Gradually the company disintegrated, with most of its members drifting away from the Court. No new ntore were ever called to serve Musinga.[23]

The Expansion of Court Rule

The Belgians coupled transformations within the heartland with the extension of control over the outlying regions. While they always invoked

*These policies replicated those in the Congo, where there was much more engagement in a monetary economy—an example of how policies in Congo found their way to Ruanda-Urundi. Despite the difficulties for the people of finding the money to pay the tax, this did make Musinga wealthy and thus helped him extend his clientship networks.

the mwami's name to legitimize the expansion, the Belgians had taken his place in encouraging the notables to intensify their rule in the outlying areas. In the north, the partnership of the Europeans and the notables that had begun tentatively under the Germans reached its full development after 1923 when the vigorous administrator E. Borgers arrived to take command of Mulera. Borgers methodically set about "organizing" Mulera, establishing control by the Europeans and Tutsi thoroughly in one region at a time, by bringing greater force to bear against resisters than previous rulers had been able (or willing) to do.[24]

As the Belgians took over the direction of expansion, deciding where notables would be installed and providing the force necessary to support them, they also determined the system through which they would rule. They wanted above all to prevent the development of the complexities that made the system in the central kingdom so difficult for them to manage. Under Borgers's direction, the notables took up large, fairly unified blocks of territory, which they could then parcel out among their followers. Within each command, only one notable ruled the people and, where he could get the Hutu to agree, the land. He also collected tax and requisitions for the Belgians. The distinctions among different domains of authority—such as the batware, banyabutaka, and akazi chiefs—were removed; these new domains eventually became known as *chefferies* ("chiefdoms") and *sous-chefferies* ("sub-chiefdoms"), depending on their size, population, and place in the new standardized administrative hierarchy.

In the few areas of Mulera where notables had commanded before the arrival of the Belgians, the administration could not simply ignore their domains in creating the chiefdoms and sub-chiefdoms. But because these commands were larger and less fragmented than in the south, the Belgians hoped to experiment with them to find the most efficient way of transforming the existing system. Mulera was especially suited to such trials because Rwabugiri himself had begun his experiment there of combining the commands of batware (with authorities over individuals) and banyabutaka (with authority over land). For example, the domain of Gakwavu, who had succeeded to the combined command created by Rwabugiri, offered a natural base for the system the Belgians wished to construct in Mulera. As a beginning, the administration in 1924 instructed Gakwavu to collect the ikoro from all men within his domain, whether or not he commanded them as their mutware. Part of the ikoro collected from men he did not command as mutware was then sent to Nyanza, where the mutware who did command them presented their ikoro to the Court. The Belgians reasoned that if

these batware lost their role as collectors of ikoro, their commands would fall into desuetude and the administration would be left with one man, such as Gakwavu, in command of each region. Borgers also permitted Gakwavu to appropriate domains of other notables where they were interspersed with his own holdings. As Gakwavu either forced the representatives of other notables to obey him or simply removed them to install his own men, the administrator shut his eyes. As other important notables in the north were granted the right to collect all the ikoro within their domains, they too used the measure to expand their holdings at the expense of other notables. Since these illegitimate acquisitions—completely outside the control of the Court—resulted in larger commands under fewer men, the Belgians did nothing to stop them.[25]

With the expansion of administrative control in Mulera, the Belgians could intervene significantly for the first time in the distribution of domains by the Court and notables. However, in the central kingdom where the Belgians had found the complex system of commands already in place, they had not been able to master its intricacies sufficiently to allow them to control appointments and removals by the Court and notables. In the north, where the commands were being established under their direction, they could be certain that the Court was not granting any large holdings without their knowledge. Even small domains granted by the notables would be known to the administration. The appointments were supposedly made by the Court and Resident acting together, but in fact, the choices were made locally; the effective agent of European control was the territorial administrator rather than the Resident. Borgers ordinarily permitted the notables to propose candidates for grants within their domains subject to his approval. But he intervened more decisively when he wanted certain notables, whom he deemed unsuitable, removed from their commands. In some cases, the administrator even named lesser notables directly, without referring to the notables commanding the region involved, the mwami or the Resident.[26]

As administrators came increasingly to control the distribution of commands, the notables (and others who hoped to become notables) began to court them assiduously. Soon Borgers had a retinue of followers much like that of powerful Rwandans, with the major difference that the clients of the European were likely to be literate, perhaps Christian, and possibly drawn from families without close Court ties. Borgers's most noteworthy client was a non-Court Tutsi named Magera. The son of a man who had paid court to Nyirimbirima before he had fled Rwanda, Magera had ignored his father's loyalties to become a client of Gakwavu,

Nyirimbirma's rival and successor. The ingratiating young man had become a favorite of Gakwavu, in part because he had arranged for Gakwavu's marriage to one of his comely sisters. Once Borgers arrived to supplant Gakwavu as the most powerful man in Mulera, Magera transferred his loyalty to him and rose rapidly in his estimation, partly because of his literacy and intelligence, partly because of another lovely sister, whom he gave in marriage to Borgers. The administrator endowed Magera with numerous profitable commands for himself and presented his father and brothers with an entire region as their domain. Confident of Borgers's support, Magera intrigued constantly against the other notables in the area, especially against his old patron Gakwavu, and treated them with the greatest insolence. As for the ordinary people, if they wished to talk with Magera, they had first to greet his dog, a dog that he had named Musinga.[27]

As the number of commands multiplied, the Belgians and notables needed to recruit several hundred lesser notables to govern at the local level. The number of Tutsi resident in Mulera was too small to provide sufficient candidates for all the positions to be filled, so the Belgians and important notables looked to the south for new subordinates. Tutsi with little wealth or political power and with few influential kin hurried to Mulera to share in the distribution of commands. These Banyanduga (men from the central areas) came equipped not only with literacy skills but also with an arrogant certainty of the superiority of the ways of the Tutsi, which many of them flaunted all the more aggressively because of the very lack of distinction of their own backgrounds. They had no respect for the Bakiga, the "men of the hills" as they called them, and expected to stay in their country only so long as necessary to make a fortune and a reputation. Since they were new to the region, they needed land on which to settle; and since they did no manual labor they needed laborers to till the land for them. Because they regarded the local people—"Hutu" in the new lexicon, as administrative hierarchies were extended to the region—as hardly fit company for an important notable, they welcomed friends and relatives (or even previously unknown parasites) who followed them north to share in their good fortune.[28] One witness from Bukonya recalled how a man from the south might establish himself in the area:

> He would come and ask hospitality from some Hutu who happened to be on his route; when the Hutu had taken care of his lodging, he would ask who commanded that hill. And he would go

> to him the next morning and say, "The Hutu at whose house I stayed last night took good care of me, my lord, and I ask to be allowed to continue to live with him." After two or three days he would say, "I have a wife and a child who are indeed badly off; I would like to go and get them so that you could install them some place." The notable would tell him to go get them and when he brought them back, he would install them in the enclosure of the Hutu, saying they had no other place to go. And the next day, he would take another Hutu and tell him to go fetch water for him. And if you tried to object, he would say, "I have received you from such and such a notable, may your mother be mutilated. . . ." and you would say nothing more. And thus he got this hill, tomorrow that one, and another the day after that. And the rope did its work among us; if you had a cow, he would tie you up until you gave it to him. In this way they took the cattle, if you have heard that they had cattle, . . . until the [expropriated] cattle covered the [entire] hill. . . . In this way they came to command the country and not in any other. As I saw it, I have told it.[29]

In 1923 and 1924, lineages in Kibali, Bukonya, and Bugerura tried to resist the extension of central control with the kind of violence that they had used to safeguard their rights in the past. Under Borgers's direction, the notables and soldiers suppressed their uprisings ruthlessly. From this experience and from the constant presence of Belgian troops and police in the north, most other lineages decided that further armed resistance was futile. At the same time, the local lineages were finding that the notables had far less need for their active support. Instead of relying on local alliances to establish their control over recalcitrant subjects, the notables simply called in the soldiers and police; instead of calling on local supporters to defend their domains against rivals, they sought the protection of the administrator. Local people were left with only two alternatives, seeking an accommodation with the powerful or refusing to comply with orders. The minority, often members of weaker lineages, chose the former; the majority took the latter pathway. The point at which each lineage would decide to refuse compliance naturally differed, but most rejected the notables' attempts to take control of their land and to force them to do uburetwa labor.[30]

As the Bakiga changed from open resistance to refusal to comply with orders, the Belgians altered the punishment from armed attack to imprisonment. Many heads of lineages served several weeks or months in jail, usually without noticeable effect on their behavior. In one case

the younger men of the lineage felt that their lineage head was getting too old to survive incarceration one more time so they secretly arranged to comply with the local notable's demand for uburetwa. As soon as the old man learned that they had left for the notable's fields, he hurried after them and marched them home again before they had the chance to lift their hoes. In such particularly stubborn cases, especially if the lineage had complied only partially (or not at all) with demands of the administration for tax and akazi, the Belgians would exile the heads of the lineages to other parts of Rwanda for the rest of their lives. Such measures, however, failed to break the resistance of most lineages.[31]

Colonial Pressures and the Demise of the Small Polities of the West

By the mid-1920s the Belgians had generally accepted the contention of the Tutsi that only they knew how to rule. Although they would make exceptions for gifted individuals, the Belgians had given up the idea of permitting large groups of Hutu to govern themselves. In late 1924 and early 1925, Borgers supervised the end of the Belgian experiment in self-rule by the northern political community. The people of the small state of Bushiru had greatly impressed the Belgians with the strength of their resistance against Court Tutsi in 1920. A White Father who had served in Bushiru had argued their case persuasively with the administration, pointing out that this state differed from other outlying regions because it had a universally acknowledged ruler, or *muhinza*.* The Belgians lacked

*As elsewhere in this region the local term for a legitimate sovereign was *mwami*. In these small polities the power of the mwami over his subjects was severely limited; legitimacy depended on ritual integrity not political power. The term *muhinza* was a term of opprobrium used by the Court to apply to the rulers of such small states (ruling over domains the Nyinginya Court claimed as its own territory). However, because state officials and early anthropologists generally adopted Court lexicon (and the Court's perspectives) the term *muhinza* became widely replicated in the literature; see Nahimana, *Le Rwanda,* 191–222, esp. 220–22: "le titre d'*umwami* . . . a été remplacé par celle d'*abahinza* par les *abami* nyiginya lors de leur expansion; ils imposèrent aux *abami* hutu vaincus le titre d'*abahinza*. . . . L'utilisation du titre *umuhinza* à la place de celui d'*umwami* est . . . récente." See also Nahimana, "Les principautés Hutu du Rwanda septentrional," 115–37; for an extensive example of such a kingship: D. Newbury, *Kings and Clans,* passim, esp. chap. 2.

the resources to conquer Bushiru at the time anyway, so they agreed to rule through the muhinza, then an old man named Nyamakwa.[32]

Because of the strength of the resistance shown by the people of Bushiru (the Bashiru), the Belgians supposed that Nyamakwa must be a powerful and effective ruler. In fact, the Bashiru had fought so vigorously out of a general and fierce resentment against the Tutsi who had been raiding their rich region in the years during and just after the war. Nyamakwa merely acceded to the attacks that his people were already determined to make. The power of the muhinza derived in part from his position as head of the strongest lineage in Bushiru, in part from his supposed abilities to control the fertility of the soil and protect the crops against harmful pests. As the most powerful man in Bushiru, Nyamakwa exercised authority over political and judicial questions. His administration, however, consisted of only one formal counselor, the Muvuguruza, "the one who contradicts," and of his family and followers. Without a regular army, he could enforce his decisions only when he had the support of most of his people.[33]

The Belgians at first were pleased with the results of ruling through the muhinza. They took the readiness with which the Bashiru filled their requisitions as one more proof of the effectiveness of Nyamakwa's rule. Again, they were mistaken. The Bashiru feared the extension of control by the Tutsi as much as did their muhinza and they were willing to cooperate with the Belgians to forestall it. As the Belgian demands grew in 1921 and 1922, however, the Bashiru lost their enthusiasm for Belgian rule, and Nyamakwa had increasing difficulty getting the administration's orders executed. To meet such increasing demands, the muhinza was constantly forced to exercise power more ruthlessly and over matters he had not previously controlled.[34]

As Nyamakwa threatened to call in the Belgians to make his people obey, his relationship with them began to change. Long after, several Bashiru recalled the shift, "Seeing Nyamakwa live with his superiors . . . with the Europeans, we began to fear him."[35] Eventually the muhinza became blind and could no longer supervise his new duties personally, so he delegated them to his sons. Some found ruling for the European a burden, even with the added powers it brought. One of Nyamakwa's sons told an administrator who threatened to remove him from his command for some inadequacy, "It would be the greatest service you could do me."[36] Others readily exploited their new responsibilities for their own profit, confiscating goods and lands to which they had no right.

When Nyamakwa proved unable to control such abuses, those who suffered most from them began to use force to defend themselves. As the Bashiru divided for or against Nyamakwa, fighting became more frequent; as one observer commented, "people did not respect each other any more."[37]

Nyamakwa had hoped to guarantee his own and his people's independence by taking on new responsibilities of European colonial administration directly. But he could not transform his position as muhinza, based on ritual legitimacy and working for the benefit of the people, into that of agent for the colonial bureaucracy within a hierarchy of external command. His failure seemed to the Belgians only one more proof of the incapacity of Hutu in governance. So they proposed to Musinga that Bushiru be brought under the more conventional administration by Court-delegated Tutsi. The mwami, who had long been encouraging his notables to bring Bushiru under Court control, agreed. With the Resident's approval the Court named a young man who had served both Musinga and the Belgians well. He quickly divided up Bushiru among his followers, removing the last vestiges of political power from the muhinza.[38]

Although the Belgians had taken the place of the Court in directing expansion in the north, they were carrying on the same thrust which the Court had encouraged throughout Musinga's reign. When the Belgians decided to take control of Bukunzi and Busozo, however, they were violating the Court's long tradition of protecting these two small southwestern states. The Court had given a special status to Bukunzi because its ruler, renowned for his rainmaking abilities, supposedly could control the rainfall for all of Rwanda. But it protected Busozo apparently because of an accident of history. According to Court historical narratives, when one of the great bami of the past, perhaps Ruganzu Ndori of the seventeenth century, had traveled in the southwest, he had repeatedly encountered hostility from the people of all areas except Busozo. In appreciation for his welcome there and in response to the request for protection from the mwami of Busozo, Ruganzu Ndori had granted the state a special status that succeeding Rwandan rulers had always respected. Even though it was Busozo that had sheltered Ruganzu, in Court perspectives the ruler of Busozo was known as the "daughter of the Court," a term frequently used by Rwandans to mean a minor or weak person in need of protection. The people of Busozo were expected to provide the Court with a tribute of herbs, woods, and animal skins,

presented through a Court-nominated mutware.* Bukunzi had a different relationship with the Court. Relying on his reputation throughout the region as a guarantor of rainfall, the ruler of Bukunzi was given considerable deference. Although he provided a small tribute to the Rwandan mwami, he received the equivalent or more in gifts from the Court. Unlike the ruler of Busozo, the ruler of Bukunzi sent his tribute through his own messenger. Except for these symbolic gifts to the Court, the people of Busozo and Bukunzi were free of rule by the Tutsi.[39]

In the years right after the war, the Belgians had respected the special status of these two states, partly because of the Court's defense of them, partly because of intervention again by Fathers of a local mission. In March 1923 the mwami of Bukunzi died. One of his wives, Nyirandakunze, used the provision for ritual killings that were supposed to take place after the death of a mwami as an excuse to execute several political opponents. Others who feared her continued reprisals sought refuge with the neighboring Fathers, who in turn reported on their plight to the administrator. The Belgians were apparently too occupied in the north to consider taking control of Bukunzi, so they proposed instead to remove some of its territory from the new mwami, who was still a child, and give it to Rwagataraka, the influential Mwega notable who governed the neighboring region of Kinyaga. When the proposal was made to the Court, Musinga opposed it because he feared that any loss of territory might provoke the new mwami to withhold the rain. Hard pressed by the Resident, he finally gave nominal consent to the move but privately arranged with Rwagataraka, then one of his favorites at the Court, so that the transfer would have no actual effect.[40]

When Bukunzi still had not submitted to control of either Europeans or notables a year later, the administration decided to invade the territory and capture Nyirandakunze and her son, the mwami. The new territory was promised in advance to Rwagataraka, who was chosen to lead the expedition into Bukunzi. Apparently to please the Court, Rwagataraka managed to mislead and delay the troops so badly

*Such prescriptions were clearly based on Court perspectives, as shown by the claims that this rugged mountainous forested kingdom sent its tribute through a mutware long before the presence of the Court was effective or enduring in this area. For more on the recent relationship of these areas to the Court, see C. Newbury, *The Cohesion of Oppression*, 39, 63–65.

that Nyirandakunze and her son escaped. The administrator was furious, all the more so because he could see no reason for such a betrayal by Rwagataraka, the likely beneficiary of the expedition. Eventually, the Belgians occupied Bukunzi militarily, and forced the people of the area to pay tax, to do akazi for the state, and to accept the rule of the Tutsi. But for a year the people refused to reveal the hiding place of their traditional rulers. To expedite the search, the Belgians singled out one former adviser to Nyirandakunze for intensive interrogation; when "he was finally tired of being beaten," as one observer put it, he revealed their hiding place. It was only two miles from the military headquarters. In a nighttime raid, the Belgians killed Nyirandakunze, who fought valiantly with a spear against their guns, along with several of her sons. The young mwami was captured and put in jail, where he died soon after.[41]

The rulers of Busozo had viewed developments in neighboring Bukunzi with alarm and had sought to make an accommodation with the Europeans. The queen mother, Rudasumbwa, had already profited once from European aid; the Germans had helped her install her son as mwami at the time of a succession dispute in 1905. Now she and her son arranged to meet the Belgian demands for tax and laborers in return for being allowed to continue to rule. But, as with Nyamakwa in Bushiru, they were unable to extend their powers to keep pace with their new obligations. Their people refused to keep the promises the rulers had made to the Belgians. Even after the Belgians had moved troops into Busozo to prop up their authority, they could not fill the European requisitions. When the mwami died in 1926, the Belgians assigned Busozo to a neighboring Tutsi notable.[42]

After two and a half years of military occupation, the Belgians forced Busozo and Bukunzi into their administrative system. Ironically enough, they described this incorporation as "restoring the authority" of the mwami. In reality they had shown that their intention to establish a uniform system of administration throughout Rwanda took precedence over the Court's desire to continue in some cases the more flexible arrangements of the past. The people of Busozo and Bukunzi, like the Hutu in other areas, had idealized the mwami as their protector against the excessive greed of the notables and later against the centralizing zeal of the Europeans. With the destruction of the special status of Bukunzi and Busozo, the Court's ability to protect the weak and those who it felt was essential to the welfare of the kingdom suffered a serious blow.

Court Administration and Colonial Bureaucracy

In late 1924 and throughout 1925, the Belgians pressed ahead with the changes they deemed necessary in the traditional system. Pleased by the results of the experiment in Mulera with unified tax collection, they decreed that in the future only banyabutaka throughout the kingdom would collect the ikoro within their domains. As the heads of armies, and the original Court representatives to most regions, the batware had already lost their role as defenders of the Court with the arrival of European troops; now they were to be deprived of their functions as agents of the royal administration. As the Belgians hoped, their positions began to evaporate. To further limit the number of officials entitled to collect tax for the Court, the Belgians also prohibited requisitions by the *batora*, special agents of the mwami who had had the right to gather up bananas for beer or animals for divination. The authority of the Court and notables to demand cattle from their clients under certain circumstances was also ended. Aware that Kanjogera and Musinga often countered Belgian intervention in the judicial process by rendering their own decisions secretly at night, the Belgians required that all cases be decided only in the administrator's offices in the presence of a European, and recorded in a register—measures designed to eliminate Kanjogera's influence, since she still refused to sit publicly at judicial hearings.[43]

By the mid-1920s the Belgians were moving more vigorously to change the system as their hopes for the economic development of Rwanda grew. They also began pressing the Hutu harder for labor to establish the facilities necessary for development. But as demands from the Europeans and the notables increased, resistance continued in altered forms. Group opposition yielded to individual withdrawal as more and more Hutu left Rwanda for the British-administered territories to the east. There they were free from taxes and forced labor; they received better salaries as well. Although most of the migrants went to work only for a period of months and then returned to Rwanda, their departure nonetheless posed a serious threat to the Belgian plans for development. The more Hutu became acquainted with the attractions in the east, the more difficult and costly it would be for Belgian enterprises to keep them in Rwanda.[44]

The Belgians could not prohibit emigration, because they feared the British would protest to the League of Nations and because they did not want to sacrifice the resources needed to implement such a measure.

They correctly realized that the pressures in Rwanda were as important as the lure of higher salaries in accounting for the Hutu exodus. Unwilling to cut back on their own demands, they sought to limit the exactions that the notables were making on the Hutu. At the end of 1924, they ordered that in the future Hutu were to do two days labor out of seven instead of two days out of five for uburetwa. In a policy again reflective of that in Congo, they installed fifteen courts in the various territories to settle cases previously judged informally by notables or administrators. Where administrators could not oversee the operation of the courts through their personal attendance, they were expected to monitor the records kept of the sessions. In the outlying regions, where abuses of the Tutsi were most brutal, administrators were supposed to judge cases in which Hutu brought complaints against notables.[45]

The Belgians believed that inserting these new measures within a system of multiple bureaucratic safeguards would ensure their effectiveness. To be certain that the Court collected only the proper amount of tax through the correctly designated representatives, the Belgians required all taxes to be inventoried at the local territorial posts before being forwarded to Nyanza. One copy of the inventory was to accompany the caravan, another was sent separately to the administrator in Nyanza, and a third was held in the territory for later comparison against a copy returned from Nyanza after having been checked by the administrator there. This system regulated those taxes that the notables chose to present at the territorial offices, but not those they continued to send privately to Court. To be sure that the notables demanded only the two days a week of uburetwa, the Belgians required them to keep registers. The notables maintained their books in perfect order and still required excessive labor that was just never inscribed; if a dependent refused the supplementary work (often to meet personal demands of the notable or his family) they would not be inscribed for having fulfilled the legally required obligations. As for the courts that were supposed to protect the Hutu, the notables soon learned the kinds of evidence that were needed to sway the Europeans and had no difficulty collecting it.[46]

So long as the Belgians supported the notables against the Hutu, all the decrees of changes in the system, no matter how encumbered they were with detailed regulations, would have had little effect. In the same way, Belgian restrictions on the powers of the Court would have made little difference if the Belgians had not begun to withdraw their support for the mwami. In late 1924 the Resident intervened to grant the rich holdings of Kabare to his son, the Christian Rwabutogo, whom Musinga

detested. The decision injured a favorite of the Court who had been overseeing the domains as steward. Soon after, the Resident deprived three important notables, Rwakadigi, Sebugirigiri, and Biganda, of their holdings in the north. All three had been favorites of the Court.[47] By these decisions the Belgians showed that they were now going to control the distribution of wealth and power; the infringement on royal prerogative that had begun relatively inconspicuously with Borgers in the north was brought home to the heart of the kingdom. What was more, in exercising their power, the Belgians were favoring opponents of the Court and harming those loyal to it.

The Court saw clearly the implications of these decisions and tried to win European favor again. Musinga returned to the studies he had dropped nearly two decades before and ordered the leading notables to accompany him to class. He cooperated enthusiastically with the Fathers in combating the growing influence of the Protestants. He rebuffed representatives of the (Anglican) Church Missionary Society who tried to win him over with rich gifts, and he ordered his notables to encourage the building of Catholic mission outstations in their domains to preempt the Protestants who wanted to build there. Many notables hoped that cession of some land to the Fathers and the contribution of labor to build their out-stations would satisfy them, but others approached the matter more thoroughly and ordered their subjects to attend instruction. They did not, however, go themselves.[48]

The notables too sensed the drift of Belgian policy. Increasing numbers of them felt the need to develop good relations with the administrator while still maintaining their ties of loyalty to the Court. To be presented favorably to the Belgians, some of these notables forged links with the powerful Kayondo or Nturo. Unable to attack such leading Inshongore directly, Musinga tried to combat their growing influence by undermining their strength. He sought to turn their clients and subordinates against them by calling on the loyalty that all Rwandans were supposed to owe to the mwami. He made a number of minor notables his own bagaragu to win them from their support of shebuja who were Inshongore. He also encouraged ambitious young men to work against their fathers or older brothers in hopes that they might displace them from their commands.[49]

As Musinga struggled to regain the initiative, Kayondo struck at him decisively. Although Kayondo remained outwardly polite to Musinga and Kanjogera, he was increasingly confident of the support of the Belgians and wanted to use his new power to punish the Court for having

rejected him. He focused his attack on Gashamura, Musinga's great favorite and trusted adviser. Many of the leading Tutsi privately scorned Gashamura as a bumpkin. Some called him a Hutu, perhaps referring to the distant origins of his family rather than to his immediate parents. His ancestors had been commanders for the Court for many generations, but their domains were in the northern mountainous regions known as the "country of the Bakiga," and they were not wealthy in cattle. One Rwandan who had known Gashamura at Court described him as "not nearly so handsome as the Hutu of the central kingdom and even uglier than the Hutu of the hills." He continued:

> Just by looking at him you could see that he was a little Hutu, just by his appearance, his language, his very short clothes, and by the fact that he bared his ass completely when he went to the toilet. He was so much a Hutu that you would think that no one would dare to share anything [e.g., a drinking straw or a pipe] with him.[50]

But none of the scoffers had dared to challenge Gashamura's position. As head of the Batsobe lineage, Gashamura was the leading ritual specialist in Rwanda, a position next in importance to the mwami and the queen mother. His most important duty was the preparation and presentation of the first fruits of the annual harvest to the Court at a ceremony called *Umuganura,* a festival of great joy because "by celebrating Umuganura, the mwami ensured the richness of his country."[51] As a ritual affirmation of royalty over several days of celebration, the Court displayed its hospitality and generosity to all. One Rwandan who participated in the feasting recalled that every person had his place and a right to enjoy the wealth of the Court: "The mwami turned no one away, and if some one tried to turn you away, you could fight with him, no matter who he was."[52] During the day, herds of cattle, led by the prize royal cattle, filed by to demonstrate the inexhaustible wealth of Rwanda. Porters too passed by the mwami and his mother to show off the ikoro and gifts of beer from their regions. The celebration touched even those who were too distant to enjoy the hospitality of the Court. Everyone rejoiced in the greatness and generosity of the mwami, and everyone waited until he had tasted the first fruits before sampling the new harvest themselves.[53]

Kayondo attacked Gashamura because of his political role at Court, but he apparently knew that his accusations would be more effective with the Europeans if they were put in terms of Gashamura's ritual functions. The Belgians found it hard to understand why Musinga

opposed measures that they thought were so reasonable. Unable to comprehend the sincerity of his desire to defend the traditions he had inherited, the Belgians increasingly explained his opposition as the result of the evil influence of sorcerers. The multiple ritual prescriptions that surrounded the mwami were taken as binding him to tradition and preventing his move to modernity. When Kayondo reported that the presence of ritualists like Gashamura and the practice of rites like Umuganura strengthened Musinga's will to resist Europeans orders, the Belgians readily believed him. When informed further that Gashamura and other ritualists had assured Musinga and Kanjogera that some supernatural intervention would soon end foreign rule, the Belgians resolved to exile Gashamura from Rwanda.[54]

The Belgians made their decision in late 1924, but did not implement it until March 1925. In the meantime, Musinga learned their plans and did everything possible to save Gashamura. The Belgians imprisoned Gashamura in January 1925 for his refusal to execute a decision by the Resident that awarded part of his holdings to a rival. Hoping that a large concession on this matter might sway the Resident, Gashamura promised ready compliance and with Musinga's consent even tried to give his rival other domains that had never been in dispute. This last desperate attempt failed to move the Belgians. One night in March, Gashamura was taken secretly and transported in a closed hammock to Burundi where he spent the rest of his life.[55]

Musinga, who had not even been permitted to bid adieu to his old friend and confidant, was overwhelmed by the Belgian action. He appealed three times for help to the Fathers, the only Europeans he thought might still be receptive to his pleas. They of course refused to intervene on behalf of a "sorcerer." Before Musinga had even begun to recover from the blow, the Belgians told him that Umuganura was prohibited and along with it all the other rituals included in the ubwiru, the sacred code of the Court.* The Court could retain its diviners and could continue to consult the spirits as did ordinary Rwandans, but all the ceremonies that made the Court unique and that contributed to the

*This was part of a broader colonial assault on social rituals throughout the region. *Umuganuro*, the analogous royal ritual in Burundi to that of Umuganura in Rwanda, was suppressed from 1929, and Ryangombe rites (associated with the Imandwa) in Rwanda from the 1930s. On the suppression of Umuganuro in Burundi, see Gahama, "La disparition de Muganuro."

legitimacy of its rule were forbidden.[56] Religion was acceptable but "superstition" was not. The Belgians were beginning to fear the authority they had once praised so highly.

