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JOHN VIANNEY KITOOLU

Evangelization and planting
of the Church in Buganda

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John Vianney KITOLO
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Presentation

Abstract: This thesis intends to answer two questions: how the Catholic Church was planted in Uganda and how the first Christian community in Uganda lived its faith in the first nine years 1879 to 1887.

The beginnings of the Catholic church in Uganda can be traced back in 1879 and counts on the initiative of two principal personalities: Mutesa the King of Buganda who made some considerable efforts to invite Christian missionaries and Lavigerie the founder of the Society of the missionaries of Africa who were the pioneer missionaries to Uganda. The course of history of this young church went through three successive periods; the first one being the arrival of the missionaries and beginning of evangelization which mainly focussed on the ruling class and the redeemed slaves, the second period covered the withdraw and absence of the missionaries and the emergency of a strong and vibrant lay apostolate and the last period was the times of trial marked by persecution and martyrdom. The planting of the church in Uganda can be considered as having been successful and the first Christian community understood to have lived to the fullness a life proper to that of a fully-fledged Church summarised in the celebration of sacraments and active witnessing.

Keywords: Uganda, Buganda, Catholic church, history, Uganda Martyrs.

Resumen: Esta tesis pretende responder a dos preguntas: cómo se implantó la Iglesia Católica en Uganda y cómo la primera comunidad cristiana en Uganda vivió su fe en los primeros nueve años, de 1879 a 1887.

Los inicios de la iglesia católica en Uganda se remontan a 1879 y cuenta con la iniciativa de dos personalidades principales: Mutesa el Rey de Buganda que hizo un esfuerzo considerable para invitar a los misioneros cristianos y Lavigerie el fundador de la Sociedad de Misioneros de África quienes fueron los misioneros pioneros en Uganda. El curso de la historia de esta joven iglesia en esta fase pasó por tres períodos sucesivos; el primero fue la llegada de los misioneros y el inicio de la evangelización, que se centró principalmente en la clase gobernante y los esclavos redimidos, el segundo período abarcó la retirada y ausencia de los misioneros y la surgencia de un apostolado laico fuerte y vibrante y el último período fue de los tiempos de prueba marcados por la persecución y el martirio. La implantación de la iglesia en Uganda puede considerarse un éxito y se puede decir que la primera comunidad cristiana vivió en plenitud una vida propia de una Iglesia plenamente constituida, resumida en la celebración de los sacramentos y el testimonio activo.

Palabras clave: Uganda, Buganda, Iglesia católica, historia, Mártires de Uganda.

The first initiative that opened up the doors of Christian faith for the people of Uganda was made by the then King of Buganda, Mutesa I who, through a letter written by Henry Sternly in 1875 and several others written by himself with the secretarial assistance of Dallington Maftaa, expressed the need to send him professionals who would teach his people Christianity, literacy and other technical skills. In response to that request, in 1877 the Protestant missionaries of the Church Missionary Society arrived and two years later, in 1879, the Catholic

missionaries belonging to the Society of the Missionaries of Africa – commonly known as White Fathers also arrived and established their first mission in Nabulagala, a piece of land given to them by the King near his palace.

The first activities of the missionaries were focused on the royal court hoping that by obtaining the conversion of the King, it would be easier to win over all his subjects to the Catholic faith. They did this conforming to the instructions of their founder Lavigerie. However, at the royal court the Catholic missionaries did not enjoy a monopoly; there were also the Protestant missionaries together with the Muslims who had in fact arrived a couple of years before. Each of the three parties was struggling to win over the King to their side and in turn the King also had the tendency of playing one religion against another to his advantage, especially to assert his political authority. Although the Catholic missionaries' efforts to convert the King were not definitively realized, there were some fruits, and this explains why the majority of the first converts to the faith were members of the royal court and families of chiefs. These are the ones that formed the nucleus of the first Christian community, and eight years later, from among them 22 would give up their lives in martyrdom the last one being John Mary Mzee.

This period, between the arrival of the missionaries to the death of Mzee, was full of intense activities which constituted the foundation of the Church in Uganda. It formed what we would call the first phase of the history of the Catholic Church in Uganda. It is this history that we are going to study in this thesis.

The history of the Church in Uganda, especially in the first two decades, is very rich and interesting. Its content ranges from the physical planting of the Church and its expansion to a radical transformation of the Gganda society in general.

A considerable number of studies have been carried out, especially concerning the social and political transformation of the Gganda society and the pivotal point in this entire transformation is placed during the reign of Mutesa I with the coming in of foreigners (Arabs and Europeans; especially the missionaries), and the introduction of the three foreign religions namely Islam, Protestantism and Catholicism. This transformation led to the breaking down of the old social-political structure in which the Baganda were united under one monarch who had absolute powers, under one culture whose norms, traditions, customs and practices were universal and unquestionable, and under one faith which, summed up in the set of beliefs, constitute the Gganda traditional religion and was deeply embedded in every aspect of the daily lives of the Baganda.

In a more specific manner also, a number of studies have been made about the beginnings of the Catholic Church in Uganda, however, two observations can be made, and these constitute the problem that this thesis intends to address:

Most of the studies that have been made have their center of focus on the story of martyrdom of the Martyrs of Uganda and some others focus on the success story of the missionary activity of the Missionaries of Africa. Although in the process a lot of important information is given about how the Church was planted in Uganda and how the first Christians in Uganda lived their faith, there remains a big necessity of studying the history of the first Christian community in Uganda during that period in as much as it was «Church», in which the story of the martyrs and the success of the Missionaries' work are treated as just constituent sections and not the major stories.

Another observation is that the work which attempted to address the problem mentioned above in the first observation, remained lacking a lot in scientific presentation. This has to do, especially with the manner of presentation of arguments and reference to the sources.

The main objective of this study is the discovery of how the Church was planted and got rooted in Uganda, especially in the first decade. We are going to discuss, especially, how the first native converts received the Catholic faith, how they lived and propagated it, given the religious pluralism, competition and suspicion that surrounded the royal court and the Kingdom's Capital. Most importantly, we intend to discover the unique features that characterized the nature of this infant Church, which would later shape and influence the mode of function of the future more structured and established Church.

To realize our objective, we are going to study the acts of the process of the beatification of the Uganda martyrs, specifically and most importantly, the testimonies given by the witnesses that were interviewed in the process. The information obtained from these testimonies will be compared with and related to other available data from other sources which, together, will provide the basis for our arguments and conclusions and at the same time serve as references to those same arguments and conclusions, so that we can come out with a more synthesized view and image of the first Christian community in Uganda.

For better clarity, the scope of our study is to be looked at from two points of view; the thematic and the periodic scope.

The thematic scope of this thesis is intended to embody the situation of the first Christian community in Uganda. This will take into account, first, the preliminary stage, that is to say, the important things (essential to the

evangelization process) that took place shortly before the arrival of the Catholic missionaries; secondly, we shall consider the initial planting of the Church, which involves basically how the initial evangelization was effected and how the first Christian community was formed; and thirdly, we shall consider how this newly formed Christian community lived, practiced and extended its faith.

Talking about the thematic scope, it is very important right away at this very point to note and emphasize the fact that this thesis is not intended to tell the story of martyrdom of the Uganda martyrs, even though the persecution of Christians in Uganda and the consequent martyrdom of 22 of them forms an important section in this thesis.

The periodic scope of our thesis intends to principally cover the period from 1879, which is the year of the arrival of the first Catholic missionaries to Uganda, to the year 1887 with the death of the last of the first 22 Uganda martyrs. However, to lay a firm foundation to our study, we shall need to extend the starting point of our periodic scope to 1875, which was the year of the publication of the famous 15th November 1875 Daily Telegraph. But from this extension, we shall only pick out key aspects that are essential and central for a better understanding of the aspects contained in our principal periodic scope.

This thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter one discusses the Kingdom of Buganda as the first receptor-Kingdom of the Catholic faith in Uganda. The reason for which we chose to begin our thesis with discussing the Kingdom of Buganda is that the Church is not an abstract reality, but on the contrary, it incarnates itself and makes itself concretely visible in a given people/society, enriching herself with the good that there is in that society and purifying it of the evil that blemishes it using her evangelical message. In this way the Church contributes to the shaping of the history of that society and at the same time allows her own history also to be shaped by the culture and social system of that same society. Therefore, to better understand the History of the Church in Uganda in the first decade, it is very important to understand first, at least to some degree, the history and structures of the Kingdom of Buganda shortly before the arrival of the first missionaries.

Among the aspects that we shall discuss in the first chapter will include a brief background information on Buganda especially its origins, the social-political structures of the Kingdom and a survey of the indigenous religion that prevailed before the introduction of Christianity.

The second chapter discusses the initial introduction of Christianity in Buganda. It is at this point that the fact is brought to knowledge that the Catholic Church was not the first foreign religion to be introduced to Bu-

ganda. Some decades before, around the year 1840, Islam had found its way into Buganda through the Arab traders who came from Zanzibar at the East African coast, first with Ahmed bin Ibrahim and later Khamis as the most outstanding protagonists. And in the year 1875, through Henry Stanley together with his interpreter Dallington Maftaa, Christianity was introduced in Buganda for the first time. Although this first type of Christian faith introduced to Buganda cannot be officially tied to a specific Christian religious denomination, it is crystal clear that it was not Catholic but Protestant, reason being that the teachers (Stanley and Maftaa) were Protestants and, Maftaa in particular, tried to rally support from the Anglican Bishop Edward Steere of Zanzibar especially for teaching resources and manpower. It was only two years later (1877) that the first Protestant missionaries arrived in Buganda and then we could formally talk of the Protestant Church in Buganda. In 1879 is when the first Catholic missionaries arrived in Buganda, and therefore among the trio, the Catholic Church was the latest comer.

The reason for discussing the above in the second chapter is, in the first place, to lay bare that fact that the Catholic Church was not the first Christian religion in Buganda, but secondly and most importantly, is that the coexistence of these four religions (considering also the indigenous Gganda religion which was the religion of the people always before), the competition and tension that existed between them formed a very central and important part of the history of the infant Church. And therefore, it was of paramount importance to discuss them prior.

The third chapter discusses the evangelization and planting of the Catholic Church in Buganda. The Church as an institution does basically three things: it recruits members (it expands/extends itself), it celebrates its life, and it establishes its structures. The above three things are what were contained in the activities of evangelization and planting of the Church. In the first place, we are going to look at how the young Church went out to look for new converts and how it worked within itself in the formation and growth of those that were already recruited as converts. Regarding this, the third chapter discusses the first approach that was used by the missionaries in the search for new converts and their formation especially during the catechumenate, it also discusses the methods applied and the tools that were employed in realizing that mission.

The most profound way in which the Church celebrates its life is through the celebration of sacraments. Therefore, this chapter also discusses the sacramental life of the first Christian community in Uganda, in a way expounding on how the Church was made alive in this young Christian community. All

the sacraments are discussed, except that of the anointing of the sick which is neither recorded nor its celebration implied in any of the records that we were able to find.

Lastly, in the third chapter we trace the existence of the visible Church structures in that first Christian community, in a way trying to verify if already by that time the Catholic Church was fully planted as much as it was operative.

The fourth chapter discusses some important factors that influenced the evangelization process in Buganda. We chose to discuss these factors after what was discussed in chapter three because the success of the evangelization activity does not only depend on the input of the players, it also has a lot to do with the prevailing factors and circumstances.

These factors include aspects like religious freedom, attitude of the Baganda towards Christianity as a new phenomenon, prevailing factors that facilitated the quick reception of the Christian message and success of the mission, and lastly the challenges that were faced by the missionaries and by the native converts; the most outstanding of these challenges was that of multiple-religious environment.

The fifth chapter discusses a very important period in the history of the early church in Uganda which was the withdrawal and absence of the missionaries from Buganda. This period lasted approximately two years and eight months but made a profound and lasting impact on the history of the Church in Uganda, both in its infancy, and many years after.

The major aspects that are discussed in this chapter include the reasons why the missionaries decided to withdraw from Buganda and the vitality of the lay apostolic activity during the absence of the missionaries; under these two sections is also discussed the emergence of the most outstanding leading lay leaders of the Christian community and the most prominent centers of Christian activity. Lastly in this chapter, the place of the women and their apostolate in the early Christian community and the return of the missionaries is discussed.

The sixth, which is also the last chapter of this thesis is about the persecution and martyrdom of the Christians in Uganda. This theme occupies a very central place in the history of the Catholic Church in Uganda, not only in the first Christian community, but also up to date.

The following are some of the most important aspects that are discussed in this chapter: first we discuss the nature of persecution, in which we identify and elaborate on the outstanding characteristic features that are particular to this persecution. Secondly, we discuss the phases of the persecution and how it went on unfolding until it reached the climax. Our center of focus here is es-

tablishing the phases of persecution and outlining their distinguishing marks. Thirdly, we discuss the reasons for the persecution; these are categorized into direct and indirect reasons which also, in the following section, lead us into discussing the major persecutors of the Christians; these too are categorized into two groups: the principal actors who, in this persecution, were decision makers and the collaborating actors who also had a hand in the persecution of the Christians but only acted under the orders and authority of the major actors. Lastly, we look at how the Christian community reacted to the persecution that was declared against them. Under this section we look at the martyrs, the confessors, those who went into hiding and those that lapsed.