Musinga and Kanjogera could have refused to accept the prohibition. They could have abdicated in defense of the principle of retaining the ceremonies, or they could have attempted to mount an armed resistance, which would almost certainly have failed. Any of these alternatives would probably have resulted in their removal from power. They could not risk removal, because it would leave the drum in the hands of one of Musinga's sons, who were still children and incapable of resisting the Europeans. While acquiescing in the end of the ubwiru was a painful sacrifice, Musinga and Kanjogera were willing to make it since it was the only way that they could continue to rule.

When Umuganura was not celebrated as usual in June 1925, the end of such rituals at Court became widely known. Even while recognizing that the Court could not have acted otherwise, Rwandans resented its yielding to the Europeans on this issue. They felt personally diminished by their rulers' sacrifice of these ceremonies that were supposed to guarantee the wealth of the kingdom. They lost respect for Musinga and Kanjogera for no longer "having the complete royalty," "for no longer governing according to the old ways of the past."[57]

With Musinga thus weakened, the Europeans and the Inshongore pressed him further. When he agreed to attend a celebration at the Kabgayi mission, the Fathers and administrators urged him to spend the night there instead of returning to Nyanza, as he had always done in the past. Musinga agreed. The Inshongore regarded this as a fine opportunity to recall their rejection of royal prerogatives under similar circumstances two years before, when they had refused to accompany Musinga back to Nyanza. The morning after the mwami's first night outside his capital, the Inshongore refused to present their cattle for his inspection, a standard courtesy by notables when the mwami was in their region.[58]

Such injuries to royal prestige seemed slight in comparison to the major blow that Kayondo and the Belgians delivered to royal power at the end of 1925. Kayondo had persistently asked the Resident to hear his still unsettled case against Bandora and Kanuma, who retained part of Kayondo's inheritance. The Resident finally consented and personally conducted the hearings. Because Musinga's stand on the case was clearly known, the Resident refused to allow him to participate in the deliberations or even to assist as an interpreter at the proceedings. The Belgian awarded the decision to Kayondo.[59] From the time of the first

Europeans, Rwandans, including Musinga himself, had sought to involve these powerful persons in Rwandan disputes. But they had turned to them as protectors who might influence a more powerful Rwandan authority to act in their favor. With the settlement of Kayondo's case, the Belgians had displaced the mwami as the final arbiter in conflicts, the authority to whom Rwandans must now direct their pleas. Not only had the Belgians appropriated power from the Court, they were using it against the mwami.

By the mid-1920s Musinga realized that the Belgians were replacing him as the real authority in the kingdom. They had displaced him from his role of directing the expansion of central control in the outlying regions; they were appropriating his power to distribute commands; they were assuming his authority to settle disputes. Musinga saw that the Belgians would use the growing power in their own interests, which in his eyes were not the same as the interests of the Court or of the kingdom as a whole. Much as he wanted their favor and the assurance that they would continue to support him, he could not bring himself to participate enthusiastically in their plans for destroying what he regarded as essential. The Inshongore, with far less responsibility for the welfare of the kingdom, found it easier to win and keep European favor. And they would continue using this favor in an increasingly bitter struggle against the Court.

9

The Rationalization of Power, 1925–1931

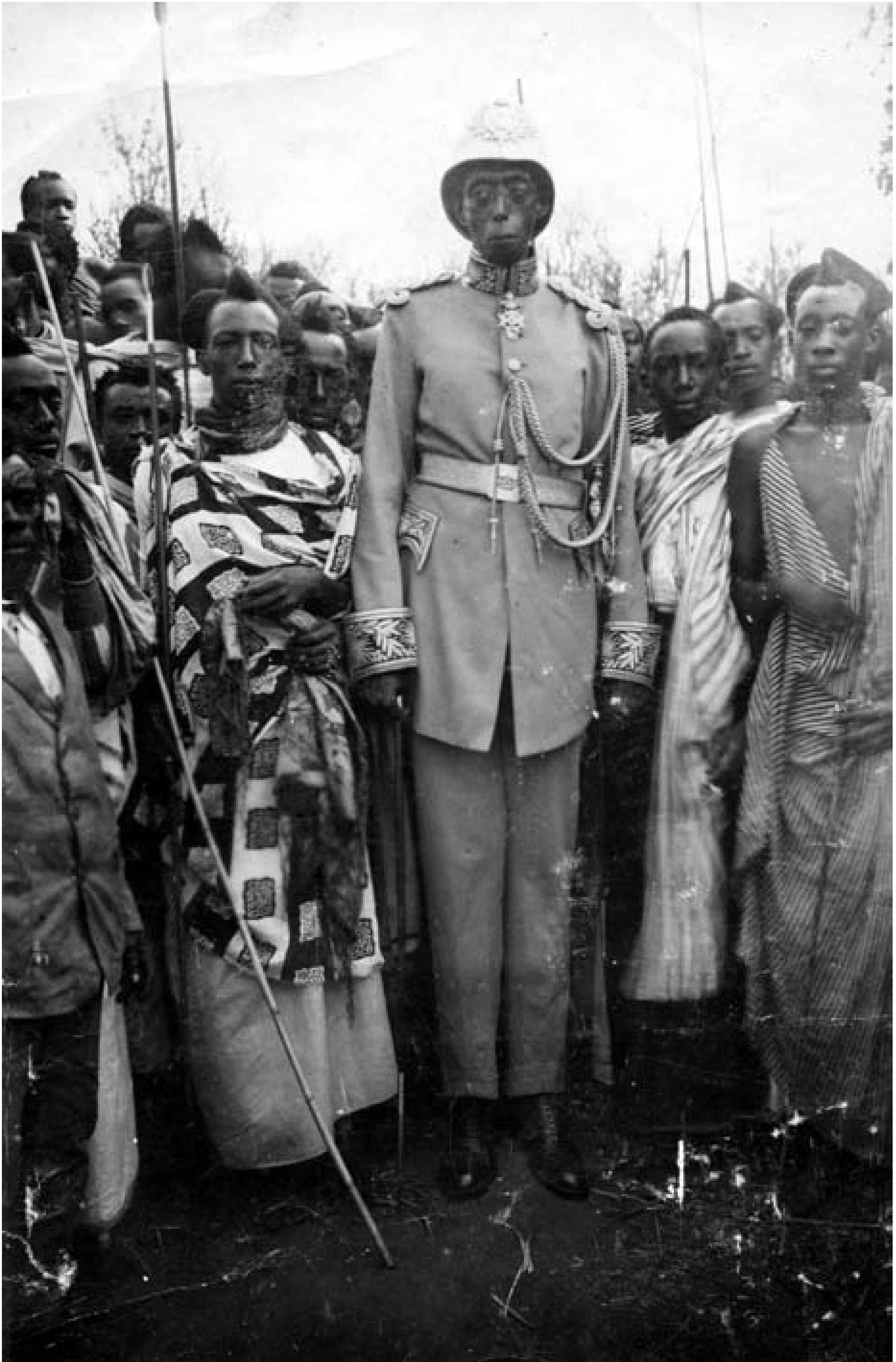
The Deposition of Musinga

Inkuba ebyiri ntiziba'mugicu kimwe
[Two thunders cannot live in the same cloud]

Greatly shaken by his loss of power in 1924 and 1925, Musinga sought immediately to regain the initiative against the Inshongore. He let it be known that Bandora would reopen the case against Kayondo, and he confidently predicted that this time he would win. Most of the notables still respected Musinga's political skills, and they remembered too how unpredictably he had first lost, then regained Belgian support in 1917. They could not ignore the possibility that he might regain his former power, and so they still did not dare to desert him completely. But they did deem it wise to try to please the Europeans and their men as well as the mwami.[1]

Caught in Competing Loyalties: The Younger Notables

While the older men among these notables, like the original Inshongore, hoped to draw on European power without being touched by European culture, the younger men found European civilization increasingly attractive. Especially after 1925 and 1926, when the Belgians began to insist that the Court and notables appoint only men who had had some European education, ambitious young men began to regard European learning as a privilege. Just as in the past young men had competed for a place in the most distinguished groups of ntore, where they hoped to



Musinga in his colonial uniform (courtesy of Jan Vansina)

win the favors of an important notable or of the mwami himself, these young men now scrambled for seats in school, especially in the school at Nyanza, the seat of the central court, where they hoped to attract the attention of the administrators. While the older men themselves refused to study and ordinarily preferred not to send all their sons to school, they usually permitted one or two of those sons to learn European skills so that they could represent their fathers with the administrators. When fathers did oppose European education, some young men placed ambition over obedience and stole away to class anyway. One such secret scholar recalled that he had learned the vowels and was just beginning the consonants when his father appeared at the school door to drag him home.[2]

Although the Belgians declared forthrightly their desire to have notables become literate, they indicated more subtly their wish to have them become Christian as well. The young notables nonetheless understood their meaning. By 1928 virtually all the young men at the Nyanza school were Christian or in the process of becoming Christian. Once the young men at Court had shown the way, the young notables in schools elsewhere began to flock to the churches too. Most of the older notables hoped to accomplish by friendship with the missionaries what their sons expected to achieve by beginning religious instruction, but by 1928 and 1929 even some of them were reluctantly attending the classes in catechism. The movement toward Christianity, which had originally been a way of opposing the Court, now became a general effort to accommodate European wishes. It paralleled the rush for secular education. The notables counted on their acceptance of Christianity as a means both to raise their standing with the Belgians and to ensure the support of those powerful protectors, the White Fathers.[3]

Just as the notables regarded conversion as one important way of paying court to the Europeans, many of their clients and subjects felt obliged to change their religion to follow the notables. Often the mere announcement that a notable was about to begin learning the catechism sufficed to bring his clients and subjects to the church as well. In describing the conversion of subordinates of the Christian Rwabutogo, one of his clients recalled: “When he had begun to take instruction and he had just received command over this region, not even the old men here could keep themselves from going to take instruction. If you were at Rwabutogo’s home and he went down on his knees to pray, you could not just stand there and look. It used to be like that: what your patron loved, you loved too.”[4] When the pressure of example had no effect,

some notables frankly ordered their people to begin attending catechism classes. Others preferred to offer the grant of cattle as an incentive to beginning instruction.[5]

The ideas of clientship permeated the Rwandan form of Christianity: catechists assigned to instruct notables became their clients; godparents were regarded as shebuja and were abandoned for others by godchildren who felt they were not being properly protected. While many people entered the church with their notables, others turned to Christianity as a way of protecting themselves against them. Once the notables had drawn closer to the Fathers, their subjects often felt the need to counter their added strength by establishing bonds with the missionaries. In both cases the great majority of people accepted Christianity within the framework of clientship.[6]

As the movement spread out from Nyanza and down from the notables to the people, the number enrolled for religious instruction rose dramatically. When the new diocese had been established in 1922, it had counted about five thousand in its catechism classes; by 1925, this number had doubled and by 1927 it had nearly doubled again for a total of almost twenty thousand enrolled. Although the Fathers naturally liked to ascribe the movement to the impetus of the Holy Spirit, in their private communications they acknowledged the basically political nature of people's motives. Undismayed by the evidence of self-interest at work, Monsignor Classe merely advised his colleagues to seize the opportunity to try to convert base motives into spiritual ones.[7]

The young men most impressed with their own mastery of European ideas and skills scorned their elders who hesitated to adopt the foreign ways. They did not spare Musinga himself. Although they dared not confront him outright, a number of the young men took pleasure in parading around the outside of his enclosure at night, singing the Christian hymns and chants that the mwami and his mother particularly detested. Much offended by such behavior, Musinga commented sadly that these young men who were supposed to be protecting the enclosure around his residence seemed intent instead on tearing it down. The usual standards of etiquette at Court had disintegrated badly in face of the bitterness between supporters and opponents of the Court, but such frank affronts to royal power were rare. The Inshongore and men loyal to the Court insulted each other like "low, miserable people," as one of Musinga's wives put it, but members of both groups avoided open confrontation with the mwami. Even the bold Kayondo preferred not to contradict or criticize Musinga or Kanjogera to their faces.[8]

Although the notables went through the motions of acknowledging Musinga's authority, the mwami knew as well as they that many of them were seeking an accommodation with the Belgians. To counter this drift toward the administration, the Court in 1926 began propagating rumors about an imminent end to Belgian rule. The Court itself could have had little faith that this much-desired event would transpire in the near future, but it hoped to diminish the notables' desire to cooperate with the Europeans by thus playing on their hopes and fears. Perhaps it even hoped that rumors of such resistance might affect the Belgians as earlier rumors had shaken the Fathers and the Germans.[9]

From 1926 on, Musinga also tried to counteract the growing influence of the Fathers by indicating a preference for the most radical Protestant group in Rwanda, the Seventh Day Adventists. Musinga invited the Adventist preacher to address the Court and ordered the notables to attend his sermons. Musinga's friendship with the Adventists disturbed the administration nearly as much as the Fathers, because they saw the millennial doctrine of the Adventists as a dangerous invitation to social unrest.* They may even have believed it was linked to the rumors of an end to their administration.[10]

Confrontation between the Court and the Mwami

The Belgians' disillusionment with Musinga had been growing, but they had lacked any firm basis for action against him because his resistance was so subtle and amorphous. Given the Adventists' reputation in the region for opposition to certain colonial directives, the local administration could now argue that the rumors and the links with the Adventists were unquestionable proof of his resistance. It asked the governor to arrange for his deposition. When the governor called for the advice of Classe, the bishop overlooked Musinga's alliance with the Adventists

*Such millennial doctrines were widespread in Africa in the 1920s and a source of great concern to the colonial powers, including the Belgians in Congo; see Higginson, "Liberating the Captives," 55–80. Other religious movements also concerned the Belgians in Congo at this time: see Asch, *L'église du prophète Kimbangu;* MacGaffey, *Modern Kongo Prophets*. For other cases elsewhere in Central Africa, see Fields, *Revival and Rebellion in Central Africa;* Ranger, "The Mwana Lesa Movement of 1925," 45–75. For Tanzania, see Ranger, *The African Churches of Tanzania*. For Uganda, see Welbourn, *East African Rebels.*

and intervened in his favor. He may have hoped that his exercise of influence would bring Musinga back to his earlier position of favoring the Catholic Church, or he may just have felt that the moment was wrong for the deposition. None of Musinga's sons was old enough to rule by himself, and a period of rule by regents could bring more problems than it solved, as the developments in neighboring Burundi were amply demonstrating.* The governor either was influenced by Classe's argument or encountered opposition from his administrative superiors to the idea of deposing the mwami. The proposal was dropped.[11] Nonetheless, from this time onward the Belgians and Musinga saw each other as enemies.

Once the Court learned of the proposal, some of its advisers urged Musinga to resign. A few of those who gave this advice may have been secretly in league with the Inshongore, but others were sincerely concerned that unless Musinga took the initiative of stepping down in favor of one of his sons, the administration might install one of the Inshongore in power or end the monarchy altogether.[12] Notables who had lost the favor of the Court in the past had sometimes resigned—before they could be removed—to save their holdings for their sons. Therefore, from the mid-1920s, increasing numbers of older notables yielded power to their educated sons rather than face the annoyance of daily demands from the Belgians.

Musinga refused to resign. Most fathers who resigned trusted the sons who were to succeed them, but Musinga did not trust either of the two older sons who might follow him to the throne. Rwigemera, then thirteen, had been steered by his ambitious mother into a course of apparent obedience and loyalty to the Europeans. Although the mother, Nyirakabuga, had sworn to Musinga that she would never permit her

*In Burundi the various regional chiefs, all members of the royal family, had much greater autonomy than those in Rwanda at the time. On succession, therefore, an incoming monarch (often young himself) had to confront the regional power of his uncles. This was complicated by the fact that the two reigns before German imposition were exceedingly long, and the stability of those reigns both entrenched the power of the regional chiefs and exacerbated the internal conflict between Batare (the descendants of Ntare), and Bezi (the descendants of Mwezi) appointed as chiefs. Furthermore, at the time of German arrival in Burundi, the king was seriously challenged by several claimants from outside the royal family; it was German power that virtually defined the administrative capacity of the central court. For a revealing comment on the importance of "indirect rule" to colonial ruling strategies written in 1925 by the Belgian governor of Ruanda-Urundi, see Ryckmans, "Le problème politique au Ruanda-Urundi," 407–13.

children to take religious instruction without his approval, both Rwigemera and his sisters had already begun to study the catechism. A great favorite of the Resident and some of the missionaries, Rwigemera had ignored his father's orders by beginning instruction. The other son, Rudahigwa, then sixteen, was more devoted to Musinga. His mother, Kankazi, had never been a favorite like Nyirakabuga and had never shown as much drive or political ability. Her brother Kayondo, looking to the end of Musinga's reign and to Rudahigwa's possible succession—and as the object of Musinga's earlier scorn—sought to ingratiate himself with his sororal nephew. He had given Rudahigwa a fine herd of cattle and provided him with a retinue of clients. Rudahigwa had accepted Kayondo's generosity but without seeming to be won over by it.[13]

Musinga knew of course that at his death one of these sons would probably succeed him. Having lost all hope of influencing Rwigemera, he concentrated on impressing Rudahigwa with the necessity of resistance to the Europeans. From time to time, Musinga might have wondered if his efforts would have any lasting effect. When reminded by a visitor of the rapid passage of time, he began to brood on how he was aging, although he was then only in his forties.[14] Recognizing that his rule must end, however, was different from voluntarily ending it himself. His principal responsibility was to ensure the continuation of the dynasty—the role with which he had been invested. In considering resignation, therefore, Musinga must have considered some of the same factors that led him to sacrifice Gashamura and elements of the royal code, the ubwiru, rather than the drum itself. His dilemma lay in identifying the point at which accepting the humiliations of compromising with the Europeans threatened the core components of kingship, assessing the risk that his continuing resistance might push them into action against the monarchy itself. Either consciously or unconsciously he apparently decided it was his responsibility to continue to rule until death or a superior force removed him.

News that the Belgians had considered removing Musinga spurred hopes and sharpened rivalries among the notables. Some of the powerful men who had originally allied with the Europeans as a form of protection against the mwami now began planning how to use the Europeans to destroy Musinga; even those who supported Musinga in the past began to prepare for the day when he would no longer rule. Like notables in the past, these men wanted to gain control of the Court by investing their own candidates with the drum. Kayondo's choice was Rudahigwa, his sister's son. By late 1926, Kayondo's opponents, including

Rwagataraka and Serukenyinkware, were coalescing to support Nyirakabuga's son Rwigemera. Rwagataraka had won Musinga's support in the early 1920s as he struggled to assert his independence from his father Rwidegembya. Through 1926, when the mwami offered him one of his daughters in marriage, he had continued to receive marks of favor from the mwami. Although Rwagataraka usually managed to please the Europeans by efficient rule over his extensive holdings in southwestern Rwanda, he always professed loyalty to the Court. But in 1926 Rwagataraka ended his long quarrel with his father and so entered more fully into the web of plans of the Bega. By chance, he had also been critically ill twice during 1926 and had been saved both times by the solicitous care of the Fathers. Perhaps in honest gratitude, perhaps with more devious ideas in mind, Rwagataraka cultivated a friendship with several of the Fathers, especially the very influential Father Lecoindre, and won their trust. Serukenyinkware, a distinguished notable who served the Court as adviser, diviner, and mwiru, had also been building ties with Lecoindre. Apparently with the Father's agreement, this budding relationship was kept a secret from the Court. At least according to Serukenyinkware, Musinga continued to trust him completely.[15]

Just as Kayondo had moved against the mwami by attacking first Gashamura, then Bandora, so Rwagataraka and Serukenyinkware, acting in a parallel but unrelated move, began to accuse Bandora too. They persuaded the Europeans that Bandora was the evil genius behind Musinga's resistance to the Belgians and that it was he who was predicting the imminent end of Belgian rule. With shrewd sensitivity to the Europeans' scorn for those engaged in mystical practices, they insisted that Bandora was a *mupfumu*, a diviner, when in reality he held a more secular office.[16]

As the Europeans began to respond to the charges against Bandora, Rwigemera and his supporters began to accuse Musinga as well. Throughout 1926 Rwigemera had been working to obtain greater sympathy and support from the Fathers by portraying himself as persecuted by Musinga for his religious beliefs. Musinga was certainly beginning to show his hatred of Christianity more openly at this time, but his specific actions against Rwigemera were limited to mild measures, such as cutting back on the amount he gave him for support and wearily reiterating his warnings that "With those people, you will have only miseries."[17] Probably at Nyirakabuga's direction, her daughters, barely more than children, joined in Rwigemera's accusations against Musinga. The three told the Europeans that Musinga opposed Christianity primarily because

it taught higher standards of sexual morality, which led them to refuse his desires for incestuous sexual relations with them.[18]

Homosexual practices used to occur with some frequency among men, especially among the young ntore in training at Court or at the residence of a mutware. Such an exchange of sexual favors was considered neither immoral nor extraordinary, especially if women were not available. Musinga apparently engaged in homosexual acts with favorites at Court, although certainly not to the exclusion of relations with his wives and female servants. However, he did not—or so assert Rwandan accounts—engage in sexual activity with his own son or his daughters.[19] Indeed, the charges of incest and homosexuality may well have reflected the influence of Christian teaching: that the history of the Christian martyrs of Buganda, who had been killed for refusing the sexual advances of their ruler, was often reiterated by the priests in Rwanda may have inspired the story.*

Rwagataraka carried the plot further by informing Father Lecoindre that on Bandora's advice Musinga was preparing to poison Rwigemera.[20] Conditioned by tales of Musinga's supposed sexual debauchery and by reports of Bandora's evil influence, the normally sensible Lecoindre and his usually perceptive superior, Monsignor Classe, let themselves be deceived by this oldest of Rwandan accusations. Once the story had been passed to the Belgians, they undertook an investigation that produced nothing. They did use the affair, however, as an excuse to send Bandora and some of his associates away from Court, thus stripping Musinga of more of the men whom he trusted and confided in. The supreme irony of this sad tale harked back to 1918, the year when the Belgians were so proudly acclaiming the "civilization" of the Court. Like many outside

*In June of 1886 the *kabaka* (king) of Buganda had thirty-two of his Catholic pages executed, supposedly because they refused to engage in homosexual acts with the king. In the eyes of the Catholic Fathers, the mass execution conferred martyrdom on each of the victims. It was also one of the key events leading to the civil wars in Buganda—which eventually resulted in the overthrow of the kabaka, the rise to power of the former pages, and the exile of the White Fathers. It was while in exile at the southern end of Lake Victoria that Monsignor Hirth prepared for the White Fathers' evangelical mission to Rwanda. In Rwandan Catholic circles, therefore, the events in Buganda resonated with particular force because it was indirectly related to the White Fathers' establishment in the country. On the Baganda "martyrdom" see Rowe, "The Purge of Christians at Mwanga's Court," 55–71. For details on the events, see Thoonen, *Black Martyrs,* and Faupel, *African Holocaust.*

the intimate circle of the Court, the Belgians believed that tradition forbade the mwami from seeing any of the sons who might succeed him. When Musinga went through the motions of breaking this "tradition" to see his sons, the Belgians rejoiced at this sign of progress and at the regularity with which Musinga saw them after that. Yet eight years later they prohibited Musinga from seeing any of his young children alone.[21]

The Shifting Loyalties of the Notables

In 1926 and 1927 several large Belgian banks and business firms began planning for investments in Rwanda. Rich veins of tin had been discovered in eastern Rwanda and had attracted the attention of mining companies. Other firms had received extensive concessions of land for growing coffee and the black wattle tree, valuable for its tannin extract in treating hides for export—an important element as the administration hoped to reduce the number of cattle by providing export markets for them. As the Belgians saw their long-standing hopes of economic development move closer to fulfillment, they began to hurry the pace of change in the traditional system. Only with a well-organized, efficiently functioning administrative system could they encourage and profit from economic development.[22]

In 1926 the Resident won the Court's agreement to create no new ibikingi, those smallest units of command that so fragmented the political system of the central kingdom. Thereafter, the Belgians worked actively to eliminate the ibikingi that already existed. Under the heavy pressure of Belgian requisitions, many of those who held ibikingi resigned from their commands rather than face such constant harassment. When the holders resigned, died, or left for other regions, their ibikingi were consolidated into contiguous commands. To expedite the process and achieve their goal of territorially unified holdings, the Belgians began urging notables to exchange domains among themselves. Since the domains were of disparate size and value, some notables were bound to profit and others to lose by the exchanges. Naturally, those who stood to lose evaded or delayed making the exchanges.[23]

Until 1928 the Belgians pressured the notables to resign or make exchanges, but did not generally force them to do so. However, during 1928 and 1929, Rwanda was hit with a catastrophic famine. Made public

in the British press, this demanded Belgian action.* When the administration found that large numbers of notables had failed to execute measures designed to end the famine, it removed many of them from their commands and merged their domains with the holdings of others. Having seen how efficient it was to reorganize the system by fiat, the Belgians proceeded to rearrange the Court administrative appointments on a massive scale, using force where necessary to get the notables to comply. In the highly fragmented territory of Kigali, for example, they reduced the number of major notables from 119 to 7 and the number of minor notables from 324 to 79 in the space of four years.[24]

In constructing their new system of chiefdoms and sub-chiefdoms, the Belgians preferred using the already existing large domains as building blocks. Where no large domains existed, they chose a notable who had served them well in the past and used his domain as the core to which other holdings were added. The new chief exercised the right to collect all taxes for the Court and to claim all labor services formerly due to batware or banyabutaka. The administration never formally settled the allocation of many other rights, because the issues were too complex or too sensitive. But it did implicitly encourage the new chiefs to appropriate these other rights wherever they could. Most chiefs quickly took advantage of the Belgian backing to divest notables under their command of their remaining privileges.[25]

As the Belgians worked to simplify and align the hierarchy of chiefs and sub-chiefs, they were dismayed by the continuation of ubuhake arrangements that sometimes made the client of one notable the subject of another. Anxious to avert future conflicts, the Belgians wanted ubuhake arrangements to be aligned with political relationships. But

*Named "Rwakayihura" by the Rwandans, this famine was particularly severe in the southeast (the former region of Gisaka), where over one-third of the population either died or fled the region for work in British territories—a serious loss of labor for the Belgian colonial project. The fact that this occurred only shortly after the British occupation of the area (and after the establishment of the first Anglican mission station—of particular note for the White Fathers) only added to Belgian concerns. In the end, the famine served as a catalyst for restructuring the colonial state in Rwanda, increasing the administrative reach with such projects as the required cultivation of drought-resistant crops, extensive terracing, and the cultivation of swampland, which brought the state ever more fully into the lives of the peasants. See D. Newbury, "The Rwakayihura Famine."

because the ramifications of ubuhake were so extensive and so complicated, they never arrived at a uniform policy for attaining this end. Notables who exchanged commands were urged to exchange clients at the same time. Some who refused to do so were allowed to maintain their protection of their clients, while others arbitrarily lost some or all of their clients to the man who replaced them in command of the region. In other cases, the administrators despaired of sorting out the strands of obligations and simply assigned the cattle in full property to the clients. Even when no exchange of holdings was involved, a shebuja might lose his rights over his cattle and clients when a new chief happened to take command of the region in which the clients lived.[26]

The Belgians saw the reorganization as a change in personnel as well as in structures. By 1928, 130 of the young men trained at the Nyanza school had been given commands. Sixty-four more were in training as *secrétaires indigènes*, or, as the Rwandans called them, *bakarani* (sing., *mukarani*), "clerks." Their European training set these young men so much apart from their compatriots that Rwandans continued to call them bakarani even after they had received their commands.[27]

The bakarani named to commands were all young, some of them only sixteen or seventeen years old. A significant number of them came from poor Tutsi lineages or from mixed parentage. While the sons of important notables occasionally encountered problems because of their youth and inexperience, they usually managed to command some respect because of their wealth and distinguished ancestry. The bakarani who were poor, however, faced a constant struggle to win obedience, especially if they counted wealthy Tutsi among their subjects. Consequently, to prop up the prestige of the bakarani, the administration often endowed them with all of the cattle and clients of their predecessors, leaving the former notables, some claim, virtually destitute.[28]

The Belgians were soon taking pride in the concrete changes brought by the reorganization. The residences of several of the chiefs and sub-chiefs were being transformed into "centers of civilization" that the Belgians hoped to scatter through the kingdom. Instead of the traditional round residences of straw, surrounded by enclosures made of trees and woven reeds, the new chiefs often built solid rectangular homes of brick, thus eliminating the need for the many workers formerly summoned annually to maintain (and sometimes reconstruct) the traditional residences and enclosures. Ignoring the symbolic importance of such services as a demonstration of continued allegiance, the Belgians congratulated themselves on freeing laborers for more economically

productive tasks. Next to the chiefs' homes arose the neat offices, the overnight shelters for passing Europeans, the court buildings, the markets that in Belgian eyes constituted the appurtenances of civilization they were so eager to transmit. Some chiefs had begun altering their own appearance as well as that of their residences. They wore European-style clothes instead of the gracefully draped cloths or skins; they washed with imported soap and scorned their elders who had dirty fingernails. Apt pupils of Lenaerts, these bakarani carefully noted all the details of their official lives in registers and made inventories in triplicate of all the taxes they sent to Court.[29]