Below, we are going to present an extract which constitutes the third chapter of the thesis. It is in this chapter that the essential elements of the first Christian community in Uganda as «Church» are presented: it expounds on how the faith was planted and how it was lived; the evangelization process, catechetical formation and celebration of sacraments. All the other aspects that are elaborated in the previous and later chapters either serve a preparatory and facilitative role or are consequences, fruits or further developments of what is presented in the third chapter.

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Abbreviations of the Thesis

AAV	Archivio Apostolico Vaticano
AGMAfr	Archives Générales des Missionnaires d'Afrique
AKA	Archives of Kampala Archdiocese
Br.	Brother (Male religious)
CMS	Church Missionary Society
Dr.	Doctor
Fr.	Father (Catholic Priest)
Mr.	Mister
Prof.	Professor
Rt. Rev.	Right Reverend
Edt.	Edition
Edtr	Editor

Evangelization and planting of the Church in Buganda

0. EVANGELIZATION AND PLANTING OF THE CHURCH IN BUGANDA

In this chapter we are going to look at the real work of evangelization considering, especially, how it was carried out in those first years of the faith in Uganda. Our major concern will be on the approach that was used, the methods and tools that were employed in the evangelization process (it is in here that we shall expound on the important aspect of catechesis and the catechumenate), and then we shall look at how the visible church began to take root, especially through the celebration of sacraments and the structural composition of the visible church.

1. FIRST APPROACH TO EVANGELISATION: ATTEMPT AT THE CONVERSION OF THE KING AND THE CHIEFS

Although there were various approaches which the missionaries employed in the evangelization of Buganda, the very first one and most notable was the attempt on the conversion of the King and the chiefs.

When the missionaries were leaving France for Buganda, their founder, Lavigerie, spelled out very clearly for them the approach they were to use in the evangelization of Buganda, and it was to be through the conversion of the King and the chiefs, who consequently would facilitate the evangelization and conversion of their subjects. Lavigerie thought that that would be the quickest and most effective way of evangelizing the African monarchical tribes. The following quotation from the first instructions he gave to the pioneer missionaries to Equatorial Africa (in which Buganda was included) brings out the seriousness of Lavigerie's recommendation. «Convinced that the winning over of a single chief will do more for the progress of the mission than the individual

conversion of hundreds of ordinary Africans. Chiefs once converted will carry the others along with them»¹.

Although the people were deemed free to visit the missionaries, in the first months of their stay in Buganda the missionaries did not get any person among the ordinary people that committed himself to be instructed in the Catholic faith. However, many loved interacting with them and held in high esteem the good attitude, kindness and generosity of these Catholic missionaries and because of that, many got attracted to them².

In the meantime, the King and his officials in the royal court showed great interest in getting to know this new religion which these French men had come to teach, and so the King invited Lourdel to the royal court very frequently and asked him to teach him his religion. Ddiba highlights some of those occasions:

«A short time after (after Livinhac had turned down the request of the Kabaka that one of his missionaries should return to France with a delegate of the Kabaka to ask the French government to take over Buganda as its protectorate-13th July 1879³), the King sent for the priests. Livinhac and Lourdel went to palace and the King told them, 'I have called you because I want to learn about your religion' and then the spokesperson asked, 'on the last day, how will God judge the people?' then the priests, being that they had learnt well Arabic and the words of Muhammad, they explained the concept so well to the pleasure of all present. And another person asked, 'who is the Virgin Mary?' and the priests also explained satisfactory on that; it was the 18th July 1879⁴. When they went back home, some chiefs went to them the following day and asked them to teach them more about their religion, others asked for the Catechism⁵. However, that was not proper catechetical instruction; it was an ordinary informal chat.»⁶

There were many more encounters between Lourdel and the Kabaka with his officials in the royal court throughout those months, instructing them on various themes of the Catholic doctrine as contained in the Catechism, until October 3rd 1879, when the Kabaka felt that he was ready to receive Baptism and he went ahead to ask for it. «The Kabaka asked Lourdel about the sacrament of Penance, together with other things and he explained to him all that he asked. And the Kabaka was pleased. Then he told him, 'I see that I have mastered the religion, you have explained to me everything, including about Baptism. Why don't you baptize me? And Lourdel answered, 'baptizing you is ok; however, you need to first let go of all your wives and remain with one as I already told you'...»⁷

The King negotiated with Lourdel on different occasions about the issue of remaining with one wife in order to be admitted for Baptism. He reached to the point of at least accepting to remain with two wives, but Lourdel insisted on one wife. The diary entry of 5th October 1879 gives us details of this fact. «When Lourdel arrived at the palace, Mutesa told him: ‘I have called you here, my dear friend, I passionately desire to be baptized, religion is very strict, otherwise I wouldn’t have let go of my wives because I love them, but do you permit me at least to retain two wives and I let go of all the rest?’. Lourdel answered him, ‘your majesty, I have instructed you in all that pertains to our faith; commitment to faith is a free choice, monogamy is a divine law that is unchangeable’. The Kabaka discharged him and promised to reflect more about it»⁸. In not compromising the doctrine and denying Mutesa Baptism, Lourdel was complying with the strict instructions from their founder, Lavigerie, who had instructed them not to admit any chief to baptism, save at the point of death, if he was not ready to give up his polygamous life.⁹

Mutesa’s journey of conversion to the Catholic faith ended there; he never received Baptism, not even at the moment of his death when he was in the hands of his faithful servant Joseph Mukasa Balikuddembe, one of the most devoted, influential and passionate native teachers of the Catholic faith, who would a year later give his life in martyrdom.

Basing on the above evidence that we have seen, it is very clear to us that the missionaries tried to put into practice the recommendation of their founder, though it appears not to have been successful. However, even though they were not successful in converting the King and the chiefs at that time, as we shall see later, they succeeded in converting the pages who would become chiefs in the future and play a very big role in consolidating the Catholic faith in Buganda, especially in their territories. In that way this approach bore fruits in the long run and would prove very effective.

1.1. *The first catechumens*

Despite all the efforts we have seen above with the instruction of Mutesa and his chiefs, there had not yet been any formal catechetical lessons in which the free Gganda community participated. In the royal court Lourdel normally gave instructions at the invitation of the Kabaka and, usually the Kabaka asked to be instructed on themes that interested him; this could not be regarded as a formal Catechumenate. It was only in November that the Catholic missionaries received the first free children of the land that asked to be enrolled for

catechism classes. The very first one was Nalubandwa (Paul) who enrolled on the 13th November 1879¹⁰. After about ten days of catechetical instruction, he began bringing his other colleagues and they numbered up to four: Damulira Kyononeka, Lubowa Kirevu, Lwanga. Three of these, with the exception of Lubowa Kirevu, were baptized on the 27th March 1880, together with Kaddu, one from the group of ransomed slaves. They were baptized by Lourdel.

It is very important to note that those four we have talked about above were the free citizens who came voluntarily to the missionaries and asked to be instructed in the faith. However, before them there existed a group of ransomed slaves, whom in the diaries and the letters, the missionaries refer to as «our children». As we shall see later, following the orders of their founder, the missionaries were required to ransom young slave boys from the hands of the slave traders, keep them in their custody and teach them how to read and write and also instruct them in the faith. However, not much is recorded about their catechetical instruction apart from the general and continuous complaints (by the missionaries) of their limited capacity to grasp the concepts taught to them; in fact Girault notes the following about the first two free citizens that were enrolled, comparing them with the ransomed slaves: «I have instructed them; they seem more easy than our children»¹¹. But later, in December, he acknowledges the improvement made also among their children (the ransomed slaves); in this case he particularly mentions Leo and Francis: «Since Leon, one of our children, began living with us, he has changed a lot. In the beginning, he had great difficulty learning: now, thanks to his good will, he surpassed all the others; of a very soft character, he behaves very well; we hope to baptize him at Christmas. For some time now, we have been preparing him for this ceremony and he is quite sufficiently instructed. Another one, Francis, would also like to receive baptism; but as we are less sure of him, we will keep him waiting»¹².

Among that group of ransomed slaves, the first one to be baptized was Kaddu, who was baptized together with the three we have mentioned above and took the name Leon. Ddiba tells us that «Kaddu's father was not known, but it is certain that he was a Musoga. Kaggwa, brother of Lwanga Yozefu, is the one who captured him from Busoga in an invasion led by Ssekiboo-bo. When the priests came to Buganda, they ransomed him from Kaggwa, as they were accustomed to ransoming slaves; he was one of the very first slaves they ransomed»¹³. Another well-known slave among the first Christians was Takirambudde Izake, who was baptized in the second group. His Father is not known but what was certainly known about him is that he was a slave to Damulira who was one of the first four Catholics to be baptized¹⁴.

1.2. *Focus on the ruling class?*

When we look at the missionaries' activities in the first months of their settlement in Buganda (as we have seen above) we note that the first efforts and time were dedicated to teaching the faith in the royal court (the Kabaka and his chiefs). And also, if we take a detailed look at the background of each of the members of the first five sets of neophytes, we note that all of them, except Kaddu and Takirambudde Izake, were either pages in the royal court (normally these were children of chiefs and from them were chosen future chiefs), sons of the chiefs, close relatives to the chiefs but under direct care of the chiefs, or slaves of a chief living in a chief's household¹⁵. This therefore brings us to raise a question: Was the first evangelization in Buganda deliberately focused on the ruling class?

In the first place, in the Buganda of that era, in order to have the faith rapidly taking root and becoming dominant in the Kingdom, it was very logical to first secure the conversion of the King and his most influential chiefs. These would, in turn, either with their influence attract their subjects to the Catholic faith or by imperial edict demand the conversion of all citizens of the Kingdom. As we have already seen, Islam took root in Buganda by the same means; Kharim bin Ibrahim and his companions won first the heart of Mutesa the King and his officials to the faith and the rest followed in line. The King promoted the teaching of Islam to all his subjects, both by practicing it himself and later by imperial order to the point of executing over 300 Baganda who had refused to practice Islam. For the Catholics as well, that could have been an effective approach. In fact, Lavigerie, in his instructions to the first caravan of missionaries that were sent to Buganda, he insisted on this approach as the most effective way of evangelizing the Africans: «In a violent society, subdivided into numerous tribes, which still live under a patriarchal system, it is of the utmost importance to gain the goodwill of the chiefs. Missionaries should attach considerable importance to this, convinced that the winning over of a single chief will do more for the progress of the mission than the individual conversion of hundreds of ordinary Africans. Chiefs once converted will carry the others along with them.»¹⁶

However, on the other hand, when we analyze these Catholic missionaries' attitude towards the Kabaka, we discover that although they would have loved so much to win him over to the Catholic faith, they were not desperate for it. For example, when the King asked one of them to go back to France and ask their government to come and take up the Kingdom of Buganda as its protectorate, they declined, and as we have already seen, after Mutesa saw

that he had received enough catechetical instruction and asked for baptism, yet he was not yet ready to commit himself to monogamy, Lourdel still denied him Baptism.

For any missionary strategist or opportunist, who saw winning over the King to his faith as the surest approach to conquering the entire Kingdom to his faith, these two were golden opportunities. Like the Muslims had done (compromising themselves and their custom, when the King accepted to practice Islam but refused to accept circumcision and even forbade any of his subjects from getting circumcised before him), the missionaries also in order to win over Mutesa to their side, would have compromised the condition of monogamy and granted the King Baptism, after all he had shown a great willingness to change; for he had accepted to get rid of 82 of his wives whom he claimed to love so much, and remain with only two. However, the missionaries did not compromise their teaching in the name of winning over the King. This is a clear sign that although they saw Mutesa's conversion as a sure means, they were not desperate for it. Nevertheless, they still took it as a priority maintaining a good relationship with the King, so that, although he had not converted to the Catholic faith, he would at least remain in favor of and supportive to their mission and missionary activities.

Regarding the fact that almost all the first enrolled catechumens came from or had connection to circles of the ruling class, the following argument could be raised.

Here we need to look at the environment and the conditions under which the missionaries were working, and also which type of people had access to them. To begin with, before they had spent a considerable period of time in Buganda the Catholic missionaries, like any other Europeans before them, were considered visitors of the King and the King also enjoyed a certain degree of monopoly over them; he called upon them whenever he wanted, not only for religious reasons, but also, and more so, for political and humanitarian ones. So, they found themselves more within reach by the members of the royal court than the common peasants.

When we look at the locality in which the missionaries lived- first in Kitebi then in Luby, it also has a lot to tell us. Ddiba tells us that Lourdel and Amans, who arrived first, shortly lived in Kitebi and later they asked the Kabaka to give them a new place to live (Luby). But one of the reasons for which they desired to leave Kitebi (although they did not declare it openly) was that the surroundings were heavily concentrated with the King's officials; Kabowa and Nnyanama were filled up with houses of the King's wives, the whole of Bunnamwaya belonged to Kiwewa, Mutundwe was habited by the

Executioners (abambowa), Lubaga and all its surroundings were occupied by banana plantations of the princesses¹⁷. When they were transferred to Luby, although the situation was a little different, they also found that their plot of land was almost completely bordered by pieces of land of King's men: Ssabaganzi Lubuzi chief of the Njovu (elephant) clan, Kitunzi, Kiweddemu (the King's drummer), Lukomwa of the Ffumbe Clan (Omukanga), Gabunga, Wakibi omunawa, Abafumbiro ba Kabaka (cooks of the King), Princess Tuttekubano (latter baptized Agatha); these were the close neighbors to the missionaries.¹⁸

Judging that kind of surrounding (of royal officials and chiefs) in which the missionaries lived, it was more probable that their impact would reach first to that class, before it would be extended to the ordinary citizens.