Although the young chiefs may have been adding European accoutrements into their personal attire, they also brought their own ideas, especially those about clientship, into the bureaucracy, much as they had earlier taken them into the Catholic Church. Administrative reorganization meant that paying court to the administrators became both vastly more important and more feasible. Previously, notables had feared punishment by the Belgians; few had felt in danger of losing their commands, however, because of Belgian intervention. As the administration drastically cut the number of commands while simultaneously appointing bakarani, the notables came to realize that only a few of the older generation would be left to rule—and those few would have to please the Belgians. As the holdings of the notables became increasingly consolidated, the Belgians insisted that they reside in their domains. Spending much of their time in one territory rather than at the Court, the notables established closer relationships with the local administrators. As they had done in the past with the mwami or the batware, they now paid court to the administrators, passing the evening hours with them after work, and perhaps arranging for female companionship as well. Most administrators responded warmly to such attention. Often unwilling or unable to undertake serious evaluations of the notables' work, some administrators could not help but assess their performance on the basis of such personal contacts.[30]

The kinds of rivalries that had previously existed among notables sharpened as they struggled to win or retain one of the reduced number of commands. The differences in way of life between the older notables and the younger bakarani embittered the competition, as notables accused the younger men of aping Europeans, while the bakarani scorned their elders for clinging to their traditional habits.[31] One such conflict set the clerk Kayitakibwa against the older notable Ndekezi. The two men ruled in the northeast, a region that was just coming under intensive central

control in the 1920s. Because of his European training, Kayitakibwa was favored by the administrator, who, in the name of efficiency, put him in charge of collecting requisitions in Ndekezi's area as well as his own. Ndekezi resented the young and arrogant intruder and fought Kayitakibwa's attempts to extend his influence into his administrative domain. For his part, Kayitakibwa tried to bring Ndekezi into line by assigning him a disproportionate amount of the work and supplies to be furnished to the administrator. He kept the Belgian from learning of the maneuver by increasing the number of people recorded as being under Ndekezi's command. Through such maneuvers, Kayitakibwa's intrigues against the old notable eventually brought discredit onto Ndekezi, who was removed and his domain given to Kayitakibwa. However, Kayitakibwa then found it impossible to correct the falsely elevated population figures for his new command. To admit his plot or to fail to produce adequate tax returns would have lost him the favor of his Belgian patron. So Kayitakibwa extorted cattle and money from his subordinates to pay the difference. Such abuses were risky in an area where control by notables had been only recently established; on one expedition to collect extra revenue from his subjects, Kayitakibwa and his men were attacked by Hutu who resented his exactions. In the fracas, the young clerk was killed.[32]

In their competition, both old and new notables made full use of the resources at hand. Those in favor with the administrators, like Kayitakibwa, used their positions against those who were not. They also played on the presence of diverse colonial agents. Those who had not obtained the support of an administrator might turn to an agricultural agent or to the Resident himself. Many took advantage of their relationships with missionaries to bring their rivals into disfavor with the administration; not surprisingly, competing notables allied with rival religious groups.[33]

By making cooperation with the Europeans increasingly necessary, the colonial reorganization quickened the movement of notables away from the Court. It also emphasized the shift of power away from the Court to those notables who were most trusted by the Belgians. Men like Kayondo, Nturo, Rwagataraka, and Rwubusisi had risen in the good graces of the administration because their agreeable attitude contrasted so sharply with Musinga's growing resistance against European measures. In the past, just as favorites like Kabare had exercised power by swaying the judgments of the Court, so now these notables affected the decisions of the European authorities rather than exercising power directly themselves. For example, before the administrators rearranged

the commands in an area, they generally consulted the prominent local notables. Musinga could still block some of the appointments he opposed, and he could still propose young men for new commands. But he intervened infrequently and succeeded only after major effort, while the favored notables exercised their influence daily and almost effortlessly over the administrators in their regions.[34] Realizing that power had shifted, the other notables reluctantly turned their attention from Musinga to the men who could present them favorably to the Europeans. One observer described these developments in the idiom of ubuhake where the clients' regular rebuilding of a shebuja's enclosure demonstrated their continuing loyalty to him: "Everything was finished; Musinga began to grow poorer and to see his enclosure gradually fall to the ground. It was above all Kayondo who was talked about and no one else mattered any more."[35]

The Court's hatred of the notables most trusted by the Belgians grew in proportion to their influence. But Musinga could no longer afford to reject everyone who made accommodations with the Europeans. The original Inshongore had been few and had defected when the Court was strong; those who now sought European protection were the majority and the Court was weak. The mwami now tested the loyalty of his followers not by their resistance to European power or their rejection of European culture, but by their willingness to support the Court.

Sebagangari was one of the distinguished old notables who had been most devoted to the Court. In 1918 he had been granted a large domain in southern Rwanda, including some hills that bordered on the European-drawn boundary with Burundi. But within a few years he had lost Musinga's favor, and to protect himself from the Court, Sebagangari had sought Belgian support. Although the old notable continued to observe all the traditional ways and did everything possible to hinder the spread of Christianity, he had by this one act earned Musinga's enduring enmity. When Sebagangari became involved in a dispute with a powerful notable from Burundi over control of some of the hills on the border between the two kingdoms, Musinga refused to support his claim that the territory was part of Rwanda and belonged under his control. Musinga later modified his stand, but the Belgians awarded some of the area to the notable from Burundi. In short, Musinga had been willing to sacrifice part of the territory his fathers had wrested from Burundi only after long and bloody battles in order to punish Sebagangari for his defection and to warn others against similar disloyalty to the Court.[36]

Just as Musinga might spurn the most traditional of notables if they used the Europeans against him, so he favored any bakarani and Christians who would help him against the administration and the missionaries. One secretary who handled the administrator's correspondence at Nyanza used to pass Musinga copies of confidential letters; in return, Musinga arranged for him to receive a command. Musinga also won the services of a Christian teacher at the Nyanza school, who would take care of such private errands as intimidating witnesses to prevent them from testifying at judicial hearings. He later granted the teacher a command. Musinga arranged for these domains to be in or near the holdings of Inshongore, thus combining rewards for service rendered with opportunities for further support in the future.[37]

Musinga tried to keep abreast of administrative policies so that he would be better able to use them to his own ends. When he learned that certain notables were losing European approval, he would begin to make it known to the colonial agents that the Court was displeased with them. When the men were removed by the administration, Musinga could claim that the decisions had been taken in response to his wishes. As his power dwindled, he tried more desperately to use the administration to discipline his enemies. Since traditional obligations were the one area where the mwami still had the right to demand obedience, he continually complained to the Europeans that certain of the notables had failed to send the required number of laborers or the customary number of cattle to Court. Many of the charges were without foundation, either because the notables had actually met their obligations or because Musinga's demands were not justified by custom, but the administrators frequently lacked the time or the resources to determine their accuracy. The Court used this stick frequently, but it was a weak one indeed with which to beat the notables into submission.[38]

The Effects of State Support of the Notables

The reorganization forced the notables to court the Europeans more assiduously, but it also led the administration to support the new notables more vigorously. Tampering with the indigenous system made the Belgians uneasy. They feared that Rwandans might question the changes they had made and might reject the authority of the men they had appointed. They quickly punished any slight to one of their chiefs or subchiefs, hoping in that way to avert more serious threats to authority of

their appointees. But as they jumped to defend their own appointees, the Belgians were drawn into backing all the notables more firmly. To this end, the administrators began to accept more rigidly the myth of the superiority of the Tutsi, using it to explain their own neglect of the Hutu and to justify increased demands on them: the Tutsi were born to rule, the Hutu to labor; the Tutsi were intelligent and decisive, the Hutu stupid and docile.* When one administrator learned that the notables of his region had been extorting money from the Hutu under the guise of collecting taxes, he issued a proclamation explaining the correct procedure for paying taxes and receiving evidence of payment. He concluded that anyone who "paid tax" any other way was surely an "imbecile"—and only deserved to lose their money. Mistaking fear for stupidity, the administrators would not protect the Hutu from the notables.[39]

The reorganization itself made it easier for the notables to rule more oppressively. With the simplified hierarchy of sub-chiefs and chiefs, the people had less opportunity to turn rivalries among the powerful to their own advantage. The traditional concern of a mutware for his men did not carry over easily into a bureaucratic framework where pleasing European administrators was more important than keeping the allegiance of one's subjects. As one Rwandan commented about the differences between the older notables and the bakarani: "The former were concerned about their men in order to win their respect; the latter took care of their assignments to avoid removal from command."[40] The inexperience of the bakarani and their eagerness to establish their authority and wealth, especially if they had had little to begin with, led them into ever more excessive demands from their men. At the same time, the Belgians' disruption of long-established ubuhake ties left many of the weak without the protection that may have shielded them in the past.

The notables devised a remarkable range of ways to exploit their subjects. In particular, they distorted traditional law and customs. In the past, for example, a shebuja had had the right to recall from his client

*The intellectual roots to these assumptions are deep. The foundations for seeing ethnic groups as racially distinct—with all that implied for personal qualities as well, in the eyes of some—were first articulated for this region in the work of John Hanning Speke (*Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile,* 1869), and ardently embraced by those such as Monsignor Classe. The rise of the myth of Tutsi superiority among Belgian administrators in Rwanda coincides with the rise of fascism in Belgium (especially with the emergence of fascist political parties from the early 1930s).

only those cattle he had once granted him and their offspring; but from the late 1920s, shebuja began demanding all the cattle of the client, no matter how those cattle had been obtained. Some of the chiefs and sub-chiefs required even those subjects who had received no cattle from them to do the duties formerly asked only of cattle clients. Others collected excessive tax money and kept the surplus, or forced laborers requisitioned to do colonial akazi labor to work in their own personal fields instead.[41]

In addition to burdens imposed by the notables, the Hutu had to contend with higher taxes and increased demands for akazi from the administration as well. Not surprisingly, increasing numbers of them began leaving Rwanda to escape these demands and to earn the high salaries offered in British-administered East Africa. In the late 1920s, approximately fifty thousand Rwandans a year, about one-sixth of the adult male population, went to work temporarily in Uganda or Tanganyika.[42] By 1928 the Belgians had to admit that their attempts to stop the emigration by restrictive customs and health regulations had failed miserably. They then began to offer Rwandans payment for some of the akazi they were called upon to do—to turn (unpaid) "forced" labor into "required" (paid) labor—but the amount offered was too small (and the conditions too harsh) to induce the workers to stay at home. Since the Belgian administrators generally would take no effective action to limit the demands of the notables, and since they would not reduce their own requirements, Hutu continued to stream abroad. Yet as more men emigrated, the number left at home had to face ever heavier burdens since neither the notables nor the administration reduced their requisitions to account for the loss of population.[43]

The emigration continued in a somewhat different form from the old practice of dealing with oppressive rulers by temporary flight or more permanent removal to another region. Hutu also continued trying to play off the powerful against each other. Although the possibilities for maneuver had been greatly reduced by the reorganization, the conflicts between bakarani and old notables could still sometimes be used to the profit of the ruled. Associating with the Europeans offered greater possibilities than ever for subjects who sought to escape the control of their chiefs. The Belgians' eagerness to ensure an adequate supply of labor for European enterprises led them to free regular employees of such enterprises from many of their traditional obligations. The workers regarded such relief as one of the main attractions of European employment. Many of their kin tried to claim the right to similar relief by the mere fact of being related to the workers, a continuation of the traditional idea

that ubuhake undertaken by one member of the lineage usually worked to protect all of its members.[44] The proliferation of different kinds of missions stimulated the kind of clientship that had previously been reserved mostly for the Fathers. Rwandans rapidly sensed how the differences among the religious groups could be used for their own protection. In these circumstances, because the rulers were almost all Catholics, the dissatisfied among their subjects often turned to the Protestants.[45]

Further Resistance to the New Demands

Rwandans in the central regions preferred to escape from rather than confront the authority of their rulers. Hutu in regions like Mulera, Bushiru, Bukunzi, and Busozo, where the rule of the Tutsi was becoming firmly established, were turning to noncompliance with orders as their way of protecting themselves. The Hutu of the northeast were just beginning to take up the tactics of armed resistance even as the Bakiga of the northwest were giving them up as futile. Until the late 1920s the people of Ndorwa, Buberuka, Rukiga, and Ruyaga had been under the effective rule of their lineage heads, paying taxes only occasionally to the notables who dared not come to reside in these areas.[46] Once the Belgians had established their control over the northwest and southwest, they set to work on the northeast.

At first, the extension of central control (and local resistance to it) followed the pattern set in Mulera. The Bakiga fought against the newly installed chiefs and sub-chiefs with flight, refusal of orders, and spontaneous attacks on the person or property of the new delegates—such as the attack that felled the unfortunate Kayitakibwa. But in late 1927 and early 1928, the Bakiga of Rukiga and Ndorwa seemed to have found a leader who could unite them in a more organized movement against the Europeans and the chiefs. The Bakiga never learned his original name or place of origin. They usually called him Semaraso, "Father of Blood," and they believed that he had come from the British-ruled territory to the north.[47] The Belgians described him as a Muhima,* one of

*Hima was the ethnic label of those in power in Nkore, a precolonial society (later a district—Ankole) in what is now Uganda. But in Rwanda, "Hima" has been a label applied to those who are mostly pastoralists and outside the channels of power. For the most part, they were treated as autonomous of the state.

the cattle people who constituted a small minority on both sides of the Rwandan–Ugandan frontier.[48] But some of his followers remarked that he was short; their description of his physical appearance and of other aspects of his behavior might indicate that they saw him as of at least partly Hutu stock, irrespective of his ethnic heritage. He also had an enormous head of hair and was missing one of his toes. He spent no more than one day and night in any one place and traveled only after dark. Meant primarily to ensure his security, these measures also enhanced the aura of mystery he tried to cultivate. Like the earlier leader, Ndungutse, Semaraso experimented with various bases for legitimacy. Sometimes he claimed to be a son of Rwabugiri; sometimes he announced that he had come with special supernatural powers; sometimes he claimed to be Ndungutse himself. He was in touch with the local leaders of the Nyabingi movement, but he had not established himself as a true Nyabingi prophet. The Bakiga rallied to his support because he offered strong action against the measures that troubled them, not because they wholeheartedly accepted any one of his claims to legitimacy.[49]

Also like Ndungutse, Semaraso explored the possibility of an accommodation with local authorities, in this case with several chiefs and sub-chiefs. After these men refused to deal with him, in March 1928 he proclaimed himself leader of a crusade against the Tutsi and the Europeans. With a thousand or so followers, he attacked and put to flight the chief Rutayashwage, who was much detested for abusing his subjects. Word of Semaraso's success spread, lending credibility to his claims of being invulnerable. Several days later Semaraso and two thousand men attacked the chief Rukeratabaro. They laid siege to his residence for four days, but Rukeratabaro had been forewarned and successfully withstood the attack. As Semaraso withdrew after this failure, his popularity began to decline. The arrival of colonial troops hastened his fall. After several more small guerrilla attacks on the troops and chiefs, Semaraso and his most important supporters fled across the border to Uganda.[50] He and his men had killed a dozen Tutsi, had burned the residences of forty more, and had stolen one hundred cattle. In retaliation, the Tutsi killed several dozen people, jailed thirty more and destroyed the homes and harvests of one thousand Bakiga.[51] The ease with which the revolt was put down did not erase the Belgians' original shock at the outbreak of such widespread resistance. The people of neighboring Buberuka had also been on the point of rising when they had learned of Semaraso's success. The Belgians occupied the region with troops for three and a half years, installed a new administrative post, and pushed

for more intensive local rule by chiefs and sub-chiefs to ensure that a similar rising would not occur in the future.[52]

The Bakiga of Rukiga and Ndorwa were confident enough of their unified strength under Semaraso to attack the Tutsi. However, the people of eastern Rwanda, particularly the area that had comprised the kingdom of Gisaka, recognized the impossibility of their taking such action against the Europeans or the notables from the central kingdom. They found solace instead in the ideas and associations of the Nyabingi movement. Nyabingi prophets had been well received in this part of Rwanda since the nineteenth century, but their popularity seems to have increased in the mid-1920s. Regional pride and sense of identity had been reawakened during the brief period of British rule that had ended in 1923. At least some of the Nyabingi leaders played on this sense of distinctiveness and on the real grievances of the people against the rulers from Rwanda proper.[53] While advocates of Nyabingi dared take no direct action against the Europeans or notables, they harassed those who frequented the missions and exacted gifts from the Rwandan notables. When the Fathers goaded the local administrator into arresting some of the prophets, he had to capture them secretly at night because popular support for them was so widespread. The Belgians followed the arrests in Gisaka with a concerted effort to arrest other Nyabingi leaders throughout Rwanda. Although they jailed a number of them, they succeeded only in driving the movement underground. In the midst of the terrible famine of 1928–29, Nyabingi leaders were still able to collect gifts of food from their followers.[54]

It was not only expressions of established religious traditions that emerged in these conditions, but entirely new movements as well. For example, in 1927 near Lake Muhazi in Buganza, a new religious movement attracted the attention of Rwandans who honored the mwami and hated the Europeans. A Hutu named Rugira announced to some women who had come to draw water that a woman would emerge from the lake to expel the Europeans from Rwanda. The woman, who would have great powers, was sometimes called Nyiraburumbuke, sometimes Ndanga. With her would come her brother, who would distribute seeds for a miraculous new kind of sorghum, which "when scythed would not bend, when winnowed would yield no husks, when made into beer would leave no residue."[55] To show their devotion to this extraordinary new pair of rulers, the people were to sing and dance at the shores of the lake. And to demonstrate their real commitment to them, they were not to sow until the Saviors appeared with the seeds of new sorghum.

The people of Buganza, especially the women, took up the word eagerly and flocked every night to the shores of Muhazi, where they created new songs and dances. Some of the people reported visions, while others refused to plant their crops for the coming season. One girl proclaimed herself Nyiraburumbuke. When she failed to convince the people of her own region, she moved to southern Gisaka, where she created a new nucleus for the movement, linking it to Lake Mugesera. The people of this region responded enthusiastically too, and soon women were bearing their gifts to the lakeshores from all over Gisaka and the eastern part of Rwanda proper.[56]

Ndanga's followers called upon the Court and notables to join them in struggling against the Europeans. One of their songs predicted that Musinga and his mother (here referred to by her reign name of Nyirayuhi) would come to pay homage to Ndanga and to Rububura, the great bull that symbolized her power. They sang:

> Rububura is bellowing.
> Toward evening the Karinga begins beating in its turn.
> Musinga is exalting her,
> Nyirayuhi is adoring her. "Let us be calm,
> Tomorrow I will sacrifice a man for you."
>
> Ndanga, Royal Pillar
> Ndanga, Supporter of abami,
> Ndanga, Desire of the humble,
> Ndanga, Hope of the *abatware*.[57]

The Court and notables gave no sign of responding to her call. The Christian notable Rwabutogo forced Rugira to denounce his original prophecy as a joke. When this did not discourage Ndanga's adherents, the Belgians sent soldiers to disperse the dancing women and to arrest their leader. Like the followers of Nyabingi, the adherents of Ndanga hid their faith but did not reject it. As late as 1929 some of the people in Gisaka still refused to plant their crops.[58]

The Famine of 1928 and Its Aftermath

The pressures that had been building on the Court, on the notables, and on the people were enormously magnified by the devastating famine that began in 1927 and lasted through 1929. The steady exhaustion of the soil and the lowering of the water level in eastern Rwanda over a period of centuries had left agricultural production there extremely

sensitive to weather conditions. Too much or too little rain inevitably meant serious scarcity of food for at least one growing season. Shortages in 1924 and 1925 had led the Belgians to establish regulations that provided for an increase in the amount of land cultivated and that required people to plant manioc, a tuber that could be left in the ground for as long as three years and so constituted a natural reserve in case of the failure of regular crops. The notables, who feared the loss of valuable pastureland, blocked the measures providing for more land to be cultivated and took no interest in trying to force the Hutu to plant manioc. The Belgians did virtually nothing to overcome the notables' resistance or to enforce the regulations on the Hutu.[59]

The Belgians were more concerned about economic development than with averting famine. As they increased their demands for porters and laborers, they forced cultivators to leave their plots. In 1926 food production began to decline. At the same time, Governor Marzorati tried to satisfy his colleagues in the Congo by exporting food to feed workers there. In 1927 insufficient rains brought the first signs of scarcity to eastern Rwanda, but the administration continued to increase its requisitions for laborers and to ship food to the Congo.[60]

When the first harvest of 1928 also failed for lack of rain, the scarcity became a famine. By October, death by starvation had become common in eastern Rwanda. As the enormity of the crisis dawned upon officials at the Colonial Ministry, they began to foresee embarrassing repercussions at the next meeting of the Commission on Mandates. The Resident, probably as much in response to pressure from above as to the prospect of further suffering below, ordered administrators to place famine relief above all other work. Tons of food were purchased and transported to the stricken region for distribution.[61]

The administration was convinced that the situation could be remedied only by extending cultivation in the marshy lowlands where crops could grow even if the rainfall continued to be below normal. To mobilize people to clear and plant the marshes, it needed the cooperation of the notables. But most of the notables were concerned about the fate of the cattle that constituted their principal source (and symbol) of wealth. Realizing that the wet lowlands would offer the only certain pasturage if the rains continued to fail, they continued to block the extension of cultivation there. The Belgians were angry and frustrated at finding even Inshongore like Kayondo and Christians like Rwabutogo hindering their plans. In desperation, the Resident sought Musinga's help in getting the notables to act. While the mwami joined enthusiastically in

punishing any of his opponents who had disobeyed the Belgians' orders, he did no more than they to extend cultivation.[62]

Although the Belgians set no example of disinterested generosity, they could not comprehend how the Court and notables could so callously disregard the fate of their subjects. The administrator at Nyanza was shocked that Musinga neglected to feed the few dozen starving people he had sent to the royal enclosure for assistance. Neither he nor his colleagues who passed the story from one to another understood that Musinga regarded these people as the responsibility of the administrator, to whom they had first appealed. If they had been his clients, he would have cared for them to the extent of his resources. In the same way, the Belgians failed to note how many of the notables aided those whom they felt obligated to protect even as they turned others away.[63]

The Court and most of the notables may have felt that the famine itself was the responsibility of the Europeans. The amount of land cultivated in the past had been sufficient as long as the rains had been plentiful. The Court had always undertaken to ensure that the rains would fall by giving regular gifts to rainmakers, like the mwami of Bukunzi, and by performing those parts of the ubwiru prescribed for times of drought whenever necessary. Now the Belgians had disrupted the Court's relationship with the rainmakers and had prohibited it from performing these rituals. In the eyes of Court and notables, cultivation of the marshes could not produce enough food to save Rwanda. Unless it rained enough to permit ordinary harvests elsewhere, the famine would continue. And if enough rain fell to permit usual harvests elsewhere, cultivation of the marshes would be unnecessary.

The Belgians blamed the notables for the continuation of the famine. They believed that if the notables had only helped extend the area under cultivation, the lack of rainfall would have been less critical. Their anger was tinged with panic at the prospect that the next growing season might bring no improvement. As the Resident wrote to his administrators, "there is not a moment to lose, for what would the League of Nations say if we did not get out of this bad situation as soon as possible."[64] The Belgians took increasingly harsh measures to try to force the notables to cooperate. They removed the worst offenders, deprived many other notables of parts of their domains, and beat and fined most of the rest. They forced many of them to sell some of their cattle to purchase sweet potato plants and slips of manioc for their people. Finally, in January 1929 they warned the notables that if the famine were not ended within three months, their cattle would be slaughtered to feed the

hungry; cattle held under ubuhake would become the full property of the clients; and all the newly cultivated land would be given to the Hutu free of all taxes or payment to the notables.[65] The administrators might never have executed these threats, but some of the notables apparently thought that they might. A number of them resigned their commands and others fled outright to British territory, taking their cattle with them. Musinga himself began corresponding with both African and British authorities in Uganda to explore the possibility of his taking refuge there.[66]

By early 1929 the crisis had become a catastrophe for both the Rwandans and the Belgians. The famine had cost at least 35,000–40,000 Rwandan lives and through death and flight had left vast areas of the east virtually unpopulated. The Belgians had spent approximately four million francs or one hundred thousand dollars on famine relief and had exacted tremendous sacrifices from Rwandans in more prosperous regions, all without having appreciably ameliorated the situation. It was no coincidence that Marzorati was replaced as governor in January 1929 by Henri Postiaux and that Georges Mortehan lost his post as Resident soon after to H. Wilmin.[67]

When Postiaux toured Rwanda in April 1929, he was struck as much by the demoralization of the notables as by the suffering of the people. Faced with the impossibility of governing the kingdom without at least a semblance of cooperation from the notables, he ended the strictest measures that had been used against them. The administrators ceased imposing excessive fines, whippings, and exaggerated threats; instead, they returned to their earlier policy of propping up the notables' prestige and authority. The governor also rescinded the measures that had been disrupting ubuhake and which served as one of the major grievances of the notables. In the future, no notable would lose his clients except as punishment for some particular instance of misbehavior.[68]

Postiaux wanted to reestablish good relations with the notables partly because he wanted to get rid of Musinga. The mwami offered little assistance to the administration in their efforts to address the famine conditions; indeed, he threatened to embarrass it seriously by his contacts with the British. Postiaux hoped even to win permission from Brussels to end the monarchy altogether and to establish direct administration by the Resident and the notables.[69] The ministry, already dismayed by the unfavorable publicity aroused by the famine, refused to consider Postiaux's proposals. Obliged to maintain the mwami in power, Postiaux sought a new accord with him. In August he met with Musinga for two days, during which time he "defined the role of Mwami as the

European administration conceives of it." This meant executing decisions made by the Belgians and adjudicating difficulties among Rwandans that were too trivial to merit Belgian attention. The governor insisted that Musinga could govern capably only if he traveled throughout the kingdom to supervise the work of his notables; traditional restriction or not, the mwami would have to cross the Nyabarongo River.[70] The balance of power between the Court and the administration had shifted greatly over the decade. What Musinga had refused to Defawe in 1919 he had to yield to Postiaux in 1929. Over Kanjogera's strenuous objections, he crossed the river and traveled to Kigali in the presence of the governor. Musinga had taken a number of ritual precautions beforehand, including temporarily investing one of his young sons with the drum so that the Court could maintain that the restriction had not been violated. When Musinga had safely returned to Nyanza, the Europeans patronizingly remarked to him that giving up such a ridiculous custom had obviously done him no damage.[71] They were blind to the context—the erosion of royal prestige that resulted from each of these steps making Musinga more like other men.

Musinga of course realized the loss of respect that attended giving up such customs. In return for his sacrifice, he demanded and obtained significant concessions from the governor. Aware that his power was being sapped by the arrangements made by administrators with their favorite notables, he had agreed to travel partly to be able to counteract the growth of such local alliances. Now he persuaded the governor to order the administrators to accord due respect to the mwami when he visited their districts. No administrator could intervene publicly in decisions made by Musinga; at most he could advise him privately, and if the mwami disregarded his advice, he could not overrule him but could only appeal the issue to the Resident. Similarly, any differences between the mwami and the Resident could be resolved only by appeal to the governor. Musinga would be protected against the prejudices of the local administrators and against the intrigues of notables who courted them. The administrators also were strictly warned to respect the mwami's right to approve all new appointments, a right they had frequently ignored in the past.[72]

With renewed energy Musinga set about rebuilding his power. He intervened to protect his favorites from the Belgians. He exacted gifts and tributes above the amounts the Belgians had decided were permissible. Secretly he ordered notables to grant ibikingi to his followers.[73] On occasion he even tried to circumvent the notables and appeal directly

to the people, calling on the traditional image of the mwami as protector of the humble. He transformed the journeys that the Belgians had insisted upon into little campaigns to win the active allegiance of his subjects. To his delight, he found that the Hutu, especially those far from the influence of missionaries, administrators, or bakarani, still regarded him as the personification of wealth and power. He traveled in great style, accompanied by a large retinue of notables and Twa musicians and entertainers. As the royal drums announced his arrival, throngs of people would rush to applaud him, acclaim him, and dance for him. From time to time he would descend from his hammock, order his notables to stand back, and walk a distance so that the people could see him better. At his stopping places he would receive the complaints of the humble, bending forward to listen attentively. When he prevailed on some ordinary man to lodge him for the night, he would give him a cow the next morning to compensate him for his trouble.[74]

The Deposition of Musinga

As Musinga struggled to regain power through the end of 1929 and into 1930, the notables watched, some hopefully, some fearfully. The Belgians as well as the Rwandans believed that he might reestablish his control over the kingdom. In late 1930 the new governor of Ruanda-Urundi, Charles Voisin, decided to prevent this by trying again to remove Musinga.

When Voisin consulted Monsignor Classe, the bishop fully concurred. In the four years since he had protected Musinga against such a move, he had seen the mwami become increasingly set against the Fathers and Christianity. While Classe had lost his earlier admiration for one of Musinga's sons, Rwigemera, he had come to respect the other, Rudahigwa, who was now an adult. Rudahigwa was still devoted to Musinga. He had just recently sacrificed the large herd of cattle that Kayondo had given him rather than be influenced by the Inshongore's hatred of his father.[75] Yet Rudahigwa had also been educated by the Europeans and might well someday accept Christianity. Classe rightly guessed that if offered the drum, Rudahigwa would take it, especially if the only alternative were leaving it to Rwigemera, who had so often plotted against Musinga. Classe handled all the delicate arrangements with Rudahigwa. He also prepared the way for acceptance of the proposal in Brussels by publishing an excoriating article in *L'Essor Colonial et Maritime* that detailed Musinga's faults and advocated his removal. With

Classe working from outside and the governor working from inside the bureaucracy, they won the approval of the Colonial Ministry in mid-1931.[76]

Faced with the necessity of explaining the decision at the next meeting of the Commission on Mandates, the ministry asked the governor to provide specific justifications for the removal. Since Musinga had always avoided the kind of outright defiance that would have provided a clear excuse for ending his rule, the local administration could supply only vague generalities about "oppression, favoritism, egotism, and disordered private life."[77] It could hardly explain that it had come to fear and distrust the authority it had once admired. The Belgians had hoped to transform the bases of Musinga's legitimacy and to use his power for their own ends. They had expected him to be proud of the sky-blue uniform with gold braid and to be content with formalities and the "role of Mwami as the European administration conceived of it." But Musinga preferred the beaded headdress and the leopard skin, and he refused to accept the Belgian assessment of his role and of the ultimate interests of the kingdom. As long as the Belgians left him in possession of the drum, he would keep struggling to build his power, partly for his own benefit and partly to defend the kingdom.

The Belgians feared that some of the notables might rally to Musinga when the deposition was announced, so they planned the action with the greatest care. All the important notables were called to Kigali on 12 November 1931, supposedly to hear the governor speak about a new economic program. That morning in Nyanza, some eighty miles away, the governor told Musinga of the deposition and ordered him to be ready to leave within forty-eight hours for the post of Kamembe on Lake Kivu, which would be his future residence. According to one of his intimates, Musinga accepted the news "like someone who had expected it for a long time." The governor demanded that Musinga send the royal drums to the administrative office immediately. Just as Musinga had refused to resign voluntarily, so he refused to part willingly with the drums that symbolized his power. The Europeans came to seize them that night at the royal residence. On the morning of 14 November, Musinga, along with Kanjogera and seven of Musinga's wives and their children, left Nyanza for the last time, accompanied by several hundred of their most loyal servants and clients.

He traveled as he had always liked to, in a hammock borne by the Twa of the Court. As the sad caravan wound its way to the southwest, the notables were approaching Nyanza from the north en route from

Kigali. When the governor had not appeared for his address and the notables had been ordered to go to Nyanza to meet him, they had guessed what had happened. The administrators kept close watch over them, marching them in a group, but forbidding them to talk and preventing them from gathering together in the evenings at their resting places. As they neared Nyanza, the new Pontiac automobile the administration had bought for Musinga the year before was driven out to pick up Rudahigwa and transport him the rest of the way. The notables had been concerned for Musinga's fate, but even more for the fate of the monarchy. They feared that the Belgians would destroy the institution totally, or perhaps even install one of the Inshongore in power. They were greatly reassured to know that the traditional pattern of succession would be respected and that the Europeans had chosen the son Musinga himself had favored.[78]

On 16 November Rudahigwa was proclaimed mwami with the name Mutara. The proclamation was made by the governor, and the name had been chosen by Classe. The military band played a flourish, and the soldiers fired a salute. The governor presented the drums to Rudahigwa, but there were no other traditional ceremonies. Under the watchful eyes of the soldiers, the notables joined in the acclamations that always welcomed the enthronement of a new ruler. They had been warned that any signs of displeasure would send them into exile after their former ruler. On the following days, the local administrators called together the remaining notables and the people of their districts and informed them of the deposition. All stressed that any movement or even expression of opinion in favor of Musinga would be harshly punished. One told the assembled crowd, "Rejoice because the administration has given you a [new] mwami."[79]

The people hardly needed the explanation. Many of them continued to swear in the name of Musinga instead of that of Rudahigwa, while others persisted in remarking that Rudahigwa was the "Mwami of the Whites."[80]

The administration would have preferred removing Musinga from Rwanda altogether, but Rudahigwa had begged that his father be allowed to remain in the kingdom. The Belgians tried unsuccessfully to isolate Musinga from his former subjects. None of the important notables visited him openly, but some made secret trips by night along the lake to spend a few hours with him. "Everyone who was human, and there were few who weren't" continued to send him gifts, according to one observer.[81] Even Kayondo made a generous gift of ivory to Kanjogera.

The queen mother died in 1933, but Musinga continued to hope and plan for a return to power. A son born to him in the 1930s was named Nzakigarura, "I will get it back." Rumors of his imminent return circulated frequently enough to disturb the Belgians, although few outside Musinga's most devoted followers believed in them. After the outbreak of World War II, Musinga supposedly sought to establish ties with the Germans, hoping his former masters might finally fulfill their promise to return. After a new wave of rumors about Musinga's restoration swept Rwanda in 1940, the Belgians exiled Musinga to the Congo, where he died four years later. At the time of his removal, one European commented that no one had taken up arms to defend him since "He never did anything for his country." But Rwandans who continued to honor him throughout the 1930s with their gifts and their concern felt that he deserved their loyalty and affection. One who had been a young mukarani at the time remembered that even he had paid Musinga this voluntary tribute because "he had done so much good for all of us."[82]

Editor's Epilogue

Musinga left Nyanza on 14 November 1931. Passing through Nyantango and Bunyambiriri across the high crest of the Congo–Nile watershed, the caravan of some 700 people (including over 450 porters) took a week to arrive at Kamembe, a commercial center in the far southwestern corner of the kingdom. Located at the southern tip of Lake Kivu and separated from central Rwanda by a wide swath of tropical montane forest, Kamembe was accessible to Rwandans only by the circuitous route Musinga himself had followed; few Rwandans would have access to their deposed king.

Kamembe was selected by the administration with care. It was located in Kinyaga, a region considered distant from Rwanda, not just geographically but culturally as well. Central Rwandans saw the area as cold and wet; they disdained the inhabitants of Kinyaga, referring to them derisorily as "Banyabungo"—the generic term for the people of the Congo—or "Bashi"—more specifically, those immediately west of the Rusizi River. The Belgian administration shared such views: one administrator characterized the area as "sad and humid" with a "lugubrious wind"; one of the chiefs of the area, he noted, was a "true Shi who understands neither Kinyarwanda nor Swahili."[1]

Politically, too, Kamembe was carefully selected. Its distance from the central regions both reduced the capacity of the deposed mwami to interfere in the conduct of the Court and made it difficult for his former subjects to bring him gifts—for while some, especially among the chiefs, welcomed his dismissal, others seemed to recognize his struggles with the colonial order. Even if Musinga was no longer king, many, including some of those displeased with his rule, still acknowledged him as mwami. Rudahigwa was seen as "the mwami of the whites," placed in power by colonial authorities under European-designed procedures, bypassing the Rwandan authorities who alone could perform the rituals that legitimized

his rule. He could not be the true mwami of Rwanda as long as Musinga was still alive. Power and ritual status were separate domains.[2]

Kamembe was a strategic choice for another reason. The preeminent Rwandan political authority in the region was Rwagataraka, the son of Rwidegembya and scion of the Bakagara lineage of the Bega clan. This was the lineage whose members had masterminded the coup of Rucunshu and who had dominated Court politics during Musinga's reign; Rwagataraka's paternal grandfather was the full brother of Kabare and Ruhinankiko, and the half-brother of Kanjogera. Musinga had been exiled to the region dominated by the head of the lineage that had both made him king and molded his actions. His life had come full circle.

More importantly, Rwagataraka had shown himself a loyal ally to the Belgian administration over many years. Furthermore, he had had a troubled relationship with Musinga: "Rwagataraka is the enemy of Musinga," wrote the Belgian administrator of Kamembe shortly after Musinga's arrival there. Musinga concurred: "Rwagataraka hates me," he had written two years earlier. However, there were structural as well as personal factors in play. Rwagataraka's original appointment as chief to the region was part of the struggle between the Bega and the Banyiginya: Rwagataraka's father, Rwidegembya, had displaced a member of the royal family as commander of the army assigned to this region.

Originally, Rwagataraka's assignment was seen as a promotion; he was young at the time. But it was also in part an exile, for this area was far removed from the Court. Though the region commanded resources as a trade corridor (especially important for iron products coming from the west) it was also considered politically peripheral—populated by Shi and by sorcerers. But Rwagataraka had his own alternative political pathway: after World War I he had proved effective as a "modernizer" and adept at working with the Belgians—so much so that at one point, as Des Forges relates, he even turned in his own father for plotting with the Germans, charges for which Rwidegembya spent several months in prison. So Rwagataraka had a history of using Europeans as his own powerbase. During Musinga's deportation to Kamembe, this collaboration between Rwagataraka and his overlords continued. The Belgians kept close watch over Musinga, and the administrator recognized Rwagataraka's "constant assistance in the surveillance of Musinga's activities." But he also noted the "deep-seated pride" of Rwagataraka ("the prototype of his race"), adding on another occasion: "He is Tutsi; that says it all." The public disdain he held toward Musinga, noted the administrator, was unhelpful.[3]

The animosity was also personal. Rwagataraka had married Musinga's youngest daughter, Musheshambuga. As Rwagataraka had moved closer to Catholicism, she also expressed a desire to convert. Following directly on the public conversion of Musinga's favorite son—an act Musinga had seen as treason in the context of his struggles with the Church—Mushesambuga's announcement provoked a passionate reaction on the part of the mwami; if she proceeded with this, he wrote, he would curse her forever. But Rwagataraka's eventual conversion allowed him to retain only one wife, and to conform to Church doctrine he expelled Musheshambuga from his household; in part, of course, this was also a rejection of Musinga. However, this was more than a simple separation: he drove her out in abominable conditions. Even the Belgian administrator, so tied to Rwagataraka politically and not likely to comment on domestic arrangements, was moved to note in a letter to the governor that the conditions of her expulsion were "absolutely blameworthy" and had elicited strenuous critique from the "Watusi" of the region. So desperate—and so visible—was her plight that the administrator himself was moved to provide sustenance for her and her young child.[4]

Despite the geographical, cultural, and political isolation of Musinga, the authorities kept close watch on his activities. Rumors abounded, and the administration kept careful record. One notable came from Gatsibo in the far northeastern corner of the kingdom to arrange for the marriage of his daughter to Musinga; Belgian reports noted that the diviners had determined that such a marriage would guarantee Musinga's return to Nyanza. Other reports asserted that Musinga had sent representatives to negotiate with the British in southwestern Uganda for the cession of Rwanda to Britain—an irony, given Musinga's strenuous opposition to the earlier British occupation of Gisaka. The feared emissaries were carefully monitored. A Rwandan woman married to a man in Uganda was said to carry secret communications from the British to Musinga on her visit to her family in Nyanza; the Belgians were particularly disturbed when she temporarily disappeared from their surveillance. In the end, she was prevented further access to Rwanda. The local administrator in Kamembe expelled "all Tutsi and Batwa" from Musinga's compound, an action Musinga protested to the governor; his appeal was rejected. The authorities were adamant: removing all Batutsi from Musinga's compound would actually "render a service to Musinga by distancing him from all sorts of intrigue."

In myriad ways the policy of political control was transformed into one of personal humiliation. Unannounced early morning censuses

of Musinga's compound were initiated. Among those found who did not meet approval, some were whipped, others were sent on their way through the forest (not the road). On one such raid a letter was found from the Ligue contre l'Impérialisme et l'Oppression Coloniale," a Brussels organization; to the administration "the security of the state and of public order would be threatened should Musinga receive a subsequent letter [from the league]." One rumor noted by the Belgians claimed that Musinga had obtained poison from his cook, a Shi; the search for outside agitators was very thorough. But active surveillance was not limited to Kinyaga. To prevent inconvenient rumors, every "Chef de Poste" was asked to announce the deposition of Musinga on the morning of 14 November—all at the same time—and to inform the Resident, then and at regular intervals thereafter, of the people's reactions to this decision; the administrators' responses were quite detailed.[5]

Earlier colonial reports had concluded that Musinga held very little influence in the country. But with the German occupation of Belgium in May of 1940 the tone had changed, and Musinga's earlier connections with the Germans were recalled. "In the current circumstances any source of trouble, any unwanted interference in the authorities' ability to carry out policy must be suppressed." And so new plans were developed. Musinga, concluded the Resident in a memorandum of 17 June, "retains a certain influence that could become more active under these conditions. It is necessary therefore to remove him from Rwanda." Other reports noted a popular story from early in Musinga's reign that he would be sent to live near a large body of water until the Germans returned and restored him to power. In his own letter to the governor of Ruanda-Urundi, Monsignor Classe—Musinga's implacable opponent—noted that a person had asked him if it were true that Rudahigwa had been arrested by the Germans and Musinga would be returned to power. He ended his letter to the governor by noting that "[i]t is regrettable that in these days Musinga remains in Ruanda-Urundi," thus appearing to support a policy of further deportation. Administrative documents also noted that many former chiefs, particularly those dismissed by more recent government policy, continued to send gifts and cattle to Musinga; the interpretation was that they sought reestablishment should Musinga be returned to power, while those chiefs installed by the Belgians would be dismissed.[6]

Such rumors among the people in the hills apparently sparked fears among the officials and served as the basis for a rapid set of consultations. Within two weeks of the first memorandum, a new policy was

determined: Musinga was to be deported with five wives and eleven children, and with no domestic assistants, to Kilembwe, on the Malungu plateau in Moba district on the western shore of Lake Tanganyika, 150 kilometers south of Albertville (later renamed Kalemie). Essentially, it was a place accessible only by boat. In the thorough fashion typical of Belgian colonial administration, two of Musinga's elder sons were also deported. They were seen as potential claimants to power in Musinga's absence and therefore a potential alternative to popular loyalty to Rudahigwa: "Their presence in Ruanda-Urundi," noted the Belgian governor, "compromises public tranquility." To ensure such tranquility, Musinga's political insulation was complete: his geographical isolation was exceeded only by his social isolation.[7]

Great effort was taken to prevent Musinga's suicide before leaving Rwanda, for "this would present serious difficulties for [Rudahigwa]. It would not be long before pretenders to power would arise and, surrounded by the halo of the legend would easily create trouble everywhere." Therefore, Musinga was not informed until 19 July 1940, the eve of his forced departure. After having been told of the decision he was kept in isolation and under guard at the administrative post. The next morning Belgian authorities went to the mwami's residence to inform Musinga's wives of their immediate departure. His goods were packed. "Few items, no valuables, little money," noted the administrator's report. Musinga's cattle could not be taken with him; they were to be sold on the open market. The report characterized his departure in stark terms: "Few spectators, no reactions among those departing. No incidents en route. A normal departure, without difficulties. All went well." The soldier guarding Musinga on the eve of his definitive departure from Rwanda said the king had wept during the night.[8]

Musinga died at Kilembwe, far removed from Rwanda, on 25 December 1944.

With Musinga's death an era had passed. Born at the apogee of Rwabugiri's rule, Musinga had been a principal figure in the coup of Rucunshu; he had witnessed the arrival of European power and the establishment of a powerful missionary order; he had overseen the expansion of royal power to areas of weak penetration; and he had participated in the deepening of administrative influence throughout the reconfigured kingdom. All along he had sought to retain the integrity of the kingship

against both external and internal challenges. But if structural and institutional changes at the level of royal Court politics were significant, the changes in the lives of the people were profound. Musinga's life was certainly one of those affected by the political transformations of the day, but the people in the hills felt these changes even more deeply.

Under Rudahigwa, conditions changed for the people as well as for the administrative structures of the state. For the chiefs, the administrative powers in their hands were augmented even as their contacts with the people diminished. For the people, forced labor was increased as export crops became required; in the words of an eminent Rwandan historian, under Rudahigwa "the country became a vast forced labor camp."[9] Taxes were added and became required in monetary terms—to be paid by individuals, not corporate groups. Required work in the fields and in the compounds of the Rwandan authorities became common and widespread. Whatever the deficiencies of Court rule under Musinga, it was not surprising that with the changing circumstances of his successor many people looked back with nostalgia to an earlier concept of kingship, which Musinga had embodied and for which he had struggled, in his own way, against very steep odds.

Appendix: Rwandan Interviewees

Name	Father	Grandfather	Clan	Location
Bahimana	Ningura	Baturina	Zigaba	Butozo, Rukiga
Bahinbano	Makambira	Ruzigura	Gesera	Rushaki, Giciye
Baseke	Burindi	Ndabaramiye	Bungura	Giciye
Bazatoha	Hingabugabo	Nyamubyeyi	Zigaba	Murehe, Mayaga
Bazirake, Dominique	Mishura	Semataka	Gesera	Ruhinga, Bugarura
Bichunchu, Pancras	Mpakaniye	Ndayundi	Banda	Gatonde
Bidahunga, Isidore	Segaceke	Sekimonyo	Bungura	Rambura, Bushiru
Bigirankana	Kazimano	Kwisaba	Singa	Giciye
Bihame	Kasozi	Rubanzangabo	Zigaba	Bunyereri, Busozo
Bikuramuki	Nyemina	Nyantaba	Nyiginya	Kigali
Buhuhano, Isidore	Mbona	Ndabaramiye	Bungura	Rambura, Bushiru
Busuhuko, Silasi	Mihiko	Ndabukiyumwami	Sindi	Rugari, Bugarura

Name	Father	Grandfather	Clan	Location
Bwico	Rusesangabo	Sebitenge	Singa	Mwiyanike, Bushiru
Byahene	Ruhunga	Ndahiriwe	Nyiginya	Nyakibungo, Mayaga
Byimana	Balinimwe	Bambabura	Zigaba	Kamucuri, Rukiga
Eleasar	Sagatwa	Nyamunesha	Nyiginya	Bwishaza
Gahakwa	Nyamuco	—	Bungura	Muremure, Bushiru
Gakona	Gacuma	Byamuchanyi	Shambo	Ibare, Mirenge
Gakunkiko	Simpenzwe	Mashora	Rihira	Rambura, Bushiru
Gashyekero	Mvuyekure	Ruhemu	Gesera	Nyangurago, Karago
Gasimba	Magumirwa	Mutana	Zigaba	Butozo, Rukiga
Gatanazi	Rugema	Gatarera	Singa	Mugina, Rukiga
Gaterere	Shorabili	—	Zigaba	Rushaki, Rukiga
Gatete	Mucinya	Nyangezi	Ha	Kabuye, Buriza
Gatuhe, Canisius	Beyanga	Gahinda	Zigaba	Butozo, Rukiga
Gumira	Rugamvu	Nyantaba	Nyiginya	Mutima, Muyaga
Guriro, Isaie	—	—	Gesera	Ndorwa, Karago
Habyarinka, Musa	Rwamagege	Ndabateza	Singa	Kiganda, Bugarura

Name	Father	Grandfather	Clan	Location
Harimenshi	Nyamwanga	Gasiga	—	Ndorwa, Karago
Isidore	Ruganda	Ntama	Tsobe	Muhanga, Bukunzi
Kabera	Karyeja	Birakwate	Zigaba	Rushaki, Rukiga
Kaburiyeri	Nsekuye	Bihirimana	Gesera	Rambura, Bushiru
Kagenza, Karoli	Mujawamwiza	Ruhomoranda	Cyaba	Ibare, Mirenge
Kagisha	Ntamuhanga	Gishimba	Cyaba	Rambura, Bushiru
Kamana, Michel	Sebarabena	Ndabavuna	Sindi	Kibonwa, Gatonde
Kamere	Nshaka	Bizeyi	Singa	Rwaza, Bugarura
Kanyamudari, Albert	Kimonyo	Nyamukera	Zigaba	Gege, Bugarura
Karyabgite	Sendashonga	Ruhararamanzi	Shambo	Byumba
Karyeja	Kagambira	Kibashyira	Zigaba	Rushaki, Rukiga
Kidogo	Gicemwa	Nsoro	Gesera	Bururi, Busozo
Komayombi, Th.	Serugaryi	Gisimba	Cyaba	Rambura, Bushiru
Makatsi, Samuel	Hagumagatsi	Sendakize	Gesera	Ntuntu, Kabagari
Makeri	Rwamagaju	Karama	Sindi	Bugerero, Busigi
Mbonye, Paul	Rwabushi	Simbayobewe	Banda	Karambi, Kabagari

Name	Father	Grandfather	Clan	Location
Miruho	Gateba	Nyamunegamacumu	Sindi	Gatonde
Mitima, Nabor	Bigaruka	Sengoga	Zigaba	Buhanda, Mulera
Mpakaniye	Bivagonya	Muhima	Gesera	Rambura, Bushiru
Mugabontazi, Berchmans	Kinyana	Ndimbira	Tsobe	Gisozi, Bwanacyambwe
Muhama, Chrysostome	Ntabana	Rugazika	Nyiginya	Kabuye, Buriza
Muhire	Gatabazi	Mazuru	Sindi	Munanira, Bukonya
Muhizi, Léonidas	Bihirumuhatse	Biguma	Nyiginya	Nyagahinga, Bwishaza
Muniga	Segaju	Nyankiko	Nyiginya	Nyakibungo, Mayaga
Munogo	Bilinzira	—	Zigaba	Tusi, Kiyombe
Mutabazi, Michel	Bishaka	Kimonyo	Gesera	Rwaza, Bugarura
Mutarambirwa	Muhirwa	Rubundo	Gesera	Ruhanga, Gatonde
Mutungirehe, Matayo	Matabaro	—	Zigaba	Nzaza, Mirenge
Ndagiriye	Nyagasaza	Muhimpundu	Bungura	Ndorwa, Karago
Ndenzago, Ignace	—	—	Gesera	Rwaza, Bugarura
Ngaboyisonga, Calliope	Muheto	Bihama	Singa	Rwaza, Bugarura
Ngerageze	Mushokambere	Sezirahina	Banda	Rugari, Bugarura

Name	Father	Grandfather	Clan	Location
Ngezahayo, Joseph	Rudahari	Murama	Shambo	Muhanga, Bukunzi
Ngwije	Kagenza	Muhire	Banda	Gatovu, Kabagari
Nibacece	Murumunawasasa	Gapfuzi	Gesera	Ndorwa, Karago
Nkuriye, André	Kamonyo	Sedigi	Gesera	Rambura, Bushiru
Nsabimana, Gabriel	Ndahiro	Ruhumba	Nyiginya	Cyumba, Kabagari
Ntababa	Barasobanya	Kwiriha	Bungura	Mwiyanike, Bushiru
Nturo, Raphael	Sebinagana	Seruvurungana	Zigaba	Butare
Nturo, Sylvestre	Kajeberi	Bukaburana	Bega	Kabuye, Buriza
Nyamuhinda, Sabini	Ruguri	Muramira	Singa	Gaseke, Mulera
Nyandera	Rushonda	Byakunda	Bungura	Giciye
Nyirakabuga	Cyigenza	Rwakagara	Bega	Nzaza, Mirenge
Nzabarinda, Zorobakeli	—	—	—	Kabagari
Pascal	Birahamye	Muziga	Cyaba	Muhanga, Bukunzi
Petero	Migabo	Rwitaba	Bega	Ntaga, Mirenge
Ruchamubyuma	Rwamirego	Kagabo	Nyiginya	Mayaga
Rugambarara	Nyamurara	Rubega	Shambo	Nyakabuye, Bukunzi

Name	Father	Grandfather	Clan	Location
Rugerabicu	Gahima	Mudende	Gesera	Nyangurago, Karago
Rugirankana, Joseph	—	—	Singa	Rwaza, Mulera
Rujukundi, André	Rukundabayenzi	Gapfunsi	Gesera	Rambura, Bushiru
Rusabagira	Nshunguyinka	Sentama	Banda	Gatonde
Rushaki	Bogorogoza	Mabare	Zigaba	Rushaki, Rukiga
Rushara	Mutsimanganya	Rukamata	Bungura	Rambura, Bushiru
Rutangira	Ngirashema	Muyoboke	Nyiginya	Mara, Busanza
Rutabagisha	Nzarubara	Macoco	Sindi	Itumba, Busigi
Rutamu	Kabera	Rugagaza	Nyiginya	Nyakizu, Butare
Rwakabayiza	—	—	—	Mayaga
Rwakaje	Bigirumwami	—	Zigaba	Tusi, Kiyombe
Rwenda	Biteguje	Ndungutse	—	Giciye
Rwigemera	Musinga	Rwabugiri	Nyiginya	Kigali
Sebagenga, Karoli	Bizuru	Semishabiki	Gesera	Akamazimwe, Giciye
Sebahunyi	Mugabwambere	Rukangangabayombe	Nyiginya	Vumbi, Butare
Sebitenge	Rutungura	—	Singa	Mwiyanike, Bushiru
Sebuyange	—	—	Gesera	Ruhanga, Gatonde

Name	Father	Grandfather	Clan	Location
Segatwa, Mossi	Mukenga	—	Bungura	Gitwe, Kabagari
Sekigarama	—	Ntibanyurwa	Bungura	Ndorwa, Karago
Semagema	Karamira	Nshatse	Zigaba	Ruhanga, Gatonde
Semarora, Marc	Birara	Bukuba	Singa	Bumara, Mulera
Semusaza	Muyoboke	Rukarabuka	Sindi	Murama, Kabagari
Semutwa	Cyitatire	Rwabugiri	Nyiginya	Butare, Mvejuru
Serukenyinkware	Musho	Butare	Singa	Kibuye, Bwishaza
Shikama, Médard	Bigaju	Rutihunza	Singa	Kivunda, Bukunzi
Simbagaya, Gallican	Mirimo	Ngirokoyeze	Zigaba	Rwaza, Bugarura
Toringabo	Mihigo	Mbona	Bungura	Gitebe, Giciye

European Interviewees

Sandrart, Georges: Administrator in Rwanda, 1923–1952; interviewed in Brussels, December 1967.

Schmidt, R.J.L.: Administrator in Rwanda, 1929–1959; interviewed in Brussels, December 1967.

Notes

Chapter 1. A Tumultuous Transition

1. For the history of the Nyiginya dynasty see Vansina, *Antecedents to Modern Rwanda*. For a general survey of the history of the region, see Chrétien, *The Great Lakes of Africa*. For more general works on the precolonial history of Rwanda, see de Lacger, *Ruanda*; Kagame, *Un abrégé de l'ethnohistoire du Rwanda*; D. Newbury, "Precolonial Burundi and Rwanda."

2. For the histories of these armies, see Kagame, *Les milices*.

3. One example is found in the dynastic poems: Kagame, *La poésie dynastique du Rwanda ancien*, and *Introduction aux grands genres lyriques de l'ancien Rwanda*; A. Coupez and T. Kamanzi, *Récits historiques rwanda dans la version C. Gakanïisha*; A. Coupez and Th. Kamanzi, *Littérature de cour au Rwanda*; Vansina, "Historical Tales (*Ibiteekerezo*) and the History of Rwanda." For the analysis of one such poem, see D. Newbury, "Bunyabungo."

4. On the dynastic rituals, see d'Hertefelt and Coupez, *La royauté sacrée*. For the analysis of one such ritual, the annual First Fruits ceremony, see D. Newbury, "What Role Has Kingship?"

5. For a discussion of the extension of land authority at the beginning of the nineteenth century, see Rwabukumba and Mudandagizi, "Les formes historiques."

6. A. Des Forges, "Defeat Is the Only Bad News," 17.

7. This is a theme in many of the sources on this period; see especially Vansina, *Antecedents to Modern Rwanda*, chap. 7; Kagame, *Un abrégé de l'histoire du Rwanda*, 13–129; de Lacger, *Ruanda*, 354–69.

8. Interviews with Makeri, Rutabagisha, Isidore, Pascal, Shikama, Ngezahayo, Rugambarara, Bihame, and Kidogo. Kagame, *Le code des institutions politiques du Rwanda précolonial*, 121–24; Czekanowski, *Forschungen*, 102–5, 107, 246–48.

9. Maquet, *Le système de relations sociales*, 127; d'Hertefelt, *Les clans du Rwanda ancien*, 56–60.

10. Maquet, *Le système de relations sociales*,165, 177, 191–94; Kagame, *Les organisations socio-familiales*, 272–74.

11. Kandt, *Caput Nili*, 253.

12. D'Hertefelt and Coupez, *La royauté sacrée*, 334.

13. Interview with Nsabimaana; Birasenyeri, "Notes sur les faits et gestes de Rwabugiri," J. H. Derscheid Collection of Documents on Rwanda and Burundi, consulted courtesy of Professor René Lemarchand (hereafter cited as "Derscheid Collection").

14. De Lacger, *Ruanda*, 362; Kagame, *Les milices*, 49, 166.

15. Interview with Muhama.

16. Von Götzen, *Durch Afrika von Ost nach West*, 174.

17. Interviews with Mugabontazi, R. Nturo, Byahene, Serukenyinkware, Semutwa, and Rwakabayiza; Pagès, *Un royaume hamite*, 196–97.