But more to that, we also need to take into consideration the fact that around that time, the young pages and many other young Baganda around the capital, especially children of the chiefs, were burning with a thirst for learning, especially from the foreigners. They had already began learning to read and write, first with the Muslim Arabs and later with the English Protestants. These are the same people who went also to the Catholic missionaries.

In conclusion therefore, it appears that although the missionaries also had the desire and intention to convert first the King and the ruling class as an approach for the evangelization of Buganda, the fact that things took the course that they took was more because of circumstantial reasons than of a deliberately intended move to focus on the ruling class.

2. METHODS OF EVANGELISATION (HOW CONVERTS WERE GAINED)

Several methods were employed by the missionaries and the native converts in sharing their faith and attracting of new converts to the Catholic Church. Some of them were employed consciously and purposefully and others unconsciously and spontaneously. Below are some of them.

2.1. *One-on-one*

This was the most effective and most used method of evangelization and recruitment of converts in the first decade of catholic faith in Uganda. It should be noted that, in the first place, at this time the missionaries were totally new to the place, they were just still learning the language, they were

very few- only five, and their access to the population was to a great extent limited. So, this one-on-one form of evangelization was majorly carried out, not by the missionaries, but by the locals who after being converted, brought their colleagues to the priests or taught them the faith themselves. Nsingisira, one of these converts testifies to this: «When the priests came into this country we, the pages who were in the palace, went to visit them, but stealthily, and they taught us things about God which we loved and believed, then we went and shared them with our colleagues who also believed them and in that way the Catholic faith went on spreading and reached all corners of Buganda»¹⁹.

Kamya also has another similar version of testimony: «When the priests arrived in this country, the Kabaka sent some people to assist them, especially in construction of their houses and taking them food; during those encounters they listened to the words of religion from the priests and they made effort to learn and commit themselves to the faith. Whenever they returned to their homes, they shared the good news with their colleagues who also believed and committed themselves to the faith. That is how the catholic faith, little by little, went on getting known and spreading among the people of Buganda»²⁰.

The effectiveness of this method of evangelization had basically two notable results; first, it made up for the limitedness of priests who, being only four, could not in any way have reached the entire population which was numerous and greatly dispersed. Secondly it created a non-clergy-centered Christian community, which would later, on its own, not only survive a three-years total absence of priests in the country but also would grow bigger in numbers and in the level of commitment irrespective of that absence of the clergy.

2.2. Through humanitarian activities and acts of charity especially medicine

The second method of evangelization by which the first missionaries attracted converts was through humanitarian activities and acts of charity.

For the people of Buganda, the missionaries were not only pastors but also teachers, mechanics, physicians, among others. Many people made recourse to them for the first time, not for religious related issues but for one of those humanitarian reasons. The most significant among these was the medical services that they offered willingly and freely to anyone who made recourse to them. Mutesa was also one of their usual patients. Their dedication and kind willingness to attend to those who went to them attracted many to their religion. For example, the very first free citizen, Nalubandwa, who enrolled himself for catechetical instruction went to the Catholic mission to

get papers for writing, but that very day, he ended up enrolling and beginning his catechetical instruction²¹. Another example is Fuwuke (John Mary), one of the four members of the second set of neophytes. After he had prepared his gun, ready for the pending invasion against Busoga, suddenly a gun shot was made, and it caught his index finger. He ran to Mackay for medical attention, for then he was an Anglican convert, however, he was disappointed by Mackay's proposal of amputating his finger, so he asked for Lourdel's intervention. Lourdel went every day to Fuwuke's house to give him medical treatment for his finger and after a few days, he registered a great improvement that he decided that instead of the priest coming to his house, he would go to the Catholic mission station for treatment. It was there at the mission station that he found the first set of catechumens under instruction. After the day's treatment he would sit closer to the catechumens and listen to the instruction and after a few days of doing the same, he developed a great desire for the catholic faith and asked to enroll also for catechetical instruction. He therefore became the first member of the second set of catechumens to whom other three would join shortly²².

This did not end with the missionaries, it was also instilled in the hearts of the new converts, who attended generously to the sick, especially in times of outbreaks of plagues, when everybody had abandoned the victims in fear of being infected too. This courageous kindness attracted many to the faith.

2.3. *Ransoming of slaves*

This was another method through which the Catholic missionaries recruited converts.

The Catholic faith arrived in Uganda at a moment when in Europe the campaign against slave trade and slavery in general was gaining momentum. Lavigerie, the founding father of the Missionaries of Africa was highly interested in this campaign especially in France; he launched his anti-slavery campaign on the 1st July 1888 in the Church of St. Suplice in Paris²³. However, although his launch against slavery came a little later, as Nnyombi tells us, «already his plan for the 'evangelization of Africa' (2nd January 1878) prepared ten years before launching his anti-slavery campaign can be considered as the first stepping stone in his determination to fight against slavery in Africa. In that plan Lavigerie spoke of the abolition of slave trade as a must for the successful evangelization of Africa»²⁴. The first approach he thought in stopping slave trade in Africa was the good Samaritan ap-

proach, «charity», which was to be realized through ransoming of slaves, especially the children; bringing them up and educating them. Therefore, in his first and second instructions to the missionaries for Equatorial Africa (which includes Buganda) he encouraged them to ransom as many slaves as they could. The major intension of this was principally to contribute to the ending of slave trade and slavery. However, without doubt, he also saw it as an effective evangelizing strategy.

«They will send to them all the children from upcountry they can take in, received from their parents, or ultimately purchased from slaving countries to bring them up. They will then be called back to the mission where they will become in any case their auxiliaries. I think this is the only practical way to achieve sure and significant results. If they have received an education that enables them to earn a living, they become real asset to the upcountry missions. Added to this, the unhealthiness of the climate that has swiftly cut down European missionaries makes, all the more, valuable the supporting role of the inhabitants of this country who are immune to these infections»²⁵.

In response to the order of their founding Father, the missionaries made effort to ransom as many slaves as they could²⁶. And this spirit was also instilled in the new converts, especially those who had been gifted with considerable wealth; among these, Balikuddembe and Mzee are most outstanding. Kanya tells us that «because he (Balikuddembe) worked in the King's private quarters he grew wealthy. He used to take from his wealth and help his fellow Christians, dressing them and feeding them, he also often ransomed the poor that had been sold into slavery.»²⁷ «Mzee, of the Nvubu clan, also used to act the same way as Balikuddembe, taking from his wealth to help his fellow Christians, dressing and feeding them, he also used to ransom those sold in slavery and instructed them in the Catholic faith.»²⁸ Masimbi also testifies about Mzee: «I saw him many times taking from his wealth to ransom young children sold in slavery and he entrusted them to good Christians who instructed them in the faith»²⁹.

The principal motive of ransoming slaves was not necessarily to acquire converts, but it was an act of Christian charity and an act of justice to humanity. However, since after ransoming them, these children often lived either with the priests or with good Christian families, they often received Christian instructions and eventually became converts. Ultimately some of them became auxiliaries to the missionaries and others dedicated themselves to various kinds of lay apostolates, becoming missionaries to their fellow countrymen.

2.4. *Through public debates especially at the royal court*

As we have already seen above, for about three months, Lourdel was often invited to the palace by Mutesa and asked him to expound on various themes in the Catechism pertaining to the Catholic doctrine. Lourdel always willingly and committedly made effort to explain the Catholic doctrine in its depth and to the satisfaction of the King and his officials. And he actually managed to win over the heart of the King, although due to human weakness the King was not able to receive Baptism, as we already saw. However, in spite of that, this method did not go without results; the conviction that Lourdel's expositions aroused in the heart and mind of the Kabaka drove him to make affirmative statements about the Catholic religion³⁰ which made a great number of pages and royal officials to seek out the missionaries and enrolled themselves as catechumens.

Some of these encounters of Lourdel at the court were, however, not peaceful exposition of Catholic doctrine, but hot inter religious confrontations; sometimes between Lourdel and the Protestant Mackay or between him and the Muslim radicals.

On the other hand, although these were bitter confrontations, they helped a great deal in asserting and reaffirming the presence of the Catholic faith in the Kingdom. And fortunately, the Catholic party always emerged victorious and survived the suppression that was intended upon it by the other parties.

3. TOOLS OF EVANGELISATION

In this section we are going to look at the instruments that stood out to be very helpful and were therefore employed regularly by the missionaries in the work of evangelization. Although there might have been others, here we are going to mention only two, the Catechism and the translated Bible manuscripts.

3.1. *The Catechism*

The Catechism appears to be the most dominant tool that was used in the work of evangelization in the first decade of the catholic faith in Uganda; it is the commonest document that is referred to in the catholic circles in that time, even more than the Bible itself. For the first Christian community it was both a prayer book and theological manual; on the 1st of July 1879 when

Mackay tried to assert his dominance over the Catholic missionaries before the King in the royal court, ordering them to kneel down, they refused to participate in his prayer and when the King asked Lourdel also to take a catholic prayer, we are told that the priests read from the Swahili Catechism which they had received from the Holy Ghost Fathers in Bagamoyo³¹.

As we have already seen above, in all the encounters that Lourdel had with the Kabaka explaining to him and his officials about the catholic doctrine, he followed the Catechism and when the Kabaka also asked him to explain to him about some doctrinal themes, he picked them from the catechism³².

From the testimony of Munaku, a sister to Mawaggali, one of the Martyrs of Uganda, we see that the Catechism was taken as the guide for the activities of the young Christian community. Every Sunday, Mulumba, the head of the Christian community in Mityana, would send some members of the community to the capital to listen to the catechetical instructions of the priests and when they came back, they would update the entire Christian community³³.

The first Catechism in Luganda, which is at the same time the very first publication in any local African language³⁴, was printed in 1881. It was prepared by Livinhac and numbered 44 pages and was subdivided into three major sections; The essential Christian truths were condensed into 19 pages, followed by 7 pages of prayers, then lastly a syllabary and some pages of reading which were intended to enable the Baganda to learn to read and write.³⁵

The above information brings to our awareness the importance of the catechism as a tool of evangelization in the first Christian community in Uganda. It was taken as a manual for all missionary teaching activities, both of religion and of basic literacy. The above information also confirms our earlier assertion that for the local converts, the Catechism was also a prayer book.

3.1.1. Catechetical instructions

Here we are going to take a closer look at the doctrinal content that was imparted in the Catechetical instruction. We are therefore going to break down the first section of the Catechism which contains the essential Christian truths³⁶. This section was divided into ten parts, and it was structured in a question-and-answer format.

- Part One: This part talks about the nature of God.
- Part Two: This part talks about the Creation (of Angels, of all the things and of man), the purpose of Creation/ destiny of man (the heaven), the ten Commandments (as the only way we can reach heaven- Obedience to God and to human authority).

- Part Three: Here is elaborated the doctrine about Sin, hell, and original sin.
- Part Four: In this part we find the doctrine about; the mercy of God and salvation through Jesus Christ, the divinity of Christ, the Trinity, the incarnation and the Blessed Virgin Mary.
- Part Five: This part talks about the salvation mission of Christ and grace.
- Part Six: It is here that the Sacraments are explained.
- Part Seven: This part is entirely about Prayer.
- Part Eight: The Apostles' creed, the Apostles, The church (the hierarchy and the precepts of the church).
- Part Nine: Here we find the doctrine about the three cardinal virtues (faith, hope and charity).
- Part Ten: This is the last part, and it talks about the Final Judgement and the resurrection.

3.2. *Translated Bible manuscripts*

This was another tool that was used in the evangelization of the first Christian community in Uganda. In the Protestant circles the Bible³⁷ was without doubt the major tool of evangelization, but in the Catholic circles it was somehow different. We hear less mention of it as being used and read by the early Catholic converts, neither do we have records of the Catholic priests encouraging their converts to read the Bible. But on the other hand, there is no doubt that in that first Christian community the Word of God was at the center and the converts yearned for it; at least listening to it. Some are even recorded to have gone to the Protestant mission purposely to learn to read the Holy Scriptures; Faupel gives us a concrete example of Balikuddembe.

Despite the above, one would be wrong to think that among the Catholics the Bible was given secondary importance, basing on the fact that it was not taken as the major tool of evangelization. It must be understood that in that epoch and some Centuries earlier, in the Universal Church, the idea of private interpretation of the scriptures was quite restricted. And most probably the Catholic missionaries had it very clear in mind in their pastoral activities. Although we have not found concrete records of the missionaries addressing this theme directly, we see that the Kabaka of Buganda was able to figure it out as a major mark of difference between the Catholics and Protestants and therefore drawing the following conclusion: «In my opinion, a religion that has a well-established authority that guides it is better than that one which grants liberty to anyone to read the Holy Scripture and make a private in-

terpretation of it.»³⁸ This gives us reason to think that among the Catholics, private reading and study of the Bible may not have been highly encouraged.