18. De Lacger, *Ruanda*, 362.

19. Verhulst, "Renseignements."

20. Interviews with Gatete, S. Nturo, Nsabimana, Mugabontazi, Bazatoha, and Rwakabayiza; de Lacger, *Ruanda*, 366–70; Pagès, *Un royaume hamite*, 199–200; Delmas, "Le Rwanda et autour de lui," 69.

21. Kagame, "Un règne mouvementé." [This has since been published as chapter 9 in Kagame, *Un abrégé de l'histoire du Rwanda*.]

22. Ramsay, "Über Seine Expeditionen," 314.

23. He may have been referring to the Shangi battle of the previous July or to the reestablishment of a post by Congo Free State troops sometime in 1897 (Anonymous, *Historique et Chronologie*, 14, 95; Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 43).

24. Kagame, *Les organisations socio-familiales*, 214–23; Ramsay, "Über Seine Expeditionen," 315.

25. Ramsay, "Uha, Urundi und Ruanda," 180; Ramsay, "Über Seine Expeditionen," 315–17; Kandt, *Caput Nili*, 333.

26. Interviews with Gatete, S. Nturo, Rwakabayiza, and Byahene; Kagame, *Les milices*, 48–49; Kagame, "Un règne mouvementé," 2–3.

27. Kagame, "Un règne mouvementé," 3–4.

28. Kagame implies that the two revolts were one, but those consulted in the area did not link the two. The question needs further study. Kagame, "Un règne mouvementé," 4, and *Les milices*, 41–42; interviews with Karyabgite, Gasimba, Rwakaje, and Munogo.

29. Interview with Mugabontazi; Kagame, "Un règne mouvementé," 4–5, and *Les milices*, 42. Karyabgite states that Muserekande was from Bujinja.

30. Pagès, *Un royaume hamite*, 211.

31. Interviews with Karyabgite, Gasimba, Rushaki, Byimana, Gatanazi, and Karyeja. Kagame, "Un règne mouvementé," 4–5; Kandt, *Caput Nili*, 270; de Lacger, *Ruanda*, 368; and R. P. Martin, "Notice Historique sur le Bumbogo," and R. Schmidt, "Notes sur les Droits des Abaskyete," both in the Derscheid Collection.

32. Interviews with Rushaki, Byimana, Gatanazi, Karyeja, Sebitenge, Bwico, Ntababa, Kagisha, Mpakanye, and Gakunkiko. Kagame, "Un règne mouvementé," 4–5; Pagès, *Un royaume hamite*, 213.

33. Kagame, "Le Rwanda et son roi," 47.

34. Interviews with Nyirakabuga, Serukenyinkware, Sebahuniye, and Bazatoha; de Lacger, *Ruanda*, 221–29.

35. Interviews with Semusaza, Byahene, and Gumira.

36. Interviews with Mugabontazi and Karyabgite; Kagame, "Un règne mouvementé," 5.

37. Interviews with R. Nturo and Gumira; Kagame, "Un règne mouvementé," 5.

38. Interview with Gumira.

39. Interviews with Muniga and Byahene; Kagame, "Un règne mouvementé," 7; Verhulst, "Renseignements."

40. Interviews with Gumira, Nyirakabuga, Byahene, R. Nturo, Gatete, and S. Nturo; Kagame, "Un règne mouvementé," 7.

Chapter 2. The Catholic Church, the German Administration, and the Nyiginya Court

1. Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 43; *Historique et Chronologie*, 105; Diaire de la Mission de Nyamasheke (hereafter cited as Nyamasheke), Archives de la Société des Missionaires d'Afrique, Rome.

2. Kandt, "Bericht," 114–24.

3. Kagame, *Le code des institutions*, 55–56; see also the accounts of von Götzen, *Durch Afrika von Ost nacht West*; Ramsay, "Uha, Urundi und Ruanda"; and von Parish, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda," 5–13, 73–79.

4. De Lacger, *Ruanda*, 385; von Götzen, *Durch Afrika von Ost nach West*, 161; Kandt, *Caput Nili*, 254, 258–59.

5. Von Götzen, *Durch Afrika von Ost nach West*, 161; Ramsay, "Uha, Urundi und Ruanda," 179; Ramsay, "Über Seine Expeditionen," 311.

6. Kandt, *Caput Nili*, 239.

7. Kandt, *Caput Nili*, 271, 356.

8. Un Père Blanc, "Idées principales," 353.

9. De Lacger, *Ruanda*, 385.

10. Un Père Blanc, "Idées principales," 377–79, 386.

11. De Lacger, *Ruanda*, 381.

12. De Lacger, *Ruanda*, 383; Ruterandongozi, "Après les premières missionnaires," 32.

13. De Lacger, *Ruanda*, 386.

14. Interview with Serukenyinkware.

15. Interviews with Semutwa and Rutangira.

16. Diaire de la Mission de Save, May 1900 (hereafter cited as Save; citations of diaries always give the most specific reference possible, whether it is the exact date or simply the month and year), Archives de la Société des Missionaires d'Afrique, Rome.

17. Interviews with Byahene and Mugabontazi.

18. Nothomb, "Petite histoire," 11n.1.

19. De Lacger, *Ruanda*, 385.

20. Interviews with Rutangira and Byahene; Save, April 1900.

21. Save, February and March 1900.

22. Save, April and June 1900.

23. Save, May 1900.

24. Save, May 1900; Kayijuka, "Lebensgeschichte," 121, 149.

25. Save, May 1900. Interviews with S. Nturo, Byahene, Serukenyinkware, Semutwa, and Rwakabayiza.

26. Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 44; Save, February and July 1900.

27. Save, May 1900.

28. Save, June 1900. Interviews with S. Nturo, Gatete, Muniga, Byahene, Mbonye, and Mugabontazi.

29. Save, June 1900.

30. Save, September 1900; Kandt, "Bericht," 120.

31. Kayijuka, "Lebensgeschichte," 121, 149.

32. Save, June 1900.

33. Kayijuka, "Lebensgeschichte," 121, 149.

34. Kandt, *Caput Nili*, 251, 252; "Bericht," 115–16, 123; Save, August 1900.

35. Kayijuka, "Lebensgeschichte," 122, 150.

36. Kayijuka, "Lebensgeschichte," 124, 152.

37. Kayijuka, "Lebensgeschichte," 124, 153.

38. See, for example, Kayijuka, "Lebensgeschichte," 125, 154, ff.; and Save, January 1904, April 1905.

39. Ramsay, "Über Seine Expeditionen," 310–11; Kandt, "Bericht," 118.

40. Abbé Kagame (*Les milices*, 162) and Père Pagès (*Un royaume hamite*, 622, 625) accept Rukura's claim, but Kandt, who actually met him, was skeptical, partly because a White Father who had long served in Bushubi stated that Rukura had been born there and had never before been in Gisaka ("Bericht," 122). Informants in Gisaka agreed that Rukura was not a descendant of Kimenyi nor even a native of Gisaka (interviews with Nyirakabuga, Kagenza, and Gakona). In *L'évolution* (51), Vansina noted the widespread use, throughout the Great Lakes region, of similar claims to justify the seizure of power.

41. Save, March and September 1900; Diaire de la Mission de Zaza, 30 May, 2 June 1901 (hereafter cited as Zaza); Kandt, "Bericht," 122.

42. Save, September 1900. This was only the first of many conflicts between the missionaries and the lay scientist, who was Jewish by birth. See de Lacger, *Ruanda*, 420; Van Overschelde, *Un audacieux pacifique*, 70 ff.

43. Save, October, November, December 1900, January 1901.

44. Save, March and May 1901; Zaza, 24 May, 16 June 1901; Kagame, "Un règne mouvementé," 9–10; Kagame, *Les milices*, 162. Interviews with Kagenza and Gakona.

45. Save, June 1901; Kagame, "Un règne mouvementé," 10.

46. Save, March 1901; Zaza, April 1901.

47. Save, April and August 1901.

48. Zaza, April, 8 May, 3 June, 7, 12–20 July, 1, 4, 15, 16, 18 August, 9 September 1901, 6, 17, 25, 30 March, 12, 13, 15 April 1902.

49. Zaza, 22 and 24 March, 12 and 22 April; Save, April 1902.

50. Zaza, 22 April, 9 May 1902.

51. Save, May, June, 28 July 1902; Zaza, 3 May, 2 June 1902.

52. Save, August, 2 July 1902; Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 122.

53. Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 122; Save, January 1902.

54. Save, 29 September, 8 October 1902.

55. Save, 8–16 October 1902; Zaza, October 1902.

56. Zaza, October and November 1902.

57. Zaza, November and December 1902; Save, 10 and 20 November, 23 and 30 December 1902, 3 January 1903.

58. Kagame, "Un règne mouvementé," 10. Interviews with S. Nturo, Gatete, Nyirakabuga, Muniga, Byahene, Gumira, Mbonye, and Mugabontazi.

59. Interview with Nyirakabuga. Verhulst, "Renseignements Historiques et Politiques"; Kagame, "Un règne mouvementé," 10; Save, 21 April 1903.

60. Kagame, *Les milices*, 51; Kagame, "Un règne mouvementé," 10–11.

61. Save, 13 October 1903, 1 January 1904; Zaza, 6 November 1903; Anonymous, *Historique et Chronologie*, 48.

62. Save, 7 April 1904; Verhulst, "Renseignements Historiques et Politiques"; Kagame, "Un règne mouvementé," 11–12.

63. Zaza, 21 September 1904; Kagame, *Les milices*, 163.

64. Save, 13 November 1904, 2 January 1905; Zaza, 8 January 1905. Interviews with R. Nturo and Mugabontazi.

Chapter 3. The Missionaries, the Court, and the Local Community, 1904–1910

1. Father Brard [to Father Classe], 15 December 1903, Rwaza, Correspondence Religieuse. [On the establishment of the mission stations in Rwanda, see Mbonimana, "L'instauration d'un royaume chrétien au Rwanda," and Linden and Linden, *Church and Revolution in Rwanda*.]

2. Save, October 1901; for other examples, see Zaza, 20 October 1901 and Diaire de la Mission de Mibirizi (hereafter cited as Mibirizi), 24 March 1905.

3. For examples of such appeals, see Mibirizi, 19 August–16 October 1904; Zaza, December 1902; Save, 12 August 1904.

4. Zaza, December 1903, January 1904; Save, February 1904. Interview with Serukenyinkware.

5. Interviews with Nyirakabuga, Rugambarara, Sebitenge, Bwico, Ntababa, Gasimba, Kabera, and Gaterere; Czekanowski, *Forschungen*, 274–75; Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 124–25.

6. Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 125; Save, 20 April 1903; Zaza, 9 June 1902.

7. Interviews with Nyirakabuga, Rutamu, Karyabgite, and Semutwa. Diaire du Poste de Marie Immacule de Marangara (hereafter cited as Kabgayi), 2, 14 February, 20, 21, 30 May, 25 June 1906; de Lacger, *Ruanda*, 344, 428; Dufays, *Jours troublés*, 46. [For a more recent summary of the trade in slaves, see Chrétien, "The Slave Trade in Burundi and Rwanda," 210–30.]

8. Interviews with Rutamu, Karyabgite, Semutwa, Kamana, Mutarambirwa, Mutungirehe, Petero, and Nyamuhinda. Diaire de la Mission de Rwaza (hereafter cited as Rwaza), 12 April 1905, 28 January, 19 May, 27 May to 3 June 1906. The diary of the Zaza mission has the fullest information on the slave trade because many of the caravans traveling to the east coast passed nearby. See, for example, the entries for September, 10 October 1903, March 1905, 29 September 1905, January, 22 March, 24 November 1906.

9. Save, 15 and 17 May, July, 14 August, 27 September 1904; Zaza, 1 August 1904; Father Brard to Fathers Barthelemy and Classe, 1 September, 4 October, 1904, Rwaza, Correspondence Religieuse.

10. Save, 15 May, July 1904; Brard to Barthelemy and Classe, 1 September 1904; Rwaza, Correspondence Religieuse.

11. Rwaza, 4 February 1904.

12. Rwaza, 27 March, 4, 18, 28 April, 21 October 1904.

13. Interviews with Busuhuko, Ngerageze, Rusabagira, Mutarambirwa, Kamere, Mutabazi, and Mitima. Brard [to Classe], 15 December 1903, Rwaza, Correspondence Religieuse.

14. Rwaza, 4 and 28 April, 1 July 1904; Dufays, *Jours troublés*, 30–31.

15. Rwaza, 18, 20, 24 June, 11 and 21 July 1904. Interviews with Semarora, Nyamuhinda, Habyarinka, Kanyamudari, and Ngaboyisonga.

16. Interviews with Habyarinka, Kanyamudari, Ngaboyisonga, Ndenzago, Bazirake, Simbagaya, Kamere, Mutabazi, Nyamuhinda, Semarora, and Mitima. Rwaza, 21 July–4 September 1904; Brard to Barthelemy and Classe, 4 and 6 September [but should be 4 and 6 October] 1904; Rwaza, Correspondence Religieuse; Dufays, *Jours troublés*, 32–37.

17. Interview with Mitima. Rwaza, 6 August, 12 and 20 September, 5 and 10 October 1904; Save, 6 and 23 August 1904; Brard to Barthelemy and Classe, 1 September 1904; Rwaza, Correspondence Religieuse; Rwaza, 6 August, 12 and 20 September 1904; Dufays, *Jours troublés*, 36, 38–39.

18. Save, 6, 10, 11, 23 August 1904; Brard to Barthelemy and Classe, 1 September 1904, Rwaza, Correspondence Religieuse.

19. Zaza, 1 August, 1–21 September 1904; Brard to Barthelemy and Classe, 1 and 19 September, 4 and 6 September [October] 1904, Rwaza, Correspondence Religieuse; Save, 9 and 16 September 1904.

20. Save, 19 and 28 September 1904; Zaza, 21 September 1904.

21. Zaza, 15 September 1904; Save, 22 September 1904. Zaza, September 1930, also reviews these events and recounts the later history of the four domains given the Fathers.

22. Save, 1–2, 14, 23 October, 4 November 1904; Brard to Barthelemy and Classe, 4 September [October] 1904; Rwaza, Correspondence Religieuse; Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 126.

23. Interviews with Habyarinka, Kanyamudari, Ngaboyisonga, Ndenzago, Bazirake, Simbagaya, Nyamuhinda, Semarora, and Mitima. Rwaza, 16–23 October 1904; Dufays, *Jours troublés*, 41–43; Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 123.

24. Save, 14 and 23 October 1904; Pagès, *Un royaume hamite*, 655n.1; Czekanowski, *Forschungen*, 126.

25. Brard to Barthelemy and Classe, 1 and 28 September, 4 September [October] 1904, Rwaza, Correspondence Religieuse; Save, 17 February 1905; Rwaza, 19 September 1904, 23 April 1905.

26. Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 126–27; the text of the ordinance is given in Save, 27 April 1905.

27. Rwaza, 24, 28, 30 December 1904; 1, 14, 18, 19, 29 January, 3 and 7 March 1905; Save, 21 January, 6 February 1905; Zaza, November 1904, 8 January, February 1905; Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 124.

28. Save, 13 November, 29 December 1904; 6 February 1905; Kabgayi, Fondation, 13 February 1905; Nothomb, "Petite histoire," 18–19.

29. Save, 11 August, 9, 22 September 1904, 17 February 1905; Zaza, August 1904; Rwaza, 29 and 10 July 1904; Brard to Barthelemy and Classe, 1 September 1904, Rwaza, Correspondence Religieuse.

30. Kabgayi, 25 February 1905, 24–28 and 31 January, 3 March, 20 May, 22 September 1906, 5 September 1908; Zaza, 9 September 1901; Rulindo, Cahier de Conseil, 19 February 1909, 29 January 1910, 25 August 1912 (hereafter cited as Rulindo); Diaire de la Fondation de Murunda, Kanage (hereafter cited as Murunda), 20 May 1909, 18 June 1914; Mibirizi, 22 December 1903, 27 February, 5, 6, 11 March 1904; Rwaza, 28 November 1903, 1 July 1904, 3, 29 January 1905; 19 March 1906. Interviews with Semagema, Busuhuko, Ngerageze, Gakona, and Kagenza.

31. Save, 2 July 1905; details of the transport of trees are in Save, 12 May, 2, 15, 24 July, 17 August, 4 September, 2 and 15 October 1905, 2 January, 19 and 26 March, 2 and 20 April, 24 May 1906; and in Kabgayi, 15 February 1906.

32. Save, 2 and 15 October 1905.

33. Kabgayi, 15 February 1906.

34. Rwaza, 3 October 1906.

35. Save, 15 July 1905.

36. Save, March 1902. See also Save, October–November 1900, April 1901, 25 August 1902; Zaza, November and December 1902, February and March 1903; Mibirizi, 22 December 1903.

37. Save, August, 19 September 1902.

38. Save, 7 July 1903; de Lacger, *Ruanda*, 401–2.

39. Zaza, 27 January, 18 February, 13 April 1908; Kabgayi, 6 and 7 February 1909.

40. L. Roussez, Supérieur Régional to White Fathers, 16 July 1913, Kigali, Correspondence Religieuse.

41. Interviews with Rutangira, Busuhuko, Ngerageze, Mutarambirwa, Gahakwa, Rwenda, Semagema, Gatete, S. Nturo, Muhama, and Segatwa. Rwaza, 3 January 1905; Bishop Hirth to White Fathers, 30 January 1911, Classe to White Fathers, 18 December 1912, Rwaza, Correspondence Religieuse; Save, 17 June 1907; Diaire de la Station de Notre Dame des Apôtres, Kansi (hereafter cited as Kansi), 25 April 1911; Kabgayi, 19 October 1909.

42. Zaza, 23–25 May, 17 August 1911; Kansi, 23–24 January 1912; Kabgayi, 6–7 February 1909; Classe to White Fathers [1912], Classe to White Fathers [17 April 1913], Kigali, Correspondence Religieuse. Interviews with Nyirakabuga, Rutamu, and Muhama.

43. Zaza, 28 June 1908, 22 April 1911; Save, 17 June 1907.

44. Such maneuvers are recorded in all the diaries, but the most interesting took place at Zaza; see entries for 5 September 1908, 6 April and 3 May 1911, and 5 September 1913.

45. Save, November 1901, August 1903; Zaza, 15 October 1901, 13 August 1903, 13 April, 1 August 1904; Murunda, 2, 4, 9 July 1909, 30 February 1912; Diaire de la Station de Nyundo (hereafter cited as Nyundo), 5 August 1908, November–December 1910, 22 April 1911, 18 February 1913 ; Mibirizi, 27 and 30 November 1905, 2 December 1910; Rwaza, 9 February, 20 March, 21 July–19 August 1904, 14 September, 4 October 1906, 5 August 1908, 15 April 1909, 1 April 1910; Dufays, *Jours Troublés*, 21, 23–26, 52, 63, 71.

46. Interviews with Ndenzago, Bazirake, Simbagaya, Habyarinka, Kanyamudari, Ngaboyisonga, Semarora, Kamere, Mutabazi, Nyamuhinda, and Mitima.

47. Mibirizi, 22–25 June 1904; Rwaza, 13–20 June 1904, 28 April 1905.

48. Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 176–177, 180n.4, 182; de Lacger, *Ruanda*, 382, 397–98; Johanssen, *Ruanda* 32. Diaries and correspondence of the Fathers frequently refer to misunderstandings with the Germans; see, for example, Save, 8 June 1905.

49. Zaza, 19 September 1904; Rwaza, 4, 6, 7, 28 November 1904, 5 August 1908. Interviews with Busuhuko, Ngerageze, and Kamana. Dufays, *Jours troublés*, 42–43.

50. Murunda, 18–24 September 1913; the diaries of Murunda, Nyundo, and Rwaza are especially rich in other examples, successful and unsuccessful, of intervention by the Fathers.

51. Rulindo, 18 April 1909, 1 December 1912, 18 May 1913; Save, May 1900, 8 and 20 April 1906, 22 August, 15–17 and 19 September 1907; Kansi, 21 July 1912; Kabgayi, 12 January 1907, 9 February 1908, 30 April 1910; Zaza, March and December 1903, May 1904, March 1905, March 1906, 28 May 1907, 14 January, 25 February 1910, 4 April, 24 May 1911; Nyundo, 5 September 1908; Father Delmas to [Captain?] Wintgens, 20 December 1910, Rwaza, Correspondence Officielle; Classe to White Fathers [1912], 17 April 1913, Roussez to White Fathers, 16 July 1913, Kigali, Correspondence Religieuse; Kandt, "Bericht," 120. Interviews with Semagema, Rusabagira, Mutarambirwa, Nyirakabuga, and Mitima.

52. Save, 6 June, 10 September 1902, 5 January 1914; Murunda, 22 and 31 January 1913; Kansi, 15 February 1911; Zaza, 2 and 15 June 1910; Kabgayi, 28 November 1909; Nyundo, 3 and 4 November 1910, 21 July 1911; Rwaza, 6 November 1904, 17 May 1906. Richard Kandt, Resident, to White Fathers at Rwaza, J.N. 705, 25 August 1911; Interim Resident Gudowius to Father Superior, Rwaza, 9 December 1911, J.N. 975; Delmas to Resident, 10 January 1912, all in Kigali, Correspondence Officielle. Interviews with Isidore, Pascal, Shikama, Ngezahayo, Kamana, Rusabagira, Toringabo, Bahinbano, Bigirankana, Muhama, Mugabontazi, and Nyamuhinda.

53. Rwaza, 10 February 1911. Interviews with Nyamuhinda, Kamere, Mutabazi, Isidore, Pascal, Shikama, Ngezahayo, Habyarinka, Kanyamudari, Ngaboyisonga, Busuhuko, Ngerageze, Semagema, Kagisha, Mpakaniye, Gakunkiko, Sebitenge, Bwico, Ntababa, Gashyekero, Rugerabicu, and Guriro. Rwaza, 22 February, 2 May, 11 December 1904; Zaza, July 1902, 13 August 1903, May, June 1904, 14 July 1909; Nyundo, 24 June 1908; Save, 31 January 1907, 19 April 1909, 8 June 1912; Murunda, 2 January 1913; Kabgayi, 24 March, 26 August 1906.

54. Zaza, 22 March 1906.

55. Un Père Blanc, "Idées principales," 379.

56. Zaza, 13 January, 22 September 1907; also Zaza, 8 January 1905, 2, 7, 10, 12 December 1906, 13 May 1908; Rwaza, 15 and 20 September 1910; Classe to White Fathers, 8 June 1908, Hirth to White Fathers, 9 June 1908, Classe to White Fathers, 21 October 1910, Hirth to White Fathers, 28 August 1912, Classe to White Fathers, 18 December 1912, all Rwaza, Correspondence Religieuse. Interviews with Mitima, Habyarinka, Kanyamudari, and Nyaboyisonga.

57. Rwaza, 18 June 1904; Kabgayi, 20 February 1906; de Lacger, *Ruanda*, 387–388. On land holdings: Zaza, 11 November 1906; de Lacger, *Ruanda*, 388, 396. While many notables held very large estates (for pasture), these mission holdings were nonetheless enormous when compared to most agricultural plots; at the end of colonial rule the average agrarian plot was roughly half a hectare.

58. Interviews with Kamere and Mutabazi. Rwaza, 23 April 1904, 17 January 1906; Rulindo, 15 October 1911, 17 November 1912; Kansi, 22 December 1910, 4 and 6 January, 28 July 1911; Kabgayi, 22 January 1908; Murunda, 7 November 1912, 10 October 1913; Zaza, 19 August 1910, 16 March 1912; Classe to White Fathers, 13 January 1916, Kigali, Correspondence Religieuse.

59. Interviews with Kamere and Mutabazi; Murunda, 5 November 1912, 1 August 1913, 14, 27, 30 March, 2 April 1914; Classe to White Fathers [1912], Kigali, Correspondence Religieuse.

60. Save, 2 June 1905, January 1909.

61. Classe to White Fathers, 13 January 1916, Kigali, Correspondence Religieuse; Classe to White Fathers, 28 March 1909, Rwaza, Correspondence Religieuse; Zaza, 3–4 April 1911.

62. Zaza, March 1906, 22 September 1907, 7 and 13–14 April 1909, 3–4 April 1911, 16 March 1913, 15 and 20 January 1913.

63. Rulindo, 15 October 1911; Kansi, 21 April 1911; Kandt to Classe, J.N. 867/08, 3 November 1908; Kigali, Correspondence Officielle.

64. Hirth to White Fathers, 23 May 1908, Rwaza, Correspondence Religieuse; Zaza, 5 September 1908, 13 and 14 April 1909, 25 February, 30 June, 20 August 1910, 26 February, 23 April, 15 May 1911.

65. Kabgayi, 20 February 1906; Zaza, 11 November 1906; Kandt to Classe, J.N. 867/08, 3 November 1908; Kigali, Correspondence Officielle.

66. Zaza, 24 November 1906, 6 January 1908.

67. Interviews with Ndenzego, Bazirake, Simbagaya, Mitima, and Nyamuhinda; Mibirizi, 14 June 1910; Kabgayi, 21 April, 9 June 1909; Rwaza, 29 December 1910; Classe to White Fathers [1912], Kigali, Correspondence Religieuse.

68. Zaza, April 1903. For examples of the importance of one of the missions as a trade center, see Kansi, 1 January, 15 May, 5 November 1911, 8 and 11 October, 13 November 1912.

69. Almost all the diaries mention one or more occasions when the Fathers were asked to make rain. A particularly interesting example is recorded in Zaza, 30 October to 14 December 1908. When the efforts of the missionaries once failed, Musinga even asked the German Resident to try his hand at making rain (Kabgayi, 1 June 1909).

70. Interview with Semusaza.

71. Pagès, *Un royaume hamite*, 655n.1; Czekanowski, *Forschungen*, 126; Kabgayi, 10 February 1905.

72. Interviews with Gashyekero, Rugerabicu, and Guriro; Zaza, 26 and 27 October 1910.

73. Czekanowski, *Forschungen*, 126.

74. Interviews with Mugabontazi, Semarora, Nyirakabuga, Rutamu, Rwakabayiza, Serukenyinkware, Ruchamubyuma, Segatwa, Rusabagira, Gashyekero, Rugerabicu, Guriro, Mutungirehe, Nyamuhinda, Habyarinka, Kanyamudari, and Ngaboyisonga. Zaza, 23 June 1907.

75. Interviews with Rwakabayiza and Semarora. Classe to White Fathers, 28 October 1911, Rwaza, Correspondence Religieuse.

76. Interviews with Semarora and Nyamuhinda. Mibirizi, 10 May 1905, 23 June 1909; Rwaza, 1 January, 22 March 1904, 3 January, 19 and 28 March, 4 April, 1 May, 16 August 1905, 30 January 1907, 17 October 1908, 3 March 1909, 22 May 1910; Save, March, 16 July 1902, 14 December 1906, 2 February, 16 April 1907; Zaza, 13 March 1906, 12 January 1907; Murunda, 28 April 1912, 17 May 1913; Nyundo, 8 March 1911; Kansi, 14 July 1912; Kabgayi, 20 May, 26 June, 10 September, 19 October 1906, 7 and 19 October 1909, 26 July 1910.

77. Mibirizi, 2 June 1904; Rwaza, 22 March 1904, 3 January, 4 April 1905; Kabgayi, 11 February, 30 October 1906.

78. Mibirizi, 10 May 1905.

79. Kabgayi, 21 February 1908; Zaza, March 1913.

80. Mibirizi, 26 May 1904.

81. Zaza, 2 November 1908.

82. Murunda, 10 October 1913; Zaza, 12 December 1906; Father Soubielle to Wintgens, 30 December 1910, Rwaza, Correspondence Religieuse.

83. Classe to White Fathers [17 April 1913], Kigali, Correspondence Religieuse.

84. Rwaza, 14 April 1910; Hirth to White Fathers, 28 August, Classe to White Fathers, 18 December 1912, Rwaza, Correspondence Religieuse; Classe to White Fathers [1912], Kigali, Correspondence Religieuse. Kabgayi, 12 May 1906, 31 July 1907.

85. As is clear from Johanssen's account in *Ruanda*, esp. 175, the Protestants more consistently abstained from secular questions and so never won the same repute as rulers as did the Fathers.

86. "Umwami w'Hutu" was Father Brard of Save, Kabgayi, 3 January 1907; Father Dufays was known as "Rukizaboro" in the area of Rwaza (Dufays, *Jours troublés*, 52).

Chapter 4. Musinga's Coming of Age, 1905–1913

1. Interview with Nyirakabuga. Musinga's first children all died within several years of birth, probably from natural causes rather than from a plot by Kanjogera, which the Fathers believed in on the basis of popular rumor. See, for example, Save, 15 August, 17 October 1905, 15 May 1907. In 1907 Musinga told the German missionary Johanssen that he had only one child who was still an infant; this was probably Bakayishonga, daughter of Nyirakabuga, later baptized with the name Emma (interview with Nyirakabuga). Also Johanssen, *Ruanda*, 41; Kabgayi, 24 June 1907.