However, even amidst such apparent restrictions, we can still affirm that the Bible was also a tool that the missionaries employed in the work of evangelization, especially as the primary source of all the truths that were taught in the catechism, celebrated in all liturgical and non-liturgical religious activities and encouraged to practice in the daily life of the converts. As a matter of fact, Bible texts were read in Liturgical gatherings and explained also in catechetical instructions. This shows us how instrumental a tool the Bible was.

When we talk about the Bible at this time in Uganda, what were mainly known were parts of the Bible translated into Luganda. Without any doubt, the missionaries had in their possession complete Bibles in French for the Catholic missionaries and in English for the Protestants, but those were less useful for the local people who at the time knew mainly Luganda and Swahili for some few especially at the court. The first translations of the Bible in Uganda were into Swahili, written in Arabic letters. Mackay, after his arrival in Buganda, was astonished to find so many copies of the booklet of Biblical texts written in Swahili in the Arabic script prepared by Stanley and his scribe Maftaa³⁹. Because, as we have already seen above that the Bible was the major tool of evangelization for the Protestants, as soon as Mackay arrived, he embarked on the work of translating parts of the Bible into Luganda and Swahili, beginning with the Gospel of St. Mathew. To Mackay literacy was a key to Christian conversion and ability to read the Gospel was a requirement for Baptism and a way to a personal revelation of Biblical truth⁴⁰. In the year 1896, with the efforts of George Pilkington, together with other Protestant Baganda converts fluent in both Luganda and Swahili, the entire Bible was completed and published in Luganda by the Protestants and it came to be known as the «Biscuit Bible»⁴¹

The journey of the Catholics of translating the Bible into Luganda was quite slow, they only managed to translate the Gospels. It was only recently in 2013 that the complete catholic Bible was published.

Maftaa's knowledge of both Swahili and Luganda was utilized later also by the White Fathers, for whom he translated parts of the Gospels into Luganda and at the same time he taught them Luganda and even wrote for them the kiganda traditions⁴².

The Bible was also used, at least as understood by the local people, as a symbol of Christianity just as the Muslims had the Quran. One significant incidence is recorded when Lourdel used the Bible to symbolize and assert the identity of Christians and the power of their God against the Muslims. After

Mutesa had been denied Baptism, he fell back to Islam and the Arab Muslims revived their earlier plots to make the entire Buganda a Muslim country. This time they influenced the Kabaka to exterminate all Christians through a royal decree. The Kabaka who had connived with these Arab Muslims arranged a mandatory prayer day in the palace mosque on the 11th September 1881. The plan was that he would order all people to go to the mosque to pray and those who would refuse to go would be sentenced to death; off course the Christians were expected not to go to the mosque. However, Lourdel after learning of the plan and after making a novena of nine days with his companions at the mission station, presented himself at the royal court on that day and when the Kabaka pronounced his intention, Lourdel fell to his feet and pleaded: «Your Majesty, I beg you not to force your subjects to unwillingly pray according to any religion, God wants that the people may serve him freely». However, the Arab Muslims intervened immediately and began inciting the Kabaka against the Christians with so many accusations, but the Kabaka kept silence. Immediately Lourdel rose up on his feet with his Bible (the New Testament) in the hand and proposed something similar to what Prophet Elijah proposed to the prophets of Baal. He said: «Your Majesty, if these Muslims claim that the Religion of Jesus Christ is false and that theirs is the true one, let the God I profess be the judge between us. What I ask of your majesty is that you may order men to build a small grass thatched house right here in the court so that I, holding my Bible in my hands which contains the word of God and those Muslims also holding their Quran, we may both enter that house and it be set on fire. Whoever comes out unburnt by the fire will be the one that teaches the true religion».

However, the Muslims refused Lourdel's proposal right away and added a number of insults. But after the Kabaka had contemplated the proposal, he gave his ruling; «Let every citizen freely chose the religion he wants to practice, as for the idea of burning you in the fire, I cannot accept it»⁴³. And when all was finished, the people went away saying that Lourdel's religion is the true one.

4. SACRAMENTAL LIFE

In this section we are going to discuss the possibility of a fully constituted sacramental life in the first Christian community in Uganda. We are going to look at each sacrament individually, ascertaining whether it was celebrated in that community, and then we shall go ahead to look at how it was celebrated.

4.1. *Baptism*

When one talks of the presence of a Christian community in an area, it is presumed that the sacrament of Baptism has already been celebrated in that community, being that it is the one by which one becomes member of the church. There are inexhaustible proofs that the sacrament of Baptism was celebrated in the first Christian community; when asked whether the then servants of God (the Uganda martyrs) had received Baptism before their death, all the witnesses in the process of the beatification of the Uganda martyrs affirm that all, except four had been baptized by the priests⁴⁴, and some witnesses go on also to affirm that even three of the above four were baptized by Charles Lwanga, their fellow martyr, the night before their condemnation. Only one, out of the twenty-two martyrs, suffered martyrdom without being baptized⁴⁵.

4.1.1. First Baptisms in Uganda

The very first Baptism recorded in Uganda was of four of the five members of the first set of Catechumens who began their instructions in November of the year 1879. These four were, as we have already seen, Nalubandwa, Damulira Kyononeka, Lwanga and Kaddu.

After an intensive instruction of about four months, the missionaries judged them worthy and ready to be baptized, and on the 27th March 1880 Livinhac had the privilege of celebrating these first Baptisms, admitting the first four native into the Catholic church⁴⁶. This Baptism took place in Nabulagala, in the Vigil Mass on Holy Saturday, a celebration which is said to have been very solemn; the Baptism alone took about one hour and a half and the priests were very happy to admit into the Church the very first Native members⁴⁷.

With the help of Matayo Kirevu Lubowa, who was the fifth member of this set but baptized later with the second group on 14th of May 1880, Ddiba gives us some details of each of these four first baptized native Catholics.

- Nalubandwa Paul

Nalubandwa who belonged to the Mmamba Clan (Lung fish) was the son of Nnyika Kyagulumiza Namutwe a prominent chief (Vice Ssekibobo) and renown warrior. Nalubandwa was the first person to enroll for catechetical instruction and after some days he invited his other colleagues. At Baptism he took the name Paul.

When the Catholic Missionaries decided to leave Buganda for Busukuma (south of Lake Victoria) in fear of the suspected plans against their lives

by the Kabaka, Nalubandwa wanted to go with them, but they did not accept him, however, later he connived with Kyakonye who asked the Kabaka to create for him a department in Busukuma, and Nalubandwa would be his assistant. When their plan was successfully granted by the Kabaka, Nalubandwa followed the Missionaries to Busukuma accompanied by other six catholic converts and later five more also followed. Nalubandwa never returned to Buganda, he died on his way to Kipalapala, another mission station which was under Fr. Hauttecaeur⁴⁸.

- Ddamulira Kyononeka Peter

Ddamulira was the second to enroll for Catechetical instruction, brought by his colleague Nalubandwa. He belonged to the Kasimba Clan and his Father was Kakanga who died early. He was introduced into the royal palace as a page by his uncle Kiwanuka who was a chief (omujaju) and for that reason, for not having known Kakanga, many people thought that Kiwanuka was Ddamulira's real father. At baptism, he took the name Peter.

After the departure of the missionaries, he is one of the already baptized Christians that remained behind guiding and encouraging the new converts in a Christian community without priests.

He occupied several positions as chief but when the new Kabaka, Mwanga, developed resentment against the Christians, he is one of the victims that lost their positions as chiefs and fell back to ordinary citizenship.

During the Christian persecution he was also captured but as he was being taken for execution the Namasole (queen mother) pleaded for his life and he was spared. He died in Villa Maria and was buried in Butende. The chief of that area offered 80 acres of Land for the church as a memory of Ddamulira.

- Lwanga Joseph

Lwanga belonged to the Mmamba Clan and was son of Nantoke-Nsege, a prominent vice county chief of Bulemezi County (Kkangawo). He did not live long after his Baptism (only about four years).

- Kaddu Leon

Kaddu was a slave from Busoga. He was captured by Kaggwa, brother to Lwanga Joseph in a battle commanded by Ssekibobo. When the missionaries arrived in Buganda, he was one of the slaves they ransomed and was soon enrolled in the catechumenate. At Baptism he took the name Leo and after Baptism he stayed with the priests.

He died by drowning in Lake Victoria on the way to Bukumbi with the missionaries after they had been expelled from Buganda by the Muslims who had won the first religious war in 1888.

4.1.2. Adult Baptisms

In his testimony on the martyrs of Uganda, Nsingisira reports that «some of them had already been baptized as adults and some others were under preparation for baptism, but they too were mature youths»⁴⁹. From this testimony and several other records, it is very clear that in the first decade of the Catholic Church in Uganda adult baptism was the norm.

And Kamyá also brings to light another detail especially about preparation of candidates for Baptism, making reference to the Uganda martyrs; «seventeen of these servants of God were martyred after being baptized, the priests baptized them after preparing them for a considerable period of time»⁵⁰. Therefore, let us look at the catechumenate with special consideration of its duration and how it was organized or arranged.

4.1.3. The catechumenate

The catechumenate is the period in which one is prepared for the reception of the sacraments of Christian initiation. Unlike in the already established and organized churches where catechetical programs are well established and their duration permanently fixed, in the first catholic community in Uganda it was considerably different. The organization of the catechumenate was faced with basically two challenges:

The first was that all the candidates at the time were adult converts all of whom could not enroll at the same time. Each one experienced his conversion at his own time and therefore enrolled for catechesis at his own time; every now and then there would be someone new coming to the mission to ask for enrollment. This made it quite difficult for the missionaries to organize the catechumenate in a more permanent manner. For that matter at first the catechumenate was organized in a way that all were instructed together, and baptism was granted to those that the missionaries judged to have reached a sufficient degree of knowledge and commitment to the faith⁵¹. In other words, there was no established duration and categorization of the catechumenate.

However, on the 1st of June 1880, the missionaries received from their founder, Lavigerie, some detailed instructions about the reception of converts⁵². In these new instructions, Lavigerie outlined a new structure which all

his missionaries were to follow in organizing the Catechumenate. He based his new structure of the Catechumenate on the arrangement of the early Church. Below were some of the major aspects⁵³.

All those under instruction were to be divided into three classes: postulants, catechumens and faithful:

Postulants: According to Lavigerie, these were to be given only the church's doctrine concerning nature, in order to win over their minds by the inherent splendor of truth. And this consisted of; the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, the distinction between good and evil, the moral law as taught by the ten commandments, penalties and rewards in the other life.

Catechumens: These were to be considered Christians, though not yet baptized, and therefore were to be taught the elements of the Christian mysteries; the Holy Trinity, the incarnation, and redemption.

The Faithful: These were the already baptized, and Lavigerie ruled that «for them there will be no more secrets»

Lavigerie also established a fixed duration of each of the above classes, insisting that all candidates must spend two years as postulants and two years as catechumens, before being admitted to Baptism which, also, in circumstances when any misgivings about the perseverance of the candidate were entertained, must be deferred until the candidate is dying, or in danger of death.

In addition to the above, Lavigerie forbid postulants and catechumens from being allowed to attend the Holy Sacrifice or to the offices in which the Most Blessed Sacrament is exposed.

It was also to be made clear to those seeking instruction that they must be prepared to lay down their lives rather than deny their faith⁵⁴.

Lavigerie gave these very strict instructions on the Catechumenate to avoid or to reduce the possibility of having many apostacies, concluding that «indeed, apostates especially the great and powerful could become the most dangerous enemies of the Mission»⁵⁵.

These new instructions brought about a notable change in the organization of the Catechumenate. For example, when we take a close look at the intervals between the baptisms from the year 1880 to 1882, we are able to figure out something about the variations in the duration of the catechumenate that occurred:

The first set of Ugandan native converts were baptized on 27th March 1880⁵⁶. If we begin counting from the date when the first of these four (Nalubandwa) was enrolled for catechetical instruction, 13th November 1879, we see that their catechumenate lasted around four months. The second set of catechumens received their baptism on the 15th May 1880, and its catechumenate is also estimated to have lasted around four or five months.

After these two sets, we see a sudden long interval of time before the third and fourth sets were baptized, two years later; on the 30th April and on the 28th May 1882 respectively⁵⁷. These last two sets were intended to follow the catechetical arrangement as dictated by Lavigerie which consisted of two years as postulants and two years as catechumens; however even at this time the four years duration of the catechumenate was not realized, for the missionaries took advantage of the permission given by Lavigerie of making some exception and baptized those two sets⁵⁸; among the newly baptized under this new arrangement were the future martyrs, Balikuddembe and Kaggwa (Baptized by Lourdel), and Mulumba and Banabakintu (Baptized by Girault).

The second challenge that faced the organization of the catechumenate was the departure of the missionaries from Buganda. This made the duration of the catechumenate indefinite since no one knew when the catechumens would be baptized because no one knew when the priests would come back. During this period is when we got the first lay catechists in the names of Kaggwa, Mulumba and Balikuddembe. These were neophytes who were baptized after undergoing the two years long catechumenate and they became the pillars on which the Church stood during the three years of absence of priests in the country.