2. Kandt, "Bericht," 121.

3. Meyer, "Auf neuen Wegen," 120; Czekanowski, *Forschungen*, 252–53.

4. See, for example, the *ngabo* Rwabugiri created in honor of other sons in Kagame, *Les milices*, 172–73.

5. Vincent, *L'enfant*, 102, 169, 181; Kagame, *Les organisations socio-familiales*, 256–63, 274–77.

6. Czekanowski, *Forschungen*, 238; Birasenyeri, "Notes sur les faits et gestes de Rwabugiri," Derscheid Collection.

7. Kagame, *Les organisations socio-familiales*, 262.

8. Interview with R. Nturo.

9. Quote from interview with R. Nturo; see also interviews with Nyirakabuga, Muhama, Rutamu, and Rucamubyuma.

10. Interviews with Gatete, S. Nturo, Muhama, Nsabimana, Mugabontazi, and Rucamubyuma.

11. Interviews with Mbonye, Gumira, and Mugabontazi.

12. Interviews with Nyirakabuga, Bazatoha, Rwigemera, Semutwa, Rwakabayiza, Byahene, Gumira, Karyabgite, R. Nturo, Rucamubyuma, Serukenyinkware, Gatete, S. Nturo, Muhama, Bikuramuki, Nsabimana, Mbonye, Mugabontazi, Mitima, Kamere, Ndenzago, Bazirake, Simbagaya, Rwakaje, and Munogo. The only informants to dispute the general opinion of Musinga's obedience to Kanjogera were Rutamu and Rutangira, who were both Banyiginya.

13. Mibirizi, 3 November 1908.

14. Interview with Sebahunniye. See also Czekanowski, *Forschungen*, 256–60.

15. Interviews with Nyirakabuga, R. Nturo, Muhama, Gumira, Karyabgite, Rucamubyuma, Bazatoha, Mugabontazi, Segatwa, Mitima, and Kamere.

16. Save, 26 September 1907. [But the context of this diary entry was important: this was the time of the visit of the Duke of Mecklenburg, accompanied by a massive caravan; see below. The frenzy at the Court associated with this visit might have affected Court policies in the short run.—Ed.]

17. Interview with Byahene. Czekanowski, *Forschungen*, 256–57.

18. Save, 1 August 1903; Kabgayi, 27 December 1904.

19. Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 125n.6.

20. Save, 13 November 1904, June 1905.

21. Save, 5 and 24 July, 17 August 1905.

22. Save, 2 December 1905; Rwaza, 7 June 1906; Kabgayi, February–September 1906, esp. 9 July 1906.

23. Kabgayi, 12 and 15 February; 2 and 4 March 1906.
24. Kabgayi, 4 March 1906.
25. Save, 2 September 1905.
26. Although German records mention no official appointment for Kandt, he was clearly representing the German East African government in Rwanda in early 1906; see, for example, Kabgayi, 24 March 1906, and Zaza, March and May 1906.
27. Kabgayi, 1 March 1906.
28. Kabgayi, 24–25 March 1906.
29. Kabgayi, 1 March 1906.
30. Save, 15, 20, 30 April 1906; Kabgayi, 12–14 and 18 July 1906; Bezirks-Offizier Hauptmann [Werner] von Gravert to Militarposten Kissenyi, Ishangi und Militarstation Usumbura, 11 July 1906, Rwaza, Correspondence Officielle.
31. Zaza, May 1906; Kandt to Classe, I, no. 101/09, 11 March 1909, Kigali, Correspondence Officielle.
32. Save, 28 May 1906.
33. Kabgayi, 1, 2, 12 June, 12–14 July 1906.
34. Kabgayi, 31 August, 2, 7–8, 30 September 1906.
35. Kabgayi, 28 October 1906.
36. Save, 6 October 1906.
37. Kabgayi, 28 October 1906, 11 May 1907; Save, 6 October 1906.
38. Zaza, 10 December 1906.
39. Kabgayi, 28 October 1906, 11 May 1907; Save, 6 October 1906; Zaza, 10 December 1906; Czekanowski, *Forschungen*, 258.
40. Kabgayi, 6 and 11 January 1907.
41. Kabgayi, 11, 13, 20 June, 31 July 1907; Save, 26 September 1907.
42. Kabgayi, 4 September 1907; visits from the Tutsi are noted almost daily in the Kabgayi diary beginning in April 1907.
43. Kabgayi, 26 September 1907.
44. Save, 6 June, 7–8, 12, 14 August 1907.
45. Johanssen, *Ruanda*, 41.
46. Johanssen, *Ruanda*, 41, 47–49.
47. Save, 22 July, 9–11 August 1907; Kabgayi, 17–18 July 1907.
48. Czekanowski, *Forschungen*, 253–54; Friedrich, *Herzog zu Mecklenburg*, 109–11; Save, 29 September 1907.
49. Kabgayi, 13 and 18 August 1907; Save, 14, 17, 22 August, 15 and 19 September, 17 October 1907; Czekanowski, *Forschungen*, 127, 279, 286.
50. Save 19 and 22 October 1907.
51. Kabgayi, 13 June 1907.
52. Interviews with Nyirakabuga, R. Nturo, Rutamu, Semutwa, and Serukenyikware.
53. Ruterandongozi, "Après les premiers missionnaires," 31–34; Kayihura, "Ceux qui out bu au même chalumeau que Kabare," 37–42.
54. Zaza, 1 March 1909; Save, 20 and 24 January, 2 February 1909, 2 February 1910. De Lacger, *Ruanda*, 403–5, also recounts the incident but mistakenly places it in 1907. Interviews with Gumira and R. Nturo.
55. Kabgayi, 11 and 22 December 1907.
56. Interview with Semutwa. Kansi, 16 April 1911.
57. Kandt to Catholic Mission at Kabgayi, J.N. 1356, 3 January 1911, Kigali, Correspondence Officielle.

58. Nyundo, 15 July, 6–8 August, 29 September 1911, 26 May 1913; information communicated by Professor Marcel d'Hertefelt.

59. Nyundo, 15 July, 6–8 August, 29 September 1911, 26 May 1913; information communicated by Professor Marcel d'Hertefelt.

60. Rwaza, 10 March 1911; Mibirizi, 24 July 1914.

61. Nyundo, 19 November 1911; Mibirizi, 7 March 1914; Rwaza, 10 January 1908, 1 December 1910, 27 February 1911.

62. Nyundo, 14 October 1912. For other examples, see Nyundo, 7 and 15 July, 10 December 1911, 10 February 1912, 12 May 1913; Rwaza, 6 March 1911, 5 June 1913; Save, 15 March 1908; Mibirizi, 29 April 1904, 7 August 1908.

63. Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 178–79; Rwaza, 1, 3, 4, 7, 10 January 1911.

64. Nyundo, 2 March 1911.

65. Kandt to the Catholic Mission at Kabgayi, J.N. 1356, 3 January 1911, Kigali Correspondence Officielle.

66. Zaza, 22 April 1909; Mibirizi, 24 June 1904; Rwaza, 21 April 1913.

67. Nyundo, 8 August 1911; Kabgayi, 4 January 1911; Mibirizi, 24 June 1904.

68. Zaza, January–February 1912.

69. Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 183–84, 204. By comparison, the number of missionaries in 1912 totaled fifty-five, of which forty-four were Catholics.

70. Kandt to White Fathers, J.N. 705, 25 August 1911, Gudovius to Father Superior, J.N. 975, 9 December 1911, and Delmas to Resident, 10 January 1912, all in Kigali Correspondence Officielle; Delmas to Wintgens, 27 November 1910, Delmas to Resident, 23 October and 3 November 1911, and [Kandt] to White Fathers, J.N. 788, 18 October 1911, all in Rwaza, Correspondence Officielle; Hirth to White Fathers, 22 November 1911, Rwaza, Correspondence Religieuse.

71. Interviews with Bazatoha and Serukenyinkware. Jahresbericht 1913 by Wintgens; [Un Missionnaire] "Notice sur le Ruanda," 1916, Gouvernement Belge, Ministère des Colonies, Service des Territoires des Colonies, dossier AE/II no. 1847, portefeuille 3288 (hereafter cited as "Notice sur le Ruanda").

72. Interview with Karyabgite; information communicated by Professor Marcel d'Hertefelt; Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 152–53; Nyundo, 23 February, 12 May, 2 July 1913.

73. Kandt, *Caput Nili*, xx–xxi; "Notice sur le Ruanda."

74. Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 158–60; Murunda, 12 February 1914.

75. Murunda, 12 February, 9 and 11 June 1914; Nyundo, 13 August 1914.

76. Interview with Bazatoha; Kansi, 10 September 1912; Mibirizi, 7–20 August 1908.

77. Kabgayi, 22 July 1907; Zaza, 29 August 1908; Gudovius to Classe, J.N. 780, 24 August 1909, Kigali, Correspondence Officielle.

78. See especially the cases of Bitangampunzi, May to December 1909, of Thuriba and Musa, February to December 1909, and of Andrea, May to November 1910, all in the Zaza diary; also the entries 27–28 January, 11–12 February, 28 November, and 1 December 1909.

79. Kandt to Catholic Mission at Kabgayi, J.N. 1356, 3 January 1911, Kigali, Correspondence Officielle.

80. Kabgayi, 4 January 1911; Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 180–81 and 181n.8.

81. Kabgayi, 4 January 1911; Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 180–81 and 181n.8.

82. Kandt to Classe, I, J.N. 867/08, 3 November 1908, and J.N. 856/08, 24 October 1908, Kigali, Correspondence Officielle.

83. Kabgayi, 16 and 19 February, 16 March 1909; Nyundo, 1 April 1909; Zaza, 19 and 20 February 1909; Kandt to Classe, I, J.N. 101/09, 11 March 1909; Johanssen, *Ruanda*, 197–98.

84. For some interesting examples of these apparently common tactics, see Nyundo, 3–9 May 1911; Rwaza, 27 December 1910, 20 and 22 January, 10 December 1911; Delmas to Wintgens, 20 and 29 December 1910, Rwaza, Correspondence Officielle.

85. Classe to White Fathers, 24 October 1909, Rwaza Correspondence Religieuse; Nyundo, 2 February 1912.

86. De Lacger, *Ruanda*, 393; Johanssen, *Ruanda*, 169–70, 176, 179–80.

87. De Lacger, *Ruanda*, 393; Johanssen, *Ruanda*, 169–70, 176, 179–80; Kabgayi, 25 September 1906.

88. Save, August 1901; Nyundo, 8 September 1911; Mibirizi, 19 August 1906; Zaza, 12 May 1909. When in 1914 the governor of German East Africa ordered that Tutsi were no longer to be beaten, the Resident protested strongly; Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 203.

89. Zaza, 4 April 1911, March 1913; Kansi, 9 December 1911. Superiors of the Fathers often reprimanded them for their own abuses of notables and for permitting their followers to be similarly disrespectful. See, for example, Classe to White Fathers at Marangara [Kabgayi] 1912; Roussez to White Fathers at Kabgayi, Carte de Visite Regulière, 27 March–7 April 1913, Classe to White Fathers [17 April 1913], and Roussez to White Fathers, 16 July 1913, all in Kigali, Correspondence Religieuse.

90. "Notice sur le Rwanda"; Johanssen, *Ruanda*, 164, 176, 241–44; Czekanowski, *Forschungen*, 252, 254, 286.

91. Rwaza, Rapport Trimestriel, April 1914.

92. Johanssen, *Ruanda*, 61–62; Czekanowski, *Forschungen*, 286.

93. Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 158.

94. Nyamuhinda; Kansi, 31 October, 3 December 1912; Rwaza, 18 May 1911, 3 December 1912, 19 April 1913; Mibirizi, 25 March 1914, 9 April 1915; Zaza, March 1903, 25 January 1908; Kandt to Classe, J.N. 351/10, 16 March 1910, Kigali, Correspondence Officielle.

95. Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 185–86; interview with Rutamu.

96. Information communicated by Professor Marcel d'Hertefelt.

97. Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 157–58.

98. Classe to White Fathers, [17 April 1913], Kigali Correspondence Religieuse.

99. Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 160. Johanssen made a similar comment about the Hutu (*Ruanda*, 192).

100. All my informants agreed that Musinga still commanded Rwanda during the period of German administration. Those furthest removed from the centers of power certainly did not realize the number of demands made upon the mwami by the Europeans or the number of times that he complied with them. Those closest to the Court were aware of these incursions on Musinga's power, but they were also better placed to witness how the mwami used the Europeans to his own ends. Their unanimous judgment was that the Germans "came and went" without ever ruling Rwanda.

Chapter 5. Extending Court Power, 1905–1913

1. Birasenyeri, "Notes sur les faits et gestes de Rwabugiri," Derscheid Collection. Kagame mentions the Rundi invasion of southwestern Rwanda in *Les milices*, 130; it is

also recorded in information given by Isidore, Pascal, Shikama, and Ngezahayo (Bukunzi-Busozo, Group 1).

2. Anonymous, *Historique et chronologie*, 60, 182, 184; Verhulst, "Renseignements"; Anonymous, "Notes des Pères Blancs," Derscheid Collection; Kagame, *Les milices*, 48–50; 124.

3. The Batsobe and Basyete were among the first and most persistent in expanding their control, particularly in north-central Rwanda. The Court was not always informed of their activities and sometimes disapproved when it learned of them. See R. P. Martin, "Notice historique sur le Bumbogo" (hereafter cited as Martin, "Notice historique"), and [Robert] Schmidt, "Notes sur l'histoire récente de la province du Bumbogo" (hereafter cited as Schmidt, "Histoire récente . . . Bumbogo"), both in the Derscheid Collection. Also, interviews with Makeri and Rutabagisha. For another case of individual initiative disallowed by the Court, see Kagame, *Les milices*, 130.

4. Although domains known to be profitable were enthusiastically contended for, those reputed to produce little but trouble were feared and avoided whenever possible. In 1907, for example, Musinga could find no one to accept the command of rebellious Ndorwa (Czekanowski, *Forschungen*, 255, 262, 269), and he later had difficulty persuading Rwidegembya to take command of part of Buberuka (interview with Karyabgite).

5. Rwaza, 17 and 20 February, 1, 7, 14–19, 31 March, 5, 12, 14 April 1905.

6. Rwaza, 12 May 1910.

7. Instances of such conflicts are recounted by Muhizi and Eleasar (Bwishaza); Gasimba (Rukiga); Karyabgite (Central Kingdom); Sebuyange (Bukonya); and Nkuriye and Buhuhano (Bushiru, Group 1). For others, see "Notes des Pères Blancs," Martin, "Notice historique," and Schmidt, "Histoire récente de . . . Bumbogo," all in the Derscheid Collection; Rwaza, March, April, and September 1905, 11 September 1906, June and July 1907, 28 October 1910, August and September 1911; and Delmas to Musinga, 11 November 1912, Rwaza, Correspondence Officielle; and Murunda, 9 January 1913.

8. Czekanowski, *Forschungen*, 281–82; Rwaza, 1 April, 22 August 1905; interviews with Muhizi and Eleasar; Murunda, 14–20 October, 9 November, 2 December 1912, 9, 28 April, 17–28 July 1913; Nyundo, 27 March 1910.

9. Rwaza, 28 October 1910; Classe to White Fathers, 21 October 1910, Rwaza, Correspondence Religieuse.

10. von Beringe, "Bericht des Hauptmanns von Beringe," 234–35, 264–66, 296–98, 317–19.

11. Rwaza, 25 December 1903, 12 January, 21 October 1904; Dufays, *Jours troublés*, 20.

12. Interviews with Gumira, Bichunchu, Semarora, Mitima, Kamere, Ndenzago, Bazirake, Simbagaya, Habyarinka, Kanyamudari, and Ngaboyisonga; Rwaza, 25 December 1903, 22 February 1904; Anonymous, *Historique et chronologie*, 112–4; Reisdorff, *Enquêtes foncières*, 50.

13. Interviews with Miruho, Rusabagira, and Mutarambirwa; Nyundo, 3 April 1911; Mibirizi, 14, 23, 27 March 1971.

14. Interviews with Rusabagira, Karyabgite, Rutamu, Makeri, and Rutabagisha. Martin, "Notice historique," and Anonymous, "Situation politique du Bumbogo, 12/31/29," both in the Derscheid Collection; [H. Willems] "Administration du Territoire au point de vue indigène, Residence du Ruanda, Territoire de Ruhengeri," in Rwandan Archival Materials (hereafter cited as Willems, "Administration de . . . Ruhengeri."); Rwaza, 16 August 1905, 10 January 1909; Classe to Resident G. Mortehan, 3 May 1928,

Kigali, Correspondence Officielle (the substance of this letter was published by G. De Meire, "Quelques considerations"; Reisdorff, *Enquêtes foncières*, 18; and Pagès, "Note sur le régime des biens," 395–96). [On the evolution of labor forms, see Vidal, "Economie de la société féodale Rwandaise," 52–74; C. Newbury, "*Ubureetwa* and *Thangata*," 97–111.]

15. Interviews with Rutamu and Kamana. Records of commands from Busanza, Ndara, Bwanamukari, and Nyaruguru indicate a great increase in the number of notables commanding in the early years of Musinga's reign (the records are in Archives de la Prefecture de Butare [hereafter cited as "Archives Butare"]). Pagès's list of notables commanding a part of Bugoyi shows an increase from seventeen under Rwabugiri to thirty-three under Musinga (*Un royaume hamite*, 694–98).

16. Reisdorff, *Enquêtes foncières*, 60; Anonymous, *Historique et chronologie*, 111–12; Zaza, 26 January 1910. In some areas, like Bukonya, Hutu had worked out accommodations with Tutsi who had been settled in their neighborhood for generations. Some Hutu, like Semagena (interview), trace their difficulties with the Tutsi to the arrival of the Banyanduga.

17. According to Karyabgite (interview), Rwabugiri captured Muserekande and Nyakayoga during an expedition to Bujinja; he took Muserekande for his own wife and gave Nyakayoga to Rutarindwa. This link in the origins of the two women may explain why there is confusion about whether Muhumusa was supposed to have been the wife of Rwabugiri or of Rutarindwa. She was apparently not of Rwandan birth. Nyirakabuga (interview) also mentions Muserekande and Nyakayoga as being closely linked.

18. Dufays, *Jours troublés*, 10–11.

19. For descriptions of Nyabingi and Muhumusa's role in the movement, see Philipps, "The Nabingi," 319–21; Bessell, "Nyabingi," 73–86; Pauwels, "Le Culte de Nyabingi," 337–57; Edel, *The Chiga*, esp. 148–59; and Brazier, "The Nyabingi Cult." [Four more recent works dealing with the Nyabingi phenomenon are Freedman, *Nyabingi: The Social History of an African Divinity* (Tervuren: Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1984); Feierman, "Colonizers, Scholars, and the Creation of Invisible Histories"; Hopkins, "The Nyabingi Cult of Southwestern Uganda"; and Des Forges, "'The Drum Is Greater than the Shout.'"]

20. Edel, *The Chiga*, 151–53 (on the regalia); "Notes des Pères Blancs."

21. Basebya is generally said to have been the son of Nyirantwari, a Twa woman; some say his father is unknown, while others claim he was a Hutu [or Mukiga] of Bukonya or Mulera; Interviews with Rusabagira, Sebitenge, Bwico, Ntababa, Sebagenda, Nyandera, Baseke, Kaburiyeri, Komayombi, Gahakwa, Rwenda, Habyarinka, Kanyamudari, and Ngaboyisonga.

22. Interviews with Karyabgite, Rusabagira, Mutarambirwa, Sebuyange, Makeri, Rutabagisha, Habyarinka, Kanyamudari, Ngaboyisonga, Kamere, Mutabazi, Kabera, Gaterera, Rwakaje, and Munogo. Rwaza, 22 April, 18 August 1905; Dufays, *Jours troublés*, 58–62; Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 148; Anonymous, *Historique et chronologie*, 142–43. The figure in the quotation (from Rusabagira) is of course not meant to be taken literally.

23. Interviews with Muhama and Mugabontazi. Anonymous, *Historique et chronologie*, 142.

24. Interviews with Gatete, S. Nturo, and Karyabgite. Rwaza, 18–26 August 1905; Dufays, *Jours troublés*, 59–60; Anonymous, *Historique et chronologie*, 142. The quote is from Rwaza, 25 August 1905.

25. For the European conflicts over this area, see Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, part 1.

26. Rwaza, 15–17 June 1905, 12 July 1907, 31 August 1912; Delmas to Musinga, 11 September 1912, Rwaza, Correspondence Officielle.

27. Classe to White Fathers, 16 January, 1 and 21 October 1910, Rwaza, Correspondence Religieuse.

28. Hirth, "Instruction pour la bonne marche de la chrétienté de Rwasa," 17 June 1912, and Classe to White Fathers, 3 April 1913, both Rwaza, Correspondence Religieuse.

29. Kandt to the Catholic Mission at Kabgayi, J.N. 1356, 3 January 1911, Kigali, Correspondence Officielle.

30. Interviews with Sebitenge, Bwico, Ntababa, Nkuriye, Buhuhano, Rushara, Rujukundi, Bidahunga, Harimenshi, Sekigarama, Nibacece, and Ndagiriye. Classe to White Fathers, 31 January 1910, Rwaza Correspondence Religieuse; Kandt to Hirth, J.N. 1090/1, 30 October 1912, Kigali, Correspondence Officielle.

31. Interview with Bazatoha. See below for Germans' refusal to allow Musinga's troops to attack his rival Ndungutse independently.

32. Interviews with Busuhuko, Ngerageze, Rusabagira, Kamere, Mutabazi, Ndenzago, Bazirake, and Simbagaya. Czekanowski, *Forschungen*, 247.

33. Rwaza, 17 March 1905.

34. Rwaza, 14 March 1905.

35. Interview with Simbagaya. Examples of aid given by the Fathers to notables trying to establish their authority can be found in the Rwaza diary, February through April and August to September 1905, 26 April 1906, June 1909, January, June, and December 1910, and May 1915; in Rwaza, Correspondence Religieuse, letters of Classe to White Fathers, 14 September, 24 October 1909, 12 May, and 21 October 1910; and in the Murunda Diary, 17 May, 1 June 1909, and 31 March 1914.

36. Interviews with Rusabagira, Bichunchu, Miruho, Kamana, Mutarambirwa, Sebuyange, Semagena, Sebagenda, Nyandera, Baseke, Kaburiyeri, Komayombi, Toringabo, Bahingano, Bigirankana, Gashyekero, Rugerabicu, Guriro, Gahakwa, Rwenda, Semarora, Mitima, and Nyamuhinda. Rwaza, 2 March, 5–6 October 1909, 3 May 1910; and histories of the provinces Buhoma-Buhanga, Bukonya, Kibali-Kivuruga in Willems, "Administration de . . . Ruhengeri."

37. Nyundo, 3 April, 3–9 May 1911; 14 October 1912; Pagès, *Un royaume hamite*, 643; Czekanowski, *Forschungen*, 271.

38. Nyundo, 25 August 1911.

39. Rwaza, 1–10 January 1911; Nyundo, 25 August 1911; interviews with Rushaki, Byimana, Gatanazi, and Karyeja.

40. Interviews with Gumira, Busuhuko, Ngerageze, Nkuriye, Buhuhano, Rushara, Rujukundi, Bidahuaga, Sebitenge, Bwico, Ntababa, Toringabo, Bahingano, Bigirarkana, Gahakwa, Rwenda, Gashyekero, Rugerabicu, Guriro, Mitima, Nyamuhinda, Kamere, Mutabazi, Habyarinka, Kanyamudari, Ngaboyisonga, Rusabagira, Mutarambirwa, and Semagena. Nyundo, 18 January, 19 February 1908; Rwaza, 12 January, 11 October 1904, 30 March 1905, 17 July 1906, 27 June, 12 November 1907, 9 June, 5 October 1909, 3 May, 28–30 December 1910, 10–11 May 1917; Rwaza, Correspondence Officielle; Provinces Bukonya, Kibali-Kivuruga, and Buberuka, in Willems, "Administration de . . . Ruhengeri,"; Czekanowski, *Forschungen*, 274.

41. Interviews with Karyabgite, Makeri, Rutabagisha, Gatete, S. Nturo, and Muhama. Rwaza, 19 March 1905, 25 June–12 July 1907; Martin, "Notice historique," Schmidt, "Histoire récente de . . . Bumbogo": Pagès, *Un royaume hamite*, 643; Kagame, *Le code des institutions politiques*, 37–38.

42. Interviews with Makeri, Rutabagisha, Isidore, Pascal, Shikama, Ngezahayo, Nkuriye, Buhuhano, Rushara, Rujukundi, Bidahunga, Gashyekero, Rugerabicu, Guriro, Nyamuhinda, Kamere, and Mutabazi. Rwaza, 22 August 1905; Mibirizi, 1 October 1907, 26 April 1910, 24 July 1914; Nyundo, 3 April 1911; Pagès, *Un royaume hamite*, 658–59; Pauwels, "Le Bushiru," 227–28; Czekanowski, *Forschungen*, 269.

43. Nyundo, 8 August 1911; Mibirizi, 24 June 1904; Pagès, *Un royaume hamite*, 658.

44. Nyundo, 11 March, 8 August 1911, 14 October 1912; Mibirizi, 24 June 1904, 30 April 1907, 14, 23, 27 March 1911; Rulindo, 18 April 1909, 1 December 1912; Murunda, 14–21 September 1914; Classe to White Fathers, 3 March 1911, Rwaza, Correspondence Religieuse; Delmas to Lieutenant, February 1911, Rwaza, Correspondence Officielle; Rwaza, *Rapports Trimestriels*, April 1913; Rwaza, 28 May 1909; Pagès, *Un royaume hamite*, 658.

45. Interviews with Busuhuko, Ngerageze, Kamana, Rusabagira, Sebuyange, Mutarimbirwa, Semagena, Kamere, Mutabazi, Ndenzago, Bazirake, Simbagaya, Habyarinka, Kanyamudari, Ngaboyinsonga, Gasimba, Gatuhe, and Bahimana. Czekanowski's remarks on these changes are most perceptive; see especially *Forschungen*, 233–51, 264–65, 267. See also Reisdorff, *Enquêtes foncières*, 18, 78, 118, and Pagès, "Note sur le régime des biens," 416.

46. Interviews with Kamana, Rusabagira, Mutarambirwa, Semagena, and Nyamuhinda. Records of missions in the north note many instances of interference by the Fathers in disputes within or between lineages. For the most interesting, see Murunda, 2, 22, 31 January 1913; Nyundo, 29 February 1908, 15 August 1909, 3–4 November 1910, 22 April 1911, 19 May 1915; Rwaza, 13 July 1908, 8 March 1910, 14 August 1911, 24 August 1912. For attempts by the Fathers to end vengeance, see Rwaza, 13 August, 1 December 1910, 22 October, 8 November 1915. For German attempts to end vengeance, see Rwaza, 4 April 1908, 1 April 1910.

47. Murunda, 22 January 1913; Delmas to Wintgens, 18 January 1914, Rwaza, Correspondence Officielle; Reisdorff, *Enquêtes foncières*, 18.

48. Rwaza, 22 Feburary, 27 March, 29 July 1904.

49. Kamana of Bukonya recalled: "The Abanyamuvumu began and those who commanded ubutaka came after. When they were spread throughout the country, they chased the Abanyamuvumu [from their positions of authority] and the latter did nothing more." *Abanyamuvumu* means literally "men of the umuvumu," the ficus tree that was planted at the entrance to the enclosure; it refers to heads of lineages. Also interviews with Mutarambirwa, Karyabgite, Rutamu, Gumira, Ndenzago, Bazirake, Simbagaya, Gasimba, Gatuhe, Bahimana. Rwaza, 29 January 1910; Reisdorff, *Enquêtes foncières*, 56.

50. Dufays, *Jours troublés*, 65–67; Kagame, *Les milices*, 166; Czekanowski, *Forschungen*, 242, 246–47, 248. Lineage heads in other areas also used the land of the lineage to build their own power; Czekanowski (*Forschungen*, 250–51) describes this in Bugoyi, and Reisdorff mentions it throughout his *Enquêtes foncières.*

51. Czekanowski, *Forschungen*, 246–47; Rwaza, 1 April 1910; interview with Mitima; Dufays, *Jours troublés*, 65–66.

52. Czekanowski, *Forschungen*, 282; Rwaza, 1 April, 15 May, 22 August 1905, 18 February 1906, 13, 16 February, 8, 14 November, 9 December 1907, 26 March–4 April, 30 April, 13 November 1908, 2 March, 12, 15 June 1909, 1 April 1910.

53. Dufays, *Jours troublés*, 68–69. Interviews with Busuhuko, Ngerageze, Muhama, Semarora, Mitima, Rugirankana, and Rucamubyuma. Rwaza, 1 April 1910.

54. Rwaza, 1 April 1910; interviews with Habyarinka, Kanyamudari, and Ngaboyisonga; Classe to White Fathers, 15 March 1910, Rwaza, Correspondence Religieuse.

55. Rwaza, 1 April 1910.

56. Interviews with Habyarinka, Kanyamudari, Ngaboyisonga, Ndenzago, Bazirake, Simbagaya, Rugirankana, Semarora, and Mitima.

57. Interviews with Mitima, Gumira, R. Nturo, Busuhuko, Ngerageze, Gatete, S. Nturo, Kamere, and Mutabazi. Dufays, *Jours troublés*, 72–74. Several months before, Loupias had struck Rukara in the course of a dispute, and his men had fled without defending him; this may have influenced the decision of the Barashi to react so decisively on the day of the murder (Rwaza, 1 April 1910).

58. Interviews with Semarora, Rugirankana, Kamere, Mutabazi, Ndenzago, Bazirake, and Simbagaya. Rwaza, 5–9, 12–26 April 1910; Kabgayi, 9 April 1910; Zaza, 18 April 1910; Dufays, *Jours troublés*, 74; Louis, *Rwanda-Urundi*, 178–79; Anonymous, *Historique et chronologie*, 140–42; Resident *ad interim*, "Lukarras Ende," [*Deutsches Kolonialblatt?*], included in the Derscheid Collection. By holding Rukara responsible for the crime of his two kinsmen and the Barashi as a group responsible for the actions of these three, Kandt showed that he could oppose general vengeance for murders of Rwandans while still demanding it for the killing of a European.

59. Classe to White Fathers, 21 October 1910, Rwaza, Correspondence Religieuse; Rwaza, 12, 14, 30 April, 2 May, 11 June, 10–12 October 1910.

60. Interview with Karyabgite; Rwaza, 3 February 1906; Kabgayi, 7 February 1906; Dufays, *Jours troublés*, 58, 61–62.

61. "Die Batwa Zwerge in Ruanda," 6–7; Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 60–64, 74, 148–49.

62. Interview with Karyabgite; Nyundo, 8 April 1909; Savi, 10 April 1909; Kabgayi, 11 April 1909; Rwaza, 30 March, 3 April 1909; Dufays, *Jours troublés*, 60–62.

63. Interviews with Karyabgite, Nyirakabuga, Gatete, and S. Nturo; Rwaza, 23 August 1909; Kabgayi, 10 July 1909; Zaza, 24 June 1909; Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 145–48. Anonymous, *Historique et chronologie*, 179, confuses this expedition with one in 1911.

64. Interviews with Nyirakabuga, Karyabgite, Gatete, S. Nturo, and Muhama; Zaza, 18 February, 24 June, 7 and 18 July, 13 and 25 August 1909.

65. Zaza, 7, 18 July, 7–26 September 1909; Kabgayi, 5 September 1909.

66. Zaza, 11, 22 October, 5 November, 1 December 1909, 7 January 1910; Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 147.

67. Louis, *Rwanda-Urundi*, 75, 79–91.

68. Save, 13 November 1904.

69. Nyundo, 20 July, 19 November 1911; Czekanowski, *Forschungen*, 253–54; Pagès, *Un royaume hamite*, 652.

70. Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 195.

71. Information communicated by Professor Marcel d'Hertefelt.

72. Schloback, "Die Vermarkung des deutsch-englischen Ruanda-Grenze," 1041–46; Jack, *On the Congo Frontier*, 239–40; interviews with Rwakaje and Munogo.

73. Nyundo, 12 November 1911; Rwaza, November 1911; Delmas to Resident, 3 November 1911; Kandt to White Fathers, 7 November 1911, Rwaza, Correspondence Officielle.

74. Interviews with Karyabgite, R. Nturo, Ndenzago, Bazirake, and Simbagaya. Rwaza, 8 and 11 February 1912; Kansi, 9 February 1912; Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 154.

75. Interviews with Semarora, Nyamuhinda, Karyabgite, Muniga, Rugirankana, Kamere, Ndenzago, Bazirake, and Simbagaya. Rwaza, 20 February 1912; Kansi, February 1912.

76. Interviews with Muniga, Gumira, Karyabgite, Nyirakabuga, Busuhuko, Ngerageze, Kamana, Rusabagira, Toringabo, Bahimbano, Bigirankana, Gahakwa, Rwenda, Gatete, S. Nturo, Muhama, R. Nturo, Mugabontazi, Semarora, Nyamuhinda, Rugirankana, Ndenzago, Bazirake, Simbagaya, Habyarinka, Kanyamudari, Ngaboyisonga, and Gasimba. Rwaza, 5 January, 20 February 1912; Nyundo, 2 February 1912; Dufays, *Jours troublés*, 74–75; Anonymous, *Historique et chronologie*, 143. Still another explanation held that he was not the son of a mwami, but of a mwiru, one of the guardians of the ritual traditions at Court, preparing the way for Biregeya who would come later to claim the throne of his father (Kansi, 3 and 9 February 1912).

77. Interviews with Karyabgite, Nyirakabuga, R. Nturo, Ndenzago, Bazirake, and Simbagaya. Rwaza, 8 and 11 February 1912; Kansi, 9 February 1912; Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 154.

78. Interview with Karyabgite.

79. Interviews with Karyabgite, Mitima, and Mugabontazi. Rwaza, 10 February 1912; Nyundo, 2 February 1912.

80. Rwaza, 5 January, 6 February, 7 April 1912; Delmas to Musinga, 11 September 1912, Rwaza, Correspondence Officielle; Dufays, *Jours troublés*, 76.

81. Rwaza, 11, 22, 29 February, 8 April 1912; Delmas to Resident, 26 July 1912, Rwaza, Correspondence Officielle; Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 155; Dufays, *Jours troublés*, 75; interview with Karyabgite.

82. Rwaza, 22 February 1912.

83. Interview with Karyabgite.

84. Interview with Semarora; Nyundo, 2 February 1912; Rwaza, 5 January 1912; Kansi, 9 and 26 February 1912; Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 155.

85. Interview with Karyabgite; Kansi, 9 February 1912; Nyundo, 9 March 1912; Rwaza, 8, 11, 13, 15, 20, 22, 24, 26 February, 11 April 1912; Kabgayi, 2 February 1912; Gudovius to Missions of Kabgayi, Rwaza and Nyundo, 8 April 1912, Rwaza Correspondence Officielle; Rulindo, 4 February, 17 March 1912; Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 154–55; Dufays, *Jours troublés*, 75.

86. Interview with Muniga; Kansi, 21 April 1912; Dufays, *Jours troublés*, 75.

87. De Lacger, *Ruanda*, 229–36.

88. Interviews with Bazatoha, Karyabgite, Muniga, Gatete, Muhama, and S. Nturo. Kagame, *Les milices*, 175; Anonymous, *Historique et chronologie*, 143; Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 155; Rwaza, 11 and 25 February 1912.

89. Interviews with Karyabgite, Bazatoha, Muniga, and Semarora. Kansi, 9 and 26 February, 24 March 1912; Rwaza, 15, 21, 24–26 February 1912; Kansi, 26 February 1912; Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 155.

90. Kansi, 26 February 1912.

91. Interview with Semarora; Rwaza, 7 and 8 April 1912; Kansi, 15 and 16 April 1912; Dufays, *Jours troublés*, 76.

92. Interviews with Karyabgite, Bazatoha, Muniga, Habyarinka, Kanyamudari, Ngaboyisonga, Semarora, Mbonye, Busuhuko, Ngerageze, Rugirankana, Ndenzago, Bazirake, and Simbagaya. Rwaza, 11 and 13 April 1912; Kansi, 21 April 1912; Anonymous, *Historique et chronologie*, 143–44; Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 156.

93. Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 156.

94. Interviews with Nyamuhinda, Rusabagira, Semagena, Sebagenda, Nyandera, Baseke, Kaburiyeri, Komayombi, Toringabo, Bahinbano, Bigirankana, Gahakwa,

Rwenda, Gashyekero, Rugerabicu, Guriro, Makeri, Rutabagisha, Karyabgite, Semarara and Mitima. Anonymous, *Historique et chronologie*, 144; Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 157; Hirth to White Fathers, 11 and 22 April 1912, Rwaza, Correspondence Religieuse.

95. Rwaza, 14–18 April, 2–5 May 1912; the quote is from Rwaza, 3 May 1912.

96. Interview with Rusabagira.

97. Interviews with Karyabgite, Rusabagira, Makeri, Rutabagisha, and Semagena. Rwaza, 17 April 1912; Provinces Buhoma-Buhanga, Bukonya, Kibali-Kivuruga, Bukamba, Buberuka in Willems, "Administration du . . . Ruhengeri"; Anonymous, *Historique et chronologie*, 162, 165.

98. Interviews with Nyirakabuga, Karyabgite, Mutarimbirwa, Toringabo, Bahingano, Bigirankana, Gatete, S. Nturo, Muhama, Mugabontazi, Ngwije, Habyarinka, Kanyamudari, Ngaboyisonga, Gasimba, Kabera, Gaterere, Kamere, and Mutabazi. Provinces Ndorwa and Buberuka in Willems, "Administration du . . . Ruhengeri"; Anonymous, *Historique et chronologie*, 144–45.

99. Interviews with Busuhuko and Ngerageze.

100. Interviews with Semarora, Mitima, Rugirankana, Habyarinka, Kanyamudari, and Ngaboyisonga. Rwaza, 18 April 1912; Dufays, *Jours troublés*, 76; Anonymous, *Historique et chronologie*, 142.

101. Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 157.

102. The text of the poem and the incident to follow are recounted in Gishoma, "La Chute de Musinga." [See also Kagame, *Les genres lyriques du Rwanda*, 56.]

Chapter 6. New Europeans, New Court Tactics, 1913–1919

1. Resident De Clerck, "Rapport d'ensemble sur la Situation de la Residence du Rwanda et sur l'activité de l'administration," Gouvernment Belge, Ministère des Colonies, Service des Territories des Colonies, dossier AE/II no. 1847, portefeuille 3288x (hereafter cited as De Clerck, "Rapport"); Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 208–9. [For an account of the effects of this on Ijwi Island, see D. Newbury and C. Newbury, "King and Chief: Colonial Politics on Ijwi Island," 221–46.]

2. Rwaza, 28 September 1914; Save, 23 August, 13 November 1914.

3. Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 193; Save, 1 December 1914; Rwaza 3, 19 March 1915; Willems, "Administration du . . . Ruhengeri."

4. DeClerck, "Rapport"; Léon-Paul Classe, "L'organisation politique du Rwanda au début de l'occupation Belge," 28 August 1916, in the Derscheid Collection; "Notice sur le Ruanda."

5. Interviews with Rutamu, Semutwa, Mugabontazi, Gumira, R. Nturo, and Rwakabayiza. Father Classe to Commandant Van Aerde, 6 December 1916, Kigali Correspondence Officielle.

6. Interviews with Semutwa, Gatete, S. Nturo, Muhama, Karyabgite, R. Nturo, and Rwakabayiza. Save, 23 August 1914, 20 February, 18, 28, 30 August 1915; Zaza, 8 June 1914.

7. "Notice sur le Ruanda"; Willems, "Administration . . . du Ruhengeri"; interviews with Rushaki, Byimana, Gatanazi, and Karyeja.

8. Rwaza, 12 and 13 June 1915; Kansi, 1–21 September 1914; Save, 5 August 1915; Kabgayi, October 1914.

9. Rwaza, 4 October 1914, 31 January, 8 May, 10 June 1915; Murunda, 22 August 1914; Kansi, 17 August 1914; Save, 15 and 23 August, 1914; Nyundo, 25 December 1914; Ernst Johanssen, *Führung*, 233–34, 236–39, 245.

10. Anonymous, *Historique et chronologie*, 153; Rwaza, 13 May 1915; Willems, "Administration . . . de Ruhengeri."

11. Rwaza, 20–30 November, 3 December 1915; Hopkins, "The Nyabingi Cult of Southwestern Uganda," 282–84.

12. Rwaza, 3–20 December 1915, 12 February 1916.

13. Interviews with Rwakaje, Munogo, Rugirankana, Kamere, and Mutabazi. Rwaza, 25 and 28 January, 6–12 February, 25 and 30 March, 2 and 7 April 1916. In "Nyabingi," 82–83, Bessell identifies Bichubirenga with Ndochibiri (Ntoke Mbiri), a Nyabingi leader who harassed the British until 1919, but they were probably two different individuals, though they may have cooperated in the attack on Chahafy. Ndochibiri was said to be from Buhunde (in Congo), a short man with only two fingers on one hand, while Bichubirenga was supposedly a Tutsi who spoke Kinyarwanda and had no such disfigurement. See also Hopkins, "The Nyabingi Cult of Southwestern Uganda," 286–88.

14. Interviews with Semutwa, Kamere, and Nyamuhinda. Rwaza, 15 May 1916; "Notice sur le Ruanda"; Thaddée Gishoma, "La Chute de Musinga," typescript consulted courtesy of Professor René Lemarchand, Department of Political Science, University of Florida.

15. The victims were Segore and Rwamiheto. Interviews with Semutwa, Gatete, S. Nturo, Muhama, Rwakabayiza, Byahene, and Muniga.

16. Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, 216–17; De Clerck, "Rapport"; Commissaire Royal Malfeyt, "Note sur le Rapport Politique du Rwanda," 3 January 1919, Gouvernement Belge, Ministere des Colonies, Service des Territories des Colonies, dossier AE/II, no. 1847, portefeuille 3268 (hereafter cited as Malfeyt, "Note").

17. DeClerck, "Rapport." Interviews with Gatete, Muhama, S. Nturo, Mugabontazi, Kagenza, Gakona, Bazatoha, Muniga, Byahene, R. Nturo, Ruchamubyuma, Semutwa, and Serukenyinkware.

18. DeClerck, "Rapport"; Save, April 1918; Zaza, 31 January 1917.

19. Nyudo, 26 August 1916; Rwaza, 14–18, 20 June 1916.

20. Interviews with Semarora, Ngaboyisonga, Kanyamudari, Habyarinka, Kamere, Mutabazi, and Nyamuhinda. Nyundo, 26 August 1916; Rwaza, 14–18, 20 June 1916.

21. Interview with Nyamuhinda.

22. Interviews with Semarora, Nyamuhinda, Kamere, Semutwa, Rwigemera, Serukenyinkware, Sebahunyi, Rwakabayiza, Rutamu, Nyirakabuga, R. Nturo, Byahene, Muniga, and Bazatoha.

23. Interviews with Gatete, Muhama, S. Nturo, Mugabontazi, Mbonye, Karyabgite, R. Nturo, Rutamu, Rwigemera, and Serukenyinkware.

24. Interviews with Rwigemera and R. Nturo.

25. Interviews with Bichunchu and Rusabagira. Rwaza, 4–7 May, 12 June, 30 September 1916; Kabgayi, 23 July 1916; Kansi, 25 May 1916; Sous/officier Collard, "Rapport Politique," December 1917, Ruhengeri Letterbook, Rwandan Archival Materials (hereafter cited as "Letterbook").

26. Pagès, *Un royaume hamite*, 452; Father Classe to Commandant, 22 March 1917, Kigali, Correspondence Officielle; see also the Nyundo Diary for the entire period. [For

a more recent treatment covering some of the same ground, see Lugan, "Causes et effets," 347–56.]

27. Commissaire Royal (?) to Resident, 26 June 1918, no. 2341/J, Gouvernement Belge, Ministère des Colonies, Service des Territories des Colonies, dossier AE/II, no. 1847, portefeuille 3290; Zaza, 30 July 1918.

28. De Clerck, "Rapport." See also the diaries of Nyundo, Rambura, and Kabgayi throughout the period. Interviews with Gashyekero, Rugerabicu, and Guriro.

29. Interviews with Bazatoha and Serukenyinkware.

30. Save, September 1916; Kabgayi, November 1916.

31. Save, December 1916; Kabgayi, 10 December 1916; Classe to Commandant Van Aerde, 6 December 1916, Kigali, Correspondence Officielle. Interviews with Muhizi, Byahene, Muniga, and Ruchamubyuma.

32. Interviews with Ngwije, Semusaza, Makatsi, Bazatoha, Byahene, Muniga, Karyabgite, R. Nturo, Nyirakabuga, Ruchamubyuma, Rutamu, Rwakabayiza, and Serukenyinkware. Kabgayi, 19 December 1916; Save January 1917; De Clerck, "Rapport."

33. Anonymous, *Historique et chronologie*, 96; De Clerck, "Rapport"; interview with Rwigemera.

34. Save, February 1917. Interviews with Rwakabayiza, Serukenyinkware, Semutwa, Rwigemera, Karyabgite, R. Nturo, Nyirakabuga, Muhama, and Gumira.

35. Interviews with Gatete, Muhama, S. Nturo, and Mugabontazi. Zaza, 18 March 1917; Kansi, 17 March 1917; Save, March 1917; Malfeyt, "Note."

36. Interviews with Bazatoha and Mugabontazi.

37. De Clerck, "Rapport"; Malfeyt, "Note."

38. De Clerck, "Rapport"; Malfeyt, "Note."

39. De Lacger, *Ruanda*, 469; Kabgayi, 21 July 1920; Bishop J. Hirth to De Clerck, no. 212-B, 29 December 1917, and Father Classe to De Clerck, no. 103-B, 29 October 1917, Kigali, Correspondence Officielle.

40. Malfeyt, "Note."

41. De Clerck to Mgr. Hirth, no. 350/A/24, 3 July 1917; De Clerck to Messieurs, no. 791/a/53, 21 August 1917, Kigali, Correspondence Officielle.

42. Save, August 1917; Kansi, 11, 12, 16 August 1917; Bishop Hirth to White Fathers, Kabgayi, 7 July 1917, Kigali, Correspondence Religieuse.

43. De Clerck to Mgr. Hirth, no. 350/A.24, 3 July 1917; Kigali, Correspondence Officielle. Interviews with Gatete, Muhama, S. Nturo, and Rutaangira.

44. Kansi, 22 and 26 April, 18 August 1917; Save, April 1917, April 1918.

45. Kansi, 16, 22, 28 April 1918; Save, March, April 1918.

46. Save, March, April 1918. Interviews with Nyirakabuga, Muhizi, Bazatoha, Byahene, Muniga, Gumira, Gatete, Muhama, S. Nturo, R. Nturo, Ruchumabyuma, Rutamu, Rwakabayiza, Semutwa, and Serukenyinkware.

47. De Clerck, "Rapport."

48. Interviews with Bikuramuki, Byahene, and Muniga. Willems, "Administration . . . du Ruhengeri"; Kansi, 27 February 1918; Zaza, 2 June 1917; Collard, "Rapport politique," November, December 1917, Letterbook.

49. Mibirizi, 24–25 May 1918; R. Bourgeois to J. M. Derscheid, 6 December 1933, and "Rapport établi en réponse au questionnaire adressé en 1929 par M. le Gouverneur du Ruanda-Urundi à l'Administrateur du Territoire de Kamembe," in the Derscheid Collection. [For more on Rwagataraka's rule in southwestern Rwanda see C. Newbury, *The Cohesion of Oppression*, chap. 4, esp. 59–67.]

50. Rwaza, 23 December 1917; Collard, "Rapport Politique," November, December 1917 and January, February 1918, and Chef de Poste J. Mertens to Resident, no. 8, 26 February 1918, all in Letterbook.

51. Nyundo, 7–8 November 1917.

52. References to Rwakadigi, his demands on the Hutu, and his quarrels with the Fathers dominate most of the entries in the Nyundo diary from June 1917 through March 1918. [For the dislocations associated with the Rumanura famine, see the sources cited in notes 26, 27, and 28 above.]

53. Willems, "Administration . . . du Ruhengeri;" Collard and J. Mertens, "Rapport Politique," November 1917 through December 1918, Letterbook. Interviews with Sebuyange, Mutarambirwa, and Mitima.

54. Collard, "Rapport Politique," January 1918, Letterbook; interviews with Mitima, Nyamuhinda, Kamere, and Mutabazi.

55. Collard and Mertens, "Rapport Politique," November and December 1917, and January through September 1918, all in Letterbook; interviews with Nyamuhinda, Mitima, Kamere, and Mutabazi.

56. Collard to Resident, 19 November 1917, and "Rapport Politique," November and December 1917, both in Letterbook.

57. Collard to Resident, 19 November 1917, and "Rapport Politique," November and December 1917, both in Letterbook.

58. Collard to Resident, 19 November 1917, Letterbook; interviews with Kamere, Mutabazi, and Nyamuhinda; Anonymous, *Historique et chronologie*, 146–47.

59. Interviews with Ngaboyisonga, Habyarinka, Kanyamudari, Rusabagira, Semarora, and Mutarambirwa. Rambura, 17 November 1917. Willems, "Administration . . . du Ruhengeri."

60. Nyundo, 9–30 December 1917, 13 June 1918.

61. Mibirizi, 2 July 1917.

62. Interviews with Rugerabicu and Gashyekero.

63. Interview with Rugerabicu. [For more on the autonomy and social organization of Bushiru, see Pauwels, "Le Bushiru," 205–322; F. Nahimana, "Les 'bami' ou roitelets Hutu," 1–25; and Nahimana, *Le Rwanda*. Bushiru, Bukunzi, Busozo, and Kingogo (another autonomous polity) were definitively incorporated into the Nyiginya/colonial administrative network only in 1924–25. E. Ntezimana, "L'arrivée des Européens"; C. Newbury, *The Cohesion of Oppression*, 63–65; Nahimana, *Le Rwanda*, 294–99; F. Nahimana, "Expansion du pouvoir central."]

Chapter 7. Alliances That Bind—and Divide, 1919–1922

1. Zaza, 29 December 1918.

2. See Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, chap. 21, for the diplomacy leading up to the convention.

3. Gouvernement Belge, Ministère des Colonies, *Rapport sur l'Administration Belge des Territoires Occupés de l'Est-Africain Allemand*, 5, 10 (hereafter cited as Gouvernement Belge, *Rapport sur l'Administration des Territoires Occupés*).

4. Gouvernement Belge, Ministère des Colonies, *Rapport sur l'Administration Belge du Ruanda et de l'Urundi*, 1921, 18 (hereafter cited as Gouvernement Belge, *Rapport sur l'Administration du Rwanda*).

5. Gouvernement Belge, *Rapport sur l'Administration des Territoires Occupés*, 15; interviews with Ruchamubyuma, Sebahunyi, R. Nturo, and Rutamu.

6. Interviews with Georges Sandrart (a former colonial administrator in Rwanda, 1923–52, he served as Resident—the highest administrative post in Rwanda, with some breaks, from 1944 to 1951), R. Nturo, Nyirakabuga, Bazatoha, Semutwa, Ruchamubyuma, and Muhama. Nyundo, 20 January 1919; Gouvernement Belge, *Rapport sur l'Administration du Ruanda*, 1921, 39–40.

7. Interview with Sandrart; Gouvernement Belge, *Rapport sur l'Administration du Ruanda*, 1921, 19; Anonymous, *Historique et chronologie*, 148.

8. Anonymous, *Historique et chronologie*, 148; Kabgayi, 29 November 1922.

9. Interviews with Bazatoha, Sebahunyi, Semutwa, Nyirakabuga, and Serukenyinkware.

10. Gouvernement Belge, *Rapport sur l'Administration Belge des Territoires Occupés*, 17; Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique (Pères Blancs), *Rapports Annuels*, 15:38 (hereafter cited as Pères Blancs, *Rapports Annuels*).

11. Interviews with R. Nturo, S. Nturo, Gatete, Muhama, Bazatoha, Muniga, Karyabgite, Nyirakabuga, Rutamu, and Rutaangira. Kansi, 26 April 1917; Murunda, 13 March, 20 September 1917; Rulindo, 10 February 1918; Rwaza, 18 November 1917; Save, April 1917; Kabgayi, 2 June 1917.

12. Musinga to General Malfeyt, 23 June 1918; Gouvernement Belge, Ministère des Colonies, Conseiller Militaire, dossier 319, portefeuille 2654.

13. Interview with R. Nturo.

14. Interview with Mugabontazi.

15. Pères Blancs, *Rapports Annuels*, 13:262, 279.

16. Interviews with Semutwa, Rutamu, Rutangira, Mbonye, Mugabontazi, Byahene, Muniga, R. Nturo, Rwakabayiza, Sebahunyi, Serukenyinkware, Gatete, S. Nturo, and Muhama.

17. Interviews with Muhama, Gatete, and S. Nturo.

18. Kagame, "Un règne mouvementé," 15; Nyundo, 12 July 1920; Pères Blancs, *Rapports Annuels*, 15:362.

19. See Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi*, chap. 21, for negotiations concerning the cession. E. Van den Eede to Father Classe, 9 December 1919, 7 and 18 January 1920, Kigali, Correspondence Officielle; Kabgayi, 28 December 1919; Rwamagana, 27 December 1919. [For more recent work on the cession, see J. Rumiya, *Le Rwanda sous mandat belge*, 81–129; and D. Newbury, "The Rwakayihura Famine."]

20. Van den Eede to Classe, 9 December 1919, 7 and 18 January 1920, Kigali, Correspondence Officielle.

21. Zaza, 10 April 1922; Pères Blancs, *Rapports Annuels*, 1922, 20–21.

22. Zaza, 7 February and 13 March 1922; Classe, "Un triste sire."

23. Gishoma, "La chute de Musinga," 6.

24. Cayen, "Dans l'Est africain conquis," 32.

25. Interviews with Nyirakabuga and Rwigemera; Defawe to Monsieur le Docteur, no. 270, 12 November 1919, Kigali, Correspondence Officielle.

26. Interviews with Sandrart, Mugabontazi, Bazatoha, Muniga, Byahene, Semutwa, Serukenyinkware, R. Nturo, Ruchamubyuma, Gatete, Muhama, and S. Nturo.

27. Interviews with Bazatoha, Bikuramuki, Rutamu, Semutwa, Mugabontazi, and Nyirakabuga; Gouvernement Belge, Ministère des Colonies, *Rapport présenté par le*

Gouvernement Belge au Conseil de la Société des Nations au Sujet de l'Administration du Rwanda-Urundi, 66 (hereafter cited as Gouvernement Belge, *Rapport au Conseil de la SDN*).

28. Zaza, 6 January 1920; Father Classe to Van den Eede, 23 May 1920, Father Lecoindre [?] to Resident, 29 November 1921, Kigali, Correspondence Officielle.

29. Interviews with Bikuramuki, Gatete, Muhama, S. Nturo, R. Nturo, Nyirakabuga, and Serukenyinkware.

30. Interviews with Muniga, Byahene, Bazatoha, Serukenyinkware, Nyirakabuga, Rwakabayiza, Semutwa, Gumira, Karyabgite, and Muhizi.

31. Interviews with Nyirakabuga, Rutamu, Serukenyinkware, Muhama, Mugabontazi, Byahene, Muniga, Bazatoha, and R. Nturo.

32. Interviews with Nyirakabuga and Bazatoha.

33. Interviews with Nyirakabuga, Bazatoha, Gatete, Muhama, S. Nturo, and Mugabontazi.

34. See, for example, Cayen in "Dans l'Est africain conquis," 16, 21.

35. Interviews with Nyarakabuga, Bazatoha, R. Nturo, Mbonye, Mugabontazi, Semutwa, Rutamu, Rwigemera, Rwakabayiza, Byahene, and Serukenyinkware.

36. Kabgayi, 13 January 1920, 1 November 1921; interviews with Semutwa, Rucamubyuma, Bazatoha, and Rwakabayiza.

37. E. Van den Eede, "Note sur la situation politique au Ruanda," Gouvernement Belge, Ministère des Colonies, Service des Territories des Colonies, dossier AE/II, no. 1847, portefeuille 3288.

38. Veterinarian Carlier to Father Lecoindre, 1 December 1921, Kigali, Correspondence Officielle; Kabgayi, 15 March 1920; Gouvernement Belge, *Rapport sur l'Administration des Territoires Occupés*, 29; Gouvernement Belge, *Rapport sur l'Administration du Ruanda*, 1921, 77–78.

39. Nyundo, 10, 21, 22 December 1921; Service Vétérinaire, no. 194 to Mgr. Hirth, 20 February 1918, Kigali, Correspondence Officielle; Maurer, "Rinderpest," 75–84.

40. Rwamagana, 16 March 1921; Zaza, 20 June 1921; Gouvernement Belge, *Rapport sur l'Administration du Ruanda*, 1921, 78.

41. Kabgayi, 12 April 1919; Kansi, 5 March 1920; Zaza, 2, 5 November 1920; Pères Blancs, *Rapports Annuels*, 15:374, 17:526; interviews with Segatwa, Semutwa, Muhama, Gatete, and S. Nturo.

42. Interviews with Sandrart, Muhama, Gatete, and S. Nturo.

43. Interviews with S. Nturo, Rwigemera, Nyirakabuga, R. Nturo, Semutwa, and Rutamu; Kagame, "Un règne mouvementé," 15; Johanssen, *Führung*, 252.

44. Interviews with R. Nturo, Rucamubyuma, Rutamu, Sebahunyi, Gatete, S. Nturo, and Muhama; Kabgayi, 8 December 1921.

45. Kabgayi, 29 November 1922, 23 October 1923; Gouvernement Belge, *Rapport sur l'Administration du Ruanda*, 1922, 25; "Rapport établi en réponse au questionnaire adressé en 1929 par M. le Gouverneur du Ruanda-Urundi à l'Administrateur du Territoire de Nyanza," in the Derscheid Collection.