The third challenge that faced the organization of the catechumenate was the existence of a high degree of uncertainty, especially during the reign of Mwanga. When the missionaries returned to Uganda in 1885, they tried to restore the catechumenate according to the instructions of Lavigerie; however, the prevailing uncertainties made it impossible for the time being; every now and then the King threatened to kill all the Christians- by Christians he not only meant the already baptized, but all who attended prayers and instruction with the Protestant and Catholic missions. The generic name that was given to them was *Abasomi* which literally means readers⁵⁹. These threats and uncertainties affected especially the possibility of maintaining a fixed duration of the catechumenate, since every now and then the catechumens would run to the mission asking the priests to baptize them fearing that they might be killed without baptism.

This situation intensified in November 1885 after the first martyr, Balikuddembe, head of the Catholic community, had been killed by Mwanga whose threats of killing all Christians resounded more and more often. Ssebikokya has this to say about the situation: «All the Christians and priests knew that Joseph had been killed for his faith: many readers went to the mission to ask for Baptism saying, 'baptize us! They are also going to kill us.' The priests baptized them at night in secret.»⁶⁰ Information had reached all Chris-

tians that the King and his officials had set the date of 24th November as the day on which they were going to kill all Christians. In this situation, under fear of imminent death, the catechumenate was reduced to «a short preparation of one night»; those who went to the mission at night to ask for Baptism were given a brief preparation and were baptized that very night. «At night, a dozen catechumens came to be baptized, I spent part of the night completing their instruction. Fr. Giraud then baptized them and sent them back after a small exhortation for the occasion encouraging them to remain firm and unshakable in their faith even in the face of torments»⁶¹.

Although many were already catechumens under instruction, some of them had never received any kind of formal catechetical instruction, save the one-on-one evangelization they had received from their already baptized colleagues or from those still attending instructions. Faupel gives some details of the groups that appeared at the catholic mission for baptism in that period: «As had happened on the previous night, a number of them stole down to the Catholic mission under cover of darkness and implored the priests to baptize them. At the mission, the pages found that others had the same idea as themselves. Mathew Kisule, the royal gunsmith, was there with a number of his assistants; Alexis Sebbowa, chief of Kitabazi, with some of his followers; two servants of Töli; two women, wives of Christians; and also, some followers of the county chief of Ssingö, of Andrew Kaggwa and of the martyred Joseph Mukasa.»⁶²

Faupel also notes the urgency with which these Baptisms were conducted, and taking a critical look at the names that were given to the newly baptized; he says: «Evidently at a loss for names for such a large number, forty in all, the Fathers seemed to have had recourse to an alphabetical list of saints; Abraham, Adrien, Alexis, Alfred, Alipe, Amans, Amadeus, Anselm, Antoine, Azarias, Achilles, Adolphus, Ambrose, Anatole, Athanasius, Denis, Gonzaga...»⁶³

Between the 16th and 23rd of November 1885 (in just seven days), around 138 persons were baptized⁶⁴, the biggest number of them at night and in secret. Among the many who were baptized at this time, seven of them gave up their lives in martyrdom approximately seven months later. It was also during this period that the first two women were baptized into the Catholic faith in Uganda⁶⁵.

However, when the 24th of November passed (a day that had been set for the killing of all Christians) and nothing happened to the Christians, the missionaries put a stop to the «one night catechumenate» and those urgent Baptisms and so they resumed the ordinary catechumenate, but still as evidenced

by the frequency of baptisms throughout the period of persecution, there is no sign that the strict structure imposed by Lavigerie was implemented in any way, especially in relation to the duration of the catechuminate.

4.1.4. Baptism by fellow lay faithful, in danger of death

Another aspect in the sacrament of Baptism in the first Christian community that cannot be left without mention is the Baptism in danger of death by fellow lay faithful. This was quite common especially because at some time the Kingdom of Buganda was ravaged by outbreaks of plagues which claimed a good number of lives.

The period that registered the biggest number of Baptisms of this kind were the three years when the priests were away from the country. During this period there was a disastrous plague that swept throughout the Kingdom and claimed a good number of lives; the Christians were not exempted. Taking from what they had learnt from the priests, the neophytes baptized the catechumens who found themselves caught by the plague; Lourdel tells us that around 130 catechumens died, after being baptized⁶⁶.

Under this category can also be placed the four martyrs who were baptized by Charles Lwanga a fellow martyr in the night just before their capture 26th May 1886. After Mwanga ordered the killing of Denis Ssebuggwawo, his fury reached the brim and he became finally determined to kill all the Christians. At night the royal enclosure was sealed off by the executioners so that no one would come in or go out. The pages who were under Charles Lwanga gathered around him in the night and knowing that the following day they were to be captured for death, yet there was no way of reaching the priests, Charles Lwanga baptized four of those pages who had not yet been baptized⁶⁷.

4.1.5. Infant Baptisms

As we have already seen, all the first Baptisms that were celebrated in Uganda were of adults. And it is also evident that many that followed were also alike. However, this does not lead us to think or even conclude that there were no infant Baptisms at all in the first Christian community in Uganda.

Although we may not necessarily find overwhelming evidence to back up their existence, there is at least some proofs that point to the existence of infant Baptisms in that epoch. Faupel tells us that Andrew Kaggwa's family became one of the first fully Christian Families when his wife, Clara Mbatudde and infant daughter, Maria were baptized on 19th November 1885⁶⁸. Basing on the three

facts known about Kaggwas' marriage; that he married his wife while he was living in Kitunzi in a plot of land given to him by Mutesa, that his marriage took place after his baptism, and that it was contracted before the priests left Buganda for Busukuma; these are proofs enough for this marriage to be dated around the second half of 1881 or in the first half of 1882 (because in the register, the dates of marriages are not indicated-only names of spouses are indicated). This implies that Maria, their daughter, was born some time from 1882 onwards, and therefore the maximum age she might have had at the time of her Baptism was three years. And this can be classified as an infant Baptism.

This points to the fact that there might have been many other catholic converts whose children were also baptized in their infancy although it is not possible to ascertain their age since the registers did not indicate their dates of birth; Special interest may be taken in those whom, in the register are indicated as son of..., or daughter of...

4.1.6. Reception of baptized Protestants into the Catholic Church

Another aspect which we need to look at as we conclude the Sacrament of Baptism is the reception into the Catholic Church of those already baptized among the Protestants. This aspect is important to note because there were quite a number of converts to the Catholic Church who had previously been Protestant Catechumens or even baptized there; and others had even been instructed in all the three foreign religions; Islam, Anglican and later Catholic, successively.

The most outstanding example of this kind of reception into the Catholic Church was that of princess Clara Nalumansi, sister to Mwanga. She was one of the first seven natives that were baptized with the Protestants in 1878⁶⁹ however, eight years later, contrary to the old kiganda tradition which forbade the princesses of the blood (blood sisters of the Kabaka) to marry, Nalumansi became engaged to Joseph Kaddu a baptized Catholic. They were married in the Catholic Church with a dispensation for a mixed marriage and on the 21st April 1886, she was received into the Catholic Church and took the name Clara⁷⁰.

Although we have proof that there was reception of already baptized Protestants into the Catholic Church, we are not sure if they were received with a rite different from that of an ordinary Baptism. However, it is most probable that those that were received into the Catholic Church in this manner went through the ordinary rite of Baptism as the others because the current rite of reception into full communion with the Catholic Church is a product of the Vatican Council II reforms.

4.2. *Confirmation*

Confirmation is another one of the three sacraments of Christian initiation. In the first Christian community in Uganda, it appears that not much mention was made of this sacrament. Taking for example the testimonies given in the process of the beatification of the martyrs of Uganda, none of the 18 witnesses makes any mention of the sacrament of Confirmation, yet almost all of them mention a number of times the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist (we shall see later in the sacrament of Holy Eucharist that it was the one they referred to when they talked of «amasakalamentu»- the sacraments). However, in other documents, especially written by the priests, this sacrament is mentioned; and the most important of all sources are the books of records, namely the Register for Sacraments and the Diaries.

Irrespective of the fact that little mention is made of this sacrament of Confirmation, there is proof without any doubt that it was celebrated. The very first celebration of the sacrament of Confirmation took place on the 28th March 1880 on Easter day; this was the following day after the candidates had received their Baptism (during Easter Vigil). The minister of the sacrament that day was Livinhac the superior of the mission⁷¹, and the candidates were Joseph, Peter and Paul, three of the four who had been baptized⁷²; it is not known why Leon did not receive confirmation with his colleagues. Another evidence of the celebration of the sacrament of Confirmation is recorded on the 30th April 1882; four newly baptized, among whom were two future martyrs (Kaggwa and Balikuddembe), were given the sacrament of Confirmation by Livinhac⁷³. Speaking of Mulumba, Faupel also indicates to us that on Pentecost day, after he had been baptized, Mulumba received the sacrament of Confirmation together with Luke Banabakintu and other two neophytes, being administered by Livinhac⁷⁴. This took place on the 28th May 1882⁷⁵.

For the first seven years during which there was no presence a bishop in Uganda, it appears that most of the confirmations were administered by the superior of the mission. Due to lack of documentary evidence, we cannot conclude whether it was by orders of Lavigerie or by consensus.

The first Confirmation ever that was administered by a bishop in Uganda took place 31st May 1886⁷⁶. Faupel tells us that in seven days Livinhac, who had just arrived at the mission after his episcopal ordination, administered the sacrament of Confirmation to fifty-two neophytes⁷⁷.

It is very clearly visible from the testimony of the mission diary that for these first Christians the sacrament of Confirmation was a fundamental part of the entire rite of Christian initiation.

4.3. *Eucharist*

The Eucharist is the third of the three sacraments of Christian initiation. Unlike the other two which are received once in a person's lifetime, the Eucharist is received more than once, and in fact it is recommended that it be received as regularly as possible. In the precepts of the Church it is required that one receives Holy Communion at least once a year during the Easter season⁷⁸. Therefore, in the case of our study we are going to look at this sacrament both as a sacrament of Christian initiation (First Holy Communion) and also, as in the other sense of its regular reception.

As one of the sacraments of Christian initiation, the Eucharist was under normal circumstances celebrated the same day or, in some circumstances, a day or some days after one had received his or her Baptism. There are several references that are made to this fact. The first reception of the First Holy Communion in Uganda took place on Easter day 28th March 1880, in the Holy Mass that was celebrated by Livinhac⁷⁹; and after that, many others followed.

As regards the second aspect concerning the sacrament of Eucharist, that is to say its regular reception, it is important to highlight two major aspects; the celebration of the Sacrifice of Mass and the place this sacrament occupied in the lives of the new converts.

As we have already seen, the first Sacrifice of Mass in Uganda was celebrated either on the 25th or 26th June 1879 when the entire group of the first missionaries to Uganda arrived at Luby, the place which the Kabaka had allocated them to settle. This took place approximately four months after the arrival of Lourdel and Amans who had been sent by the superior of the group to announce the arrival of the entire group to the Kabaka of Buganda and to ask him for permission to preach the Catholic faith in his Kingdom. Since then, the celebration and reception of the Eucharist became the center of life for the missionaries, and more so for the new native Christian community that was to be formed. Every Sunday the neophytes went to the mission station to attend the celebration of Holy Mass and to received Holy Communion. Munaku, brother to Mawaggali, one of the three pillars of the Catholic community outside the Capital in Mityana, tells us that every Sunday the leader of that Christian community sent some members of the community to the Capital at the mission station to listen to the teaching of the priests⁸⁰. At the mission station those delegates attended Holy Mass and also received Holy Communion in the same Mass. Ssemugooma tells us that those of Ssingoo (Mityana), although they came from very far, arrive very early at the Capital

to receive from the priests at the mission station the sacraments of penance and Holy communion⁸¹. In the persons of those delegates who walked over forty kilometers on foot just to listen to the teaching of the priest at Mass and receive Holy communion, was seen the entire Christian community of Mityana present. This shows to us how important, especially the Sunday celebration of Holy Eucharist, was to the early converts; the inability of having a priest among them in their local community did not hinder them from participating in the Eucharistic celebration and receiving Holy Communion.

Even in moments of danger of death, while the unbaptized were running to the priests to ask for Baptism, the already baptized found their consolation in asking the priests to listen to their confessions and give them Holy communion as the most dignified preparation for their pending death (martyrdom). Balikuddembe, for example, after an angry outburst from the Kabaka at night, early in the morning he went to the mission station to receive the sacraments and that is where the messenger found him who brought the news that he had been summoned before the Kabaka from whom he would shortly receive his condemnation to death⁸². Kamyá, in his own words, also testifies about Balikuddembe's reception of Holy Communion in preparation for his apparent martyrdom: «Among all the Uganda Martyrs, the only one who had the opportunity of receiving the sacraments shortly before his death was Balikuddembe. After receiving Holy Communion in the morning, he went back home and was captured and killed. All the rest did not find the time to run to the priests for the sacraments, for their arrest was abrupt»⁸³. Kiwanuka gives an account of the same for other converts after Balikuddembe's death: «After the Kabaka had killed Balikuddembe, we were all scared, and we knew that he was determined to kill all of us Christians. For that matter we who were not yet baptized went to the priests for Baptism; and those who were already baptized went to receive the sacraments, preparing ourselves for death»⁸⁴ (by sacraments he meant Penance and Holy Communion)

4.4. *The unity and order of celebration of the Sacraments of Christian initiation*

The three sacraments which we have just discussed above, fall under the block which is known as the sacraments of Christian initiation: Baptism, Confirmation and Eucharist. It is therefore important to look at all of them together as a block, especially discussing the question of their unity and order of celebration. By «unity in the Celebration», we refer to the interval of time

that was left between the celebration of the three Sacraments, and by «order of Celebration», we refer to which sacrament was celebrated before or after which one.