46. Interview with Makatsi.

47. Collective interview with Ndenzago, Bazirako, and Simbagaya.

48. Interviews with Segatwa and Rutamu; Gouvernement Belge, *Rapport sur l'Administration du Ruanda* (1921), 31, 1922, 9.

49. Interview with Sandrart; Mibirizi, 8–19 March, 8 April 1920; interviews with Bazatoha, Rutaangira, Gatete, Muhama, and S. Nturo.

50. Pères Blancs, *Rapports Annuels*, 17:538.

51. Le Gouverneur ff. Ryckmans to Resident, no. 1861/Org. 5, 17 December 1926, and L. Borgers to Resident, no. 61/Org., 24 February 1927, both in Rwandan Archival Materials; Father Classe to Resident, 21 October 1933, Kigali, Correspondence Officielle; Kansi, 6 May 1919; Zaza, 10 January 1920; Nyundo, 2 February, 5 September 1919, 13 September 1921.

52. De Lacger, *Ruanda*, 494; interviews with Segatwa, Mugabontazi, Muhama, Gatete, and S. Nturo.

53. Léon, Evêque de Pacando, Supérieur Général de la Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique to [White Fathers], 1 April 1921, Kigali, Correspondence Religieuse.

54. The diaries and correspondence of the White Fathers offer innumerable examples of this procedure. Interviews with Isidore, Pascal, Shikama, Ngezahayo, and R. Nturo.

55. Interviews with Muhama, Mugabontazi, and Mbonye; Mgr. Classe to Très Révérend Père [Marchal], 23 September 1923, Archives de la Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique, G. B. Ruanda, Correspondence Mgr. Classe.

56. Interview with Muhama.

57. Interviews with Muhama, Gatete, S. Nturo, Mitima, and Bichunchu.

58. Interviews with Mutungirehe, Petero, Gakona, and Kagenza; Zaza, March–May, 15 July, 25 August 1922, 16 June 1923.

59. De Lacger, *Ruanda*, 509; interviews with Muhama, Gatete, S. Nturo, and R. Nturo.

60. Kabgayi, 25 January 1921, 5 May 1922; Pères Blancs, *Rapports Annuels*, 15:377, 17: 507, 35:45.

61. "Rapport Politique, 1921, Territoire de Kabaya," Derscheid Collection.

62. J. Mertens, "Rapports Politiques," 1–4 trimestres, 1919, in Letterbook; Anonymous, *Historique et chronologie*, 128–29.

63. Gouvernement Belge, *Rapport sur l'Administration du Ruanda*, 1922, 5; Mibirizi, 13 July 1919; Pères Blancs, *Rapports Annuels*, 35:43.

64. Father Schumacher to H. Willems, 8 May 1919, Willems to Père Supérieur, 9 May 1919, both Rwaza, Correspondence Officielle; Hopkins, "The Nyabingi Cult of Southwestern Uganda," 302–6. [For overviews of these recurring Nyabingi movements, see Freedman, *Nyabingi*, and Feierman, "Colonizers, Scholars, and the Creation of Invisible Histories."]

65. Father Schumacher to H. Willems, 8 May 1919, Willems to Père Supérieur, 9 May 1919, both Rwaza, Correspondence Officielle; Hopkins, "The Nyabingi Cult of Southwestern Uganda," 302–6; Schumacher to Willems, 2 September 1919, Willems to Père Supérieur, no. 97, 2 September 1919, Schumacher to Willems, no. 65, n.d., all Rwaza, Correspondence Officielle; "Rapport Politique," 3 trimestre, 1919, Letterbook; Willems, "Administration . . . du Ruhengeri."

66. Willems, "Administration . . . du Ruhengeri"; Schumacher to Chef de Poste, no. 67, 9 January 1920, Chef de Poste to Père Supérieur, no. 1, 9 January 1920, Chef de Poste Deben to Schumacher, 31 March 1920, all Rwaza, Correspondence Officielle.

67. Interview with Rusabagira.

Chapter 8. Divide and Rule, 1922–1925

1. Johanssen, *Führung*, 252.
2. Johanssen, *Führung*, 252.

3. Interviews with Nyirakabuga, Bazatoha, Rutamu and R. Nturo.

4. Interview with Nyirakabuga. [It is worth noting that Nyirakabuga herself appears to have been a principal source for many of these observations on the Court and on particular Court actors.—Ed.]

5. Interview with Nyirakabuga.

6. Interviews with Nyirakabuga, Rutamu, and Semutwa; Kabgayi, 11 and 13 February 1923; "Rapport établi en réponse au questionnaire adressé en 1929 par M. le Gouverneur du Rwanda-Urundi à l'Administrateur du Territoire de Nyanza," Derscheid Collection (hereafter cited as "Rapport établi . . . 1929").

7. De Lacger, *Ruanda*, 477–78, 493–99.

8. Classe to Très Révérend Père [Marchal?], 14 June and 23 September 1923; Archives de la Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique, G. B. Ruanda, Correspondence Mgr. Classe (hereafter cited as Classe correspondence).

9. Classe to Marchal, 10 March 1923, 14 June and 23 September 1923, 4 June 1927, Classe to Très Révérend Père, 23 September 1923 and 18 March 1924, all Classe Correspondence.

10. Kabgayi, 8 April 1923.

11. Kabgayi, 8 April 1923.

12. Interview with Muhama; Van Overschelde, *Un audacieux pacifique*, 122–23.

13. Interviews with Bazatoha, Rutamu, R. Nturo, Muhama, Gatete, and S. Nturo.

14. Interviews with Bazatoha, Rutamu, R. Nturo, Muhama, Gatete, and S. Nturo; Kabgayi, 3 May 1923.

15. Gouvernement Belge, *Rapport sur l'Administration du Ruanda*, 1923, 28. [These annual published Rapports are complicated constructions, passing through many bureaucratic layers of administration and often adjusted at each layer. First the Resident distills the separate Territorial reports into one general synopsis that is then sent to the Vice-Governeur-Général of Ruanda-Urundi, in Bujumbura, who then amends it as he sees fit before sending it to the Governeur-Général in Léopoldville (or, after Mazorati, directly to the Ministry of Colonies in Brussels). The lower agents have no control over how their observations are represented at higher levels. From these different layers it is difficult to decipher which observations or recommendations pertain to each level in the administrative process. Consequently the reports must be used with caution as testimony to local events. In this case, however, one can assume that the report stems from the Resident (or from Mazorati, then the Vice-Governeur-Général).—Ed.]

16. Kansi, 10 August 1923; Nyundo, 11 September 1923; Kabgayi, 25 February, 1923; Au [Administrator] Dardenne to Resident, 10 February 1924; Dardenne to Haut Commissaire Royal, 12/AB, 17 February 1925, Archives de Butare.

17. Hais to Mgr. Classe, 10 September 1923: Kigali, Correspondence Officielle.

18. Hais to Mgr. Classe, 10 September 1923: Kigali, Correspondence Officielle.

19. Mibirizi, July 1923.

20. Interview with Bazatoha; "Rapport établi . . . 1929."

21. "Rapport établi . . . 1929."

22. Miscellaneous receipts, Dossier Finances, 1923–1924, Archives de Butare.

23. Gouvernement Belge, *Rapport sur l'Administration du Ruanda*, 1923, 6; interviews with Rutamu, Muhama, Gatete, S. Nturo, and R. Nturo; Kagame, *Les milices*, 176–76.

24. Willems, "Administration . . . du Ruhengeri," passim.

25. Resident, p.o., Keyser to Delegates, no. 1521/Org. 5, 20 August 1925, Archives de Gisenyi; Willems, "Administration . . . du Ruhengeri," passim; E. Borgers to Resident, no. 136/P.I., 26 April 1925, Archives de Ruhengeri; interview with Semarora.

26. Willems, "Administration . . . du Ruhengeri."

27. Kabgayi, 10 May 1924. Interviews with Gumira, Muhama, Gatete, S. Nturo, Rutamu, Ruchamubyuma, Rusabagira, and Nyirakabuga.

28. Interviews with Rusabagira, Nkuriye, Buhuhano, Rushara, Rujukundi, Bidahunga, Kagisha, Mpakaniye, Gakunkiko, Toringabo, Bahinbano, Bigirankana, Gahakwa, and Rwenda. Willems, "Administration . . . du Ruhengeri"; Pagès, "Au Rwanda," 359–77.

29. Interview with Rusabagira.

30. Interviews with Semarora, Kamana, Muhire, Bichunchu, Miruho, Rusabagira, Mutarambirwa, Sebuyange, and Semagema. Willems, "Administration . . . du Ruhengeri."

31. F. Wouters to Resident, no. 196/P.I., 30 September 1926, Archives de Ruhengeri; interview with Rusabagira.

32. Rapport Politique, Territoire Kabaya, 1921 (consulted in the Derscheid Collection).

33. Interviews with Nkuriye, Buhuharo, Rushara, Rujukundi, Bidahunga, Kagisha, Mpakaniye, Gakunkiko, Sebitenge, Bwico, Ntababa, Sebagenda, Nyandera, Baseke, Kaburiyeri, Komayombi, Toringabo, Bahingano, and Bigirankana. Pauwels, "Le Bushiru," 210–13.

34. Rapport Politique, Territoire Kabaya, 1921, 1923 (consulted in the Derscheid Collection).

35. Interviews with Harimenshi, Sekigarama, Nibacece, and Ndagiriye.

36. Rapport Politique, Territoire Kabaya, 1923 (consulted in the Derscheid Collection).

37. Interview with Kagisha.

38. Rapport Politique, Territoire Kabaya, 1924, 1925 (consulted in the Derscheid Collection).

39. Interviews with Rugambarara, Bihame, Kidogo, Isidore, Pascal, Shikama, and Ngezahayo. Pagès, *Un royaume hamite*, 311; Pauwels, "Le Bushiru," 214–17.

40. Mibirizi, April–May, 1923. Interviews with Rugambarara, Kidogo, Bihame, Isidore, Pascal, Shikama, and Ngezahayo.

41. Mibirizi, 21 January, March–May 1924, March 1925. Interviews with Rugambarara, Bihame, Kidogo, Isidore, Pascal, Shikama, and Ngezahayo. [More recent sources include Ntezimana, "L'arrivée des Européens," and C. Newbury, *The Cohesion of Oppression*, 65 and 258–59, note 42.]

42. Mibirizi, 7 January, 20 March, August, 17 September 1924, 24 August, 17 December 1925; interview with Rugambarara.

43. "Rapport établi . . . 1929"; *Rapport au Conseil de la SDN*, 1924, 12.

44. Classe to Très Révérend Père, 1 August 1925, Classe Correspondence; Pères Blancs, *Rapports Annuels*, 37:104, 116, 134, 137.

45. *Rapport au Conseil de la SDN*, 1924, 12; Mortehan to all Délégués, 359 Org. 1, 3 April 1926, Archives de Ruhengeri.

46. Mortehan to all Délégués, 359/Org. 1, 3 April 1926, Coubeau to all Délégués, no. 1362, 24 September 1926, and Resident Coubeau to all Délégués, 186/Org. 5, 5 February 1927, all in Archives de Ruhengeri.

47. "Rapport établi . . . 1929"; Rwamagana, 6 and 30 June, 4 August, 1924; Kabgayi, 28 November 1924; Nyundo, 22 September, 16 October 1924.

48. Pères Blancs, *Rapports Annuels*, 36:65, 85–87; Kabgayi, 15 February 1924.

49. F. Thielemans, "Notes sur l'Histoire de la province de Mvejuru sous Yuhi Musinga," and "Rapport établi . . . 1929"; Jugement no. 99, Tribunal de Police d'iSave, 15 December 1924, Archives de Butare.

50. Interview with R. Nturo.

51. Interview with Sebahunyi. For a full description and the text of the ritual of Umuganura, see d'Hertefelt and Coupez, *La royauté sacrée*, 76–93. [For an analysis and explanation of the important ritual, see also D. Newbury, "What Role Has Kingship?" 89–101.]

52. Interview with Sebahunyi.

53. Interviews with Sebahunyi, Bazatoha, R. Nturo, Nyirakabuga, and Serukenyinkware.

54. Interviews with Bazatoha, Rutamu, Serukenyinkware, and R. Nturo; E. Borgers to Resident, no. 69/P.I., 25 February 1925, Archives de Ruhengeri.

55. Interview with Muhama; E. Borgers to Resident, no. 61/P.I., 19 February 1925 and no. 69/P.I., 25 February 1925, Archives de Ruhengeri.

56. Kabgayi, 12 and 15 March 1925; interviews with Bazatoha, Nyirakabuga, Semutwa, Serukenyinkware, R. Nturo, and Rutamu.

57. Interview with Bazatoha.

58. Kabgayi, 20 April 1925.

59. Kabgayi, November 1925; *Rapport au Conseil de la SDN*, 1925, 66.

Chapter 9. The Rationalization of Power, 1925–1931

1. Interviews with Bazatoha, Ruchamubyuma, and Serukenyinkware; "Rapport établi . . . 1929."

2. Interviews with R. Nturo, Muhama, Gatete, S. Nturo, Semutwa, Mugabontazi, and Muhizi.

3. The importance of the movement emerges clearly in all the diaries of the period. The *Rapports Annuels* summarize the Fathers' reactions to the movement; see especially 38:174–75, 180–81, 183, 185–86; 39:204.

4. Interview with Muhama.

5. Kabgayi, 19 August 1931; Nyamasheke, 27 January 1930; Rulindo, 18 August 1930; Governor Voison to Resident, 2307/Just. c.J. 9, 11. April 1931, Archives de Kigali.

6. Zaza, 5 January 1927; Rwamagana, 10 January 1927, 20 February 1928; Murunda, 15 June 1931.

7. Pères Blancs, *Rapports Annuels*, 17:522, 20:434, 23:272; Rulindo, 7 February 1925.

8. Van Overschelde, *Un audacieux pacifique*, 124; Kagame, "Un règne mouvementé," 16; interview with Nyirakabuga; "Rapport établi . . . 1929."

9. *Rapport au Conseil de la SDN*, 1926, 66.

10. Kagame, "Un règne mouvementé," 15; Classe to Marchal, 4 June 1927, Classe Correspondence.

11. De Lacger, *Ruanda*, 525.

12. Kagame, "Un règne mouvementé, 17.

13. Interviews with Nyirakabuga, Rwigemera, Bazatoha, R. Nturo, Semutwa, Muhama, Gatete, S. Nturo, and Mugabontazi.

14. Johanssen, *Führung*, 252.

15. Interviews with Nyirakabuga, Bazatoha, Serukenyinkware, Ruchamubyuma, and R. Nturo. [It is worth noting that in addition to being a principal actor in these accounts, Serukenyinkware himself was also one source (among several) for reconstructing these events.—Ed.]

16. Rwagataraka to Father Lecoindre, 14 September, 6 11, and 30 November, 1 December 1926; Serukenyinkware to Lecoindre, 1 December 1926, Kigali Correspondence Officielle.

17. Interview with Rwigemera.

18. Classe, "Un triste sire."

19. Interviews with R. Nturo, Rutamu, Semutwa, Mugabontazi, Rwakabayiza, Bazatoha, and Ruchamubyuma.

20. Rwagataraka to Lecoindre, 1 December 1926, Kigali, Correspondence Officielle.

21. Classe, "Un triste sire"; *Rapport au Conseil de la SDN*, 1926, 67.

22. *Rapport au Conseil de la SDN*, 1927, 103–4.

23. *Rapport au Conseil de la SDN*, 1926–1931, section "Politique Indigène."

24. R. J. L. Schmidt, "Rapport Politique du Territoire de Kigali, 1933," Derscheid Collection.

25. Kagame, *Les milices*, 76–77.

26. F. Thielemans to Resident, 33/P.I., 30 January, 1929, G. Mortehan to E. Wouters, 2424/PIA, 25 May 1929, Archives de Ruhengeri; Administrateur Territorial Stagiaire Franck to Resident, 172/PIC, 30 March 1931, M. Simon to Chef de Poste, 2527/PIC, 26 November 1931, Archives de Butare.

27. *Rapport au Conseil de la SDN*, 1928, 53.

28. Interviews with Serukenyinkware and R. Nturo; Kabgayi, 21 June 1931.

29. Diaire de la Mission d'Astrida, 2 July 1928; Mortehan to Délégués, 2755/Org. 5, 27 December 1927, Governor Marzorati to Resident, 727/A. 24, 6 March 1928, Archives de Ruhengeri.

30. Interviews with Semutwa, Rutamu, Mugabontazi, R. Nturo, Nyirakabuga, Bazatoha, Muhama, Gatete, and S. Nturo.

31. Interviews with Serukenyinkware and Rutamu; Wouters to Resident, 97/P.I.G., 26 February 1930, Archives de Ruhengeri; Tribunal de Police de Kigali, R.M.P. 686 of 24 January 1930, Archives de Bujumbura; Rapport Politique, Territoire de Kabaya, Derscheid Collection.

32. Testimony taken by E. Wouters concerning the burning of the camp at Tangata, Tribunal de Police de Ruhengeri, R.M.P. 480, 10 February 1930; Adjoint Henckaerts to A.T. Servranckx, 1026/P.I., 24 October 1931; Père Danneste to the administrator, 27 October 1931; A. Servranckx to Resident, 833/P.I., 29 October 1931, all in Archives de Ruhengeri.

33. Examples abound in the diaries and correspondence of the Fathers; for one interesting case, see Zaza 10 and 14 May, 10 August 1930.

34. Interviews with Sandrart and Schmidt (European administrators), Semutwa, Rutamu, Bazatoha, Mugabontazi, Gatete, Muhama, and S. Nturo.

35. Interview with Rutamu.

36. Testimony of Sebagangari heard by G. J. F. Dardenne, Tribunal de Police de Butare, 22 November, 1927; Resident of Urundi to E. Wouters, 29 November 1927; Wouters to Resident of Urundi, 192/Div., 1 December 1927, Archives de Bujumbura; Report by E. Hurel, Superior of Isavi [Save], 16 June 1928, Archives de Butare.

37. Mortehan to the Governor, 1956/P.N.B., 29 December 1926, Archives de Bujumbura; R. Bourgeois, "Rapport Politique de Territoire de Nyanza, 1934," Derscheid Collection; interview with Kamere.

38. Musinga to Resident, n.d., Archives de Butare; Coubeau to Délégué-Ruhengeri, 1525/ Mus. 2, 21 October 1926; Délégué to Resident, 237/ Mus., 4 November 1926; L. Borgers to Chef de Poste, Kabaya, 282, 31 December 1926; Mortehan to all Délégués, 117/Mus. 2, 6 February 1926; all in Archives de Ruhengeri.

39. Tribunal de Police de Kibuye, R.M.P. 135, 21 May 1931; Tribunal de Police, R.M.P. 109, 3 February 1930, Archives de Ruhengeri.

40. Interview with Muhama.

41. Interviews with Semutwa and Rutamu; Maquet, *Le système des relations sociales*, 153–54; Classe, "Pour moderniser le Ruanda."

42. This figure is cited in Pères Blancs, *Rapports Annuels*, 36:104 for 1924–1925 and is repeated by the colonial administration in *Rapport au Conseil de la SDN*, 1929, 75.

43. Marzorati to Resident, 2605/A16, 21 September 1927, Archives de Ruhengeri; *Rapport au Conseil de la SDN*, 1928, 143; Pères Blancs, *Rapports Annuels*, 39:202.

44. Tribunal de Police de Kibuye, R.M.P. 686, 24 January 1930, Archives de Bujumbura; Délégué Parmentier to M. Lestrade, no. 412/ Divers, 9 December 1930, Délégué Parmentier to Resident, no 39/ P.I. 18 January 1931, Archives de Gisenyi; Mortehan to all Délégués, 2564/Org. 5, 5 December 1927, Archives de Ruhengeri.

45. Interviews with Mugabontazi, Muhama, and Segatwa; Borgers to Resident, 345/Mus., 5 November 1925, Coubeau to all Délégués, 59/Org., 9 January 1925, Archives de Ruhengeri.

46. Interviews with Makeri, Rutabagisha, Gatuhe, Bahimana, Gasimba, Rushaki, Byimana, Gatanazi, Karyeja, Kabera, Gaterere, Rwakaje, Munogo, Rwigemera, and Karyabgite.

47. Interviews with Makeri, Rutabagisha, Gatuhe, Bahimana, Gasimba, Rushaki, Byimana, Gatanazi, Karyeja, Kabera, Gaterere, Rwakaja, Munogo, Rwigemera, Karyabgite.

48. Wouters to Resident, 99 bis/Op. Milit., 2 April 1929, Archives de Ruhengeri.

49. Interviews with Makeri, Rutabagisha, Gatuhe, Bahimana, Gasimba, Rushaki, Byimana, Gatanazi, Karyeja, Kabera, Gaterere, Rwakaja, Munogo, Rwigemera, and Karyabgite.

50. Interviews with Makeri, Rutabagisha, Gatuhe, Bahimana, Gasimba, Rushaki, Byimana, Gatanazi, Karyeja, Kabera, Gaterere, Rwakaja, Munogo, Rwigemera, and Karyabgite. Coubeau to Délégué-Ruhengeri, 496/ Op. Milit., 25 March 1928, Wouters to Resident, 99 bis/Op. Milit., 2 April 1928, 121/op. Milit., 24 April 1928 and 191/Op. Milit., 11 June 1928 all in Archives de Ruhengeri.

51. *Rapport au Conseil de la SDN*, 1928, 42.

52. *Rapport au Conseil de la SDN*, 1930, 18.

53. Interview with Sandrart.

54. Rwamagana, 11–13, 24 March, 17 August 1925, 28 February 1928; Mortehan to

Délégué-Gisenyi 1313/Tr. Pol. 2, 8 July 1927, Archives de Ruhengeri; Tribunal Territorial du Rwanda, R.M.P. 952/Kg., 10 December 1930, Archives de Kigali.

55. Gishoma, "La chute de Musinga," 5.

56. Gishoma, "La chute de Musinga," 5.

57. Gishoma, "La chute de Musinga," 5.

58. Gishoma, "La chute de Musinga," 5;"Rapport établi . . . 1929"; *Rapport au Conseil de la SDN*, 1929, 81; Zaza, 6 April 1927.

59. *Rapport au Conseil de la SDN*, 1925, 84.

60. Conseiller Juridique Jamoulle, "Note pour M. le Gouverneur," 26 July 1929, and attached "Resumé de la Situation au point de vue stocks et exportation de vivres," Archives de Bujumbura; Resident to all Délégués, 2509/Dis., 24 October 1928, Archives de Ruhengeri; Pères Blancs, *Rapports Annuels*, 38:171–72.

61. Resident to all Délégués, 2509/Dis., 24 October 1928 and 2396/Dis., 11 October 1928, Archives de Ruhengeri.

62. Coubeau to Délégué-Nyanza, 4422/Dis., 20 August 1930, and 1463/P.I. 2, 13 March 1930, Archives de Ruhengeri.

63. Classe, "Un triste sire."

64. Coubeau to all Délégués, 136/Dis., 10 January 1929, Archives de Ruhengeri.

65. Coubeau to all Délégués, 3077/Dis., 29 December 1928, Archives de Ruhengeri; and Coubeau to all Délégués, 136/Dis., 10 January 1929, Archives de Ruhengeri.

66. Wouters to Resident, 193/P.I., 1 June 1929, 360/P.I., 26 October 1929; H. Wilmin to Wouters, 5887/P.I.G., 21 November 1929, Archives de Ruhengeri; F. Thielemans to Resident, 14/P.I., 21 January 1920, Archives de Butare; Zaza, 13 January 1929; Astrida, 19 April 1929.

67. Postiaux to Governor-General, 67/Sec., 16 February 1929, Postiaux to Brussels, telegram 58/Famine, 3 July 1929, Archives de Bujumbura; Pères Blancs, *Rapports Annuels*, 39:201.

68. Astrida, 19 April 1929; Wilmin to all Délégués, 4982/Org. 25, 9 October 1929, Archives de Butare.

69. Astrida, 19 April 1929.

70. Borgers to Délégués, 3982/Org. 25, 22 August 1929, Archives de Butare.

71. Interviews with Serukenyinkware and Nyirakabuga.

72. Borgers to Délégués, 3982/Org. 25, 22 August 1929, Wilmin to Délégués, 4498/P.I. 2, 18 September 1929, Archives de Butare.

73. F. Thielemans to Resident, 535/P.I., 4 January 1930, Coubeau to Délégué-Nyanza, 1353/P.I.C., 10 March 1930, Thielemans to Resident, 77/P.I.C., 4 February 1931, Archives de Butare.

74. Interviews with Kagisha, Mpakaniye, Gakunkiko, Gashyekero, Rugerabicu, Guriro, Sebitenge, Bwico, and Ntababa.

75. Interviews with Bazatoha, Serukenyinkware, R. Nturo, and Rwakabayiza.

76. Classe, "Un triste sire"; de Lacger, *Ruanda*, 531–33.

77. *Rapport au Conseil de la SDN*, 1931, 58.

78. Interviews with Rutamu and Ruchamubyuma; de Lacger, *Ruanda*, 533–38.

79. Rwamagana, 14 November 1931.

80. Rapport Politique, Territoire de Ruhengeri, 1932, Rwandan Archival Materials.

81. Interview with R. Nturo.

82. Interview with R. Nturo.

Editor's Epilogue

1. Bourgeois, *Témoignages*, 60.

2. Kagame, *Un abrégé de l'histoire du Rwanda*, 195–96. For the reactions to the announcement of Musinga's deposition, see the correspondence in response to No. 2390/Doss. Musinga of 10/11/1931.

3. 96/P.I./Mus. of 30/1/1932, A. T. Shangugu [Dryvers] to Governeur (Usumbura); for a copy of Musinga's letter, see de Lacger, *Ruanda*, 529; on Rwagataraka's career, see C. Newbury, *The Cohesion of Oppression*, 60–63.

4. No. 96/P.I./Mus. of 30/1/1932, Dryvers to Gouverneur.

5. 179/Dos. Mus. of 8/2/32; Délégué-Nyanza to Resident; 70/RDos. Mus. of 1/2/32, Resident to Délégué; 69/Relegation Musinga of 15/1/1932, Resident to Chefs de Poste Nyanza et Shangugu; 68/P.I./Mus. of 21/1/1932, A. T. Shangugu to Resident; 96/P.I./Mus. of 30/1/32, Chef de Poste Kamembe to Gouverneur.

6. Kagame, *Un abrégé de l'histoire du Rwanda*, 196–97; 768/Sec. of 9/6/1940, A. T. Shangugu to Gouverneur; 8/Cab. of 17/6/1940, Resident Simon to Gouverneur (Usumbura); Letter 2799 of 3/7/40, Classe to Gouverneur.

7. No. 2673/Cab of 3/7/1940, Gouverneur to A. T.-Nyanza and 2674/Cab. of 4/7/1940, Gouverneur to A. T.-Shangugu; Telegram 191 of 3/7/1940, Gouverneur to Gouveneur-Général/Leopoldville; Kagame, *Un abrégé*, 2:197.

8. No. 78/Cab. of 25/7/1940, A. T.-Shangugu to Gouverneur (Usumbura).

9. Kagame, *Un abrégé de l'histoire du Rwanda*, 205.

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Unpublished Sources

Oral informants constitute the most important source for this study. They are identified fully in the appendix.

The rich documentary sources for the period of German administration have disappeared from Rwanda and from Burundi. They supposedly were transported to Brussels by the Belgians at the end of their administration, but the Archives of the Colonial Ministry, now a part of the Archives of Foreign Affairs, has no record of having received them. Hence the archives had not yet been fully classified at the time of the research for this project. The absence of classification and insistence upon observing a fifty-year lapse before permitting consultation of documents meant that very few of the documents from the Belgian period of administration had been available for consultation in Brussels at the time of this research.

At the time, fragmentary and completely disorganized collections of documents from the Belgian period remained in Rwanda at the prefectural offices in Gisenyi, Ruhengeri, Kigali, Cyangugu, and Butare, and in Burundi at the Ministry of Justice in Bujumbura. Materials consulted at these various locations are identified only by the place name since there were no systems of classification to which one could refer. A certain number of the most useful of these sources had been microfilmed and were available for consultation at the Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, under the title Rwandan Archival Materials. An extremely valuable collection of Belgian documents was assembled by J. M. Derscheid in the early 1930s. Through the great kindness of Professor René Lemarchand of the University of Florida, I was able to make extensive use of a microfilmed copy of this collection.

The logs kept by the White Fathers at their various missions, referred to in the text as "diaries," constitute the single most informative written source for the period of Musinga's reign. Nearly as important are the letters exchanged among the Fathers and between the Fathers and the colonial administrators. The diaries are located at the Archives de la Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique in Rome, as are the annual reports of the order and the correspondence of Mgr. Léon-Paul Classe. Other diaries and correspondence had been collected at the Archbishopric of Kigali, where the letters were classified as either "Correspondence Officielle" or "Correspondence Religieuse."

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