Maintenance of a certain degree of unity in the celebration of the three sacraments of Christian initiation can be noted in the early Christian community in Uganda. This can be attributed, especially, to the fact that most of the candidates to these sacraments were adults⁸⁵ and therefore were considered fit for the reception of all the three sacraments together; they received a complete catechetical preparation necessary for all the three sacraments and at completion of the catechumenate, there would be no need for long interval of delay between their administration; this is evident in the words of Girault: «Tomorrow morning, the catechumens who have received Baptism except Leon, will receive confirmation and the Holy Eucharist. We believe that it is better not to make them wait, and to strengthen them immediately, as soon as possible; they will never be better disposed»⁸⁶.

Here, when we talk of unity, we do not necessarily refer to all the three sacraments being administered in the same celebration but rather we refer to that visibly close continuity in their celebration. As a matter of fact, the evidence that we have indicates that under normal circumstance, except in cases of emergencies caused by the threatening persecutions that prevailed at sometimes, these sacraments were celebrated in different celebrations. However, their close unity was very evident and seen in the fact that sometimes all the three were celebrated on the same day and, though sometimes their days of celebration were separated the interval of days between them was not too long to lose the sense of unity. Let us look at some examples.

On 27th March 1880, which was Holy Saturday, at 04:00hr, Livinhac administered the sacrament of Baptism to Ddamulira and his colleagues and the following day (28th March 1880-Easter day), at 05:15hr he administered to them the sacrament of Confirmation; and then they also received their First Holy Communion in the Mass that he celebrated right after there⁸⁷.

On the 14th May 1880 four catechumens were baptized but their Confirmation was delayed and celebrated two days later (16th May 1880) which was the feast of Pentecost that year. They are also reported to have received Holy Communion that same day (of Pentecost)⁸⁸, however we are not sure if this was their First Holy Communion or that they had received it two days earlier, on the day of their Baptism.

The third example is of those that were baptized on the 30th April 1882. Lourdel baptized them in the morning before Mass; in the Mass that was celebrated right after their Baptism they received their First Holy Communion,

and on the same day, sometime after Mass, Livinhac administered to them the sacrament of Confirmation⁸⁹. In this case these four converts received all the three sacraments of Christian initiation on the same day, however in different celebrations. It is also important to note that the sacraments of Baptism and Confirmation were both celebrated always outside Mass.

When we take a close examination of the Baptisms that were celebrated from November 1885 to May 1886 at the arrival of Livinhac (after his episcopal ordination), there is no mention of the sacrament of Confirmation being conferred. We only come to hear again of its celebration on the 31st of May, being administered by Livinhac to a considerable number of neophytes who were already experiencing the persecution at its peak. In the Diary, it was noted that «the Christians who have not yet received Confirmation come overnight in groups of five or six, sometimes ten, in order to receive this sacrament which will give them the strength to endure the heavy trials that this persecution puts on their faith»⁹⁰. It is crystal clear that all these neophytes had already received their First Holy Communion, but celebration of Confirmation had been delayed. The most probable reason, although not mentioned anywhere, could have been that the missionaries were waiting the arrival of the new bishop so that he would administer that sacrament.

The order of celebration of the sacraments of Christian initiation, if we are to make use of the same examples above, was not stable. As a principle, we note that Baptism always came first, but in the second and third place, Confirmation and First Holy communion were interchanged most probably depending on the circumstances. However, when we look at the course of events, especially when the first Bishop for Uganda (the then Nyanza Vicariate) was ordained and arrived in his vicariate, the order of the three sacraments of Christian instruction stabilized; having Baptism as the first to be administered, followed by First Holy communion and lastly Confirmation. This happened majorly because then the young Church had eventually got an ordinary minister of the sacrament of confirmation. Unless there were some kind of emergency that would necessitate that one receives confirmation from an extraordinary minister, the candidates would receive Baptism, receive First Holy communion and then wait for that moment when the Bishop would be available to administer to them the Confirmation. However, as the order stabilized, we also begin to see the disunity in this block of sacraments since in some cases confirmation would be delayed for quite some time.

As the young Christian community continued growing in numbers and territorial extension, the order of administration of the three sacraments became more permanently fixed as the disunity in their celebration also wid-

ened. Baptism of infants became more common, and therefore the first Holy Communion and Confirmation began to be delayed for years after the celebration of Baptism. However, the time when this began to happen falls outside our scope of study.

4.5. *Penance*

When we look at the testimonies of all the witnesses for the beatification of the Uganda martyrs, in the introduction, those who were Catholics all declare that they receive the sacraments «*nfuna amasakalamentu*». This would have two implications: first that they are fully baptized and they have no impediment that stops them from receiving the habitual sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist, especially the impediment of being in an illicit marital relationship; or secondly it may imply simply that they regularly go for confessions and receive Holy communion.

Some witnesses go on to be more specific; Kiwanuka, for example explicitly said, «today I have received the sacrament of Penance and I receive Holy Communion regularly»⁹¹. Nsingisira also makes a similar explicit declaration: «I receive the sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist every Sunday when it is opportune»⁹²

Since, at the time there was only one mission station that served the entire Kingdom of Buganda, converts that lived quite far away outside the capital often made effort to travel to the capital in order to receive the sacrament of reconciliation. Speaking of those of the Christian community that had grown up in Ssingoo, Ssemugooma gives the following information: «Those in Ssingoo were far away, but still they often came very early to the Capital at the mission station to confess and receive Holy Communion»⁹³.

This evidence points to us that the sacrament of Penance was held with high esteem and value among the members of the first Christian community and its regular reception together with the Eucharist was one of the standards for an active Christian life.

As we have already seen with the Eucharist, the sacrament of Penance served for the already baptized converts as a means of preparation for death in moments of pending persecutions, just as extreme unction served for those who were faced by apparent death due to grave illness. Therefore many stealthily went to the priests at night during those hard moments and asked to confess their sins before facing their death at the hand of the then angry King⁹⁴.

4.5.1. The common sins of the time

Before concluding our discussion on the sacrament of Penance, let us look at an important aspect which is characteristic of any pioneer Christian community in a mission territory: «the sins of the time». By sins of the time in the case of our study we do not necessarily mean those sins that were most commonly committed among the members of the young Christian community, instead we mean outstanding sins which the new converts were mostly exhorted to guard themselves against, simply because they were so deeply rooted within the society in which they lived.

Here we are faced with a community that is undergoing conversion and transformation from «paganism» to the «Christian faith». There were quite a number of deep-seated ways of life, beliefs and customs which were not consistent with the new Christian life that they had embraced. This therefore must have necessitated a gradual conversion and the people, both converts, and potential converts had to combat with overcoming these specific kinds of sins.

Two major sins can be identified: religious syncretism and polygamy (and other premarital and extramarital relations).

4.5.1.1. Religious syncretism

Religious syncretism exhibits blending of two or more religious belief systems into a new system, or the incorporation of beliefs from unrelated traditions into a religious tradition. In the case of Uganda, the Baganda were deeply rooted into their traditional religious beliefs which formed part of their culture and were deeply infused into their day-to-day life. Conversion to Christianity, therefore, necessitated a complete abandonment of many of those traditions.

Having this in mind, the missionaries were very keen on ensuring that their catechumens underwent a thorough preparation for a true and genuine conversion and a complete turn away from their former traditional practices. Lavigerie, in his instruction, forewarned his missionaries of the reality and certainty of this sin among the African converts and therefore exhorted them to emphasize the sacrament of penance: «They must expect very real and frequent relapses, remembering that things were no better in reality in the early Church... Confession must be put forward for our African converts as a means instituted by God, making good the lapses due to fallen nature, lapses to which we are all heirs at birth. Absolution should never be refused for sins that are due to simple weakness and not to any fixed will to do evil.»⁹⁵ And

for that matter they took religious syncretism as a very serious sin which they had to guard against. Although there is no recorded case of converts in the first Christian community that fell victim to syncretism, the missionaries still took it very seriously as a grave sin. Nevertheless, after Christianity had taken root and the Christians grew in number, syncretism became a very serious problem. Its degree of seriousness can be seen and judged from the fact that later on, elements that constitute it were included even in the rite of Baptism: «wemansulira ddala eby'emizizo byonna ebitagenda wamu na kukkiriza kwa Eklezia mwe wabatizibwa, naddala eby'abalongo, eby'abakulu, amasabo, n'engeri yonna ey'okwesiga ebitaliimu; obyemansula»⁹⁶- this can be literally translated as «do you absolutely renounce and dissociate yourself from any customs contrary to the faith of the Church in which you were baptized, especially faith in the deities, visiting traditional shrines and any kind of superstitious beliefs» However, this falls outside our scope of study, therefore we shall not expound more on it.

Some converts took their conversion very seriously to the extent that some went even to the radical extreme in parting with their former traditional religious beliefs and practices. The most outstanding example of this extreme radicalism was the princess Nalumansi, sister to the reigning King, Mwanga, who after her reception into the Catholic Church and appointment as royal guardian of the royal tombs, she drove out all the mediums of the local deities, wiped the enclosure clean of anything that had to do with traditional worship; and what stood out as most alarming is when she destroyed her umbilical cord (akalira)⁹⁷. This was so alarming and abominable to the believers in the traditional religion, and to the converts it was an act of extraordinary heroism⁹⁸, because many of them who had undergone a true and genuine conversion chose to silently shun away from involving themselves in traditional practices that were contrary to their new religion.

4.5.1.2. Polygamy, premarital and other extramarital relationships

The second sin of the time rotated around marriage and marital relationships. Marrying and getting married was one of the most important elements of the Gganda society. It marked a transition from childhood to adulthood and it was one of the determining factors of one's status in society. The more influence one had in society, the more wives he could marry; therefore it was prestigious to have many wives. Kings and chiefs were known to marry so many wives; Mutesa for example had 84 wives⁹⁹. One could have as many wives, as long as he could pay bride price for them¹⁰⁰. On the other hand, marrying one wife was a sign of poverty and lack of status in society.

Therefore, when Christianity arrived preaching monogamy, it became one of the most difficult obstacles for the conversion of several Baganda, especially the rich and the influential chiefs. As we have already seen, it was this same aspect that closed the doors for Mutesa to becoming a baptized Catholic, and monogamy was one of the points of mockery which the pagans and Muslims applied against the Christians¹⁰¹.

So, for that matter, the converts always kept on guard not to fall into polygamy or to indulge in any kind of premarital or extramarital relationships, knowing that it would raise alarm in the Christian community; but most importantly that it would be a source of ridicule from the pagans and Muslims.

The missionaries also very strictly and closely guarded their catechumens and neophytes from falling into that sin. The most notable incidence was one in which Bruno Sserunkuuma, one of the future martyrs was involved. In Nsingisira's testimony we are able to see how serious this sin was viewed among the first Christians: «I knew that they were devout and active in observing their faith. I know nothing bad about all of them, except for Bruno Sserunkuuma whom I remember to have committed the following offence: he fell in love with some Musoga girl, of the Nvuma clan, and impregnated her yet she was not his legally married wife. When Lourdel got to know about it he reprimanded him severely. Bruno repented and changed his ways»¹⁰².

It also deserves to mention that concerning the problem of polygamy, the missionaries were under strict orders from their founder, Lavigerie, to entertain zero tolerance for anyone who does not manifest the firm disposition to abandon it completely: «Finally I forbid the conferring of Baptism, even after four years, on those who do not present serious moral guarantees of perseverance, particularly in relation to the final abandonment of polygamy»¹⁰³. This demonstrates to us how serious the sin of Polygamy was taken in the first Christian community in Uganda.

4.6. *Matrimony*

Looking at the sacrament of Holy Matrimony in the Early Christian community in Uganda, there are some elements that are either peculiar or stand out and need to be pointed out, each in a singular manner, and they are the following; Accepted non-sacramental marriage, Mixed Marriage, and ordinary Christian Marriage.

4.6.1. Accepted non-sacramental marriages

These were marriages carried out according to the Gganda traditional rite without the involvement of any ordained minister; and therefore, they lacked the canonical form and sacramentality. However, as we are about to see, for pastoral reasons, these marriages were granted some sort of Church recognition and the parties involved granted dispensation (although we have not yet found any formal document to attest to this) and were spared from the disciplinary consequences that would have followed.

When one examines the testimonies given about the Uganda Martyrs, who also happen to have been some of the most influential members of the first Christian community in Uganda, one can detect that information is given about some of those converts getting married or being married but there is no mention of sacramental marriage. For example, talking about Kaggwa, Kirevu says the following: «Kabaka Mutesa gave him a plot of land, and it is there that he married his wife whose name is Klara Mbatudde and they gave birth to a child, Maria»¹⁰⁴. In the same line Kyakwambala also testifies: «After Andrew had mastered the drums under Toli, Mutesa gave him a plot of land at the capital. It was while in that plot of land that Andrew got married»¹⁰⁵. Kamyia, in his testimony also confirms the above: «He was a married man; his wife was Batudde. She even gave birth to a child, Maria»¹⁰⁶. About Mathias Mulumba, the following was reported: «Mathias Mulumba was a married man»¹⁰⁷ and Ssebikokya also confirmed the same: «He had his wife and child»¹⁰⁸

With those examples given above, we have the certainty that some already baptized Christians, members of the first Christian community in Uganda lived in some kind of marital status and actually even had families. Some had their wives before becoming Christians (for example Mathias Mulumba)¹⁰⁹ and others got their wives after becoming Christians (Andrew Kaggwa is an example).

However, the first Baptism of women into the catholic faith took place only in November 1885 after the martyrdom of Balikuddembe, among those baptized was the wife of Andrew Kaggwa, who took on the name Clara¹¹⁰. This implies that Kaggwa, Mulumba and other baptized men who had wives, lived in some sort of «non-sacramental marital relationships»¹¹¹.

As proof to our conclusion that we have just made above, we have the case of Kirevu himself, as Ddiba reports it: «After his Baptism on the 14th May 1880, there followed a period of instability characterized by wars and raids; and it was during that period that Matayo Kirevu married his wife Kayaga, she was still a catechumen and not yet baptized. He married her traditionally without a sacramental matrimonial wedding; the priests permitted him

to marry her in that way since by that time there were no baptized Christian women. Despite living in such a marriage relationship, Matayo continued receiving the sacraments»¹¹² (here is implied the Eucharist and Penance).

The permission of the priests that we have seen here leads us to make yet another qualifying conclusion that the marital relationship that Kirevu was living was a «permitted non-sacramental marital relationship». Basing on this particular case, we might not be wrong, still, to conclude that this was the same dispensation that was granted to Mathias Mulumba, Andrew Kaggwa and other baptized men who lived with their wives at the time.

4.6.2. Mixed marriages between Catholics and Protestants

The first recorded marriage between two baptized Christians that was celebrated in Buganda was that Between Joseph Kaddu and princess Clara Nalumansi, daughter of Mutesa; it was between a Catholic and a Protestant¹¹³. This case had its peculiarities. In the first place, their relationship was traditionally illegal and unaccepted because it was prohibited for the daughters of the King (or sisters of the King) to marry and whichever man that fell in a love relationship with one of those princesses was to be killed¹¹⁴. When Mutesa discovered the relationship of these two, he began hunting down Kaddu to kill him. Kaddu therefore ran to the priests asked for Baptism which was granted; this took place in 1882. Nalumansi, on her part, had already been baptized by the protestants.

When Mutesa died and Mwanga took over the throne, being that Kaddu had been his dear friend, he officially accepted his sister, Nalumansi, to get married to Kaddu, but since she was already baptized in the protestant Church, though secretly under instruction in the Catholic faith, a dispensation was granted to them, and they were officially married¹¹⁵. Although there is no evidence that they were married in Church, due to the fact that their marriage was permitted, recognized and even recorded in the mission register, we can confidently conclude that it was the first mixed marriage witnessed in the young Christian Community.

4.7. *Holy Orders*

The Sacrament of Holy Orders in the first Christian community can be looked at in three perspectives: the value the converts attached to the ordained ministers, the joyful reception they showed for the election and appointment of their first bishop, and the witness of the priestly ordination of the first native Ugandans.

In the first place this sacrament is seen visible in the first Christian community in the persons of the first four missionary priests who were all foreigners from France. The first converts were very highly convinced of the value and importance of the priesthood, the priestly ministry and the presence of priests among them; they were very loyal to them. The young converts were also very much concerned about the safety of their priests, and they always kept them informed and updated about all the plans that the King and his non-Christian chiefs were planning against them and the Christians. When the missionaries fled from Buganda to Bukumbi, south of the Lake Victoria in fear of the plan against their lives which they had apparently received through their catechumens, there are some converts who later followed them to Bukumbi, because they could no longer bare the absence of priests in their young Christian Community¹¹⁶.

The first historical landmark in the life of the Church in Uganda in relation to the sacrament of Holy orders was the election and appointment of Livinhac as Bishop and Apostolic Vicar of Nyanza Vicariate. Special about this was that the native converts took Livinhac to be one of them and their father, and therefore electing him Bishop was like electing one of their own. Although these converts did not have the chance to witness the ordination of their first Bishop, for he was ordained in Algiers by Lavigerie, they had the chance to share in the joy of reception of the sacrament of Holy orders conferred upon him. The expression of their joy was seen on the day the newly ordained Bishop, Livinhac, arrived in Uganda as their first Bishop 27th May 1886; we must not however forget that he arrived in Uganda just in the days when the persecution of Christians in Uganda was at its peak, and some of the members of the young Christian community he had founded had already been condemned to death and were already along their way to their place of martyrdom¹¹⁷. Kirevu, one of those who were present that day, recounts the joy that filled the community, as quoted by Ddiba: «On the 27th May 1886, early in the morning, Lourdel (Mapera) went to the landing site in Mutungo to meet and welcome his superior Msgr. Livinhac who had come with Fr. Denoit... All along the way, although it had rained and the roads were too bad, when the Christians heard that their Bishop had arrived, gathered from far and near to go and meet him and welcome him. However, Livinhac himself would not have loved that they do that, fearing that they too might be captured and be executed by the King just as he had already done with some. He wanted to arrive to the mission unnoticed, but it was not possible; all along the way the people came and welcomed him, even when he arrived at the mission, they continued going to the mission to welcome him, including throughout the night until the following day 28th May»¹¹⁸.

The second landmark in the history of the sacrament of Holy Orders in the Catholic Church in Uganda was when the first native Ugandans were ordained Priests. Although it falls out of our scope of study for this thesis, I consider it worthy, at least briefly, to make a mention about it.

Basilio Lumu and Victor Mukasa Womeraka, the first Native Ugandans to be ordained priests received the sacrament of Holy Orders (ordination to the priesthood) on the 29th June 1913, in Vila Maria Cathedral in Masaka-Uganda, thirty-four years after the arrival of the first missionaries to Uganda in 1879. This was the first priestly ordination Ceremony that was witnessed in Uganda. Since then, the number of native priests has steadily risen.

4.7.1. Formation of indigenous clergy

Still looking at the sacrament of Holy Orders, it is also necessary to examine the aspect of formation of the indigenous clergy.

From the very onset of the missionary activity of the Missionaries of Africa, their founder, Lavigerie, believed in exploiting all possible factors within reach, especially local ones, to evangelize Africa. In a special way he referred himself to the formation of indigenous clergy through formation of special seminaries¹¹⁹.

The first Seminary in Uganda was Bukalasa junior Seminary which was founded on June 9th 1893 when Bishop John Joseph Hirth was Apostolic Vicar of Victoria Nyanza Vicariate. This seminary was intended for the formation of the indigenous young men to the priesthood so that they could be designated for mission in their localities.

The most important key player in the initial promotion of indigenous priestly vocations in Uganda was none other than Bishop Henry Streicher, commonly known as the «Apostle of Buddu». His tireless efforts gave birth to the vocation of one of the very first native Ugandan priests, Womeraka: «struck by the new Bishop's homily on the importance of training an indigenous clergy, Womeraka joined the junior seminary at Kisubi in September the same year¹²⁰ (1897- year of episcopal consecration of Bishop Streicher).

5. CHURCH STRUCTURES

Already in the first decade of Christianity in Uganda, the Church had begun to take up formal institutional structures. In the beginning the Church in Uganda was organized principally under the mission structure; and the first mission station in this case was the one at Luby-Nabulagala, which lat-

er shifted to Nabunnya-Lubaga¹²¹. This mission was placed under a superior whose name was Livinhac and it covered the territory that is comprised of present-day Uganda, northern part of Tanzania (south of the Lake Victoria), Rwanda and Burundi; it was called the Uganda mission.

In December 1879, a few months after their arrival in Uganda, the missionaries, at the invitation of Emin-Pash, made the first attempt to open up another mission station in the far north of Uganda and Girault was given the task of traveling north to explore that possibility¹²². However, he only went as far as Buruli and circumstances forced him back to Rubaga without accomplishing his task¹²³. After that, the subsequent attempts for opening up new mission stations were focused more to the south of Lake Victoria, present day northern Tanzania. News of a second mission station founded in a territory within present day Uganda was only received in 1889; Our Lady of Good Help mission station which was found in Ssesse Island by Livinhac who was on his way back to Buganda from exile¹²⁴. Livinhac had been called back to Buganda by King Mwangi who, with the help of the Christian troops had recovered his throne in 1889, after being deposed for the first time 1888. This invitation is contained in Mwangi's letter to Livinhac dated 4th November 1889.

In 1883 the Christian community in Uganda witnessed the creation of a more important institutional church structure, the very first Apostolic vicariate. What was formally known as the Uganda mission was then erected as Victoria Nyanza Apostolic vicariate and Livinhac was elected as its first Vicar Apostolic and Lubaga became the seat of the newly erected Vicariate.

At this point the young Christian community in Uganda came to be constituted into a fully-fledged Particular Church.

* * *

Our major objective in this chapter has been first to explore how the first Christian community lived its faith and secondly, to establish whether in this first Christian community the Church existed in its institutional form. We have done this by looking at two major indicators, namely its activities and structural organisation. Regarding its activities, we have singled out two most important ones which are essentially characteristic of the Church; evangelization and celebration of sacraments. We have seen that in the first Christian community in Uganda there already existed a consciously organised evangelization activity, with both inward and outward movement, carried out by the priests, the lay faithful (the neophytes) and the catechumens, and that the sacraments were also celebrated- at least six of them.

Regarding the structural organisation, we have seen that already in that early Christian community, three years down the road, the territory was constituted an Apostolic Vicariate and a Bishop was elected and ordained for it and therefore it was fully constituted as a Particular Church, consistent with Canon 368 of the code of Canon Law of 1983: «Particular Churches, in which and from which the one and only Catholic Church exists, are first of all dioceses, to which, unless it is otherwise evident, are likened a territorial prelatore and territorial abbacy, an apostolic vicariate and an apostolic prefecture, and an apostolic administration erected in a stable manner».

In a nutshell, we can confidently conclude that in the first Christian community in Uganda, the Church fully existed in its institutional form.

Notes

1. CEILLIER, J.-C., «Cardinal Lavignerie Anthology Vol. II (1875-1878)», in *Society of Missionaries of Africa: History series*, No. 18, 2017, 147.
2. AKA, Ref. 5, f. 16: Luis Masimbi, 11. For this note and all other subsequent quotations from this same source, also Cf. AAV, Congre. Riti processus, No. 4491, f. 450-485.
3. AGMAfr., Lettres de Livinhac, C. 13-298, 20th July 1879. Also Cf. AKA, Rubaga Diary, 13th July 1879.
4. AGMAfr., Rubaga Diary, 18th July 1879.
5. AGMAfr., Rubaga Diary, 19th July 1879.
6. DDIBA, *Eddiini mu Uganda*, 91.
7. AGMAfr., Rubaga Diary, 3rd October 1879. Also Cf. DDIBA, *Eddiini mu Uganda*, 94.
8. AGMAfr., Rubaga Diary, 5th October 1879. Also Cf. DDIBA, *Eddiini mu Uganda*, 94.
9. CEILLIER, «Cardinal Lavignerie Anthology Vol. II (1875-1878)», 148.
10. AGMAfr., Rubaga Diary, 13th November 1879. Here, the diary does not mention any name, but speaks of «two young slaves of the king of the rank of pages»- It is Ddiba who gives the name of one of those young pages as being Peter Nalubandwa.
11. AGMAfr., Rubaga Diary, 13th November 1879.
12. AGMAfr., Rubaga Diary, 18th December 1879.
13. DDIBA, *Eddiini mu Uganda*, 117.
14. *Ibid.*, 121.
15. Ddiba gives a detailed account of each of the members of the first five sets of Neophytes that were enrolled and baptized in Uganda. Cf. DDIBA, *Eddiini mu Uganda*, 108-127.
16. CEILLIER, «Cardinal Lavignerie Anthology Vol. II (1875-1878)» 147.
17. DDIBA, *Eddiini mu Uganda*, 72.
18. *Ibid.*, 101.
19. AKA, Ref. 5, f. 2: Yozefu Katabalwa Nsingisira, 11.
20. AKA, Ref. 5, f. 5: Cyprian Kamyá, 9.
21. DDIBA, *Eddiini mu Uganda*, 109.
22. *Ibid.*, 119.
23. NNYOMBI, R., *In the footsteps of Cardinal Lavignerie and the pioneer missionaries anti-slavery campaign in Uganda (1879-1892)*, Kampala: Angel Agencies Ltd., 2012, 24.
24. *Ibid.*, 25.
25. CEILLIER, J.-C., «Cardinal Lavignerie Anthology Vol. I», in *Society of Missionaries of Africa: History series*, No. 16, 2016, 38.
26. AGMAfr., Lettres de Livinhac, C. 13-1, 2nd July 1879. In Livinhac's letter to Lavignerie can be well reflected the prospects that Livinhac saw in ransoming of young slaves; both for the mission and for the negro race. He envisioned ransoming them and training them in skills

- that would be helpful in the community, in a way giving concrete ways in which the original plan of Lavigerie could be actualized in Buganda.
27. AKA, Ref. 5, f. 5: Cyprian Kamyá, 5.
 28. AKA, Ref. 5, f. 5: Cyprian Kamyá, 6.
 29. AKA, Ref. 5, f. 16: Luis Masimbi, 7.
 30. AKA, Ref. 5, f. 6: Alexis Ssebbowa, 6. (For this note and all other subsequent quotations from the same source, also Cf. AAV, Congre. Riti processus, No. 4491, f. 160-184.) Also Cf. AGMAfr., *Lettres de Lourdel*, 12 juin 1879, C. 14-17.
 31. DDIBA, *Eddiini mu Uganda*, 80.
 32. *Ibid.*, 91-94.
 33. AKA, Ref. 5, f. 3: Maria Matilda Munaku, 4 and 7. For this note and other subsequent quotation from the same source also Cf. AAV, Congre. Riti processus, No. 4491, f. 75-94.
 34. Although we are not sure whether the author was referring to all African languages only in Uganda or in and outside of Uganda, in order not to go into questions of proving this, in the case of our study we are going to understand him to be referring to all African languages in Uganda.
 35. PAWLIKOVA-VILHANOVA, «White Fathers, Islam and Kiswahili in nineteenth Century Uganda», 205. Also Cf. AKA, Ref. 1, f. 5: Petite Catechisme.
 36. AKA, Ref. 1, f. 5: Petite Catechisme, 5-19.
 37. In the case of this section of our study, by the term «Bible» we are referring to the published physical book; although its primary understanding as «The Word of God» is also implied.
 38. DDIBA, *Eddiini mu Uganda*, 80.
 39. PAWLIKOVA-VILHANOVA, «White Fathers, Islam and Kiswahili in nineteenth Century Uganda», 202.
 40. *Ibid.*, 203.
 41. *Ibid.*, 204.
 42. *Ibid.*, 201. Also Cf. AGMAfr., *Rubaga Diary*, 9th February 1880 and 13th December 1879; ROWE, J. A., «Myth, memoir and moral admonition; Luganda historical writing 1893-1969», in *The Uganda Journal*, Volume 33, Part 1 (1969) 19-20.
 43. AGMAfr., *Rubaga Diary*, 11th September 1881. Also Cf. DDIBA, *Eddiini mu Uganda*, 99-100.
 44. AKA, Ref. 5, f. 5: Cyprian Kamyá, 9.
 45. AKA, Ref. 5, f. 2: Yosefu Katabalwa Nsingisira, 26.
 46. AGMAfr., *Rubaga Diary*, 27th March 1880. Also Cf. AKA, Ref. 1, f. 5: Ste. Marie de Rubaga; Baptemes, Confirmations et Deces 1885-1886. Although this original register dates from the year 1885 to 1886, a sheet of paper on which the baptisms of 1880 and 1882 were registered was also inserted, there is a newer copy of this original in which all the baptisms are better organized. However, from this same source (AKA, Ref. 1, f. 5), a more organized copy of the original can be consulted, but with title «Livres des Baptemes, Confirmations, Mariages et deces de Ste Marie de Rubaga 1880... 1886-1891».
 47. AGMAfr., *Rubaga Diary*, 27th March 1880. Also Cf. DDIBA, *Eddiini mu Uganda*, 111.
 48. DDIBA, *Eddiini mu Uganda*, 112.
 49. AKA, Ref. 5, f. 2: Yosefu Katabalwa Nsingisira, 10.
 50. AKA, Ref. 5, f. 5: Cyprian Kamyá, 9.
 51. FAUPEL, *The African Holocaust*, 34.
 52. AGMAfr., *Rubaga Diary*, 1st June 1880.
 53. CEILLIER, Jean-Claude, «Cardinal Lavigerie Anthology of texts Vol. III (1879-1881)», in *Society of Missionaries of Africa: History series*, No. 19, 2018, 34-37.
 54. FAUPEL, *The African Holocaust*, 39. Also Cf. AKA, Ref. 5, f. 4: Matayo kirevu, 21.
 55. Ceillier, J. C. (2018), pg. 37.

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56. AKA, Ref 1, f. 5: Livre des Baptemes, Confirmations, Mariages et deces de Ste Marie de Rubaga 1880... 1886-1891. Also Cf. DDIBA, *Eddiini mu Uganda*, 85.
57. AKA, Ref 1, f. 5: Livre des Baptemes, Confirmations, Mariages et deces de Ste Marie de Rubaga 1880... 1886-1891. Also Cf. DDIBA, *Eddiini mu Uganda*, 85.
58. FAUPEL, *The African Holocaust*, 43.
59. All natives who used to go to the Christian missions for instructions were called *Abasomi* which means readers and comes from the word *kusoma* which means to read. This was because reading and writing were introduced in Buganda by the new foreign religions; first by the Arab Muslims and latter was intensified by the Anglican and Catholic missionaries. Many natives went to the missions in order to learn to read and write and the missionaries also made it a point that teaching of literacy went hand in hand with teaching of religion. In fact for the Anglicans, ability to read the gospel was one of the requirements for one to be admitted for Baptism.
60. AKA, Ref. 5, f. 15: Mikael Sebikokya, 21. For this note and all other subsequent quotations from this same source also Cf. AAV, Congre. Riti processus, No. 4491, f. 418-449.
61. AGMAfr., Rubaga Diary, 15th November 1885.
62. FAUPEL, *The African Holocaust*, 139.
63. *Ibid.*, 140. Also Cf. AKA, Ref. 1, f. 5: Livre des Baptemes, Confirmations, Mariages et Deces de Ste. Marie de Rubaga 1880... 1886-1891, 17th November 1885.
64. AKA, Ref. 1, f. 5: Livre des Baptemes, Confirmations, Mariages et Deces de Ste. Marie de Rubaga 1880... 1886-1891.
65. AGMAfr., Rubaga Diary, 16th November 1885. Also Cf. DDIBA, *Eddiini mu Uganda*, 6.
66. AGMAfr., Lettres de Simeon Lourdel, C. 14-54, 6th July 1885, and C. 14-92, 29th July 1885.
67. AKA, Ref. 5, f. 8: Yakobo ssemugoma, 8, and f. 7: Matia Kasi, 15.
68. FAUPEL, *The African Holocaust*, 155. Also Cf. AKA, Ref. 1, f. 5: Livre des Baptemes, Confirmations, Mariages et deces de Ste Marie de Rubaga 1880... 1886-1891.
69. DDIBA, *Eddiini mu Uganda*, 58.
70. FAUPEL, *The African Holocaust*, 150. Also Cf. AKA, Ref. 1, f. 5: Livre des Baptemes, Confirmations, Mariages et deces de Ste Marie de Rubaga 1880... 1886-1891.
71. AGMAfr., Rubaga Diary, 28th March 1880.
72. AGMAfr., Rubaga Diary, 27th March 1880.
73. AGMAfr., Rubaga Diary, 30th April 1882.
74. FAUPEL, *The African Holocaust*, 43.
75. AGMAfr., Rubaga Diary, 28th May 1882.
76. AGMAfr., Rubaga Diary, 31st May 1886.
77. FAUPEL, *The African Holocaust*, 229.
78. Catechism of the Catholic Church, No. 2042.
79. AGMAfr., Rubaga Diary, 28th March 1880.
80. AKA, Ref. 5, f. 3: Maria Matilda Munaku, 4.
81. AKA, Ref. 5, f. 8: Yakobo Ssemugooma, 5. For this note and all other subsequent quotations from this same source also Cf. AAV, Congre. Riti processus, No. 4491, f. 209-233.
82. AKA, Ref. 5, f. 16: Luis Masimbi, 12-13.
83. AKA, Ref. 5, f. 5: Cyprian Kamy, 16.
84. AKA, Ref. 5, f. 12: Andrea Kiwanuka, 13. For this note and for all other subsequent quotations from this same source also Cf. AAV, Congre. Riti processus, No. 4491, f. 309-337.
85. By «Adult» we mean that they were above the age of childhood and were ready to receive all the three sacraments: normally thirteen years and above.
86. AGMAfr., Rubaga Diary, 27th March 1880.

87. AGMAfr., Rubaga Diary, 27th and 28th March 1880.
88. AGMAfr., Rubaga Diary, 16th May 1880.
89. AGMAfr., Rubaga Diary, 30th April 1882.
90. AGMAfr., Rubaga Diary, 31st May 1886.
91. AKA, Ref. 5, f. 12: Andrea Kiwanuka, 2.
92. AKA, Ref. 5, f. 2: Yozefu Katabalwa Nsingisira, 2.
93. AKA, Ref. 5, f. 8: Yacobo Ssemugooma, 5.
94. FAUPEL, *The African Holocausto*, 141.
95. CEILLIER, Jean-Claude, «Cardinal Lavigier Anthology Vol. II (1875-1878)», in *Society of Missionaries of Africa: History series*, No. 18, 2017, 49-50.
96. MPUGA, W. (edtr), *Ekitabo k'yomukristu*, Kampala: Marianum Press, 1975, 702.
97. AKA, Ref. 5, f. 16: Luis Masimbi, 11. In the Gganda tradition, the umbilical cord is very important, it is in fact given the identity of «person», it is understood to carry the identity of the owner. It was this umbilical cord that used in the very important ceremony of initiation of the child into the clan and proving of its legitimacy (cf. ROSCOE, *The Baganda...*, 62). Therefore, the mothers were bound by a number of taboos to guard very safely the umbilical cords of their children. That is why even a special person was appointed and given the responsibility of «guardian of the King's umbilical cord»- Mugema, and was considered a very highly ranking chief in the Kingdom of Buganda.
98. AKA, Ref. 5, f. 16: Luis Masimbi, 11.
99. KAGGWA, *The kings of Buganda*, 218-221.
100. ROSCOE, *The Baganda*, 83ff.
101. AKA, Ref. 5, f. 11: Desire Wamala, 11. For this note and all subsequent quotations from this same source also Cf. AAV, Congre. Riti processus, No. 4491, f. 282-308.
102. AKA, Ref. 5, f. 2: Yozefu Katabalwa Nsingisira, 7.
103. CEILLIER, «Cardinal Lavigier Anthology of texts Vol. III (1879-1881)», 37.
104. AKA, Ref. 5, f. 4: Matayo Kirevu, 8. It is important to note that although Kirevu, in mentioning the names of Andrew's wife he even includes the Christian one, as we shall point it out later, by the time she got married to Andrew she was not yet a baptized Catholic.
105. AKA, Ref. 5, f. 9: Leo Kyakwogera, 6. For this note and for all subsequent quotations from this same source Cf. AAV, Congre. Riti processus, No. 4491, f. 234-258.
106. AKA, Ref. 5, f. 5: Cyprian Kamyra, 7.
107. AKA, Ref. 5, f. 9: Leo Kyakwogera, 4.
108. AKA, Ref. 5, f. 15: Mikaeli Ssebikolya, 6.
109. Matia Mulumba had three wives before becoming Christian, but when he resolved to enroll for catechetical instruction, he gave up two and remained with one wife. Cf. FAUPEL, *The African Holocaust*, 44.
110. DDIBA, *Eddiini mu Uganda*, 6.
111. All the above quoted marriages are found attested to in the Baptism register of St. Mary Rubaga. However, it is also important to note that what is recorded in this register are names of their spouses, and no other details are recorded, neither the dates, the place of celebration of the marriage, nor the ministers. There is no visible proof that they contracted sacramental marriages; and it cannot be searched from latter documents because they died during the time of persecution.
112. DDIBA, *Eddiini mu Uganda*, 5.
113. Although in the published literature, these two are depicted to have been sacramentally married (with a dispensation), there is no clear evidence in the books of record that this marriage took place in the church. However, like the other cases we have seen above, which were certainly not celebrated canonically in the church but permitted for pastoral circumstances,

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this marriage also appears in the register in the same way like the others; only indicating the name of the spouse, and nothing more.

114. ROSCOE, *The Baganda*, 85.
115. FAUPEL, *The African Holocaust*, 150. Also Cf. DDIBA, *Eddiini mu Uganda*, 125.
116. DDIBA, *Eddiini mu Uganda*, 111.
117. AGMAfr., Rubaga Diary, 28th May 1886.
118. DDIBA, *Eddiini mu Uganda*, 205.
119. CEILLIER, «Cardinal Lavigier Anthology Vol. I», 37.
120. SHORTER, A., «Womeraka Victorio Mukasa», in *Dictionary of African Christian Biography*, 2003.
121. Cf. Appendix 1.3 to see list of mission stations opened by the missionaries of Africa from 1879 to 1900.
122. AGMAfr., Rubaga Diary, 2nd, 10th, 18th, 20th and 22nd December 1879.
123. AGMAfr., Rubaga Diary, 3rd January 1880.
124. TOURIGNY, *Ancestors in the Faith*, 27.

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